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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1838

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Romanian Report on Bulgarian Education Conference
(Maria Larionescu; VIITORUL SOCIAL, Jul-Sep 80) 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED Directive, Commentary on Party Meetings, Elections
(NEUER WEG, 1980) 5

Dohlus on Uncovering Shortcomings, by Horst Dohlus
Guarding Against Ideological Diversion, by Werner Scholz
Resolution on Party Progress
Text of Directive

Use of Term 'Solidarity' by Enemies of Socialism Attacked
(Peter Gieseler; FREIHEIT, 14 Nov 80) 37

HUNGARY

Trade Union Secretaries Assess Situation, Agenda in Chemical, Agricultural Field
(Ferenc Dajka, Ferenc Dobi Interview; TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Nov 80) 39

Deputy Minister Interviewed on Functions of Ministry of Culture
(Maria Hanga Interview; NEPMUVELES, No 10, 1980) 52

ROMANIA

Concepts of Peaceful Coexistence, Detente Examined
(Corneliu Bogdan; VIITORUL SOCIAL, Jul-Sep 80) 58

Report on World Psychology Congress
(Pavel Muresan; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Nov 80) 67

Availability of Food, Consumer Goods for Winter Discussed
(Gheorghe Preda Interview; INFORMATIA BUCRESTIUEUI, 12 Dec 80) 72

Artists Union Official Replies to Attack on Art Criticism
(Andrei Plesu; FLACARA, 30 Oct 80) 74

Briefs
'Examination of Conscience' Column 78
Death of Wood Industry Specialist 78

YUGOSLAVIA

Professor Bilandzic Queried on Federal-Republic Friction
(Dusan Bilandzic Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
26 Oct 80) 79

Research-Technology Chief Discusses Army Modernization
(Zlatko Rendulic Interview; VJESNIK, 9 Nov 80) 85

Assembly Vice President Hadzi Vasilev Interviewed
(Kiro Hadzi Vasilev Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
9 Nov 80) 90

ROMANIAN REPORT ON BULGARIAN EDUCATION CONFERENCE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 3 Jul-Sep 80 pp 592-593

[Article by Maria Larionescu of the Center for Sociological Research: "Sociological Problems of Science and Education Under the Conditions of the Technical-Scientific Revolution"]

[Text] Between 15 and 17 May 1980, the Institute of Sociology in Sofia and the "Kiril and Metodiu" University in Veliko Tirnovo organized the first national conference on the sociology and science of education. In addition to faculty personnel and researchers in sociology and specialists in psychology, the conference was attended by specialists in education, history, literary critique, political economics and philosophy. Within the framework of the conference, carried out in a plenary session and three sections, the following sociologists from the other socialist countries were also invited: V. J. Kelle, V. A. Jamin and D.D. Raikova from the USSR; E. G. Maier and I. Haitz from the GDR; Ianos Farcas from Hungary and M. Larionescu from Romania.

In opening the proceedings of the conference, comrade N. Vasiliev, the party first secretary of the area of Veliko Tirnovo, stressed the political-ideological significance of this scientific meeting dedicated to discussing the current problems of science and education in Bulgaria, especially the tasks facing education and research as outlined by the recent congress on education and in comrade Todor Jivkov's speech.

The carrying out of the proceedings of the conference presented, either through the deliberate organization of the schedule or through the orientation of the discussions, several major themes raised by the specific study of the problem of the sociology of science and education. Summarizing the proceedings of the conference, I would present the following themes that dominated these discussions:

a. The Process of Intellectualizing Social Practices in Bulgaria constituted a central theme of the conference, being the object of a number of reports presented both in the plenum and in the working sessions. The most important speech on this problem was made by professor Nico Iahiel, whose report,

entitled "Intellectualization, Education, Science," opened the proceedings in the plenary session. The principal dimensions of the concept of intellectualizing social-economic practices in Bulgarian society, as they were specified by professor Iahiel, deal with: increasing the amount of knowledge in all the fields of social life; science's penetrating social activities; and, increasing contemporary man's capacity to accept new things in social practices along with the intensification of the process of intellectualization.

In remarking that the process of intellectualization is closely correlated with the education process, Niko Iahiel found that education has remained behind the socio-economic needs of Bulgaria, coming out in favor of involving the sociology of science, without reservations, in a concerted, pluri-disciplined effort to raise the quality of the instructional-educational process to the level of the requirements imposed by social-economic practice.

Complementary views on the process of intellectualizing social practices were analyzed and argued in other reports and presentations. Among them, we can mention: the integrating function of science in society (V. Samuilov, Bulgaria), aspects of social determination in technical-scientific work (G. Gornev, Bulgaria), current aspects of the process of intellectualization in the fields of agriculture and industry (M. Markov, Bulgaria), social effects of education and science (V. A. Jamin, the USSR), the role of the educational system in forming creative personalities (Kiril Vasiliev, Bulgaria), current problems of the sociology of education (R. Donev, Bulgaria), criticism of bourgeois theories regarding policy in the fields of science and technology under socialism (W. Bon, the GDR), sociological problems in the transformation of science into a direct force in production (T. Trendafilov, Bulgaria), certain factors in the acceleration of technical progress (H. Demozetov, Bulgaria), science and the development of the personality (N. I. Makesin, the USSR), the policy of science as an object of sociological research (J. Nedev, Bulgaria) and so forth.

A series of other reports and discussions supported the thesis of the complementary nature of the roles of sociology in social research and action, stressing the role of the scientific community in constituting the true catalysts of knowledge regarding the mechanisms, processes and paths of social change, especially in the direction of intellectualizing social practices. In differing from the traditional model of the scientific community, current scientific research in the field of sociology and other sciences is directed towards the future, raising problems regarding social evolution, with the sociologists being asked to assume their responsibilities for openings and options having important effects in the strategy of social development. The involvement of the scientific community in the processes of social development, in the process of intellectualizing social practices, the applied vocation of sociological research, the appropriate organization of scientific institutes and the professional and ethical dimensions of the charter of the researcher

in the social sciences are themes that were frequently encountered. The reports revealed the broadening of the themes of research in the sociology of science, the diversification of the methods of approach and their adaptation to the new realities, and the inclusion in investigations of certain new phenomena and processes that are occurring in social life: the process of intellectualization in educational systems as a main factor of intellectualizing Bulgarian society (I. Marev, Bulgaria), the social structure and cognitive abilities of the personality (L. Gheorghiev, Bulgaria), aspects of the system of indicators for evaluating the effectiveness of education (N. Velicov, Bulgaria), education as a social and individual values (P. Boiadjieva, Bulgaria), characteristics of workers' activities in the field of scientific research (P. Simeonov, Bulgaria), the type of knowledge and the structure of scientific potential in the scientific community (H. G. Maier, the GDR), the professionalization of scientific activities, the indicators and criteria of scientific diagnosis (N. Mateev, Bulgaria), "Grand Science" and some schanges occurring in the interrelations of the scientific community (K. Petkova, Bulgaria), communication systems as a moral problem in scientific collectives (D. D. Raikova, the USSR), scientists and the organization of science (J. Genova, Bulgaria), and sociological research and the problem of planning science (P. Bliznakov, Bulgaria).

In the section "Science and Society," the Romanian participant's report was presented regarding "Science's Charter Under Socialism," which showed the experience of our country, the contributions regarding science's charter, the function of science and its manner of organization, stressing the following aspects: the original Romanian model of science as an integral part of the strategy of socio-economic development elaborated by the Romanian Communist Party; science - a basic, fundamental factor of social progress; planning science in accordance with the requirements of accelerated social-economic development; the dialectic approach to the socio-economic conditioning of science in close interdependence with its self-development; the ever more accentuated integration of science with production activities and education; the intensification of fundamental and applied theoretical research, multidisciplined and interdisciplined research and the accentuation of the prospective nature of investigations.

A somewhat different nature as a means of approach and thematic content was in the reports and presentations centered on the methodological and theoretical aspects of the sociology of science. There were two broad reports here, containing opposite means of dealing with the concept of sociology of science, which brought about contradictory discussions. Professor Ianos Farcas of Hungary directly introduced a conceptual boundary between the sociology of science and science about science: the objective of the sociology of science includes, according to this author, the capacity to produce science, the internal mechanisms of the scientific community, the structure of the charter and role of scientific organizations at a time when the concept of science

about science has in mind the place and role of science in the system of social institutes (political, economic and cultural). In the view of the Hungarian professor, the two disciplines are complementary. A different point of view was expressed in the presentations of professor Kelle (USSR), N. Iahiel and I. Minccv (Bulgaria). In pointing out a certain sterility in the discussions on the objective of the mentioned disciplines, professor Kelle presented different points of view regarding this subject: science about science as a mechanical conglomerate of knowledge and as a complex of sciences which deals with each problem of scientific research from its own point of view, with the sociology of science being just such a particular field.

Through the lively nature of the discussions and the high scientific level of the reports, the first national conference in Bulgaria in the field of the sociology of science and education was a complete success.

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SED DIRECTIVE, COMMENTARY ON PARTY MEETINGS, ELECTIONS

Dohlus on Uncovering Shortcomings

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 17, 1980 signed to press 25 Aug 80 pp 645-650

[Article by Horst Dohlus, member, SED Politburo and secretary, SED Central Committee: "Party Elections Under the Sign of the 10th SED Congress"]

[Text] With the party elections beginning on 1 October, wholly under the sign of the preparations for the 10th SED Congress, all communists, basic organizations and leading party organs can look forward to busy weeks and months marked by intense political activity by the more than 2 million SED members and candidates.

What mainly matters then was stated at the 12th Central Committee session by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker: making all party organizations and comrades face, politically and ideologically, the demands of the 1980's and creating the best conditions for smoothly carrying on with our economic and social policy. It means strengthening our party organizations in all public domains, acting uniformly, constantly deepening the communists' mass solidarity and thus further enhancing the leadership role of our party.

A solid basis for that are the party document check carried out in the spring, the experiences gathered and activities developed at that time, the valuable reminders and suggestions coming out of personal conversations and the mobilizing campaign programs of the basic organizations. These prerequisites must be utilized prudently everywhere in order significantly to enlarge the contribution from each comrade and each party organization to the continued implementation of the SED Program with a view to the 10th party congress and the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan.

Impulses for New Working People Initiatives

We may take for granted that, in implementation of the resolutions from the 11th and 12th Central Committee conferences and of the requirements from the kreis first secretaries conference, concisely formulated in the SED's election directive, a great mass initiative is growing and broadening day after day in socialist competition and the 1981 plan discussion. "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!" That is the slogan under which we mainly aim at our economy's continuing efficiency improvements.

It is important to organize on that basis the mass struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR with its level rising and its results becoming better all the time. He acts as a communist who in his work collective, in confident cooperation with the working people, brings a vital influence to bear on the use of all reserves and everyday plan fulfillment. Preparing the 10th party congress with plans fulfilled must be a matter of honor for every party organization. That can be achieved only if, through the influence of the comrades, that concern also is a matter of honor for each work collective.

The scope and importance of the tasks now facing the basic organizations and the kreis and bezirk managements call for high-grade management activity, for always regarding the main questions as the focal point of party work and for answering and settling them in a complex fashion, in their interconnections.

This first of all calls for aggressive and puposeful political-ideological work, for a deep dialog between the party and the people which will strengthen their relationship of trust, their unity.

The answers given by our 11th and 12th Central Committee sessions, the Political Advisory Commission at the Warsaw conference and at the most recent traditional friendship meeting of comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker in the Crimea, about the topical issues of international development, shall continue to occupy a firm place in mass political activity.

The Safeguarding of Peace Is the Central Question

It is important for every citizen to understand that safeguarding the peace is the most important matter in view of imperialism's having greatly exacerbated the international situation. It is the central issue of our time. The meetings and discussions SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Comrade Erich Honecker held with leading representatives of European and other countries are an important part of the efforts by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to continue working for the safeguarding of peace, arms limitation and disarmament despite the aggressive stance of U.S. and NATO imperialism.

It is up to the willingness of each to contribute through his personal conduct, mainly through high production achievements, to the all-round strengthening of the GDR, whereby to provide an appropriate response to the aggressive policy of threat and force of certain imperialist circles, especially the United States, and thwart their concept of confrontation.

In short: everything we do must, in accordance with our party's basic foreign policy principle, be aimed at insuring the most beneficial external conditions for the continued successful implementation of the SED Program.

Second, the basic organizations and excutive party organs ought to concentrate on seeing to it that the 10th party congress preparations will continue to stand, mainly, under the sign of the mass struggle for economically strengthening the GDR. The most important precondition for it is that the communists move ahead through a most personal dedication and involve all GDR citizens in our competition under the slogan "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!"

It is decisive significantly to boost our economic efficiency capacity, to exceed our planned industrial output in 1980 by two additional daily production volumes gained mainly from material saved, and to insure the fulfillment of all other plan positions day after day.

Fulfilling obligations made in honor of the 10th party congress must be a matter of honor for each collective. Constant controls should be exercised about it, and no curtailment of it must be permitted. It is a matter of a frank, critical public accounting for everyday struggle and plan fulfillment, the development of scientific-technical progress, the struggle for high export achievements and all other tasks that become the premise for securing what has thus far been achieved under party leadership and gradually improving the people's material and cultural standard of living despite the changed external conditions.

Further Raising the SED's Leadership Role

Third, the party elections are to be aimed at further raising the party's leadership role and bolstering its fighting strength. That presupposes still more conscious activity on the part of each party member.

The task of achieving the pace of the 1980's in all public domains principally is a demand for more efficient management of social processes by the party. That requires that all party managements strictly abide by our politics and economics. The main prerequisites for that are deeply penetrating the Central Committee resolutions, collectivity of management and a more complex management style. This involves the capacity to raise and settle all questions from the standpoint of party work, the work with people and their political education.

It requires always closely connecting long-range tasks with topical issues of the day. Every management collective should always be aware of the effects any decision made may have, so that it will advance development in its own area.

It requires always gaging the quality of management activity against social progress, the development of people, the plan fulfillment, the implementation of the ninth party congress and Central Committee resolutions altogether. Which means: words and deeds must conform in party work and management activity, and there must be firm consistency between decision-making, implementation of decisions, their control and the critical assessment of what was accomplished.

It requires that management activity conform to the Leninist principle that socialism is born and grows only as an effort of the mass of millions. Therefore, it should in every respect aim at a still closer connection between the party and the working people, at constantly deepening the relationship of trust between party, workers class and people. That calls for effective activity by our comrades in the mass organizations, state organs and National Front commissions, so that our well tested Marxist-Leninist alliance policy will continue to be brought to realization.

And it requires, in conformity with the higher demands of the 1980's, that management activity still more strongly affect the substance and scope of volunteer work, the development of the party activists' groups.

We endorse the opinions of party secretaries and comrades from bezirk and kreis managements to the effect that resolutions passed at reporting election meetings and delegates conferences are useful for continued effective work, provided they are brief, include the whole period up to the 10th congress, and do not repeat what has already been resolved.

Fine Accomplishments Boost Our Optimism

It is characteristic of the nature of our Marxist-Leninist party that party elections always are combined with thoroughly accounting for what has been accomplished, a balancing of accounts before the party collective and the elected managements as well as each individual communist and party group. The 1980/81 party elections must everywhere be treated as an occasion for thoroughly settling accounts about the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions and the basic organizations' campaign programs immediately prior to the 10th party congress.

There are sufficient concrete facts for presenting our accomplishments in implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions. They range from the efforts on behalf of the safeguarding of peace and the stronger material-technical base of our socialist state all the way to the importantly improved standard of living, the working people's working and living conditions. That is reflected in every work collective and every family.

Thus we will have optimistic status reports informing the course of the party elections. They will convey pride in what we have jointly accomplished and a new sense of strength. And yet they will not ignore the problems that still exist and that make clear to us all the more in the basic organizations how great the tasks are that have to be solved while we are moving toward the 10th party congress and in implementation of the resolutions we must expect of it.

The Value of Balancing Our Accounts

It is sure, and all party organizations ought to proceed from this, that the educational and progressive value of settling accounts will be all the greater the more the preparation of a successful balance-sheet strengthens the communists and all working people in their conviction that we have solid foundations for the further implementation of our party's people-oriented policy, the more clearly the methods and experiences that have led to fine results in the struggle for plan fulfillment and in other areas become visible for everyone and can be generalized, and no cloak of secrecy is spread over the still extant differences in the working levels of various party and work collectives but, as a condition for changes, problems are thoroughly analyzed and critically and frankly referred to for what they are.

The Best of Today To Become the Standard for All

Not only during party elections but always, one of the decisive aspects of management activity in the bezirk and kreis managements, and of party work in the basic organizations, is to concentrate still more strongly on the experience of the best workers and to turn them, constantly and by various means, into the common property of all.

The seminar the Central Committee sponsored for the combine directors and party organizers, the Seventh Construction Conference and the Fifth University Conference conveyed important and basic criteria and experiences for our work that retain their central importance for the activity of all basic organizations and party organs and ought to inform the party elections so we can tap additional important performance reserves.

In connection with that, the experiences from personal conversations during the party document check and the best methods for congress initiatives are to be thoroughly analyzed and, especially, the conditions are to be made visible under which the finest advances can be achieved in party and mass activities. What will continue to be true for the future is that is does not pay just to talk about good experiences.

To disseminate the best experiences, management must mainly be thoroughly familiar with them and must know how the higher achievements were accomplished, what the means for them were, and what ideological work was required for them. And what becomes important then is to organize experience exchange--expediently, concretely and supportively. That approach will meet the demand from Comrade Erich Honecker to turn the best of today into the public standards for all in preparation of the 10th party congress.

The Communists' Great Responsibility

Each basic organization should consider it its task that the fine development of intra-party democracy instills still greater responsibility in each comrade with regard to his duties and each of them struggles still more consciously and with high party discipline for the implementation of the resolutions.

Above all the membership meetings should provide a still more crucial leverage for the shaping of intra-party life. There are sufficient experiences available to that end. That pertains to making the speeches held in the membership meetings vivid and interesting so that they address the real situation and the problems and concerns of the comrades and call a spade a spade. It also means a party-minded, frank atmosphere in the discussion and a concrete manner of decision-making which will enable all communists to implement the party resolutions consciously and successfully.

What matters in particular during the party elections is to enable every communist to meet the growing demands of the 1980's. Criteria for that mainly are that a comrade stands up daily as an initiator and model in socialist competition and constantly sends out creative impulses to all colleagues; that every comrade struggles actively as an innovator for highest efficiency to make science and technology still more productive; and that it must rate as an accepted fact for communists not to close their eyes to unjustified consumption of material, time and money but unrelentingly fight against any such manifestations.

And mainly also, among these criteria is the comrades' duty, set down in the Party Statute, to respond aggressively yet patiently to any questions that concern the working people while making each of them feel they can always turn to them confidently and frankly with any of their problems.

Such an attitude conforms with Lenin's advice for firmly connecting the communists with the masses, when he emphasized: living in the midst of it, being familiar with moods, knowing everything, understanding the people, knowing how to approach them and how to gain their absolute confidence.

Stability and Continuity in Personnel Policy

This year's party elections also gain their special importance by our electing managements that are expected to be able to do full justice to the requirements for directly preparing the 10th party congress and to the implementation of its resolutions.

The work with functionaries during the party elections will play an important role in two respects. For one thing, what will come under advisement is that the sort of comrades, both male and female, are chosen for the new managements who on account of their exemplary public activities and their work performance, and of their selfless dedication to the implementation of the people-related party policy, enjoy great respect and constantly work for an unshakable relationship of trust between the party and the masses.

Second, the development of functionaries is part of our positive balance-sheet and remains a key problem for coping with the tasks of the party and of all society in the 1980's. It will be possible to demonstrate everywhere that the successful development of the SED and the GDR also is an unequivocal proof for the correct application of the Marxist-Leninist personnel policy.

The growth and maturation process of our party as well as the fine political and technical training of the communists and the correct ratio between battle-tested senior party members and young comrades in our ranks place us in the position where we can always select those functionaries for managements and functions who will be able to meet the higher demands of the future also.

With all this great political activity in preparation of the 10th party congress, the improving level of intra-party life, and the admission of 50,000 new comrades within the framework of the FDJ initiative for the 10th party congress, the broad reservoir is becoming stronger and wider from which the SED selects its functionaries and systematically forms and develops them. It is important for all basic organizations to include in the further selection and development of functionaries also those comrades who, in the struggle for high achievements in honor of the 10th party congress, distinguish themselves by special initiatives and lead the way among the working people.

We stay with the well-tested principle always to watch that the functionaries are ideologically strengthened, watch their education in the practice of party struggle, their deep solidarity with the workers class, their political and technical capability, the securing of stability in the chosen managements and the coninuity in their composition.

Each party collective will always also think of the future and see to it that a healthy ratio is preserved in the managements between older, battle-tested and experienced party functionaries and young, more impetuous comrades, coming mainly

out of the FDJ. And an expression of management continuity based on purposeful personnel work also is to make sure that the proportion of women in management functions rises steadily.

A Step That Strengthens Our Party

Through the party elections under the sign of the 10th party congress preparations essential prerequisites are created in all public domains for new advances. They will be all the greater, the more responsibly the party organization managements and all communist take the lead among the working people in our country in the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions. The 1980/81 party elections are an important step for further strengthening our Marxist-Leninist party.

Guarding Against Ideological Diversion

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 20, 1980 signed to press 16 Oct 80 pp 773-778

[Article by Werner Scholz, editor-in-chief of NEUER WEG, organ of the SED Central Committee: "Comrades Set Standards for Themselves for the 1980's"]

[Text] Our party and that means each individual comrade are in the midst of the 1980/81 party elections. The reporting election meetings are an occasion for accounting for the implementation of the resolutions and for deciding on the tasks in the time up to the 10th party congress.

The course of the elections thus far once again confirms the unshakable trust all communists have in our party policy, aimed as it is at the good of the people, and it confirms their firm ties with the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. The basic organizations, and the members and candidates in the election events, are setting new high goals for themselves.

Meetings and decisions focus on the basic party election concern formulated in the Central Committee election directive of "politically-ideologically orienting the party organizations and all comrades to the requirements of the 1980's, creating the best conditions for successfully continuing the people-related party policy, and organizing the 10th SED Congress preparation, at a time of great initiative and mass struggle, for economic performance improvement, to secure the standard of living achieved and continue also in the future raising the people's standard of living step by step."

Shaping Further Our Party's Leadership Role

For our further party work that means: the fighting strength of the party organizations must be bolstered in all public domains, the communists' uniform, cohesive actions must be furthered, their mass solidarity be deepened and thus, our party's leadership role be shaped further. The democratic character and future-bearing content of the elections turns them into more than a high point in party activity. Their strength of radiation leads to new initiatives in socialist competition and solidifies the close relationship of confidence between the working people and the party. Based on our accomplishments and oriented to high criteria, now, during the

party elections, accurate determinations are made about the contribution from each comrade and each party organization to the further implementation of SED policy. Such an approach conforms with the SED Program and Statute which predetermine the essential content of the political activity of the party organizations and of each communist over the long run, i.e., in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in creating the prerequisites for the transition to communism.

The magnitude of our tasks and the conditions of our struggle bring it about that the demands made on the communists in the construction of socialism/communism grow constantly as the party's leadership role is inevitably also growing.

High Expectations Placed on Every Party Member

The farther the socialist revolution advances in the GDR and the more mature the developed socialist society becomes, the more precise and sharply accentuated becomes the image of communist personality, and the greater are the expectations for anyone belonging to the vanguard of the class. Each party member senses continuously how much of a commitment it is to be a communist.

To the extent that our society develops and matures, the demands are growing that are made on class consciousness, voluntary discipline, revolutionary fighting spirit, creative activity, power of political conviction, solidary attitudes and selfless conduct of the communist. That is a concrete and everyday object of party education in the basic organizations. And how that is practically done is evidenced in the election meetings in the party groups and basic organizations.

In the training and education of their members and candidates, the party organizations are more and more concerned about all-round educated, actively engaged political communist personalities, revolutionary fighters. More strongly gaging the substance of party education also for personality development and the socialist way of life against the aims assigned in the Program and the Statute is a topical and permanent demand made on the work of all party organizations. The course of the party elections corroborates that the party is becoming increasingly more skillful in shaping that kind of comrade. It is proven above all by the initiators in the competition in honor of the 10th party congress, the communists who are leading the mass struggle for economic efficiency improvements. Yet, as many exemplary comrades have underscored, it is no longer enough today "merely" to set a shining example in production. They know from their own experience that innovations do not prevail spontaneously, however convincing the advantage from an initiative or a competition method, such as the "notes on the plan" or the Schwedt Initiative, "Fewer Produce More," may appear to be.

A communist is an initiator to the extent that he not only develops a new idea creatively and materializes it through what he then does. Included in his being an innovator also is that he will politically motivate what he does convincingly. An innovation will not prevail unless he and his comrades propagate it adquately and organize its massive application.

The Role of the Communist Today

What makes the role of the communist visible today in the reporting election meetings? Four characteristic aspects of his activity come to the fore which are closely interconnected:

First of all, a communist is a staunch advocate of our world-outlook in everyday political conversations. Such conversations go on everywhere regardless of whether or not a comrade get them started or even is around. Our times are agitated enough to raise questions every day and to demand answers. The class conflicts in the international arena, social development in our republic and industrial events set the theme for our debates in the work collective day after day.

Advancing the Better Arguments

And the enemy's ideological diversion enters into these debates too. It would, after all, not be the imperialism of the FRG we know, were it ever to cease its daily subtle, vicious and mendacious attacks against socialism. For the comrade, the question to be answered is this: How can the substance and take-off of everyday political conversations within the work collective be determined by their class-bound position such that the conviction of the superiority of socialism and of the correctness of party and government policy be reinforced?

To advance the better arguments, aggressively to set the topic and to lead the colleagues from their correct understanding to acts that strengthen socialism, therein lies our comrades' mission as advocates of our ideology and policy. How to fulfill this mission is what the reporting election meetings are discussing in detail. The comrades are discussing how they can, with an eye to the demands of the 1980's, make better use of the membership meetings, party group conferences, the party study year and the party's educational facilities for talking about what the most convincing argument is. They talk about the ways and means of arguing successfully. Party education is effectively being aimed at helping each comrade in explaining party policy in his work collective in a party-minded fashion, aggressively, relevantly and, thus, understandably.

There is a great range of diversification here. To get beyond that is the substance of resolutions in the reporting election meetings. What is needed, for example, is to give more of an explanation of party policy in its entirety, of the dialectics between domestic and foreign policy, i.e., of the inevitable interconnections. On that, the direction of the agitators in the party collectives is to become more flexible, always determined by exigencies following from topical events or the plan situation in the enterprise. The party school year propagandists are to be helped more in deriving from the basic themes arguments for everyday political conversations in the circles. There also are growing demands at this time for deepening the comrades' needs for thorough self-study.

Resolutely Advocating the Class Position

The basic organizations understand that the slogan, "Wherever There Is a Comrade, There Also Is the Party, and the Most Convincing Arguments Are There Too," is a political mission for the communists to fulfill their work in the work collective and a mission on behalf of the goals and substance of party education.

That slogan calls for a communist who, steeled ideologically, always and irrevocably advocates the party's class position and lets himself not get irritated by enemy propaganda lies and slander, being convinced of the correctness and triumph of our cause, one who surrenders not even one ideological position of the party but constantly conquers new ones.

The mission for the members and cadidates has already always been to stand by party policy by word and deed. For that reason a communist, second, is a man with exemplary achievements in his work, an excellent expert in his field, a best worker. Here we see that the following objection might be raise: comrades who are doing highly recognized work are many, but best workers--are there not still too few of them? True enough, these are not all of them, but what some already are presents a task for the others. So that the experienes of the best workers of today become the social standard for all, the election meetings are considering how the communist are proceeding in this respect.

Political Stance and Motives

At times, when election meetings are discussing the best workers, it is but one aspect of their activities that much is made of: they gave birth to a new initiative, their idea has taken off, many seek to emulate them and themselves turn into best workers. The economic benefit is being computed. That does not do full justice to the magnitude of the performance, to the model role of such comrades. For is it not so that a high political awareness stands behind such deeds, and socialist morality and the unshakable will to make a contribution to the class conflict with imperialism? For that reason many basic organizations are deliberating on how the best workers can be given a strong political and moral support from the entire party collective and the public.

Many election meetings pay tribute to the outstanding performance by members and candidates in plan fulfillment and in making scientific-technical progress prevail. Much is made of the political motivation of these communists who are living up to the demanding tasks of the Party Statute. That fosters labor ethics and the awareness of the people concerned. And such an approach also contributes to political and technical education, to strengthening character, to creating a healthy climate in the collective of all comrades.

Confidence Must Be Won Daily Anew

Third, a communist is the people's steward. Only that confidence is not handed over with the party card, nor is it tied to any particular function. Confidence must be won daily anew. How then does a comrade acquire the confidence of his colleagues?

The election meetings make much of exemplary work and of the strength of conviction in the arguments, the unity of words and deeds in the comrades' daily life. Added to that is consistently advocating the workers' interests--as far as the whole is concerned as well as in the individual case in the brigade. From that the task is derived to see to a healthy and confident climate in the work collective.

Many comrades describe in the discussions that this, not last, depends on how well the production process is organized, on uninterrupted and effective production, so that the worker feels well.

How well things are going every day for the worker on his job is a political question in the view of the party organizations because, after all, it is tied up not only with the production organization capabilities any management functionaries have in a given enterprise. Also it always is the prestige of the planned economy, the respect our party enjoys, and its ability to provide political leadership for economic processes that are the focal point of the public, the testing stand, as it were.

Strengthening the confident relations between communists and unaffiliated also means paying full attention to the advice, suggestions and criticism from the working people. Experiences of many party managements demonstrate that petitions are evidence of trust. And the manner in which we deal with petitions goes a long way in determining whether trust is strengthened or diminished.

And that applies not only to our dealing with the unaffiliated. Equally important is that advice, suggestions and criticism from the comrades are carefully registered, conscientiously processes and as rapidly implemented as possible. In the election meetings, for instance, extensive account is given on how suggestions made in talks during the document checks are used for improving the work of the basic organizations. Thereby each and every member feels: the word from the comrade, from the worker, means something, it is wanted and respected, it is of weight. In sensitively dealing with the citizens', the working colleagues', concerns, in the stubborn and rigorous representation of the workers' interests, a comrade realizes another aspect of his function in the work collective.

Properly Guiding the Unaffiliated

Then there is, finally, the communist as a leader. The basic organizations view the leader, for one thing, as a member of a party management, a party functionary, in the mass organizations, the state apparatus and the economy. But on the other hand, a communist is a leader in the sense that he, whether or not he exercises an election function, commands a leadership function as a member of the vanguard of the workers class. After all, everywhere, and especially within the work collective, he is surrounded by unaffiliated workers whom he has to guide, attract to the implementation of the party resolutions, whom he has to mobilize.

In this regard too, the demands made on the communists are growing in the 1980's. Because solving the social, and particularly the great economic policy, tasks is a challenge the communists will meet.

Fulfilling the Resolutions Without Reservation

For that reason many party missions resolved in the election meetings aim at promoting far-sigthedness and the courage for taking risks, at developing the ability to lead the work collectives in their struggle for top performances, at inspiring them and welding them together. There then grows the unlimited intention of many communists not to admit any curtailment of the plan or of the party resolutions, and to organize their unconditional struggle for each tenth of percent of production increase.

This is what is shown in the reporting election meetings of the party: to be a communist in the work collective under the demands of the 1980's demands of a comrade to be a good advocate of our world-outlook and policy, to be a best worker and, as a steward of the people, bring an active influence to bear on social development and guide the awareness and efforts of his work colleagues toward the fulfillment of the party goals.

Resolution on Party Progress

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 22, 1980 signed to press 13 Nov 80 pp 867-869

[Resolution of the SED Central Committee Secretariat of 29 October 1980: "Statement of the SED Central Committee Secretariat on the Report of the SED Weissenfels Kreis Management on 'Experiences in Carrying Out the Party Elections in the Basic Party Organizations'"]

[Text] Results and experiences in the party elections thus far impressively document the greater maturity, fighting strength and mass solidarity of the SED Weissenfels Kreis organization in the creative implementation of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions. The reporting election meetings are characterized by a combative, optimistic and constructive atmosphere and by frank debate in the collective discussion of the basic organizations' further tasks in the preparation of the 10th SED Congress.

The basic statements by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker before the party activists in Gera have met with wide agreement from the communists and citizens in the kreis and sparked new activities in all public domains on behalf of the all-round strengthening of the GDR, of socialism and of peace. Kreis Management has organized to that end a thorough study and discussion on the broadest basis and drawn its own conclusions from it for party and mass activity.

In various ways the party members and the working people express their agreement with the SED policy for peace, detente and disarmament and express their gratitude for the course of the main task, which is directed at full employment and public well-being, growth and stability. With the party elections the party collectives underscore their readiness to continue in actively supporting this target-directed Marxist-Leninist course through disciplined, honest and productive work on every job and by defending it against any enemy attacks.

Impressively the 3.3 days of a plan lead in industry and the thus far highest yields in crop production, achieved in Weissenfels Kreis through its socialist competition in honor of the 10th party congress, reflect the mass-mobilizing effect of the slogan: "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!"

For the further implementation of the party elections in the basic organizations and for preparing the kreis delegates conference, the Central Committee Secretariat of Weissenfels Kreis Management recommends that we concentrate mainly on the following tasks:

(1) By analyzing the speech in Gera by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, full understanding for the strategy and tactics of our policy is to be obtained from all communists and working people so as to equip them for the qualitatively new requirements resulting for our carrying on the socialist revolution for strengthening the workers and farmers power in the GDR and from the new conditions in the international class struggle.

Therefore the leadership work of kreis management mainly must work out the specific contribution of Weissenfels Kreis to worthily preparing the 10th SED Congress and attaining the pace of the 1980's and creating the managerial prerequisites for it.

A realistic assessment of the situation, a scientific and mass-related working style and a responsible assumption of collective and personal responsibility in the complex implementation of the party resolutions are important requirements for a higher level of party work.

Through preparing the kreis delegates conference, firm campaign positions are to be created that insure an all-round fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan tasks and competition objectives for 1980, a good start for the 1981 plan year and the requisite high improvement in economic efficiency.

(2) It must be insured for all party collectives to make concrete and accountable determinations on how to organize frank and effective political-ideological work which will further deepen the party's dialog with the people on topical domestic and foreign policy issues and draw every communist into everyday political talks at the places where he works and lives.

This demands further deepening the citizens' knowledge of the inevitabilities and interconnections in the development of the GDR and in the world and, time and time again, providing them with a confidence in victory, optimism and a feeling of strength for the all-round strengthening of their socialist home by using examples of a sound balance of our economic and social policy in their own concrete areas of life. The main thing that matters is to champion our party policy from a firm position and smashing any enemy agitation by our own aggressive agitprop.

Enabled and employed in a target-directed manner for that must be the party, state, and economic functionaries, the deputies and the functionaries in the mass organizations and on the GDR National Front commissions.

Proceeding from an extensive familiarity with moods and opinions, Weissenfels Kreis Management ought to analyze more thoroughly the diversities in the citizens' state of awareness and more rapidly cope with the specific demands resulting from that for our political mass activities.

Kreis Management also should consider it an important task to enable the socialist intelligentsia in comprehending the new criteria and making them the basis for their creative work. School party organizations should receive special support so that the pedagogs always have what it takes in their school policy and educational work with the parents and the pupils.

The important cultural resources in the kreis should still more strongly be used for developing an active intellectual-cultural life in preparation of the 10th party congress.

Those party organizations that are engaged in public areas like the local state organs and the supply economy, whose activities directly affect the development of working and living conditions and the consolidation of socialist democracy, must be given special help in doing justice to the work with the citizens and conscientiously and rapidly reacting to their suggestions, recommendations and criticism.

An important task in further consolidating the party's relations with the masses is to familiarize the enterprise and work collectives well with the resolutions and objectives of the reporting election meetings and involve them in their implementation.

(3) Proceeding from the criteria of the Zeiss workers in Jena and their concrete application in the kreis, as demonstrated by the initiative of the collectives in the VEB Banner of Freedom Shoe Factory, efforts in all enterprises are to be aimed at exceeding the 1981 plan tasks in industrial and sales commodity production by one percent, by which to accomplish an additional one-day output by mainly using saved materials up to the 10th SED Congress.

The experiences and results of the basic organization of the Burgwerben crop production LPG in struggling for highest yields are to be generalized in preparation of the kreis delegates conference. The drop in yields that exists in the kreis must be further reduced, whereby a crucial performance reserve will be tapped.

Greater efforts are to be made in the enterprises of the shoe combine and of the furniture and metal-working industry in the kreis to advance more rapidly in the scientific-technical field, increase labor productivity beyond the normal measure, improve the quality and efficiency of production and, through territorial rationalization, tap additional reserves of their own for the production of consumer goods and finished products for the populace and for export.

(4) In the outcome of the reporting election meetings and the delegates conferences, the level of intra-party life and party influence ought to be thoroughly assessed, and the kreis delegates conference should draw the necessary inferences from it for further strengthening their fighting strength. Great attention should there be given to conscientious and effective aid for the party groups, high-level instruction and training for the newly elected party managements and further improvements in the level of the membership meetings.

Individual party management work with the members and candidates must become regular procedure of the work in all party organizations.

Personal conversations--as the experiences in the document check have taught us--are a proven method for conferring with the comrades about the growing requirements and how to cope with them, for using their experiences and further enhancing their activities.

In carrying on the FDJ party congress initiative, we must more resolutely see to it that party influence is increasingly insured in all youth brigades, enterprises, production cooperatives and the animal production facilities.

(5) The kreis delegates conference, on the basis of the Central Committee election directive, must politically be prepared and organized in such a way that it will perform a creative and concrete contribution to further implementing the tasks referred to in Comrade Erich Honecker's Gera speech and the implementation tasks for the 1981 economic plan.

This deeper understanding of the new tasks and conditions of the 1980's must be reflected in the quality of the status reports and the creative discussions as well as in the concreteness of the kreis delegates conference resolution.

The kreis delegates conference has to make a vital contribution to steeling the comrades ideologically and turning them into fighters for the implementation of the party resolutions and for improving the level of political mass activity.

At the kreis delegates conference the competition initiatives and the commitments made in honor of the 10th party congress have to be evaluated, high dedication is to be paid tribute to, and those party and work collectives are to be aided which do not yet meet the criteria set adequately. For that reason the forum of the kreis delegates conference is to be used for an important exchange of experience leading to the application of the best performance and work methods.

That also lays important foundations for the campaign programs of the basic organizations about which the party collectives should make decisions immediately after the kreis delegates conference.

The kreis delegates conference decides on the contribution the kreis is to make to worthily preparing the 10th SED Congress. Precise determinations are wanted for the political-ideological, economic and intellectual-cultural demands made on the party organizations, state organs and all social forces for the all-round fulfillment of the 1981 economic plan. The main emphasis tasks needed for it should be stated briefly and succinctly.

The suggestions, recommendations and criticism proposed during the plan discussion and the party elections by the party members and working people are to be analyzed at the kreis delegates conference. Their implementation is to be assessed and to be used for the benefit of management activity.

Text of Directive

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 14, 1980 signed to press 10 Jul 80 'Party Documents' supplement pp 1-24

[Resolution of the 12th Plenum of the SED Central Committee of 22 May 1980: "Directive of the SED Central Committee for Carrying Out the 1980-1981 Party Elections"]

[Text] The 1980-81 party elections come wholly under the sign of the preparation for the 10th SED Congress. All party organizations are coming up with balance-sheets on how the Ninth SED Congress resolutions have been realized, and they are preparing the communists for the time to come. The 11th and 12th Central Committee plena and the Central Committee Secretariat conference with the kreis 1st secretaries assigned the concrete tasks for it.

The party election's basic concern is to direct the party organizations and all comrades politically-ideologically at the requirements for the 1980's, create the best conditions for successfully carrying on the people-related party policy, and organize the preparation for the 10th SED Congress at a time of great initiative and mass struggle for economic efficiency improvements, so as to insure the people's material and cultural standard of living and elevating it step by step in the future also. In all public domains we must consolidate the fighting strength of the party organizations, foster the communists' unified and cohesive actions, deepen their solidarity with the masses and thereby raise our Marxist-Leninist party's leadership role.

Based on what has been achieved and oriented to high criteria, we must significantly enlarge each comrade's and each party organization's contribution to the continued implementation of the SED Program in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan.

The magnitude and historic scope of the tasks to be resolved through the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and in the class conflict with imperialism call for high-level political-ideological work. What is especially important is to obtain a full understanding of the tasks to be resolved from all citizens and to occupy firm positions in the struggle, so as to fully exhaust all material and intellectual resources for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. The outcome of the party document check is a valuable aid in enhancing the communists' political activities and the quality of political leadership activities of all executive party organs.

I. Proceeding from the Firm Positions of Our Accomplishments, All Party Collectives Are Focusing on the Demands of the 1980's and Improve the Mass Effectiveness of the Political-ideological Work

The party elections are an occasion for giving account of the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions. They serve the goal of making all party members and candidates focus on the changed conditions under which in the 1980's the further shaping of the developed socialist society proceeds in the GDR. Based on our overall social balance-sheet, we have to evaluate the share of any given party and work collective cogently, and inspiring new deeds. Each party organization should find its honor in conscientiously fulfilling the tasks in its area of responsibility and creating firm positions of struggle and the necessary preconditions for it.

It is important for all party collectives to demonstrate impressively how the appearance of the GDR and the life of the people change through our economic and social policy. In this, the fine results of the arduous efforts of the working people for the implementation of our party policy, directed at the good of the people as it is, are to be used to awaken optimism, pride, and a sense of strength for new breakthrough activities in preparation of the 10th party congress.

A priority concern of the party elections is to strengthen the party and work collectives in the conviction that the GDR has solid foundations for coping with the future tasks. That includes, above all, our close fighting community with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, our stable material-technical base, our socialist planned economy, impressive results of our economic and social policy, our working people's well tested dedication, and the reliable protection of our socialist achievements.

In the course of the party elections, the communists have to be well familiarized with the party's strategy and tactics based on the party program, and their knowledge must be further deepened about inevitabilities and interconnections in our country and in the world. What matters more than ever is to make fully prevail socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in all citizens as their unshakable basic stance and as an essential impulse for unselfish work and high achievements for strengthening socialism.

We have to make all working people aware that the intensifying class conflict between socialism and imperialism and the changed conditions resulting therefrom are a challenge to boosting the growth of our efficiency above the measure usual up to this point. For that the crucial chainlink is combining more effectively the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. He who himself makes the highest demands on the quality and efficiency of his work proves himself a socialist revolutionary.

Every comrade should see to it that a good political climate prevails in his work collective where initiative, creative contest and high dedication can fully unfold. Combative passion and intolerance to deficiencies are as much included in it as is the determination to surmount difficulties and obstacles.

The proven principle, "Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party as well," holds true for the political life of each communist. Here word and deed are firmly interlinked, and the working people's trust in party policy is translated into high achievements for the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

The task of the reporting election meetings and of the delegates conferences is to pick up everything progressive that leads us onward, and use it for strengthening the efficiency of the GDR, based on the working people's high knowledge and skills. The state managers in particular should be enabled more and more to create, through the greatest circumspection and determination, the necessary conditions for creative contests for highest achievements, for the acceleration of economic growth and the boosting of labor productivity.

It greatly depends on knowing how to approach the concrete goals that tasks are informed with a sense of responsibility, personal dedication and a wealth of ideas. Every manager is expected to assume his personal responsibility for an extensive unfolding of socialist democracy and for regularly informing, and rendering accounts to, the work collectives.

The struggle for safeguarding peace occupies an important spot in the party organizations' ideological activity. This has now become the central issue for the future of mankind and for the international class struggle.

For that reason the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences must help make the comrades aware of their responsibility in these conflicts and foster their readiness to do everything for the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

In the confident dialog between the party and the people it is important to prove by the best arguments the superiority and increasing international influence of socialism, deepen the solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and strengthen anti-imperialist bonds. At the same time our task is to expose the crimes and ills of crisis in imperialism. Along with all of this, we have to shield the citizens from any ideological enemy influences. The exacerbation of the international situation by imperialism, especially the United States, and its military threats, economic embargoes and boycotts which mark the policy for making a transition from detente to confrontation, place growing demands on our political-ideological work.

We must unmask the antihuman U.S. imperialist policy with its risks to peace and the objectives of NATO's high mobilization. It is deeply anchored in the awareness of the masses that FRG imperialism functions as the chief whip of the Brussels missile resolutions, as the strongest ally of U.S. imperialism in Western Europe, and is unscrupulously engaged in its aggressive policy.

What is important in particular is resolutely to turn back imperialism's anti-communist and anti-Sovietist agitation, reveal the causes for its having exacerbated the international situation, and expose the anti-detente nature of its course. All party members are to be reinforced, by word and deed, in their basic stance to the effect that "wherever a communist is at work, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have no influence at all."

Aggressive political mass activities require that the party organizations know precisely at all times what moves the people, always explain political events from a firm class position, provide the comrades with cogent arguments, and argue faster than the enemy. That also calls for resolutely facing the class enemy's rumors and provocations.

It is an obvious duty for each communist to talk frankly and sympathetically with youth about all matters brought up by our struggle for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace.

There must always stand in the party's field of vision the work with the young generation in its whole breadth--its class-bound education, fostering its love for work and its drive for revolutionary deeds, its readiness for the defense of socialism and its diversified intellectual-cultural and sports interests. Thus the party collectives should deliberate on how the FDJ organizations can be assisted in their acitivities so that the FDJ increasingly prove itself as the helper and fighting reserve of the SED.

II. The Party Elections Are Aimed at Preparing the 10th SED Congress Through New Revolutionary Deeds and High Achievements for Future Economic Growth

All party organizations and every communist have the task, in preparation for the 10th SED Congress, to develop a broad mass movement for the all-round strengthening

and consolidation of our workers and farmers power. The executive party organs and basic organizations are called upon conscientiously to assess the results and experiences throughout the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions and resolutely approach the implementation of the goals that are crucial to higher achievements in their spheres of responsibility and make possible a high increase in national revenue, in the available end product. The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences will set down to that end the focal points of their struggle and decide how the whole creativity of the communists and the working people's wealth of ideas are fully brought to bear on it and reserves are tapped to an unprecedented extent. They will purposefully direct their political-ideological and organizational work at such fundamental tasks of intensification as obtaining scientific-technical top achievements and a rapid economic utilization of them, a better utilization of our energy and raw material base and of basic assets, and the most rational manpower employment.

Special promotion is warranted for all competition initiatives that guarantee a steep boost of labor productivity, make possible for 1980 a commodity production in excess of the plan tasks at the magnitude of two working days, primarily through material saving, dropping below allocated costs.

Growing importance attaches to the deepening of socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA member countries. In this field too it is important to turn efficiency and quality into the criterion for our work and realize all tasks proper as to contracts and scheduled deadlines agreed on. This requires thoroughly to compute the input/output of any integration measure and base the plans on that.

At that the party organizations have to direct their party control.

It is a matter of honor for each party collective and each communist reliably to fulfill, day after day, all economic plan tasks. The reporting election meetings assess how the objectives are reached in the party organizations' campaign programs and how conscientiously the obligations in socialist competition are met. The party organizations devote all their strength to creating good preconditions for starting the 1981 plan by their fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the 1980 economic plan, and thus also for the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan. In the contest for the Central Committee's banner of honor, the party organizations mobilize the working people for new revolutionary acts and high achievements.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences deliberate and decide how, in honor of the 10th SED Congress, the completion of objects, projects and new products can be guaranteed in accordance with the plan and ahead of time, as they serve to strengthen the GDR's material-technical base, secure the living standard achieved, and raise, step by step, the people's material and cultural standard of living for the future as well.

Based on a thorough analysis of the achievements of the best workers and of the conditions under which they are brought about, the reporting election meetings deliberate on and decide concrete measures for the study, all-round dissemination and broad application of proven work and management experiences.

Because of the economic importance of the industrial and construction combines, their party organizations bear a special responsibility for fully utilizing the possibilities inherent in these large eocnomic units. They determine how the best expriences of these well functioning combines throughout the years are to be applied, the speed in approximating their progressive level can be accelerated, and it is made sure that the concentrated strength all combine enterprises provide for dynamic economic efficiency improvements makes itself still more felt.

Through experience exchange, performance comparisons and various other forms of making experience available, we must overcome the essential differences in the development of the level and speed of performance and tap reserves at new orders of magnitude.

The trade unions, these schools of socialism, have to assume greater responsibility in this process. The party collectives will discuss how the comrades in the trade unions can bring a more effective influence to bear on developing the working people's willingness for performance and innovations. Each creative idea has to be respected and fully used as a thing of value.

The main thing, however, is to take better account of the political function of socialist competition as the field in which the working people exercise power and actively participate in economic management and planning. Scientific labor organization has to be furthered. Growing attention is required for the shaping of all-round educated personalities, the development of the socialist way of life, and the strengthening of a socialist attitude toward work and public property.

The dedication of the working youth, mainly the youth brigades, must be channeled at those competition objectives which accelerate scientific-technical progress and lead to a rapid improvement of the quality and efficiency of labor. The movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the innovator movement of the young workers and young scientists ought to be aimed still more at the realization of the science and technology plans.

The party organiations find as the focal point of their work the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the crucial chainlink for improving the GDR's economic efficiency.

In the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences, they will conscientiously analyze the situation in this field, critically examine the targets up to now, and make sure that tasks are assigned that meet the new requirements. It is of special significance - here to achieve top performances on a broad basis, put R&D data more rapidly into production, and utilize them in large volume.

In their party-education work, the party organizations urge the comrades to be willing to gage their own performance implacably against world standards and to make stricter demands on the elaboration and implementation of the science and technology plans and on their duty notebooks.

The party organizations will still more effectively influence socialist cooperative procedures between R&D, design, technology and production and among combines, enterprises, science institutions and universities, so that an economically noticeable rationalization thrust is achieved as rapidly as possible. Those political-

ideological and organizational tasks will have to be worked out the solution of which serves to boost the technical and technological level of production thoroughly and further improve the working people's working and living conditions. To be accelerated on a priority basis here are the development and use of microelectronics, the use of industrial robots and of electronic computer technology, and the quantitative as well as qualitative development of the construction of their own means of rationalization.

What mainly has to come under party control is that through the development and introduction of modern technologies and procedures top commodities are produced in large numbers and with the lowest costs, and jobs, manpower and working time are saved in new magnitudes. Especially with respect to this the party organizations are analyzing the outcome of the struggle for improving investment efficiency. They are setting down measures to insure a greater performance increase as rapidly as possible from every mark invested.

In combative impatience the party organizations continuously are seeking new ways for improving labor efficiency and economically handling all material and financial funds. The communists must provide the decisive impulses in their work collectives for frankly and honestly coming to grips with all those factors that obstruct the full capacity use of working hours and basic assets. No party organization must dodge complicated tasks or tolerate a liberal attitude toward deficiencies and weaknesses.

In their reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the comrades thoroughly discuss how the energy and materials economy can be significantly improved. Obsolete ideas and outdated norms for the use of material funds must be surmounted there fast. It mainly is necessary greatly to reduce the specific consumption of energy sources, largely to replace heating oil as fuel by soft coal, and perceptibly to diminish Diesel and carburator fuel consumption by more rational transport technologies and by optimizing transportation routes. And no routine handling is to be permitted in this field.

Especially the communists in the R&D collectives and other production-preparation areas help reduce significantly the raw material and material consumption through improved volume-performance ratios and material and energy-saving designs, techniques and procedures and help attain a higher degree of refinement for all raw materials. In all economic areas the comrades see to a far better hold on and processing and utilization of secondary raw materials.

In the party organizations of the combines, export and foreign trade enterprises, political management activity must more effectively still be aimed at resolutely meeting our foreign economy tasks. That is a basic issue of our economic and social policy. Decisive weight attaches to considerably increasing our export capacity through the development and production of commodities that can compete on the world market and therefore can be exported under advantageous conditions and with a high lucrativeness in foreign exchange. At the same time we must, with the greatest resolution, struggle for reducing imports, especially from the nonsocialist economic region. The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences will adopt concrete measures about that.

Greater attention is required for providing foreign trade functionaries with political qualifications and for passing on the best experiences in businesslike expertise for concluding beneficial sales contracts.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences will compute how the programs for developing and producing new top commodities in consumer goods are carried out both for the population and for export.

They deliberate on and decide how the contributions by their enterprises and combines to offering stable supplies of basic goods may be increased and the populace be supplied with modern, attractive consumer goods at fine qualities and large volumes.

The focal point of the work of the party organizations in commerce lies on reliably supplying the populace day after day. Highly efficient end products must become far more ample. The initiatives of the comrades in the trade collectives must be aimed at offering to the population, speedily and with the smallest losses, goods set aside for public supplies through sales. Through expanding the scope of public services and qualitative improvements in customer service, the comrades in the service enterprises seek further advances.

The party organizations in construction are well advised in still better meeting their special responsibility for strengthening the material-technical base of our economy and for implementing our sociopolitical program. By analyzing the Seventh Construction Conference of the GDR, they arrive at conclusions for their management activity so as to promote the initiative of the builders for decisively improving the efficiency and quality of investment and construction activities. The comrades insist on broadly applying well proven and new highly productive techniques and construction methods and on creating good conditions for their target-directed work in line with project and brigade contracts.

It is a concern of the work in party education to hand over within schedules, in particular, all planned construction projects for strengthening the GDR's economic efficiency, in our complex housing construction, science and public education and in the social, medical and cultural domains.

Focal points for party controls are the struggle for greatly improving labor productivity while making full use of working hours and technology, a decisive reduction of energy and material consumption, the reduction of costs, the quality improvement of labor, and the reduction of construction time frames.

High requirements are placed on the basic organizations of the transport system. The comrades are bringing a stronger influence to bear on a rational cooperation between the producing fields and the transport system so as to tap further reserves through new techniques and extensive rationalization, fully use the transport capacities, and save fuels. It is of special importance here broadly to apply the best experiences of the plant traffic communities and of the loading and unloading teams.

In the reporting election meetings of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, the comrades are giving thought to the contribution by their collectives to assuring the poulation at all times of stable supplies in high-grade foods and industry, of raw materials. Through production intensification and the application

of scientific-technical data they concentrate on making better use of natural and economic conditions for boosting production and for further social development in the countryside.

Of the greatest value for it is the rich store of experience of the cooperative farmers and workers. In the party organizations it has to be set down how differences in levels are to be reduced, all collectives are to be brought closer to the achievement level of the best ones and thus significant production reserves can be tapped.

The party collectives also ought to bring a stonger influence to bear on enforcing the principles of socialist industrial management and handling all material and financial funds with greatest efficiency.

An important fighting task for the comrades in crop production is to create the preconditions for high and stable yields, mainly in grain, sugar beets, forage crop and vegetables. Due to the strategic rank grain holds in the international class conflict, all activities toward significantly boosting grain production in particular are of increasing political importance.

LPG, GPG and VEG party organizations will make sure that every square meter of soil is used efficiently and extensive measures are laid down for steadily improving the fertility of the soil. They are to be built into long-range programs for better soil utilization.

In animal production, the comrades are seeking better achievements and successes in breeding and smaller animal losses, a high forage economy and the systematic reproduction of livestock, especially cows. The party organizations foster all initiatives for boosting production in the individual private plots of the cooperative farmers.

In the LPG's and VEG's and their cooperative facilities and in the other enterprises of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, the comrades are organizing a resolute struggle for a full capacity use of the equipment and its careful maintenance. More initiative is to be applied to the rationalization of reconstruction to expand production capacities, cut down on jobs and improve working and living conditions.

The party organizations deliberate on and decide how the cooperative farmers and workers can still more extensively be drawn into the management and planning of farm production. Special attention must be given to the development of socialist democracy, the strict observance of the statute and inner structure in each LPG, and the party influence in the work and management collectives.

In conformity with the principles for the work of the cooperation councils in socialist agriculture, the comrades will make sure that the effectiveness of these elected democratic organs and their party groups is enhanced and that good cooperation between crop and animal production is insured.

III. In Science, Education, Culture and Public Health, the Communists Are Performing New Creative Deeds for the All-round Strengthening of the GDR

In the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, science, education, culture and public health are gaining increasing importance. On them, the purposeful implementation of the main task greatly depends.

The reporting election meetings of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, and of the universities, colleges and technical schools ought to lend new impulses to the struggle for high scientific teaching and research results and their effective application in practice. Therefore the comrades are being advised on how they can with capacities and funds available attain high-level achievements and apply them rapidly to the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

The focal point of our political-ideological work is to render more prominent our fighting position of always proceeding from social requirements in our scientific work, implacably gaging our research results against international top standards and enlarging its contribution to the elaboration of fundamental problems in social and scientific-technical progress.

The party organizations are considering how the complex cooperation between science and production can be more successfully organized and more effectively concentrated on economic main tasking areas. They determine by which activities they can draw conclusions from the Fifth Academic Conference of the GDR and how the comrades can be enabled to live up to the qualitatively new demands placed on science and education. A priority concern in our party work continues to be relevant training and the communist education of the students and the new generation of scientists, the selection and support of gifted functionaries, and the promotion of socialist military education and military skills for the students.

In the party organizations in public education what matters is to fulfill the school policy resolutions of the ninth party congress by purposefully implementing the requirements of the Eighth Educational Congress. In their reporting election meetings, the comrades deliberate on and decide how we will continue lending more substance to our secondary schools, deepen their polytechnical character and perfecting communist education.

The school party organizations foster the desire for a higher quality of pedagogic work and the creative search for more efficient methods of instruction and education. Each comrade's contribution is measured, particularly, in terms of how he provides the growing generation with solid technical knowledge and achieves exemplary results in ideological and moral education.

The party collectives pay attention to enabling the pedagogs always to derive their own conclusions for their pedagogic work from the concrete political situation in domestic and foreign policy.

What matters in the reporting election meetings of the cultural and art institutions and organizations is a wider spread of political-ideological and art debate so as to deepen the understanding of the artists and creators of culture for the revolutionary changes in the GDR and in the community of the socialist states and for the class

conflict with imperialism. From there the party collectives derive their criteria and requirements for creating art of socialist realism. This pertains to works that exercise a lasting effect on the consciousness development of the GDR citizens and their participation in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the struggle for peace.

Measures for the political-ideological education of the creators of art and culture, the development of close relations with industrial and agricultural collectives, and an efficient policy on giving out commissions should aid the generation of new works of art informed with party-mindedness, solidarity with the people, and socialist ideas. Special attention should be given the young authors and artists and the training and communist education of the new generation of artists.

The party collectives in public health and social welfare, the medical departments at the universities and the medical academies direct their political-ideological work at enhancing the party and state consciousness of their associates, in mobilizing them for high achievements in medical care, research and instruction.

The reporting election meetings take measures on improving the training for the citizens' medical and social care. To that end, scientific insights and effective forms of socialist cooperative work are to be promoted and applied. The level of in-patient and out-patient treatment is to be improved. Political and technical training as well as deepening the relations of confidence between physicians, nurses and patients call for special attention by the party organizations.

It is in the interest of gaining time and providing a higher level of medical care for the patients as well as further improvements in the working and living conditions of the physicians and nurses that the party organizations boost their influence on the socialist rationalization and reconstruction of existing facilities and the optimum utilization of all material and financial funds.

IV. The Further Strengthening of Socialist State Power and a Reliable Protection of the Achievements of Socialism Are of Constant Concern to Each Communist

Proceeding from the leadership role of the SED in state and society, the party organizations are giving thought to how the overall social tasks can still better be solved, socialist democracy be more broadly spread and socialist legality be made safe. They are constantly reinforcing the unshakable solidarity between the party, the state and the people and are promoting the state-conscious thinking and conduct of all citizens. Conforming with their responsibility, the comrades will see to it that the citizens are still better informed about, and involved in, all decisions and measures affecting their lives.

The authority of state power and of its organs must be strengthened all-around. The party organizations in the state organs bear a great responsibility for further strengthening socialist state power and closely tying it to the masses. Their reporting election meetings, therefore, are mainly concerned with using all creative potentials for stable economic efficiency improvements. The comrades will discuss the measures that insure an all-round fulfillment of the plan tasks every day. Improving the level of political-ideological activity must help enhance the quality and efficiency of public work and help assist all associates of the state apparatus

in their fulfilling their tasks. It is politically highly important to react fast and expediently to the citizens' petitions, recommendations, requests and criticism. When petitions are justified, all possibilities of the plan, the local reserves and, above all, the initiative of the enterprises and of the citizens themselves have to be fully exhausted to have them brought to realization. Nowhere it must be tolerated that suggestions from the citizens remain unanswered or their confidence in state power is upset by empty promises.

In the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the comrades are considering how all members of the state apparatus can more effectively help the deputies in their work. They make sure that the people's representatives, for a constant and confident dialog with their voters, always get up-to-date information on overall party and state policy, communal policy tasks and the plan process.

A broad field of struggle by the party organizations in the state organs lies in improving the economic and social effectiveness of territorial rationalization. In the cooperation between the local organs of state power and the enterprises and facilities the main thing is to draw on all industrial and territorial resources for economic efficiency improvements and gradually to improve working and living conditions. Greater advances are needed in our effective use of our public labor assets, the rational utilization of our basic assets, and the saving of energy, propellants, fuels and material. The party organizations will determine how the control right as vested in the party statute be exercised in this direction.

The comrades will draw conclusions for the further strengthening of socialist legality, safety, discipline and security, an uninhibited fulfillment of all the tasks in the eocnomic plan and the prevention of avoidable losses. That demands heightened vigilance of all communists, an exemplary observance of socialist legal norms, and the care for the protection of social property from destruction, theft and fraud.

A central task of the party organizations in all public domains is constantly perfecting our national defense, the fulfillment of our internationalist obligations within the Warsaw Pact.

The requirements for socialist national defense, preparing a state of defense, promoting the responsibility of all citizens for the protection of socialism and of state security, and the planned allocation of the economic and personnel requirements needed for it are a firm element of the political leadership activity of the party organizations.

We must reinforce the conviction in all citizens that the defense of peace and of the achievements of socialism is the basic precondition for the growth of economic performance and for any step in improving the people's material and cultural standard of living. More then ever, due to imperialism's exacerbation of its aggressive course, the readiness for the defense of our socialist fatherland has to be fostered among all citizens, especially the youth.

It is in line with the overall social responsibility of a reliable national defense that the party organizations make appropriate efforts within the work collectives, tighten still more the citizens' solidarity with the armed organs, deepen defense motivation and defense readiness and reliably fulfill all tasks in taking charge and taking care of a new military generation.

Reinforcing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the militia and the active participation by the citizens in civil defense deserve great attention.

The focal point of party work in the NVA, the border troops of the GDR, and the other protective and security organs is the task to enable all communists to fulfill their class mission in an exemplary fashion through initiative-rich, unified, and disciplined conduct. Thereby they are making their most important contribution to improving the fighting strength and combat readiness, the quality and effectiveness of political and combat training. The party organizations are bringing a greater influence to bear on a masterly control of command and combat equipment, an exemplary fulfillment of the tasks in the military service system and for the protection of the national border and high organization for military life on the whole.

The party collectives aim their main efforts at strengthening individual leadership and the class-bound education of all members of the armed organs, the development of socialist relations in all collectives and the improvement of service and living conditions.

The party organizations in the area of the Ministry for State Security bring a stronger influence to bear on the political-ideological education and the training of the associates for prudently assessing the situation in their area of responsibility and for uncovering in time, and frustrating, through a high personal dedication of theirs, any counterrevolutionary plans and designs by our enemies directed against the GDR.

In the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior, the party organizations should mainly pay attention to improving the political and technical skills of each associate and his degree of dedication. What matters is to continue and insure at all times public order and security through close cooperation with the GDR citizens.

V. Further Raising the Party's Leadership Role by Reinforcing the Fighting Strength of the Party Organizations in All Public Domains Is the Basic Premise for Coping With Future Tasks

In the reporting election meetings and the delegates conferences the party organization executives render accounts on how, in their respective areas of responsibility, the party's leadership role is further being raised, intra-party life and political mass activities are made more expedient, and the comrades are enabled conscientiously to fulfill their tasks and obligations. They evaluate their own work results objectively, pay tribute to exemplary achievements, and draw general rules from the best experiences in party and mass activity and in the political leadership of social processes. Conclusions are there then being drawn for improving all party collectives' fighting strength.

The party organizations offer status reports on the campaign programs of the basic organizations and on the resolutions of the delegates conferences. This provides good preconditions for assigning and realizing demanding goals in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. In the status reports and the discussions the comrades comment on the outcome of the party document check. Especially also from personal conversations they derive conclusions for how to perfect intra-party life further.

That implies their constantly seeking the counsel of the comrades and relying on the comrades' wealth of ideas in all their leadership activity.

A high efficiency and better grade of party work demands of the leadership collectives to comprehend the crucial chainlinks in our advances and concentrate the party collectives on solving the main questions. More persistence is needed in the struggle for objectives decided on and for desirable changes.

To raise the level of political leadership activity it is mainly necessary to provide the tasks with ideological content and to spark initiatives that lead the socialist consciousness of the communists and of all working people toward important achievements.

The performance improvement needed calls for long-range party work and calls for projections in our work, for rapidly picking up and popularizing new initiatives and effective solutions and for bringing all collectives closer to the achievements of the best ones. That implies a critical self-assessment of one's own area of responsibility at all times and taking account, in one's own management decisions, of the results and political implications to be expected from them. Connected with that are higher demands on the collectivity and personal responsibility in management activity.

The party organizations strengthen a healthy, party-minded atmosphere in the party collectives where intra-party democracy develops fully, frank ciriticism and self-criticism is exercised and all comrades make high demands on conscious, voluntary discipline.

The party organizations are considering how the level of membership meetings can be further raised and the work of the party groups always be made relevant. More of an opportunity has to be provided for instilling a revolutionary spirit, high activities, a strong will to perform and appropriate conduct in the communists. All those questions must carefully be answered which are raised by life itself and in which all members and candidates of the basic organizations are intensely interested. In communist frankness they should express their standpoint on the most effective implementation of party policy in their sphere of activity.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences set down measures on individually working with party members and candidates. Especially personal conversations are established as an indispensable component of successful management activity. It is to be discussed how more and more comrades can get drawn into voluntary party work, and how the strength of the party activists, the party commissions and the working teams, the whole variety of proven forms and methods in party work, can still more effectively be used. Concrete party missions are gaining increasing importance.

The strength and influence of the party organizations mainly depend on what the communists do in their work collectives. Persistently the comrades see to it that the working people identify with the party resolutions, assign high targets to themselves for implementing them and, in fighting spirit and rich in ideas, transform them into facts. In the reporting election meetings of the party groups the members and candidates give account for how they are meeting their political responsibilities within their work collectives.

The party organizations draw conclusions for further improving the level and effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist education and training of the functionaries. They deliberate on how the comradely cooperation with the management functionaries can be improved on all levels and more party and state discipline can be instilled in them. It principally amounts to the kind of management style with mass solidarity that spurs the working people into high achievements and helps advance scientific-technical progress.

Political steadfastness in any situation, a combative stance in approaching lofty goals, passionate advocacy for innovations, resolute actions in overcoming obstacles, an honest, modest and sensitive dealing with the working people--these are the characteristics that distinguish socialist functionaries.

Class-conscious comrades who have proven themselves especially through daily struggle for implementing the party resolutions are to be prepared for assuming managerial functions. For the selection and systematic training and advanced training of the functionaries the party organizations adopt measures that systematically promote a young generation of functionaries from the working class and the socialist youth association.

In conformity with the social role of women in our state, we must show the proper appreciation for their achievements everywhere and, step by step, improve their working and living conditions so that they can more fully meet their responsibility as working women and mothers. The party organizations are drawing up plans for how more and more women can be provided with good qualifications for vocational advanced training and for assuming managerial functions.

An increase in fighting strength is obtainable to the extent that we succeed, on the basis of democratic centralism, in promoting the initiative of the basic organizations for implementing the party resolutions in every way, shaping firm political positions among all comrades on the new tasks, and deriving higher demands for our own work. One key issue here is making the Leninist norms for party life, as anchored in the SED Statute, into a vital maxim for each communist. We communists are members of our people and know of no greater task than to serve our people selflessly.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences are making assessments on how well the party school year helps the comrades, based on the study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the program and the history of the SED, to increasingly better understand overall party policy and fulfill in an exemplary manner the tasks assigned by the Central Committee.

Raising the fighting strength and consolidating the mass solidarity of the party call for better still enabling the communists to assume their responsibility in the people's representations, the mass organizations, and the National Front of the GDR, in making party policy prevail. Comrades working in public functions ought to get the opportunity to account for their work in front of their party collectives and to bring up problems that concern them. The party organizations appreciate their selfless volunteer work and they are giving thought to how their responsible political work might still more perceptibly be supported and their authority be strengthened.

As high-level public life is becoming increasingly more important in the residential area, all party organizations deal with how the comrades work politically where they live and are especially familiar with the citizens' living conditions. In comradely cooperation with the members of the other parties and the mass organizations in the National Front, the comrades are boosting their diversified political-ideological indoctrination and contribute to an active intellectual-cultural life and various activities within the "Join-in!" competition. Housing communities have become big assets. Drawing on the strength of the party activists, we must purposefully be working on helping the National Front commissions to acquire much stability and a strength of radiation in all communities and residential districts. In the residential party organizations, where the comrades are doing party work with sacrifices and dedication, thought should be given to how their rich treasure of party and life experience could still more effectively be used for political mass activity in the residential area, especially with youth.

The local delegates conferences are discussing what could be done to coordinate still more meaningfully the social forces in the towns and communities for political mass activity and economic mass initiatives and resolve issues of communal policy unbureaucratically. They consider and decide how through socialist cooperative work among towns and communities the support for crop and animal production LPG's and the development of social life in the villages could become the main concern in the work of the communal associations.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences analyze party influence in its area of responsibility. They set down how our fighting strength can be further increased by admitting the best young workers, cooperative farmers and members of the intelligentsia. This primarily concerns a class-bound strengthening of the party in those sectors that are crucial for permanent dynamic efficiency improvements. With all their strength the party organizations are supporting the FDJ initiative in preparation of the 10th SED Congress of proposing tho most active members of the socialist youth association, especially those in the youth brigades, for party membership.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences have the character of creative working conferences with a vivid exchange of opinion and experience about the best means for implementing our tasks. They are passing resolutions aimed at fulfilling all-around the Ninth SED Congress requirement in their area of responsibility. They decide on how in the party itself and with all citizens a broad democratic discussion is being conducted about the tasks for the years from 1981 to 1985, and by which activities the mass movement in preparation of the 10th SED Congress receives additional impulses.

The party groups, departmental party organizations and basic organizations are setting down measures for the struggle for the all-round fulfillment and optimum overfulfillment of the economic plan down to the last day of 1980, and for a smooth start of the 1981 plan. Relying on the results of the plan discussion, they work out the positions for demanding campaign programs for 1981 that are to be passed on in the January 1981 membership meetings.

Kreis delegates conferences take one day, bezirks delegates conferences take two. They include those tasks in their resolutions that have to be solved up to the 10th party congress, ensure an all-round fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1981 economic plan, and adumbrate lofty goals for the next five-year plan period.

The 1980/81 party elections receive especial importance by electing managements able to meet the demands of the 1980's. Such comrades, male and female, therefore should be elected into the new managements who because of their exemplary public activity and their work achievements, and because of their selfless dedication to the rights of the people, enjoy great respect and are continuously working for an unshakable relationship of trust between the party and the people. Those are comrades who, with a sense of responsibility, a combative attitude, revolutionary passion and personal commitment, are ready and in the position to mobilize the working people for a high and dynamic growth of performance. They distinguish themselves by explaining party policy with conviction and firmness of principle and by never dodging any ideological debates.

It is up to the bezirk managements, municipal managements, kreis managements and city district managements of the party to help the basic organizations in preparing and conducting the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences in situ. They, at regular intervals, assess the course of the party elections and secure a complete registration of the basic organizations' wealth of ideas. Their special attention is directed to rapidly making use of proven work and management experiences and new initiatives, which are made available to all and applied to the further perfecting of management activity.

In the course of the party elections, good experiences in party and mass activity, new initiatives and exemplary achievements should be published by people's correspondents and various means in our central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in bezirk and enterprise papers.

Bezirk and kreis managements and the managements of basic organizations will insure, in conformity with the information plan issued by the Central Committee Secretariat, conscientious reporting on the outcome of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences.

The executive party organs receive the suggestions, recommendations and criticism of the reporting election meetings and, with high responsibility, draw conclusions from them for their management activity. Kreis and bezirk delegates conferences and the mass media react to questions and problems brought up in the course of the party elections as long as they are of general interest.

All party organizations let themselves be guided in their political leadership activity by the consideration that the party will come out of the party elections all the stronger, and the increase in the confidence of the masses in party policy will be all the greater, the better we succeed in turning the 10th SED Congress preparations into a cause for all the people.

VI. For the Rendering of Accounts and the New Election of Managements the Following Schedules Have Been Set Down:

Based on the party statute (points 51a, 56 and 64) and on the Central Committee's election system, the rendering of accounts and the new election of managements of the basic organizations, kreis and bezirk party organizations will take place between 1 October 1980 and 22 February 1981, to wit:

From 1 October to 6 December 1980 the rendering of accounts and new election of the party organizers, their deputies, the managements of the departmental party organizations and the managements of the basic organizations and of the local managements;
from 10 January to 24 January 1981 the delegates conferences on rendering accounts and new election of kreis, city and city district managements;
from 14 February to 22 February 1981 the delegates conferences on rendering accounts and new election of bezirk managements.

5885
CSO: 2300

USE OF TERM 'SOLIDARITY' BY ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM ATTACKED

Halle FREIHEIT in German 14 Nov 80 p 11

[Article by Peter Gieseler: "Reflections on Our Times: Political Transvestites and Solid Solidarity--About a Word Which the Class Enemy Is Attempting To Misuse"]

[Text] When something carries the designation solid, then it must be solid--firm, stable, reliable, sound. Therefore if a person says solid, that's what he means. Generally communication is only possible through agreement of concept and content. Certainly every language has its ambiguous words and expressions, indeed how else should humorists and their audiences get their laughs. But there are concepts which are absolutely clear, which one can use and understand in only one way. One of these strong words is the solid word solidarity, which even stems from solid.

Why this preface about the obvious? In any case doesn't everyone understand solidarity for what it is?

When in Bonn on the Rhine--in full possession of their sovereignty of course--they knuckled under to the American Olympic boycott, they cloaked this political foul as "necessary solidarity with the American athletes." Now, that was no slip of the tongue, that was cool calculation, knowing that the word "solidarity" evokes positive associations among all decent men. And if it is a matter of demagogy, influencing and brainwashing of the masses, they do not shrink from taking this hatred, because feared, word on their filthy tongues.

A unique case? Meanwhile it is sufficiently known that the NATO rocket decision was decisively initiated and supported by the FRG. It is less known perhaps how its realization is motivated. People speak of the necessity of the "solidarity of Western Europe with the United States of America," of the pledge of "solidarity with the Pentagon."

It is grotesque and at the same time repugnant to hear this proud word from the side of the barricade against which it is directed. For solidarity does not mean simply help and support. Solidarity is class solidarity; it is directed against imperialism, war and oppression. Since the First International, solidarity in this sense has been the holy banner of the working class and of all oppressed peoples of the world.

It is not new for the class enemy to borrow verbally from the proletariat, to use concepts which are connected with the liberation struggle of the working class and its historic mission. Thus he arouses false expectations, he attempts to conceal his policy which is hostile to the people. Or does anyone believe that the Nazis had anything to do with socialism, even if "national" and with a worker's party, as they pretended? No, no one believes that. And today no one can believe that everyone who says solidarity means solidarity. One must have a good look at his words and deeds.

Whoever says solidarity honestly means, as do we GDR citizens, that which we have received and given. Whoever says solidarity honestly means the "lifegiving principle among all workers of all countries," of which Karl Marx spoke; it means "Proletarians of the world, unite"; it means "Save Corvalan"; it means "Freedom for Angela Davis"; it means Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, and Mozambique; it means today also Nicaragua and El Salvador. Whoever says solidarity honestly means the class and class enemy.

Yes, for our people, for GDR citizens, the word solidarity is absolutely clear. This people--we all--have grown up with this word and the action behind it. This country is a child of solidarity and a bulwark of solidarity. It is the doctrine of the state, of the ruling worker class, of the whole working population. It is an affair of the yeart for young and old. This solidarity is an ingredient of the power of the workers and peasants. And when we say that no one will ever be permitted to play with this power or even touch it, then we also declare solidarity to be inviolable.

Even though it disgusts us and every decent man to see how these political transvestites attempt to slip on the spotless dress of solidarity, they cannot desecrate it. On their fat bodies it looks threadbare and reveals the deception.

"Because the situation of the workers of all countries is the same, because their interests, their enemies are the same, they must pit a brotherhood of the workers of all peoples against the brotherhood of the bourgeoisie of all people's," Friedrich Engels said almost 133 years ago on 29 November 1847. This brotherhood of the workers of all peoples is today no distant goal, it is to a great extent living, successful reality. This brotherhood of the workers of all peoples, our great cause of solidarity, has one thrust, one enemy, recognizes one struggle which it will wage unconditionally until victory: the struggle against the last and strongest exploitative order of human society, imperialism. Nothing and no one can distort the proletarian, anti-imperialist solidarity.

But whoever in the name of this solidarity raises so much as his little finger against the power of the working class, whoever with the word solidarity on his banner deviates so much as an inch from the way of this solidarity, will have to answer before the people, before history. No one is permitted to abuse solidarity in the name of solidarity--so strong is proletarian internationalism, so slid is our solidarity.

CSO: 2300

TRADE UNION SECRETARIES ASSESS SITUATION, AGENDA IN CHEMICAL, AGRICULTURAL FIELD

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 11, Nov 80 pp 10-21

[Interview with Ferenc Dajka, secretary general of the Trade Union of Chemical Workers and Ferenc Dobi, secretary general of the Trade Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Water Supply Workers: "Representation and Safeguarding of the Interests of Our Working People. A Conversation with Two Trade Union General Secretaries"]

[Text] There have been three nationwide discussions in our country during this year: the party congress and its preparatory phase; the one preceding the National Assembly and local council elections, organized by the Patriotic People's Front; the trade union elections in progress since the Spring. They reviewed the preceding period and defined the tasks of the future.

The congresses and delegates' assemblies of particular unions were especially significant because they reflected directly the short and long range interests of working, productive, creative people. Workers and their representatives talked about what they consider to be the most important questions affecting people's lives in the present difficult economic situation, how they see the contribution unions can make to improve our work and living conditions and what is their view of the tasks that are destined to shape the next five years of our country.

After the branch congresses but before the December congress of the trade union movement, our editors discussed these questions with comrade Ferenc Dajka, general secretary of the Trade Union of Chemical Workers and comrade Ferenc Dobi, general secretary of the Trade Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Water Supply Workers.

Ferenc Dajka
Secretary General of the Trade Union of Chemical Workers

[Question] What conditions and changes had the greatest effect on the chemical industry and, in particular, the productive and economic condition and position of chemical industry workers in the last five years?

[F. Dajka] Let us start with the positive side, the one that is truly important. This branch of industry has continually enjoyed the support of the entire society throughout the last five years. This was apparent from the resolutions adapted

by party, state and economic bodies and organizations which defined the principles, distribution and concrete form of development opportunities as well as the constant interest, signals and reactions of public opinion. It is no exaggeration to say that chemical industry is, in a sense, a national cause because of its economic importance, its direct and indirect effects on other sectors, the work and conditions of workers in those sectors and its role in influencing our entire future.

The nation continued to make great sacrifices on behalf of the chemical industry in the recent past. A number of important investment projects have been completed. Important production facilities and research institutes came into being. The industry has seen the emergence of a new leadership and new creative capacities in the course of planning and implementing large scale capital projects. Our high quality base of skilled workers has made further progress in the course of using new production methods. Thus, the strength of subjective productive forces has increased: this is indispensable for further technical development, improved economic efficiency, quality and exportability. As a result, our industry will be able to rapidly repay its indebtedness to the country for the credits and support it has received.

[Question:] What was the negative side of the external conditions and trends?

[F. Dajka] It is commonplace, but true: there are not many branches of industry that were affected as directly and early by the price explosion in the world economy as was ours. Everyone knows how fast the price of oil, oil products and various chemical feedstocks kept surging ahead. Our feedstocks and raw materials have never been cheap; today, they are very expensive. The rise in energy prices was felt especially keenly by aluminum metallurgy which also belongs to our sector.

[Question] What were the most serious consequences of the dramatic increase in the price of raw materials, feedstocks and energy?

[Answer] I will not give a list of all of the consequences that led to serious difficulties. Instead, I will mention only one that has apparently led to the most difficult problem from the standpoint of the functions and activities of our trade union related to the safeguarding of the worker's interests. I just mentioned the decisive importance of development projects for the industry. Compared to these, the obsolescence of a great number of our older chemical plants and some of our installations is even more intolerable. The leadership and trade union committees of these plants and the central trade union organizations are fully aware of the implications of this state of affairs for the direct working conditions, health and safety of the workers. It is not surprising that a number of delegates at our congress called attention, with a sense of urgency, to the situation at their plants. Some said they felt as if they were working next to a ticking bomb.

How is this related to the oil and raw material price rises? These price rises and less then efficient work reduced the available resources and ate up the money set aside for reconstruction that has been considered urgent for a long time. In some plants the situation has not only not improved but actually got worse.

This involves more than just the present. Serious tensions have arisen within the sector and also in comparison with other sectors, involving the future, not just of the obsolete plants, but also the chemical industry as a whole. Comrade Janos Oroszlan, trade union committee secretary of the Nitrochemical Industry Plants said at our congress, very convincingly, that the introduction of modern technology involves some problems because it requires better trained workers; but this is, in the final analysis, a pleasant problem to have since it feels good to work in a modern plant and workers, in general, are happy to undergo training or continued education. In those cases, however, when new products are made in old, obsolete plants, it is difficult to find skilled and even semi-skilled workers, especially young professionals. When an enterprise has just 2 or 3 plants or divisions with bad working conditions, even if they are not excessively bad, this has a sensible negative effect on the number of applications for apprenticeship training in all chemical industry jobs within the region. This is why the future comes into the picture.

[Question] You mentioned that some plants and installations are intolerably obsolete but the financial resources necessary for their reconstruction are not available. What can the trade union do in such a situation?

[F. Dajka] Of course, we are aware of the difficult financial situation and we are listening to explanations and arguments. We know and we understand the magnitude of the difficulties faced by the ministry in relation to investments. We accept the planned slowdown of investments. But, as the representatives of our colleagues working under intolerable conditions in obsolete plants, we cannot accept any further delays of urgent reconstruction projects. Occupational safety, health and adequate social conditions cannot be separated from production. This is not a subject for debate or bargaining, even though we recognize that the advocacy and protective functions of the trade unions involve more than just the results they can accomplish: they also mean, on occasion, the postponement and prioritization of justified claims. Let me repeat, however: fundamental issues such as safety technology and occupational health must be taken care of even under more difficult economic and financial conditions.

We were pleased to see that the minister agreed with the substance of our stand in the course of our congressional debate when he stated that fundamental requirements of occupational health must never be rejected on the basis of more difficult economic conditions.

[Question] The formulation of production and management strategy and the organization and direction of the implementation of this strategy on the industry or enterprise scale still remain the task of the economic leadership, even under the present difficult conditions. In what way could trade unions contribute to this process?

[F. Dajka] For example, they may use their resources, in line with the stand taken by the party committees, to speak out against complaining and paralysis as a reaction to changing conditions, whether the people involved are part of the economic leadership or certain groups of workers. Trade unions and our trade union, in particular, have a role to play in the work initiated and directed by the party and aimed at the shaping of attitudes and practical actions, sensitivity in the service of problem recognition, increased intellectual efforts toward the

formulation of alternative solutions and improved capacity for complete and precise execution. This is the kind of effect we would like to have on the primary responsible organizations and leaders of the economy and production and on the proper functions and activities of the trade unions, including their role in promoting production.

[Question] Would you please discuss in detail what you mean by "proper functions and activities" of trade unions and their role in promoting production?

[F. Dajka] Before answering, I would like to emphasize that the activities and goals of the economic leadership and trade unions have a common basis, in spite of natural differences in our respective approaches and functions. Let us consider this in concrete terms, with some slight simplification. The approach of the economic leadership is to develop technologies, improve efficiency and quality, increase reasonable savings, flexibly and rapidly adapt to a changing product structure, technology and work organization and raise production skills and sophistication. By now it is well-known that accomplishing these goals requires the active involvement of workers which, in turn, is predicated on finding, introducing and maintaining the most efficient material and moral incentive mechanisms relying on the interests and involvement of collectives and individuals.

The approach of the trade unions is to represent and secure the day-to-day and long term interests, demands and requirements of the workers. Their stand in this regard is quite clear: the only realistic basis for satisfying present and emerging demands, requirements and interests is found in better, more efficient production, work organization, more rational and economical management of material, energy and labor; rapid, flexible adaptation and a suitable incentive system.

Thus, the common basis on which we meet is, in fact, the meaning and aims of building socialism: optimal satisfaction of the workers' needs. This is a solid, broad and secure common base. This is the base on which we can and must decide concrete questions, in sharp debates and clashes if necessary, to make it possible to discover the realistic, justified direct and long term interests of the nation, specific branches of industry, enterprises, brigades and individual workers as well as the most effective ways of mobilizing them and sharing the results of our improved collective work.

[Question] And these, of course, must be concretely and correctly defined in each new situation, production or social unit, for every time period, through a process of real, regulated conflict.

[F. Dajka] Here, trade unions can make an important contribution, not only at the stage of confrontation preceding decisions and good compromises but also at the practical stage of execution and implementation.

But let us come back to the concrete question involving trade union activity in the sphere of production and management. What is the stand taken by trade union bodies and officials when they present their proposals and opinions regarding economic, production or development guidelines, implementation schedules or plans of action? In brief: in order for trade unions to propose that an

enterprise plan be accepted, it must generate results sufficient to create the financial means necessary to conserve and, when possible, increase what has been achieved in the area of living standards as well as social and cultural benefits provided by the enterprise.

Or let's take the intermediary role played by trade unions in today's increasingly frequent reorganizations. Decisionmakers are facing a host of real difficulties when they must redirect 300 or 400 people to a different work area. People must be pulled out of their accustomed surroundings, encouraged to learn new skills and helped to adapt to a new work environment. The interests of society dictate that such resolutions be made in spite of certain and calculable difficulties and they must be made without delay. When the trade unions are willing to accept responsibility for such decisions, they must also be willing to represent the direct views and interests of, almost literally, each one of the workers involved. In our opinion, the effects of a production process under discussion on the man taking part in it remains just as important in our present situation as such paramount factors as economic manufacturing or market saleability of the product.

[Question] What are the areas where trade unions are making their strongest push relative to production and management within enterprises?

[F. Kajka] Improved management and organizational work by the economic leadership; ensuring the conditions necessary for organized work; an industrial and work organization that provides the incentives encouraging and even forcing workers to function more effectively and perform better.

In one form or another, all of our delegates' assemblies brought up the point that production propaganda, information and arguments can only be meaningful and productive if the workplace or plant in question has an adequate production management structure and organization. It has been said many times that we are ready to accept stricter requirements and work harder; but first, the prerequisites of normal, continuous work must be provided. Let us talk about offers of improved quality after we can at least ensure that raw or base material supplies, transportation and marketing can operate without interruption.

[Question] This implies harsh and justified criticism of the economic leadership; unfortunately, the issues are quite old and well-known, and not just in the chemical industry...

[F. Dajka] Yes, but there is also a new factor which, in my opinion, implies a qualitative change. It is this: at trade union meetings and delegates' assemblies preceding our most recent congress the workers brought up this problem not just as a general complaint; in most cases, they did not even directly address the economic leadership but rather the leadership of the trade union from shop stewards to plant committees, secretaries and higher level bodies. So these (including us) should not show tolerance toward incompetent, bureaucratic of irresponsible leaders, employees or workers that are obstructing the course of production for any reason whatsoever.

I consider this a call by the masses to fulfill a task that must be taken seriously.

[Question] What are the consequences of the new situation as regards the activities of trade unions aimed at encouraging production and organizing work competitions and the brigade movement?

[F. Dajka] The report of our central committee clearly stated that the work of our trade union toward encouraging production must be better adjusted to today's demands o f the enterprise and the workplace; work competition must be organized in a more practical, less formalistic manner through participation in both the formulation and execution of economic tasks at the workplace.

When we emphasized, in concrete cases and situations, the need to accept economic work competition targets only if they agree with the goals of the enterprise, many people, including even some of our own officials, interpreted our action in a way that conflicted with the voluntary character of the work competition and the principle of initiative from below. On these occasions we pointed to the need to include the workers in the formulation of overall long term economic strategy and annual medium term concrete local planning, perhaps through the trade unions. It makes sense to discuss ideas relating to production and management, alternative proposals and the ways and means of implementation with middle managers, workers and trade union groups. If this is done, and done seriously, then chances are that the pledges "from below" will be better suited to the common plan.

As a result of our determined but patient and convincing arguments, work competition pledges in chemical industry plants are now generally judged with a view towards weeding out well-intentioned pledges which do not adequately serve local economic goals and ensuring that pledges are concrete and meaningful and that brigades define their contribution to improved efficiency, material and energy conservation, better quality, etc. in terms that are suited to their real functions and possibilities. Today, practical experience shows that the voluntary character of work competition pledges and professional direction of work competition are compatible in our industry and are accepted by socialist brigades.

[Question] Up until now, we talked about production, management and the related activities and role of the trade union. Yet, it seems that imbedded in this question is the essence and the main field of action of the trade union's functions in safeguarding and representing work interests. What other concrete problems relating to the safeguarding of workers' interests and concerning entire groups have been discussed at the congress?

[F. Dajka] Of course, the housing problem was a 'hit', as always. Many people discussed it in great detail. I would mention only two aspects of this question. It was said that housing and building materials should not be a commodity and that the state should solve the housing problem almost purely as a social problem. This is impossible, not just under today's conditions but as long as merchandise is being produced, i.e., during the construction of socialism. On the other hand, our trade union must take up the question of not making any distinctions among young people under 30 with regard to housing preferences and supports because these result in a multiple, undeserved disadvantage for white collar employees (junior clerks, accountants, typists and others) whose income, as everyone knows, is lower than that of young skilled workers. According to the trade union secretary of the Peremarton Chemical Industry Enterprise, the exclusion of young engineers under 30 from the preference given to young workers is also unjustified.

The problem of a group of workers of the highest importance, the foremen directly in charge of production, has been discussed in all of its complex implications. Their responsibilities and rights are still not completely defined; in most areas, they have only the right to make proposals; less and less of qualified young workers are ready to assume this function involving a smaller income but greater responsibility.

[Question] Is the problem of foremen a problem for the trade unions to handle? Is it not the task of the economic leadership to resolve the question?

[F. Dajka] The solution of the problem of the foremen's situation is a trade union task for 3 reasons. First: this involves a substantial group of workers both in terms of their number and their importance, not just in a declarative sense. Second: the tensions and misunderstandings arising from their irregular status definitely interfere with trade union work and their cooperation with shop stewards. Third, I might repeat the consideration emphasized above, that all measures aimed at improving the organization of production are in the interest of the workers and thus the business of the trade union.

[Question] Let me mention another set of questions much discussed at the congress, where it could be asked, from an abstract and rigid viewpoint, whether it belongs under the jurisdiction of the economic leadership or the trade union. What I have in mind is wages and distribution according to performance.

[F. Dajka] We want to go beyond merely requesting this. In concrete terms, we will insist that precise scientific methods be used to set measurable performance standards for individuals and groups involved in modern chemical processes and jobs on the basis of the relevant experience of advanced industrial countries. This is because without well-defined, quantifiable performance standards, performance-related wages will remain just a slogan, especially if we do not make some progress relative to the democratic openness of performance evaluation.

On the one hand, wages according to performance are a decisive lever of production, or so they should be; on the other, they are an important factor in mobilizing and safeguarding our interests. So, is it a topic for the economic leadership or for the trade union? It is both. We will push for this in the form of a more concrete proposal because a solution will serve the interests of our own workers, our industry and the entire nation.

[Question] With regard to the content, methods and style of trade union work, what changes have become possible and necessary?

[F. Dajka] Our whole society is involved in the program for the development of socialist democracy formulated and led by the party. Trade unions play an important part in this at the front of democracy within the plant and workplace. We are talking about a long term process aimed at ensuring that working people have a decisive influence on the resolution of important questions involving their plant, enterprise or institution, that every group of workers is included in a creative way in the formulation of tasks and thereby giving maximal support to the leadership in the practical implementation of decisions.

We want to engage in straight talk, argumentation, thinking and acting together, using a style and methods that are closer to the people. We want people to tell us about their problems candidly. We will take up their problem when we can and will send appropriate signals when necessary. We would like to be more sensitive to so-called trifling matters; we would like to ensure that they are always solved in a legally correct and humane way. We are also willing to say honestly if there is nothing we can do. We try to be patient in argument when we are faced with imaginary grievances, unjustified complaints or unreasonable demands. Up until now, only the people directly involved have found out about our handling of matters of minor importance. In the future, we intend to give more publicity to this area of our work.

In years past, we have often earned the workers' appreciation by recognizing, early on, some new problems and pressing circumstances. In these cases we did not stand aside but took it upon ourselves to discover and to resolve latent tensions. Increasingly, the workers were being systematically informed of decisions affecting them and we canvassed their opinions regarding measures being taken.

The fundamental question in the working style of the central committee of our trade union is to avoid getting mired down in detail and adopting resolution on every subject. Instead, we should try to grasp problems that are truly important for our branch of industry and concentrate our efforts on solving them. We stressed at the congress that not every initiative has to come from above. Conditions, demands and needs within each enterprise require local initiatives; these can and should be started without necessarily waiting to hear from the central office.

[Question] Thus, the role and autonomy of trade union committees at the plant or enterprise level will expand, and the same will be true for the new bodies, shop steward assemblies and, of course, for each and every shop steward?

[F. Dajka] Precisely. It is our firm conviction that work on the plant or enterprise level is of paramount importance. The chief trade union steward of Nitrokemia was right when he said at the congress that shop stewards are playing a central role in our present organizational setup. They know the most about the needs, interests, goals, day-to-day problems of the group of workers they are in charge of, as well as their readiness to take action. The value judgment of these groups have also changed when they saw that the shop steward is an important person, truly capable of representing the interests of the group, working in partnership with management and participating in decisions on the enterprise level.

In a word, the authority of shop stewards has increased. They are no longer regarded as just collectors of membership dues or "stamp dealers." As a result, the majority of groups give careful thought to electing their representatives. In addition to courage and straight talk, the emphasis is on being politically well-informed, engaged, technically competent, as well as general human quality, suitable experience in the movement and in life.

It must be said that not every trade union functionary or shop steward is up to this new, more demanding function. The truth is that considerable qualifications

are necessary: in addition to the factors mentioned above, one must be well-informed in economics and labor law and acquainted with legislation and resolutions. Therefore, perhaps the most important task facing the central committee and central authorities is to train and give assistance to the "officers and warrant officers" struggling at the "outposts" within enterprises, in order to enable them to carry out their complex, manifold tasks.

Ferenc Dobi
Secretary general of the Trade Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Water Supply Workers

[Question] What were the conditions affecting the work of trade union organizations operating in agriculture, forestry lumber and water supply organizations? How did these conditions change in the five years covered by the reporting period?

[F. Dobi] The work of the first two branches (and, indirectly and partially, of the water supply sector) are measured, in the final analysis, by quality of food supplies and forest products available to the populations as well as the size and quality of exports generated by the sector. In the past five years, our agriculture produced many products that can compete with the most advanced agricultures of the world in terms of yields, harvest volumes and production costs. Our production results made it possible to provide high quality supplies to satisfy domestic demand and to increase exports produced on gradually declining acreage during the past 5 years.

The characteristic change is a radical turnabout in the basic methods of agricultural production during the last decade. This led to a sharp increase in import demand. We need enormous quantities of chemical raw materials and machines; a substantial part of this demand cannot be supplied by the domestic background industry. Our import needs are especially significant in two areas: modern agricultural machinery and proteins. This is one of the biggest burdens of our entire sector because we have no control over import prices which have been increasing continuously and almost without letup. We can expect similar conditions in the future.

Our congressional debate reflected two different processes whose effects are closely related. One is the price explosion in the world market leading to a sharp jump in import prices. This was not predictable; it arrived unexpectedly and its dimensions were quite impossible to calculate ahead of time. At the same time, it forced us to react quickly. The other process, the development of industrialized agricultural production, was predictable. Although the size and proportions were imprecise, we knew by the beginning of the decade that this was going to become characteristic of agriculture by the second half of the 1970's and that demands associated with modern machinery and chemicals were going to increase at a rapid pace. The dimensions of this process are indicated, for example, by the fact that the industrial base is responsible for supplying 70 percent of the total material requirements of state farms. Although many aspects of this process were seen at the time, the necessary awareness and consistency to create this industrial base was lacking.

[Question] What was the extent and way in which trade union work was able to help in recognizing and solving these problems?

[F. Dobi] One of the most important tasks faced by the trade union in recent years was related precisely to recognizing the problem. In the past, we negotiated about national production questions in agriculture at the upper leadership levels. I remember well some of the conversations at the end of the 1960's: at that time, even the leaders of cooperative farms doing a good job did not precisely know the national average yield of the crops they were raising, not to mention knowing whether their production was economic or not. The key question of the present is to ensure that everyone working in our area is aware of the exact worth of their work, the results of producing crops in other farms and that they are able to compare the results of their labors to the national average as well as the best achievements. Such knowledge may mobilize people to work better.

Thus, concrete development of one of the important elements of socialist democracy, the flow of information, is at the center of our work, in order to ensure that people are informed about the true value of their work, the results and effects of their actions. Today we can safely say that a substantial portion of workers in agriculture know exactly, even to the last penny, the value of their work when it is performed well and the consequences of their mistakes.

Requirements regarding food supplies were formulated in front of the widest public opinion of society during the past five years. Although this wide publicity may not have been the most comfortable initially, it had a beneficial effect on our actions in the end. Due to radio, television and the daily press, public opinion quickly found out about our problems, achievements, important results and mistakes. Our work has been carried out under the eyes of society. The workers of agriculture sense that the results of their work are being watched by the whole nation. This is very helpful to us.

Along with domestic public opinion, we must also talk about international feedback. A ruthless struggle is being waged in Western markets where we get a quick evaluation of our products. High quality, valuable products are acknowledged with repeated and increasingly large orders. Indicators of bad work also come back to us: goods are rejected and orders dry up. Trade union work must help to make sure that everyone is made aware of these signals from the international arena.

Of course, our trade union work cannot be reduced to merely forwarding information regarding work performance. We consider trade union-organized work competition extremely important. We must discuss this because occasional unfavorable experiences in the organization of socialist work competitions and the futility of formal "competitions" bogged down in a bureaucratic morass have caused many people to consider the whole movement with great reservations. We are for their renewal because we consider them to be an important factor in our progress. The question is how to renew the competition movement in a way that could bring in fresh energies and resources in the interests of better work. We are still looking for an answer but our intention is not to start work competitions unless a more or less satisfactory answer, acceptable to the participants, can be given.

The key issue of the competition movement is the precise formulation of goals. This may be composed of two factors: adjustment to economic policy goals and consideration of local, concrete conditions. Unfortunately, we have not followed changing conditions closely enough in the organizational work for competitions in the last five years. This applies both to economic policy goals and adaptation

to local conditions. Today, it is necessary to consider four important factors in the formulation of competition goals. First: quality of products, not just in production but also harvesting, processing and packing. Second: we must not abandon quantitative goals because we need increasing quantities of high quality products. Third: a great deal of attention must be paid to cost management because the cost of producing goods is of decisive importance and the volume of cost must be justified by the results. Fourth: the competition movement must also help in the implementation and strengthening of material incentives governed by performance. Trade union work has an important role to play in all of these areas.

[Question] What organizational and conceptual changes are helpful in solving these tasks? How did trade union work react to the changing conditions?

[F. Dobi] The most important one is the change in the role of shop stewards and the creation of the assemblies of shop stewards, but these changes are not restricted to our sector. They encompassed the entire trade union movement and are therefore quite well-known. On the other hand, I would like to mention a trade union change which represents something new specifically for our sector. This was the first congress of our trade union where the list of delegates included representatives elected by 1,338 basic organizations in 633 cooperative farms to speak for employees of cooperative farms. This means that the group of employees whose interests are represented by us has expanded significantly.

In our organizational work, changing conditions present us with the task of achieving a fundamental turning point in our plant work. This is because trade union activists working on the plant level are the ones who face the most important tasks. For this reason, the apparatus must pay more attention and invest more time and energy in expert assistance on the spot. Fewer resolutions should be made and more talk and convincing propaganda are needed.

With regard to the conceptual goals of our work, we are building on the results we have achieved. As the congress has stated, these are substantial. It is just as important to survey the deficiencies which force us to improve our work. I would like to mention a few of these. First of all: we have not succeeded in introducing material recognition proportional to performance. Wage development is unfortunately still more closely related to job category than to technical competence and real work performance.

Our congress was correct in stating that the workers in our sectors have made satisfactory progress in improving their living standards in recent years. Nevertheless (except for the water management sector) there exists a lag in average wages which must be brought up by our trade union. Workers of state farms receive average wages 5 percent lower than those of industrial workers. The wages of forestry workers are 8 percent below the wage level of similar branches of industry. Therefore, our trade union must fight for a resolution of this issue.

The housing shortage also affects workers in our sectors. Our primary goal is to eliminate the old housing built for farm labourers. There has been substantial progress in this area but it is still insufficient, although a good number of cooperative farms and state farms organized housing construction programs and

various forms of assistance to private housing construction. We are encouraging economic managers to concentrate help on those with a difficult social situation who are also burdened by the necessity to waste their strength, time and money on day-to-day commuting to work.

[Question] Could you say a few words about the kinds of tasks set by the congress of your trade union to improve working methods?

[F. Dobi] Our work has always had some reserves in this area. All trade union activists but especially us, workers in the apparatus, must take a stand against the bureaucratic methods still existing in our work. But not by declaring a grand-sounding fight against them, adopting a resolution on the tasks we face, then work out the details on every level. I think this would be a caricature of the struggle against bureaucracy. The greater need is for showing a good example by better and more precise organization of our own work. We must strengthen the living social character of the trade union movement. Our aim is to avoid asking for written reports unless they are truly indispensable. When we are assigned a task by SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] we should not just pass it on without thought and adaptation because the only thing this would achieve is an unstoppable chain reaction of passing on the task. Some of these tasks require solution by the central trade union authority and not being passed on down the line. This is one way in which we are trying to protect workers at the plant level from unnecessary, time-consuming formal activities.

In other concrete areas we must also look for the methods that can lead to better results at a smaller cost. In the congressional debate it has been brought up on several occasions that better organization of working conditions depends on the quality of the managers' work. We should not think that trade union work is an exception to this rule.

[Question] Congressional delegates often criticized bureaucratic work methods used in the innovation movement.

[F. Dobi] These speeches were quite correct. It is very important for the innovation movement to start working on its own renewal in the first place. At present, the bureaucracy is preventing the acceptance and introduction of innovations, discourages innovators, slows and paralyzes initiative. A key issue of the coming years is to recognize opportunities at an early stage: when, where and how to innovate. The evaluation and recognition structure of achievements must be changed in order to develop the innovation movement. This must be done in a way that gives a greater voice to the public in the evaluation of innovation. Trade union organizations can do a great deal toward this end.

[Question] From the standpoint of the entire field of trade union work, the choice of local leadership and the quality of workers' representation are highly important.

[F. Dobi] The experience of the elections justified the earlier decision regarding the increased role of shop stewards. The shop steward was not elected to sell stamps but to be a true representative of his fellow workers. In our opinion the quality of newly elected shop stewards is substantially better that in the past. Of course, this merely provides the potential for successful work; a great deal

needs to be done to make sure that this potential is realized. To improve the content and methods of trade union work, we need to concentrate on the preparation of shop stewards for performing their functions. This is all the more important because the external conditions of their work are not always up to the improved opportunities open to trade unions. The decentralization of trade union work has not yet been followed by a similar degree of state decentralization. As a result, the arrangement of discussions between appropriate state and trade union organizations requires particular attention and patience in the initial period.

This patience is shown by both the economic leadership and trade union officials toward each other. The economic leadership knows that good shop stewards mean a great deal of support for them: they help by sharing in the responsibilities of decisionmaking, signaling problems, forwarding proposals by their fellow workers, assist in the fulfillment of economic and production tasks, consistently defending the social and labor law interests of the workers and fighting for redress of their grievances.

This is the most important task facing each trade union activist; this is how they can do their utmost to ensure that working masses consider the trade unions as their own and that trade union activities may make a successful contribution to the difficult work of socialist construction in the coming five years.

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DEPUTY MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON FUNCTIONS OF MINISTRY OF CULTURE

Budapest NEPMUVELES in Hungarian No 10, 1980 pp 3-5

[Interview with Maria Hanga, deputy minister of culture by Bela Kajdi:"The New Ministry and Its Tasks"]

[Text] We have followed and are still following with much interest the establishment of the new Ministry of Culture. This is understandable as--according to many observers--the history of our cultural affairs has never witnessed a ministry organized in such a complex way and functioning on the basis of such uniform principles. You have been a practicing teacher, a youth leader, as well as a deputy minister in the ministry of education, and now you are again a deputy minister. As such, you must know from experience the needs, the demands, the changes, and the causes of the changes both from the outside and from the inside. Our readers have probably already learned about the main goals and structural organization of the new ministry from resolution No 1028/1980 (July 23) of the council of ministers, as portrayed in the daily newspapers and in the MUVELODESI KOZLONY [Cultural Gazette]. At this time we would like to be informed about these developments primarily from the vantage point of public culture, so that the cultural workers will be able to implement to the fullest degree these uniform principles and these complexities in their everyday activities.

[Answer] In line with the demands of the age and social progress, the Ministry of Culture aspires to direct the whole area of culture fully and in a complex manner. We hold the strings to all affairs concerning primary, secondary and higher education, general as well as specialized education and continued education, adult education as well as leadership training, public culture as well as the guidance in art, scholarly research, concerning teaching and cultural activities, as well as international and national minority education and culture. Our functions include such specialized goals as the elaboration and the control of the price system in the area of culture, and the centralized guidance of the educational and cultural activities of the local councils. The unity of the principle of guidance requires that these strings should run together, and that they should interlace one another. In this manner the three main areas under my authority--public education, specialist training and public culture--will also draw closer together.

[Question] It is rather evident that the intention is to integrate public education and public culture. The question is how?

[Answer] It is most important to have a harmonious and meaningful cooperation between public education and public culture. We regard it desirable to have multi-functional institutions. We have made this known several times. Our aim is to achieve both partial and complete integration. The former means the administrative unification of the existing institutions, but in such a way that will permit the unit to retain their professional autonomy. The latter refers to a new institutional model, the development of a complex cultural and sports institute. In case of the former, complexity should be achieved gradually, step by step; while in case of the latter, the activities and goals concerning content, economy, structure and administration should be confined to a single unit from the very start. As of now we are aware of seventy initiatives, with four-fifths of them moving toward partial integration. In Heves and in Hajdu-Bihar County plans have been drawn up for the development of complex institutions. These initiatives in the region of Nagykovacsi, the suburbs of Pecs and Siklos, and Debrecen-Ujkert, are well known both from the press reports and from the experiment-descriptions by the Institute of Public Culture. Only recently, both the TV and the NEPSZAVA [People's Voice] have contained reports about Nagykovacsi, where, through the utilization of an ingenious hoisting apparatus, the school became also a cultural center with enviable speed. Such local initiatives, such ingenious reactions that result in these kinds of actions demonstrate conclusively that our drive toward integration is in the forefront of public attention and social approval. Moreover, this goal is also supported by economic, educational and cultural considerations.

But the drive toward cooperation must also be enhanced in the areas where the institutional forms for this are still missing. There is a much greater need for the integration in the schools for activities that are outside the regular study periods. This is especially important in the trade schools that are replenishing our working class, and in particular in the area of art education, and perhaps most of all in music education and in singing. We are bound to this goal not only by our traditions, but also by pedagogical values inherent in common singing and in the unifying force of music itself. But all of these have practical implications.

[Question] The realization of these uniform principles of cultural policy points beyond the traditional areas of culture. A new situation has developed: Today we are witnessing a more complete division of labor. Moreover, multi-sectorism--which previously characterized mostly only the cultural activities and the institutions of the local councils and of various social and mass organizations--has now been expanded through the inclusion of similar functions and obligations by economic organs. Given this new situation, what is the role of the ministry of culture, and what specific functions does it have?

[Answer] Admittedly a new social situation did come into being, and this has already been defined by the 1974 resolution of the central committee of the MSZMP, by the educational law, as well as by the 12th Party Congress. They have outlined the agenda for the future. The most significant obligation for the next few years is the elaboration and shaping of a uniform view toward culture and cultural policy, and the dissemination of this view throughout society. One of the important components of this goal is that which we have already discussed: that cultural activities (i.e., education, public culture, scientific and artistic life) should increasingly be built on one another. Increasing the effectiveness of state control is a requirement of our age. Yet, at the same time, we should not forget multisectorism; i.e., the autonomy of the various

cultural, educational and training activities sponsored by the local councils, labor unions, cooperatives, as well as by the KISZ, the Young Pioneers' League and the People's Front. This goal is being served, among others, by the directives that have already been finished in the first draft, and that will be published (in cooperation with the OKT [National Council of Public Culture]), the ministers, and the mass organizations, and in conjunction with the companies' and cooperatives' cultural plans for the sixth Five-Year Plan.

[Question] What changes characterize the guiding activities of the new ministry?

[Answer] We are widening the basis of this guidance, relying increasingly on cultural and specialized advisory councils. In our effort to widen the democratization of the guidance of public culture, we are utilizing the expertise of such organizations as the Association of Hungarian Cultural Educators, the National Youth Club Council, the various amateur art councils, the latter's regional organizations, the National Council of Cultural Centers, as well as the social leadership of these cultural centers. We have to learn to live with opportunities that these organizations offer to us. It is our distinct desire to increase the autonomy of these institutions, freeing them from the superfluous limitations.

[Question] What help does the Ministry of Culture extend to the local councils, to the other ministries, and to the economic organs?

[Answer] We would like to offer them much more than before. In conjunction with the local councils we are continuing to strive toward theoretical leadership, but we also wish to influence their planning. This was our reason for working out the directives for the Sixth Five Year Plan, and sending it to them at the end of the summer. We are helping them in the continued development of technical supervision and through better information. As to the other ministries? We are forced to be critical and recognize that extending help and directives to them is perhaps the weakest part of our guidance work. We intend to correct this shortcoming, for we intend to give them methodological help through our institutions. As I have already mentioned, we are publishing directives for the companies and the cooperatives. We would like to bring the other ministries more into the affairs of cultural life, and thus put an end to their isolation. This can be enhanced through their participation in continued education programs and through an exchange of ideas. We are obliged to spread and to strengthen a uniform view on public culture under more difficult conditions. This has to be done first of all through the examination of the mutual interaction between public culture and national economy.

[Question] In what way will you strengthen the cooperation with the social and mass organizations?

[Answer] The characteristic of public culture as a movement implies multisectorism. Only in unity can we achieve results. This cooperation still holds many new possibilities. In connection with the labor unions, we can move forward by creating a harmony between the culture at the work place and culture in the home. In this manner the institutional base of public culture will increase and strengthen, and so will personal enrichment, and the number of those subject to enculturation. Our most important goal is the widest possible involvement of the youth and our

most worthy allies toward this goal are the KISZ and the Young Pioneers' Movement. The Patriotic People's Front can also further public culture through various related movements. We can improve the circumstances of the enculturation of the workers of cooperatives, as well as the administration of their involvement in public culture in cooperation with the National Council of Producers' Cooperatives and with the help of various other cooperative organs.

[Question] What role do the Ministry's central institutions have in the policy of guidance?

[Answer] We are mobilizing the National Pedogogical Institute, the National Educational Center, the Career Choice Institute, the Institute of Public Culture, the newly established Institute of Cultural Research, as well as all other institutes attached to the Ministry toward our primary goals, and we urge them that they should pay an increasing attention to practical matters, i.e., to be of help to the various institutions and local councils. In cooperation with the Institute for Cultural Research, the Institute of Public Culture will continue to devote attention to the creation and development of the theoretical foundations of culture. In the course of our reorganization we are striving toward the elimination of the superfluous duplications. At the same time, however, we deem it essential to strengthen the cooperation among the various institutes.

[Question] In what way does the new Ministry's structural organization serve and ensure all of these goals? Doesn't the leadership become fragmented in light of the six jurisdictional regions, twenty chief or independent sections, and over fifty sub-sections?

[Answer] Structural is organization geared to the goals, which are unity and complexity. I believe that the organizational base of these goals have been realized. Of course, I cannot engage in prophesying. The guidance of public culture is the obligation of the whole ministry, and not only one, or even of two or three chief sections. For this very reason we have to strengthen the cooperation with the Chief section of Public Collections. After all, libraries and museums are very important base institutions of public culture. I can similarly allude to the significance of our cooperation with the chief section on art, as well as to our common interests with the chief section on planning and economy, the chief section on colleges and universities, and the various so-called functional chief sections. In the realization of the desired unity the chief sections on cultural policy can have (and in fact already has) a key role. It labors simultaneously on working out the educational and cultural policies, although naturally it draws also on the expertise of the specialized chief sections.

The ministry's current organizations reflects well its chief goals. But the current structure is not necessarily a final one. After some additional experiences we will return to this question, and will develop it further. Thus, the published organizational description is only temporary.

[Question] In speaking about the theoretical, methodological and formal questions concerning the principle of leadership, we have often touched upon the still-to-be-attained goals of public culture. Whis are the most important goals?

[Answer] The most important one is the thorough preparation of the Sixth Five Year Plan. We have defined the goals of this period according to uniform principles. Yet, we did so sensitively, and in line with the spirit of the relevant party and state documents. The directives were prepared by our chief sections on public collections and public culture, in cooperation with the central institutes, and by taking into consideration also the work performed during the fifth Five Year Plan.

In the course of the next planning period, the conditions of public culture will probably improve only very modestly, and as such we will have to work simply to retain existing conditions. We can ensure progress only through possibilities afforded to us by the discovering of new reserves, by cooperation, by the elimination of duplications, by better organizations, by the pulling of our material and intellectual resources, and by common efforts. Our main goal is to stabilize past achievements, so that we should be able to move forward in strengthening the socialist content and communal characteristic of public culture, in the raising of its quality level, and in increasing the number of those who share in this culture. Our fundamental obligations are to get the youth involved, to extend material and moral support to the amateur movements, to strengthen the information-dispersing activities of institutions, to strengthen likewise their activities that spread and shape civilizational and social know-how, especially as these relate to everyday life, and to provide high-quality recreation. The preconditions for these goals include the openness of the content, form and methods of public culture, the raising of its technical quality level, and the strengthening of the democratization of its leadership.

[Question] What do these really mean in essence?

[Answer] Openness in the case of cultural centers means that they should be sensitive to all of the needs of society. That is, instead of offering only organized programs, they should strive to create a continuous communal life. It is especially important to analyze interest relationships and the motivations behind these relationships from the point of view of various social strata and social groups, and to take this into consideration both during planning and during application. The principle openness manifests itself also in the search for common maintenance, for common functioning and for various other possibilities of cooperation. I have already spoken of the democratization of leadership. The raising of the technical quality level is a multidirectional task. First of all it requires that we should be able to select and to support with sufficient critical acumen all cultural, scientific and artistic values and activities, including also folk culture and the folk arts. Looking at this from the institutional point of view, we have to strengthen the technical and the methodological activities of the cultural centers in the counties as well as in the capital, and improve the effective dissemination of desirable forms, and methods. From this point of view it is desirable to establish experimental institutions. The employment of well-trained specialists and a further increase in the social prestige of cultural workers are also key questions in the effective spreading of public culture. The press also has a significant and multifaceted role in the achievement of these goals.

[Question] What role does the Ministry of Culture allocate to the institutions of the local councils?

[Answer] Their very number gives to them a determining role. We would like them to become forces of attraction. This is especially true for the county cultural centers, who have an obligation to supply the cultural needs of small settlements and of the peripheral regions.

[Question] What are your expectations from the cultural workers?

[Answer] We expect them to display the same unitary and unifying view of culture that we too are fighting for. We expect the cultural workers to concentrate their energies on the solution of main problems. They should not fragment their strength, nor should they lose themselves in details. We want them to work in a creative way. They should be driven by the cravings of an artist, and they should search for solutions within the given possibilities. These are not easy requirements, but they are essential.

We are also expecting something similar from the new Ministry of Culture. And we wish you and all of your co-workers much success in your efforts.

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CONCEPTS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, DETENTE EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 80 pp 461-468

[Article by Corneliu Bogdan: "Coexistence and Detente"]

[Text] The worsening of affairs that has occurred in international relations recently once again has shown the fragility of the process of detente and has once again brought into discussion the content itself of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence.

One of the principal causes of the fragility of the process of detente was that the notion itself of detente and its linkage with the more encompassing concept of peaceful coexistence were the objects of certain heated controversies.

Numerous Western politicians and researchers are even speaking of the need to redefine the "rules of the game" for peaceful coexistence and detente.

That is why a discussion of these concepts is, in our opinion, of special current interest.

I

The viability of any political concept depends upon its ability to offer adequate answers to the objective processes of society and to keep pace with the realities of a rapidly changing world.

From this point of view, it is clear that peaceful coexistence, as a means of peacefully developing relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, responds to a durable reality of our times, which is, the existence for an undetermined period of time of certain countries having different social systems, on one hand, and the interest of all nations in preventing the ideological antagonisms created by this situation from turning into conflict, on the other hand. From this point of view, despite the many difficulties and regressions there has been continuing progress in this concept since its proclamation by the first socialist country.

Since the defeat of the first foreign intervention against the young Soviet Republic, there has not been a single war between the socialist and capitalist countries that has been provoked principally by ideological differences.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union was allied with the two principal Western powers in order to defeat the attempt of Hitlerist Germany to attain world domination.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, beginning with their establishment in the Charter of the United Nations, were adopted as an essential constitutional part of international law.

Currently, detente is appearing as a new step forward on the path of affirming peaceful coexistence. As a result, detente can be considered as being the current stage of peaceful coexistence and, for the purpose of this article, we feel that the two terms are interchangeable.

II

Normally, detente is defined, in contrast with the cold war, as a transition from the "era of confrontation" to the "era of negotiation."

In this regard, a more correct description would be a transition from a period when peaceful coexistence was only a rational and desired alternative to a period when it is recognized as an objective necessity.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, "beginning with the reality of the existence in today's world of socialist countries, developing nations and capitalist countries, the policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes an objective necessity which calls for the broad extension of cooperation and understanding between all states, regardless of their social order."

The beginnings of detente were marked by certain positive developments: the normalization of relations between nearly all countries, an continuing extension of trade and contacts between them, the resolution of certain difficult problems of a bilateral or multilateral nature and a general tendency to move away from the rigidity and hostility of the cold war and to advance towards a democratization of international affairs.

Despite all this, the beginning of detente has proven, to the present, to be powerless to prevent the sharpening of international contradictions and the aggrevation of certain old conflicts and the appearance of new ones and new attempts to use force, expecially armed forces.

What is the cause of such a negative evolution, especially at a time when, as the beginnings of detente proved, the political and social forces that are promoting international peace and understanding have the real opportunities to prevail in world politics?

A large part of the answer to this question, in our opinion, is in the fact that political thought and practice are still not keeping pace with the rapidly changing reality.

The general principled understanding, according to which there was no other alternative to peaceful coexistence, was not completed from the point of view of enriching this concept, keeping in mind the current realities.

Certainly, this situation reflects the very precise interests of the old politics based upon the domination of force in international affairs.

On the other hand, considering the general interest and, supposedly, the priority interest of human survival, this unwise adaption could be attributed, especially with regards to certain important sources of public opinion, to the existence of certain misunderstandings or certain erroneous concepts.

III

It could be said that detente began with the recognition of a reality: the strategic parity of the two principal nuclear powers. The arms race had reached a stage, President Nixon noted in Moscow in 1972, where there was no other alternative for the two nuclear powers but "peaceful coexistence, since in a nuclear war there is no winner, only losers."

If this recognition is essential and contributed to a significant relaxation of international tensions, it is not, however, sufficient to ensure the durability of coexistence and detente under the conditions of the contemporary world.

If we limit peaceful coexistence solely to avoiding a nuclear war, there is danger of gradually destroying the content of the entire concept.

Actually, the logic of such an approach leads to presenting the balance of forces and, later, strategic parity as the principal guarantee for peaceful coexistence and, finally, to limiting detente or peaceful coexistence only to relations between the USSR and the United States.

The former supreme commander of NATO, Andrew J. Goodpaster, very clearly presented such an understanding when he wrote: "The restrictions upon detente rapidly diminish to the degree in which we get away from the special nuclear relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and move towards the problems of NATO, the Middle East and Southeast Africa. We see detente as a product of the game between the great powers and, at the same time, as a source of the strategy that guides at least a part of this game."[1]

One of his colleagues from the U.S. Army War College, Dr Anthony Wermuth, is even more explicit: "Detente is an official bilateral policy between the two superpowers, (other nations influence it or are influenced by it), but they are not a part of it."[2]

Here we are back to the policy of force, with the sole difference being that if we are lucky enough we can avoid a nuclear war.

The limits imposed upon the concept of detente have in practice the final result of denying the essence itself of peaceful coexistence and not diminishing but increasing the dangers of war.

On the contrary, peaceful coexistence could be consolidated if consideration were given not only to moves in the world military balance and in the development of strategic weapons, but also to the general impact of the worldwide revolutionary changes that are taking pace in the entire world. We are mainly speaking of two major components in a close mutual relationship to this revolutionary process.

First of all -- a direct result of the scientific and technical revolution, the continually accentuating international interdependence.

In a world on interdependence, no nation can isolate itself from world cooperation without causing serious damage to its own social and economic development.

As a result, peaceful coexistence should be conceived not only as the absence of war, but also as an active process that involves the full participation, on the basis of mutual respect and advantage, of all countries in international trade and the international division of labor, within the framework of which each nation has someting to offer and receive. Peaceful coexistence must be conceived as a dynamic cooperation between all countries for the solution of the great common problems facing all of mankind.

The second component of the worldwide revolutionary process, which is basic for the future of detente and peaceful coexistence, is tied to the profound and rapid social changes which have brought about a rapid movement in the balance of forces towards peace, international understanding and social progress.

In world politics, this change is expressed, first of all, through the powerful affirmation of the will of all the people to put an end to the policies of dictate and domination and the policy of spheres of influence, and to become complete masters of their own destinies.

There is a dialectical relationship between these two objective phenomena, interdependence and national affirmation, a relationship which affects the entire evolution of international politics.

The most important thing for the future of world peace is avoiding any evolution that could lead to the sharpening of contradictions between interdependence and independence and, as a result, the appearance of certain serious conflicts between countries. This requires an organization of international interdependence that can contribute to the gradual elimination of inequality between nations and to the creation of an international environment that will allow each nation to fully express its personality and identity.

This linkage, interdependence and national self-affirmation, has a double impact upon peaceful coexistence.

First of all, in order to be effective it must be extended to the relations between all nations without any exceptions, regardless of their social system, size, level of development, military or economic power, whether they belong to a military alliance or not, and so forth.

The principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and the denunciation of force constitute the essence itself of peaceful co-existence and they must be profoundly rooted in and spread throughout all the areas of world politics.

One can add that the future of peaceful coexistence will depend upon the fate of the national state and, conversely, as long as the national state remains the fundamental unit of the international system the principles of peaceful coexistence will maintain their viability as key factors in the smooth operation of the system.

Second, peaceful coexistence cannot, if we are talking about being effective, be broken away from the great international problems whose solutions represent the key to gradually reducing international inequalities. It is clear that there can be no authentic and durable peaceful coexistence as long as confront each other armed to the teeth.

It is certainly understood that a balance based upon military force cannot be eliminated over night from world politics. It is also true that the goal of peaceful coexistence cannot and must not be the unilateral overturning of this balance. But, the balance of power, as a permanent and main prop in world politics and peace, is a denial of the essence itself of peaceful coexistence. For that reason, a continuing balanced reduction of armaments that can lead to a general disarmament must constitute an integral part of an all-encompassing policy of peaceful coexistence.

As an American military expert noted: "The forms of economic, cultural, scientific, technological and humanitarian recompense are those that will make a significant detente... Nonetheless, at a given moment the ultimate symbols of detente - military power - must also make their contribution through their own disappearance... If in the end detente does not help in answering this problem better than we could without detente, then it will represent an idea whose only defect is that it was never tried."[3]

The same considerations also apply to the problem of development. The persistence and furthering of the gap between the developed countries and the developing nations constitutes a major source which, in certain circumstances, could become the principal source of international tensions.

For that reason, not only international equality and morality and the interests of economic stability and world progress, but also the real concerns for international security require the achievement of a more equitable economic order as a principal component of an effective policy of peaceful coexistence.

IV

An encompassing philosophy of coexistence in the sense described above will also provide the most effective answer to what is today called the human dimension of detente, that is, the manner in which the progress of detente and peaceful coexistence effects the life, rights and freedoms of people. It is clear that such problems can be resolved only by each nation.

The sole and most constructive contribution that the international community can make is to provide the nest conditions possible for the national affirmation of all peoples. For this reason. a peaceful coexistence that concentrates on the consolidation of national independence, relieving the people from the burden of arms build-ups and poverty and stimulating an active exchange of goods and cultures, constitutes the best possible condition for ensuring the progress and well-being of each nation.

"In today's world," points out the Italian communist leader Sergio Segre, "coexistence and cooperation are becoming even more premises for any type of effective social progress and a prior condition in order to adequately meet the dramatic problems of contemporary society."[4]

As we have already mentioned, peaceful coexistence was conceived as a concept for the peaceful and constructive cooperation of the capitalist and socialist countries. This remains, certainly, a major concern for the present and the future alike, just as the contradiction between socialism and capitalism remains the major contradiction of our times.

But, international affairs are much more complex and they cannot be reduced to a single contradiction. Even if it is major, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, alone, cannot explain all the complications of world politics and does not constitute always the predominant factor. There are many other contradictions between nations that stem from differences of size, level of development, historical evolution and cultural traditions. Although they are interwoven with ideological and class conflicts, these contradictions have a distinct origin and their own dynamics, and, as experience has demonstrated, have continued to work even after the victory of the socialist revolution or the struggle for national liberation.

If the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence are to make new progress, they must take into consideration this complex character of the most dynamic era in the history of mankind. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "The complex international problems concern not only the socialist and capitalist

countries, but also the developing nations which constitute, in fact, the vast majority of the countries and which have an important role in the evolution of international affairs as well as in the development of the process of detente and the solution of all the complex questions in a democratic manner. The consolidation of the process of detente requires the active participation of all countries in international affairs under conditions of full equality and the solution of the complex problems facing mankind, including those related to underdevelopment, without whose solution it is difficult to speak of stability, true detente and peace."[5]

V

In the context of such a philosophy for coexistence, the much discussed problem of the relation between peaceful coexistence and ideological contradictions can be placed, in our opinion, in a more realistic perspective.

For a beginning, here is only a single reference to the relationship between coexistence and the international contradictions, in general.

We feel that any philosophy or policy of peaceful coexistence cannot and must not fix as its purpose the abolition or halting of any kind of contradiction, for the simple reason that such an action is not possible. Contradictions cannot disappear since they are an objective phenomena and there is no development without contradictions.

Peaceful coexistence cannot be conceived as an idyllic state. The only thing that peaceful coexistence can and must do is to offer a basis for a policy for avoiding the sharpening of contradictions and their degenerating into crises and military confrontations, and a policy of controlling contradictions in the interest of peace, cooperation and the progress of mankind. In other words, peaceful coexistence must be conceived as a "management of contradictions" that will replace the "management of crises" that is practiced today with more and more damaging consequences in some capitals.

Certainly, ideological contradictions are no exception. They were not invented by communists or socialists, and they cannot be cancelled by them as they please. At the same time, we believe that not just the communists are the ones who are not ready to give up the ideological struggle. At the Helsinki Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Bruno Kreisky, chancellor of Austria, said: "Thus, we are ready for a confrontation and the reason why we salute the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe is that the principles upon which it is based will permit such a worldwide confrontation through peaceful means. This is, in any case, the way I interpret the passage in the Declaration of Principles referring to the right of each participating country to select and develop its own political, social, economic and cultural system."[6] At the same time, each society, and not only the socialist ones, is trying to promote its own values on a worldwide scale. "In a world of stormy and rapid changes, the main purpose of our foreign policy is to do what we can to help create an international environment where the values we consider the essence of our society, when we are sincere with ourselves, can endure and make progress in achievements."[7]

A certain intensity in the ideological struggle must also appear as an inevitable consequence of the sharpening of social and political contradictions in many countries as a result of the profoundly revolutionary changes that are taking place everywhere in the world. The situation is complicated by the fact that in our small and interdependent world domestic policy is interwoven with foreign policy and that each major domestic problem also has a foreign dimension and vice versa. "The essential attribute of this phase," writes Pierre Hassner, "is neither force nor cooperation, but rather the constant influence of societies one upon the other within the framework of a competition whose purposes are less and less tangible, whose means are less and less direct and whose consequences are ever less calculable. They involve more immediate activities than strategies and these activities influence what the societies are just as much they influence what these societies do."[8]

Under these circumstances, it would probably be unrealistic for us to expect an "erosion" of ideology, as Stanley Hoffman figures.[9] But, it is not only possible but also imperative to reduce the impact of ideological contradictions upon interstate relations.

The crucial element in this regard is, once again, respect for the personality and identity of each nation. There are many problems that have both an international and domestic component and where the real boundary between the two cannot but be the result of negotiations based upon equal rights and mutual respect.

During a period when ideological contradictions and the advance of national affirmation are accentuating the processes of diversification between nations and are creating new differences between nations and societies, the process of negotiations must be extended and accelerated in order to develop new common standards for behavior, as required by modern interdependence.

There is no incompatibility between these two processes. Actually, they represent two aspects of worldwide historical development in which ideological, social and political confrontations have led to the continuing enrichment of the treasuries of civilization and world culture, with each society and each social and economic order making its own contribution.

In this regard, the principal task is to intervene through appropriate actions so that the historical process can occur without creating conflictual situations between states and peoples. This task could be facilitated to a great degree if the political negotiations could be separated from the predominantly ideological discussions. Some of the problems of an ideological nature, for example the development of a new philosophy on humanism, could be given, first of all, to scientists, other experts who do not hold public office, members of parliament and so forth, as has been suggested many times by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

A criterion for achieving these desire would be for countries and political leaders to abstain from the deliberate exacerbation of ideological aspects as an instrument of political power.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "It must be understood well that the policy of detente presupposes respect for the independence of each people and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and the right of people to win and consolidate their national independence and to achieve the revolutionary and social transformations that they want. No one can pretend to stop people from struggling for the acquisition of independence and for the revolutionary transformation of society. It is clear that there must be a firm rejection of any interference, in one form or another, but first of all through military means, with the purpose of blocking the national, economic and social liberation struggle of the people. At the same time, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles, social revolution cannot but be the fruit of the struggle of the popular masses, the political forces and each people. Similarly, it must be understood that there can not be allowed the exporting of counter-revolutions or the exporting of revolutions. Peaceful coexistence and detente precisely presuppose the direct respect for the right of each people to free and independent development, without any outside interference."

The implementation of this concept is key, in our opinion, in stopping tensions in international relations and resuming and consolidating the process of detente in the interest of the entire human community.

FOOTNOTES

1. "National Security and Detente," forward by General Andrew J. Goodpaster, with contributions by faculty members of the U.S. Army College, New York, Apollo Editions, Thomas and Cromwell Company, 1976, p 273.

2. Ibidem.

3. John F. Scott, in "National Security and Detente," Vol Cit, p 333.

4. "Rinascita," numbers 11-35, 17 Mar 1978.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, an interview given to the Argentinian newspaper CLARIN, in SCINTEIA, 29 Oct 1978.

6. Quoted from chancellor Bruno Kreisky's conversation at Chatham House, 4 Jul 78, "International Affairs," Oct 1978, Vol 54, No 4, p 618.

7. Marshall Shulman, "Toward A Western Philosophy of Coexistence," Foreign Affairs, Oct 1978, pp 49-50.

8. Pierre Hassner, "Europe - Old Conflicts, New Rules," ORBIS, Fall 1973, p 897.

9. Stanley Hoffman, "The Uses of American Power," "Foreign Affairs, October 1977.

8724
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ROMANIA

REPORT ON WORLD PSYCHOLOGY CONGRESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 20 Nov 80 pp 51-52

[Article by Dr Pavel Muresan, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "Psychology and Society (From the 23rd World Psychology Congress)"]

[Text] Contemporary scientific progress is recording important moments in the development of social sciences, moments that summarize the long phases in the evolution of this progress and seek new directions for developing and applying in practice the results of specialized research. In this context, several tendencies are accentuated and become defining in nature: the opening towards a broad and efficient cooperation of scientists in research and the more rapid use in social practice of the results of the analyses and studies.

Under these points, the proceedings of the recent International Congress of Psychology were carried out, as organized by the Society of Psychologists in the FRG. At the congress, numerous scientists participated from Europe, America, Asia, Africa and Australia, a event that served as a broad exchange of ideas in the problem of a more profound implication of the results of psychology in social research. The discussions in such a scientific forum showed the need for a more active and responsible participation by all scientists in the solution of the great and grave problems currently facing mankind: the growth of the arms race, conflicts and tension, terrorism, violence, criminality and drugs, juvenile deliquency, mental underdevelopment and psychological illness and so forth. As a final conclusion, the discussions showed the need for scientists to apply and use the results of their research for the purpose of improving the quality of human life, ensuring the mental health of people, fighting for peacem understanding and cooperation, increasing human performance at work, accelerating the psychological development of young people and so forth.

Covering a broad and varied thematic area (symposia, thematic sessions, discussion sessions and conferences held by important persons in contemporary psychology), the congress presented the progress of psychology as a science and the most recent and complex results of research on the mind as a product of matter. Within the framework of the symposia and thematic sessions and in the diverse conferences and discussions, there were discussions on the themes and problems of applied psychology (industrial, educational, clinical and social psychology), current methodological and theoretical problems, new

directions and trends in psychological research, interpretation and understanding, and the future and current directions of the evolution of this branch of the social sciences. They showed the efficiency of applying certain results from the psychological investigations and analyses in the selection of personnel, discovery of creative people and scientific use of their creative potential in the better organization of production and work on the basis of certain psychological and ergonomic principles, educational and professional guidance for young people, design of school books and teaching-learning school activities, education of young people and so forth.

Within the framework of the discussions, the participants heard a series of trends, directions and orientations referring to the application of research and results of psychology in the analysis of relationships in society. Thus, it is worth noting the firm disapproval and rejection of false, anti-humanist interpretations given to certain results of psychological research regarding the psycho-social make-up of individuals, the so-called "differentiations" and "biological inequalities" between people. Such racist theories and orientations which are supposedly "confirmed" by the results of anthropometric research upon the intelligence of different human races did not find supporters within the ranks of the participants at the congress. On the contrary, the profoundly humanist orientation of the congress' proceedings and the profoundness with which such points of view were combated demonstrated once again the responsibility with which the scientists in this field are struggling to defend the vital interests of man, regardless of race, nationality, sex, age or political or religious affiliation. The discussions carried out on this theme showed that such Western psycho- and sociobiological points of view are the attributes of certain semi-specialists who are supported and financed by a series of right wing and racists groups. Numerous psychologists pointed out during the congress that the inequalities of biological and psychological development between people are the consequences of hunger, poverty and the underdevelopment to which hundreds of millions of people are unjustly condemned.

In this regard, the research presented by M. G. Husain and R. Jehan, from the University of Delhi, is not at all surprising. They proposed to demonstrate how economic conditions and the standard of living influence the intellectual abilities, intelligence and creativity of young people in environments having different living standards and levels of economic development. The results of this psychological research demonstrated the direct negative influence of economic conditions (the size and quality of living space, income, manner of living and so forth) and the lowered quality of life (lack of food, poor quality education, lower cultural levels and so forth) upon the level of mental development of young people and upon their intelligence, creativity and motivation for social behavior. The psychological inequalities between people are not of a biological nature, as the supporters of the elitist theories claim, but rather they have a specific economic-social cause: underdevelopment, hunger, illiteracy and so forth. Here you must look for the determining factors of social behavior, and not in phylogenetics and the genetics of populations, as the supporters of these points of view, which

history has repudiated, have tried to maintain, including the West German psychologist W. Wickler. More than that, according to a series of researchers (F. Slavka - Czechoslovakia, A. Marek - Poland, T. C. Jordan - England and so forth), a poor diet has especially serious consequences upon the physical and mental development of children, expressed more than once in phenomena such as delayed mental development and physical and mental debilities.

We cannot but emphasize that, in addition to such an "appearance" of certain psychological theses influenced by elitist ideas in dealing with interhuman relations, during the discussions at the congress there were also some theses that were closely tied to the heated arms race. The results of the discussions on some of these reports were that in the world fabulous sums of money are allocated for psychological research for military purposes. Diverse modern devices for psychological testing and diagnoses, as well as improved methodologies for psycho-diagnosis and improved selection are frequently encountered not in schools, hospitals or enterprises, but in the army. And, for what reason? In order to better select people who kill more quickly or those who have ideas, are creative and invent new weapons and new variations of death. It is known that NATO organizes prestigious scientific sessions in the field of psychology regarding the perceptions and aptitudes of soldiers.

We cannot agree with the research presented during the congress by F. Mizouni (Tunisia) regarding the strategies of psychological training and selection of officers. The use of psychological research for military purposes is of the most anti-human nature in relation to all the other research since in this paradoxal case the research into the human mind is carried out with lucid cynicism in order to "program" man to murder his own fellow man. To this end, the most intelligent, creative, well-equipped and trained people are used.

At the same time, it is worth noting the special interest of the participants in the ideological implications of the different research in psychology. It seems a positive fact that many of the young researchers in the Western countries are directing themselves more and more towards researching the mechanisms in the creation and development of the human personality from a materialist-dialectic and historical point of view and towards researching and recognizing the special importance of the social context in the evolution of the personality and social relationships.

The reconstruction of the theoretical and methodological basis of Western psychological studies, beginning with the social-historical approach to the evolution of human beings in the context of a complex group of economic, social, cultural and political factors, is, thus, an ever clearer trend for the younger psychologists in the capitalist world.

In this regard, it is interesting to note the article-report presented by Theo Herrman from the University of Manheim, "The Philosophy of Psychological Science in the FRG" (THE GERMAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, No 4/1978), in which the author, quoting numerous other specialists, says: "Traditional psychology ("bourgeois" psychology) can no longer progress because of its theoretical constructions, which are arbitrary." "Any progress in psychology," the author continues, "depends upon the scientific development of Marxism..."

This recognition on behalf of certain Western specialists of the role that Marxist theory has in the development of psychology serves to strengthen the opinions expressed during the congress that bourgeois psychology at the level of evolution attained today must take into account new aspects and be brought up to date. We thus note the crisis of structure and concept in the Western psychological theories which the mirage of transcultural psychobiology and sociobiology has brought to an impasse, requiring them to move towards a value and methodological reorientation. In which direction it will take them is hard to figure. This is especially so as the pretentious exponents of certain elitist theories more forcefully argue their "scientific" convictions and opinions.

A constant trend that characterized the content of the research presented and the discussions was the discovery of certain new means of increasing the applicability and efficiency of psychological research on social and technical relationships, and the attemtps to tackle and give an answer to the most specific and practical problems of work, life and the aspirations of people. Thus, at the congress important considerations were expressed regarding the man-machine relationship as a socio-technical system that directly impacts upon labor productivity. Numerous other research papers centered on psychotherapy, mental hygiene, the prevention of mental diseases, the prevention of anti-social behavior, the socialization of children and their moral, cognitive and affective development.

During the congress, one could see a clear orientation of numerous psychological research papers towards the overall problem of social development and the awareness of the values and utilities of the psychological disciplines in dealing with and resolving certain worldwide problems of society, such as economic crises, conflicts, catastrophes, the appearance and manifestation of certain unforeseen events, pollution, stress and so forth. In this regard, it is worth noting the interest and special appreciation in the congress created by the recent Report of the Club of Rome regarding the role of social training in ensuring the harmony of social systems and in creating prospective behavior through anticipative and participative training for the purpose of quickly adapting to unforeseen situations and events. The congress also occasioned an impulse to and an accentuation of the orientation of researchers in psychology towards an interdisciplinary approach in the context of the appearance and the development of certain new fields and branches of psychology: ecological psychology, the psychology of the cosmos, the psychology

of space and architecture, group psychotherapy and so forth. The interdisciplinary nature of certain studies in the social sciences, also revealed at this meeting of psychologists, allows a series of psychological analyses and research papers of great value and applicability to be achieved within the framework of certain joint teams, through the participation, in addition to psychologists, of doctors, sociologists, engineers, computer specialists, economists, anthropologists, architects and so forth.

In coming with a broad thematic range of subjects, the Romanian delegation placed in discussion a series of studies on the social psychology and psychosociology of leadership, on psychological research in industrial labor, on the psychology of learning, on cybernetic psychology and so forth. The interest created among the ranks of the specialists regarding the Romanian research brought about an efficient exchange of information and experiences between the Romanian researchers and the other participants at the congress. Numerous specialists from different countries expressed their interest in knowing the results of the psychological research and the specialized publications in Romania. This interest, which is not just of a scientific nature, has in mind the intensification of the exchange of scientific publications in this field, more intense cooperation between specialists, and the broad dissemination of the results of psychological research.

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AVAILABILITY OF FOOD, CONSUMER GOODS FOR WINTER DISCUSSED

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCRESTIUEUI in Romanian 12 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, by Petru Calapodescu]

[Excerpts] Preda: As we know, the people of Bucharest, just like the people in the rest of the country, are benefitting from the constant concern fo the party and of its secretary general for providing an adequate supply of goods. For this purpose, the production capacities of the food industry and light industry enterprises in Bucharest and throughout the country have been developed; the sales network has been expanded and improved conditions for the commercialization of the commodities have been created, in accordance with the capacities of industry and agriculture and the real consumption needs of the population. In this context, the municipal party committee and the executive committee of the people's council established, on a timely basis, a broad and rigorous program of measures in regard to supplying the people during the cold weather, exerting consistent efforts to implement this program under the best possible conditions.

As a result--although, as we know, this agricultural year was not one of the best--it has been possible to store the necessary food products and agricultural food products for consumption in December and during the January-April period of 1981 in much larger quantities than was the case last year, quantities which will satisfy needs have been assured. I am referring, among other things, to oils, sugar, pasta, rice, flour, preserved vegetables and fruits, in a volume in accordance with rational consumption. The supplies specified in the program have been achieved or achievement is near completion for the majority of food products, including meat and meat products, milk and milk products. A few details are necessary in regard to the providing of supplies of potatoes, onions and other root vegetables. Let us not forget that during the fall, on the occasion of "Horticulture Month," the markets of the city received large quantities of these products so that many citizens could get supplies for the cold weather. Let me mention that this year's supply of potatoes is larger than last year's and at present, sales--250-300 tons a day--are greater than last year's. In regard to the supplies of onions, they must be apportioned thriftily until April so that the sales network will receive suitable quantitites each day. We have adequate quantities of root vegetables, especially carrots and the apples will last until the spring fruits appear. Since some delays in deliveries by industry have been made up for, the stores will be receiving preserved fruits and vegetables on a regular basis. A supply of beans which will be sold during the coming period has also been achieved.

In regard to non-food products, let me stress that they are in sufficient supply and the supply of goods for the current "Months of Gifts" is eloquent proof. For some products, including the textile-footwear group, a supply larger than that of a similar period in 1979 has been assured.

We are justified in saying that the delivery schedules have material backing and that we have the necessary manpower and means of transportation for transporting the products. However, for a number of items the volume of sales is considerably higher than it was last year, much higher than would be normal considering the rise in the population. How can this be explained? It is known that the supply process depends not only on the volume of goods but also on the way in which the volume is handled. The tendency of some citizens to over-supply themselves and to purchase goods which are in excess of the real consumption needs of the family continues to manifest itself. Thus, artificial shortages are created in some stores and the supply mechanism does not operate properly. In order for this mechanism to be effective, citizens must purchase only what they absolutely need. They must understand that it is not possible to deliver more goods, at a more rapid pace than they are being produced. And they must not buy, as sometimes happens, according to the size of their own personal larders. Such practices affect the objective, everyday capabilities of the suppliers and the transporation and commercialization systems.

CSO: 2700

ARTISTS UNION OFFICIAL REPLIES TO ATTACK ON ART CRITICISM

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 30 Oct 80 p 19

[Article by Andrei Plesu]: "The Right to a Reply"]

[Text] Since an interview appeared in FLACARA which brings out a multitude of false information and malicious commentaries on art criticism today in Romania, please, in accordance with the right to a reply, publish the explanations below, not only since I am directly involved but also since I am secretary of the criticism section of the Union of Plastic Artists:

It occurs so rarely for problems of art criticsm to be placed into public discussion that the initiative by FLACARA to reserve an entire page for these problems in its 16 October 1980 issue is more than encouraging. What also is notable is the vigilance with which Raoul Sorban looks after the moral state of the guild he is part of, at an age when others would rather weigh their own lives or hurry to put the finishing touches on their works. Yet, the information which he transmits to the readers throughout the copious interview signed by Mihai Pelin is able to throw a bizarre light on an area of modern Romanian culture which, without being spared internal tension, acute lacks and uncertainties, is striving to align its efforts honestly in the general aspiration for qualitative balance and social effectiveness. Out of respect for the public and the level reached today by almost all areas of humanist culture, we feel obligated to temper that pathos for discrediting which colors Professor Sorban's entire discussion. As he says, "The current situation is simply absurd." He speaks of a "lack of responsibility," of "illegal incomes," "cliques," "immorality," and so forth, as if, with two or three exceptions, the guild of art critics is a gathering of delinquents with no other concern than to steal from the till. Full of consideration for what was achieved in art and art criticism in the interwar period, Raoul Sorban has the air to state that in recent decades both areas have been drifting. It is a philosophy which has nothing to do with the benign smile which shows him in the magazine's photograph. And a philosophywhich does not even have the excuse of a wise critical spirit. It dissembles merely a crepuscular bitterness, a chronic grudge, a typical sympton of a resenting consciousness.

I admit that I would not have hurried to write these lines if the magazine publishing the incriminating interview did not have the audience it does and if the text of the interview had not been so broad. For the majority of his guild colleagues, Raoul Sorban long has been a classified case. Nobody takes him serious anymore and only the innocence of a reporter foreignto the area can justify putting his name on the printed page "en vedette." Sorban made for himself a misleading university

air and practices a form of affability which can trip a person who has not been warned. Everything is imposture. Having retired, "Professor" Sorban never has been known for a notable professional undertaking. The "monographs" mentioned by the bibliographic inset in FLACARA either are summary forewards of the job (see the few pages on Frans Hals) or, in the best case, modest essays barely reaching 40 pages. All together they could be merely the record of a promising young man and in no way the balance of a prestigious scientific career which would give him the right to judge others. Regarding the work on "the Baia Mare school," with which he has mystified his colleagues (as well as himself) since we know him, it already is part of our uild's anecdotes. Not a single general book, not even a simple university manual has come from the pen of the presumptuous author. That is why we consider the boldness with which Sorban penalizes the "predominantly oral activity" of some of his colleagues as suicidal. What he can oppose in the "last director of the Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art of Cluj" (that is how his biography in FLACARA writes) is not known and will not be known. The fact is that those critics whom Sorban, without naming them, rebukes for being unworthy, explaining that "they do not have to take action in a circle of initiates," all are infinitely more well-known by the public at large than he himself is, thus having become the ideal victim of his own fury. All those who cultivate the visual arts in Romania know Ion Frunzetti and Dan Haulica. Those who love them and those who detest them know them. In exchange, Raoul Sorban is truly closed in a "circle of initiates." The FLACARA interview, I feel, is the most spectacular entrance of his life in public.

It would be simple and, for the readers, amusing to make a strict analysis of Sorban's work, whatever there is of it. True, this would mean wasting our patience in a sterile operation. In any case we are ready to do it if the "professor" somehow would ask us to, devoid as he is of the instinct for conservation. For the time being, we have the text of the interview before us and it is sufficiently rich in monstrosities and poisonous statements that we are obligated to make some hygienic clarifications. This is easy for us to do because Raoul Sorban's polemic gusto did not have the precaution of regulating with necessary precision. His attack is a masterpiece of self-annihilation. And here is how. Toward the end of the interview, the person in question approaches the delicate matter of the national specific nature and radically protests those who do not give glory it deserves ito Romanian values. Rightfully, Sorban refuses to accept that "we have lagged behind in the artistic area" and he unmasks "the attempts of some people continually to create inferiority complexes for the artists." The remainder of his interview falls under the incidence of this type of procedure. Today's art criticism is being penalized all over, with merely three names having remained outside the discussion: Virgil Mocanu, C. R. Constantinescu and Mircea Toca. But Sorban gets mixed up even with these three. He appears "bored by the customary criticsm in the magazines," forgetting that he is praising precisely those, Virgil Mocanu and C. R. Constantinescu, who practice this constantly, having permanent columns (not boring at all) in ROMANIA LITERARA and CONTEMPORANUL, respectively. Regarding so many other critics of all ages who , within the limits of existing space, are carrying out an honest trade, Raoul Sorban has no knowledge. Mihai Driscu, Constantin Prut, Mihai Ispir, Andrei Cornea, Gheorghe Vida, Grigore Arbore, Marina Preutu (many of them, through admi nistrative fatality, were even students), and then Radu Bogdan, Amelia Pavel, Vasile Dragut, Dan Grigorescu, Octavian Barbosa, Radu Ionescu, to say nothing of Ion Frunzetti and Dan Haulica, brutally removed from the game--all seem to the nearly anonymous Sorban heroes of a "bankrupt" collective. One of my books is sent to the zone of Steinerist theosophy with a premeditatingly slanderous ill-will and this is because I quote Rudolf Steiner once in the more than 200 pages. In the place under discussion I called him "a strange person from the start of our century" and I made use of him in order

to illustrate avariation of the post-romantic interpretation of symbols. Sorban, however, claims that I was taking him as an authority in matters of art and rhetorically he is surprised. Through a similar maneuver one could demonstrate that George Calinescu also considered this same Steiner as an authority at the aesthetic level since he mentioned him in the bibliography entitled "The Universe of Poetry." Raoul Sorban has only an accidental understanding of what Romania's contribution to art history and theory is:this is seen in the catalogue he makes of the editorial publications from MERIDIANE. All translations, Sorban says, except for a monography by Dumitru Dancu. But the "Library of Art" also printed Edgar Papu and Dan Grigorescu and Vasile Florea and Victor Ieronim Stoichita, all overlooked without hesitation.

After eliminating criticism, Raoul Sorban is concerned with what he himself called "to create inferiority complexes for the artists." He tries to dispute Ovidiu Maitec, to cancel out Bradut Covaliu and, in particular, to grossly ridicule the most important tapestry that our modern art produced in recent decades: the one entitled "The Theater." Several months ago, when a vulgar newsman, clearly ignorant and poorly raised on top of it, since he did not even sign his insult, decided to dispute the value given to this tapestry by the specialists,we did not retort, since you cannot argue with a pure hyposthesis of nothingness. Manly blows are given to your face and not behind the camouflage of initials (M. P.). But now, however, the insult is taken over by a "specialist." It begins absurdly with the sentence: "This tapestry could not have existed if Lurcat had not existed." Of course, Michelangelo would not have existed, either, if Fidias had not existed. "The Theater" tapestry, however, is not similar to Lurcat's tapestries except for the person who has not seen either. And if Raoul Sorban did see the work he scorns, it is even more serious. Since its quality was clear even for nonspecialists. It is good for the readers to know that "The Theater" tapestry was analyzed and evaluated as is proper by high representatives of our ideological forums during various phases of its birth. A work of this scope (150 square meters) could not be made clandestinely, without the material and moral aid of verified competencies. The workshop where it was woven is listed in the protocol of the Council on Socialist Culture and Education so that, year after year, the country's important guests were invited with legitimate national pride to view it. By chance I was present when Giulio Carlo Argan, the famous art history professor from Rome and then also Rome's mayor, passed before the giant work. His words, beyond what could pass as inevitable protocol, would have flattered any artist of the world: And they seem to be worth more than the reserve of our "professor." (Along another line of idea , we note that one of the three Romanian critics who praised "The Theater" tapestry in ARTA, thus contributing--as Sorban would say--to establishing it as a "false problem," is precisely the person to whom "the first rector of the Cluj Art Institute gave his credit in this unforgettable interview: Victor Ieronim Stoichita. Raoul Sorban painfully stumbles in his own traps, once more proving incurable attitudes of incoherence.)

We cannot discuss here his other statements point by point. Some are grandly wrong: the art critics breaking away from the Union of Plastic Artists or suspending this union's right to give prizes to its members. For Sorban these prizes are an irrepressible obsession which can be psychoanalyzed. He complains that they are not given rightfully. It is possible. Basically the Nobel prize, too, has its escapes. One thing is certain: If being given an award sometimes is a false recognition or an error of circumstances, to not ever have been placed in discussion for a prize in itself is not a guarantee of quality. "The professor" argues with us that we did not fight for Gheorghe Anghel at the time. But, shall we say, this was "the

war" of his generation. Dojana again returns to it as a boomerang, especially since Sorban did not write about him in the year of Anghel's death but about the "official" C. Baraschi. Continuing, "the professor" finds that Bradut Covaliu entered into the graces of criticism after he was elected president of the Union of Plastic Artists. This is false. Even before 1950, Ion Frunzetti noted him, while his first big success, produced by a very good exhibit, dates from 1956. On the other hand, isit not curious that Raoul Sorban questions Covaliu's merits only now, when he no longer is president? In a frugal resume look how he shows the profession of faith of someone who in every two lines speaks of "moral vigor," "intellectual responsibility," "scientific exactness." What weight his opinions can have and what criteria his election as an interlocutor could dictate in a big-circulating magazine like FLACARA remains to be established by the magazine's editors, along with the readers themselves.

With regard to us, at the end of our explanations, we feel touched by a spreading sadness. Thinking of the student years, we would have preferred to recall Raoul Sorban as a nice professor (because he knew how to be nice), not too learned (because he did not know much about books), able (because he held the secret of saving appearances with an inborn grace, for a second making you believe that he knew what you did not know and even knew what he himself did not know), in short, a picturesque personality, interesting through his biography as he could not be through his ideas, endowed up to abuse with regard to histrionics and devoid of ethic dimension up to unawareness. His little academic control had a certin fun of an operetta: It had all the marks of authority besides the authority itself, which gave all his behavior the aspect of an incorrigible, melancholic trick. That is how I would have preferred to remember him. But I do not know what belated awareness of unfulfillment, which spurred him to show to the world the face of a wronged redemption, got him. Probably it is very hard to be of a certain age and know that your "scientific" work is a tiny accumulation of brochures, your "didactic" works--a simple melodramatic pirouette and your "moral" works—a sullen "nø," thrown out between the teeth of all those who are minding their own business, all around you.

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BRIEFS

'EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE' COLUMN--Beginning with the next issue of our view, we are inaugurating a new feature, a serial which proposes to demonstrate the awareness of the responsibility of students in regard to the years spent at the faculty and of the responsibility for the exemplary execution of their fundamental duty toward the country, toward the collective in which they live and learn, toward themselves--the obligation of working thoroughly, of behaving in accordance with their role as students and members of the revolutionary organization of university youth. The column proposes to combat retrograde attitudes, tendencies toward truancy and superficiality and to represent a warning for those of our colleagues who do not understand that the Alma Mater can only be a place for work, for authentic passion, for people with a vocation for creative effort, for patriotic self-sacrifice, for real men and women. Inviting you to participate in the "Examination of Conscience" which we are inaugurating in the next issue of the paper, we seek your participation with articles, ideas and attitudes. [Text] [Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 1 Oct 80 p 1]

DEATH OF WOOD INDUSTRY SPECIALIST---The scientific council and the leadership of the ICPIL [Research and Design Institute for the Wood Industry] announce the death on 23 November of deputy scientific director Eng Niculae St Dumitrescu. A person of international prestige, Eng N. St Dumitrescu was a director in the Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome and a delegate from Romania to specialized international commissions. Over a period of 35 years he made a valuable contribution to the development of the wood industry sector and to scientific research and specialized education in Romania. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Nov 80 p 4]

CSO: 2700

PROFESSOR BILANDZIC QUERIED ON FEDERAL-REPBULIC FRICTION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1556, 26 Oct 80 pp 8-11

[Interview with Zagreb University Professor of Political Sciences Dr. Dusan Bilandzic by Jut Grizelj, date and place not given]

[Text] Dr. Dusan Bilandzic, Professor of Political Sciences of Zagreb University and member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia speaks on how to live in unity in a democratic society in which consensus is a condition of society. Is it really more difficult today to live together, and to what extent are those people who see a crisis of the federation in the difficulties in arriving at consensus justified in their worries? Essentially, the disagreements are not of a nationalistic nature, nor are they republic in nature--this is the external form of another phenomenon. Were there more conflicts in the past, only we did not know about them? There are no greater squanderers that the politicians, for they do not know the price of their spending.

How to live together, Dr. Bilandzic told us at the beginning of this conversation, is one of the oldest dilemmas of the human race, even though each generation has the idea that it is the first and only one to be faced wtih this question. In presenting him the current problems of setting up our common life in Yugoslavia as the subject of the conversation, we tell Dr Bilandzic that our interest in this subject derives from a feeling present among the people that the problem of how to live together, how to come to agreement concerning certain daily and strategic questions of development and life on the whole, is becoming greater and greater. And in some places in our society, this also assumes a dramatic tone. How does Dr. Bilandzic, who has already been dealing with the questions that are to be broached in this conversation for more than 10 years, see the current period of negotiating agreements, the programs of functioning of the federation, and how does he explain the difficulties in reaching consensus in a single multinational and multi-republic and province society such as our's is? How is it possible to live together without getting dramatical about it, or is that possible?

There is No Ideal Effectiveness

Bilandzic said: "In your question, I see the presence of an intensification of worrying by part of the public over the functioning of the federation. In speaking about difficulties, among other things, you probably had in mind the fact that the negotiation of agreements between republics and provinces takes a long time, that it is difficult to get anything done with some questions, and when something is done, there is something missing, which, from the standpoint of only ideal effectiveness, does

not exist anywhere, and creates the impression that the hub of nearly all our problems is in the functioning of a federal political center, under which is understood all forums on the federation level. With this evaluation, I would like to engage in polemics, without minimizing its importance. Although I cannot say that some manifestations do not worry me, I see no reason for considering that things, let us say, are especially complicated or are becoming more acute on the level of social life in our federation. I think that in this area, we are in a much better situation today than we were before. Although this may sound like a stock phrase, I shall try to prove this thesis of mine."

Doctor Dusan Bilandzic is a full professor at the Political Sciences Faculty of Zagreb University, a member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, and chairman of the Commission for the History of the League of Communists of Croatia attached to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia. He states that for more than 10 years, he has been dealing with the questions of our society in Yugoslavia, not only as part of his job, and in line with his political functions, but also as a vocation spurred by his emotions.

"In dealing with the postwar historical development of Yugoslavia," states Bilandzic, "I am aware that during that period, there were many difficult times, even in the area of finding ways for society to go. There were many difficult decisions and painful processes, which even though they were of short duration, were fraught with emotions far more than today, as a result of the enactment of various so-called federal decisions. In recent times, the thought has been very widespread among our public that the republics and provinces are shutting themselves off economically, and this is so in order for investment funds to receive territorial prioritization within the republics. However, in studying the method and difficulties of enacting central economic decisions in Yugoslavia (I have in mind, primarily the history of the Federal Investment Fund from 1954 to 1965), and then with a review of the minutes of the Federal Government and the top Yugoslav and republic political bodies, I became convinced that the disputes during the time of existance of the Federal Investment Fund were many times more acute than is the case today. However, the public did not know much about them at that time.

"For example, I remember the most responsible person in the economic field in those days, and his statement--within narrow circles of the most responsible people--that he was no longer able to exercise the function of his position, since the pressures for the distribution of funds from the Federal Investment Fund were wholly unbearable. What I want to say is that in one form or another, some places more and other places less, there always existed a tendency for every republic to build up its own production structure. In the last 5-6 years, this tendency of many years duration, assumed new public forms, to the extent that today, not only public capital, but also goods have become territorialized. What this phenomenon seems to be for me, what I would call the empire-building thesis, is, that these aspirations of the political-economic leaderships of the republics and provinces to create their own economic structure and to fight for specific instruments which are most suited to their needs, do have a basic nationality tinge but in no case are they nationalistic aspirations, for the tendencies toward introversion derive from the nature of something real, and are inherent to the nature of the system of social relations."

Bilandzic explains his thesis in greater detail: he considers that the dominance of the political and the territorial factor over the economic factor is the result of the pressure of the laws of commodity production and the market, and the society,

which comes under presure from economic laws, takes recourse in state, administrative regulation. At the phase when change occurred in the position and the economic functions of the federation, associated labor did not assume these functions as had been desired and expected, therefore the political factor has had to assume the role of a main economic force, furthermore, and republic, regional, and opstina etatisms have come to the fore even stronger, in which case, the federal authority has held on to certain functions in the administrative area, which have complicated economic life even more.

"Of course, it would be simpler to criticize the leadership of a community, a region, or a republic because they are making efforts for solving their own economic problems. But what kinds of social units would these be if they did not concern themselves about their own interests?" says Bilandzic.

Loans: The Federation Pays

[Question] Professor, I surmise that the problem lies in the interests of the individual with the interests of society, and the interests of society with the over-all interests of the country. How does one approach this?

[Answer] The procedure of coordinating various interests and the enaction of joint decisions is provided by the Federal Constitution. This process of consensus and agreement among republics and provinces would be easier and more effective, and, all in all, even more efficient under conditions of greater adherence to and practical operation of the laws of commodity production, which is now, and has been for a long time already, unavoidable as a regulative force in the economic life of society.

Another way, another method is administrative distribution, which is in total collision with our concept of self-management. Whenever the swing of the pendulum of our socio-political clock is set by administrative measures, relations become more tense and difficulties become greater.

[Question] Why do the difficulties look so much greater currently, does that mean that again we are in a position of a pendulum, which has been set up according to administrative decisions?

[Answer] Again, we have to revert to the evaluation of earlier phases of our society, and to compare former anu current problems. On the basis of analysis of practice and documents, I could easily demonstrate that currently, we are considerably less encumbered by dilemmas of society as we were previously, illogical as it may seem to be. The essence lies in the fact that the problems, dilemmas, and conflicts in past decades often began and ended in cabinets and closed forums, and the public knew nothing about them. These problems manifested themselves in internal struggles for allocations, in redistribution of the centralized national income on the level of Yugoslavia, in the form of the dominance of the federal political center and its enormous power, and in legislation and in practical life, which strongly narrowed the leeway of republics and provinces to manifest themselves as political subjects. There was no way out of this, and if it had continued any longer, there would have been many more repercussions.

Such problems do not exist today. Many people in the world hold Yugoslav federalism as an example, both in terms of standards and practice, of the solution of relations

between nationalities and republics, but people in our country conclude on the basis of some daily phenomena that the old problems of relations between the nationalities are coming to the fore again. In reality, this is the outward form of another phenomenon. I wish to state that the problems of society in our country would turn up even if we were a single-nationality state, for the main origins of conflicts are not in the national but in the economic sphere. Their outward form is repeating itself because of the organization of our state, and is republic-province-national, and its main source is in the undeveloped social-economic relations, which have not been developed in our country as we had expected them to, and we have made the decision for introducing self-management 15 years ago for them.

[Question] It seems, therefore, that you have not explained why right now, at this moment, the problem of reaching consensus is manifesting itself in a form that is worrisome?

[Answer] I would say that there is a relatively simple answer for this: Most certainly, the public at large is unaware that in the last 10 years, we here in Yugoslavia have had an enormous absolutely unexpected additional accumulation from foreign funds, from loans, from the money orders of our people, which made it possible for all of us, from enterprises through regions, and republics to the federal government, to have enormous investments, which were much greater than even during the phase of the so-called initial accumulation. It has so happened that during the last 7-8 years, we have a rate of [capital] accumulation of nearly 40 percent of the national income. This is more than the highest rate of initial accumulation had been after the revolution, when we began the industrialization of the country with the First Five-Year Plan. I will not mention that sum, for it is large, but I want to say that as long as those funds lasted, we were all satisfied, they were being spent, production was growing, the infrastructure was being built, there was money for everything. Currently, the sources have begun to dry up, and it was normal to expect this internalization of those who found themselves short of this capital.

[Question] Nevertheless, Professor Bilandzic, if you don't mind us interrupting you, is not what you mentioned as "what has so happened," that flood of foreign accumulation that you are speaking of, and only the irrational expenditure of this accumulation a further indication that we have been unable to come to mutual consensus on how big a blanket is and how many must we spread out? How do you explain this?

[Answer] This phenomenon of enormous investment outlay and economic development and behavior on the whole during the last 7-8 years would merit close study and analysis. Although it was similar in the past as well, this time, every benchmark has been surpassed. Where do the causes lie? There are many. In finding an answer, it would be worthwhile before anything else to begin with the analysis of the power of the political sphere, which has contributed most to all of this.

Analysis would probably show that at the time of reform of the federation in 1971, when the political power was transferred from the federal government to the republics, this very fact of redistribution of federation power to the republics did not coincide with the destruction of the power of etatism in society as a whole. Associated labor did not attain a dominant position, even in production areas that behave differently than the state. At the same time every mechanism of agreement and control lagged behind. In such a situation, as Comrade Minic stated recently, everybody took as much money from abroad as possible, counting on the fact that the bills would go to

others, especially to the federation. And this it the way it is. And that's the way it's going to be until economic relationships prevail. For, the state simply has no feel for spending money; it does not have an economic approach to problems. If you read the speeches of Comrade Tito, in quite a few places you will find his appraisal that the political structure--and here you will find proofs throughout the world, in both the East and West--does not know the meaning of cost analyses, and that an individual worker spends what he has, and values what he has, and therefore, Tito always favored the transfer of expanded reproduction to workers. How else can one explain such luxurious sports centers, swimming pools, banks, buildings, political forums, monuments, merchandising houses, etc. if not by this spending euphoria of the state?

The Time of Nationalism Has Passed

[Question] Please, let us return to the subject. You state that what the public sees as a blocade of consensus today, as a crisis of society, is only an illusion of another type of phenomenon, which is not a crisis of agreement, but a crisis of implementing the concept of dominance of associated labor in decision making. How do you view our immediate future in this direction?

[Answer] I think that in its future development, our society will test out its problems and solutions more critically. It will have to have much greater concern over the humanization of social relations, it will have to turn more and more to social and cultural problems, and above all, to moral standards and social development. For, we are still a backward country, and this is something we often forget. In Europe, we rank among the bottom groups of European countries in many ways today, from material production to living standard. In the field of relations among the nationalities, I think that there is no sensible reason for any republic to consider itself unequal in the federation. In the same way, I think that the times of nationalism in our country are mainly a thing of the past. It seems to me that we are entering a phase of innovations--changes in the system of self-management, where there will have to be a diminuation of the exercise of authority not only of the federal top structure, which has already occurred, but of all the other top structures as well. However, in the near future, I do not expect radical movement either to the "left" or "right," rather, our society will make relatively short and measured strides in the main. Any radicalism would be harmful to us, and anyhow, I do not see any forces in the society for any radical turnaround.

[Question] Speaking about our main theme, the dilemmas of society, do you think that they will be more or less of them?

[Answer] I think that in the future, it will be possible to arrive at understandings and agreements, even at a slower pace--which is inherent to democratic procedure--but that they would be both more sound and sensible, and therefore, more respected, and this will be so not only because the arbitration power of the top structure is reduced, but also because there no alternatives exist. It is totally understandable that we are oversensitive toward relations among republic, province, and nationalities. But here, I think, there are unjustified prejudices: if a cannon thunders in some opstina, we do not hear it too well, but if a mortar bursts from the positions of some republic interest, our entire society wakes up. It is also unusual that we consider that the regional expression of interests does not bring the stability of society into question, rather that this stability is threatened only by some republic or inter-republic moves.

The thing I want to tell you, which also is the answer to your question on the near future, is that I believe that there cannot be any great changes. Powerful interests are dug in under the current status of relationships, and therefore, one should not expect greater changes in the positions of the communities, the republics, or the federation. Especially when the federation is in the middle, I think that all of our experiences have been enmeshed in it as in a "model"--which does not exclude innovation, especially from a processual standpoint. The proper question is: what will take place with the basic social relations? Here too, one must find the proper answer. For the basis of all other relations, including even the relations of the federation with the republics and the provinces, the relations between the republics, the relations between the opstinas and republics, political relationships, and various other relations and processes, depends upon production relationships. As the production relationships are developed, so will all other relationships be developed, both the relations in the federation, and those in the republics, and relations everywhere.

[Question] In conclusion, Comrade Professor, there is still another question that one hears more and more among the public, and I believe that it is also being posed to you by the students. However, I would like Comrade Bilandzic, member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia to answer this question. Namely: the conflicts, the spending, the inefficiencies, and everything is the result of the fact that there is insufficient associated labor. Well the way it is, the people from production do not talk about it any more this way than do the politicians from their tribunes. I wish to state: there is some talk that we are not going faster and better because there is no longer any decision making of associated labor. Who is preventing this?

[Answer] There is really this kind of talk, but it appears that whoever uses such talk frequently does not understand, or is concealing his own weakness, or lack of confidence in these words. Too often, things and relations are cloaked in mystification.

The main lever which could start up such a development would be the transfer of expanded reproduction to associated labor. But because the accumulated gains have in general been committed for the given period, there is little hope that this will occur. But there remains another way--a political way. The enaction of central decisions, with which large funds are committed, must be democratized to the greatest extent possible. In our system, we do not have the necessary counterbalances to the monopolistic method of decision making, decisionmaking in narrow groups.

If, for example, our trade unions expressed the workers' wishes more decisively, the rate of accumulation would not have been raised to nearly 40 percent at the expense of a low share of personal incomes in the country's national economy. Currently, it would not help us to go out gunning for some personality or forum, but it would be of great help for us in the future if we would build a system of elections in the system that would assure the selection of the best and most straightforward people to the responsible positions in our society.

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RESEARCH-TECHNOLOGY CHIEF DISCUSSES ARMY MODERNIZATION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 80 p 5

[Interview by Mladen Paver with Colonel-General, Dr, Eng Zlatko Rendulic, chairman of the Armed Forces Council for Research and Development]

[Text] "Even though the interim development plan for the period through 1985 has not yet been adopted, meaning that we do not yet know what the final figures will be in terms of the amount of money the country is going to spend on the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], there is one thing I could say for certain. Namely, that the percentage of the military budget dedicated to R&D work in the armed forces during the past 5 years will probably go up." So says colonel-general, Dr Zlatko Rendulic.

In saying this the chairman of the Armed Forces Council for Research and Development Work is thinking not only in terms of the present level of our country's overall development, but also in terms of the conditions that will be conducive to the further modernization of the YPA.

"Hardly any of the money that is going to be invested in this kind of work is going to wind up being funneled back into the general economy. Our military research and development work is aimed at bringing about a steady increase in the share of domestically manufactured armaments in the arsenal of the YPA, and this is tending to make us less dependent on imported armaments. But there is a great deal more to it than this."

As far as domestically manufactured arms are concerned, the general takes pride in recalling how, ever since the end of the war and with each passing decade, our army has succeeded in doing an increasingly better job of fending for itself. There have been many occasions on which we have had a chance to realize that the strides that have been made in this area serve to safeguard our national independence and to bolster our ability to resist various kinds of pressures.

Just consider how hard we have had to work and how much we have had to sacrifice in order to be able to produce our own weapons for our infantry troops, our own high-powered antiarmor weapons, battlefield support equipment, jet-powered flight training aircraft, and domestically manufactured torpedo boats!

And ever since then Yugoslavia, in keeping with Tito's notion of nationwide defense, has made many more great strides in this area. From being able to build our own flight-training jets we have progressed to the point where we are able to build our own jet fighters. We are building our own submarines and rocket artillery pieces. There are very few countries at our level of development that can boast of similar results.

General Rendulic reminds us that, "if a country such as Sweden is satisfied with being able to meet 80 percent of its own needs for the production of armaments and military equipment, then you can get a better idea as to how hard it is to come close to matching this level of performance."

"What does all of this mean in terms of future development trends," we asked General Rendulic?

The weaponry of the future will be more and more dependent upon electronics and laser technologies, and this is taking into account state-of-the-art achievements in the realm of metallurgical science. This is why the general wants to stress the kind of research and development work that is geared toward mastering the know-how that is needed for the production of electronic component parts and domestic fabricating materials.

"If, for example, you consider those kinds of domestically manufactured electronic components, even including those for which we have developed our own 'software,' which we are assembling with our own, so to speak, knowhow and our own hands, you will find as much as 30 to 40 percent of the final product is made up of imported component parts. And in the meantime the electronics industry is developing at an extremely rapid pace. Before very long you are going to have washing machines with built-in microprocessors. If we want to keep up with these trends in the army, which is looking for professional-class electronic components for its telecommunications systems (components that are capable of withstanding interference and functioning at subzero temperatures, in addition to meeting various other requirements) and high-quality optical-electronic instruments, radar apparatuses and automatic guidance devices, it then becomes clear where we are going to have to turn to find a solution to these problems. The cheapest way for us to replace imported component parts with domestically manufactured ones is by promoting research and development work."

"Did you have in mind some specific kinds of semifinished goods?"

"Well, you know, the steel plate used in the construction of submarines or the aluminum sheet metal used in the construction of fighter aircraft are measured by separate standards. Military duralumin, in terms of its fracture resistance, almost matches the strength of 'civilian' steel goods. Efforts are constantly being made to reduce the mass (weight) of military duralumin, since this has the immediate result of reducing fuel consumption and increasing the maneuverability of aircraft, naval ships and armored vehicles. Our metallurgical engineers have already scored some major gains aimed at meeting the needs of the armaments industry, but it is obvious that we must go even further by reducing our dependence on imports. We are looking to our research and development workers to provide us with answers to these questions."

Our conversation reverted to the theme of how much of the money that is invested in this research and development work is going to wind up being funneled directly back into the Yugoslav economy.

The general illustrates this problem by citing the experience of what has happened as a result of the devaluation of our currency, something which has had a serious impact on domestic manufacturers whose production programs are based--to some limited extent at least--on imported component parts and semifinished goods. Nor, to be sure, are our defense industries immune to the impact of such developments. Greater self-sufficiency in this area should go a long way toward absorbing much of the shock of similar blows.

On the other hand, we can cite the example of laser technologies. Yugoslav research and production organizations have already mastered the technological processes involved in the production of a laser device that is used in high-precision military rangefinders. This device is being built into tanks which at the virtual limit of their direct firing range--owing to the use of this laser technology--are able to destroy targets with a much higher probability of scoring a direct hit. It is not necessary to explain to soldiers, nor to foreign clients, what this means under modern battlefield conditions.

The enterprise which is manufacturing this kind of "military" laser is working on other possible applications for this device that extend to other, commercial spheres of activity. It is a well-known fact that a laser beam can be aimed with extreme accuracy in order to cut through a piece of steel, and it is an equally matchless tool when it comes to welding the hardest alloys. Thus, a military technology is helping to enhance the competitive position of our metalworking industries in the marketing of their other products.

"The Armed Forces Council for Research and Development Work functions as an advisory organ of the federal secretary for national defense and his colleagues," says general Rendulic in order to explain the duties of the body which he heads up. "In addition to military officers and specialists, the council is made up of representatives of the Federal Executive Council responsible for research and development work at the republic and provincial levels as well as some of our country's leading experts in individual scientific fields. We keep up with the research work that is being carried on in the fields of military science and military economics as well as in the biomedical, social and engineering sciences. By so doing the council is establishing a link between the research work that is being carried on in Yugoslavia generally and in the armed forces. We exchange information about relevant research projects and advise research organizations about the needs of the armed forces. This helps us to avoid having to take a trip, so to speak, down a double-tracked railway, and this is why we are also entering into long-term agreements that enable research teams from our institutes to participate in the work of civilian institutions. The army can fend for itself when it comes to resolving problems in the area of military science, the design of new weapons or, say, the development of anti-typhus vaccines. But there are questions which have a broader significance when it comes to providing for the national defense. Let us consider, for example, water supply or power generating problems. So, we are naturally very much interested in the research work being done in these areas outside the army."

"Are the efforts being made in these areas also tending to make us less and less dependent on foreign licenses?"

"I would not be boasting if I were to tell you that we have already made some noticeable progress in this area too. The number of development projects in progress in the YPA under foreign licensing arrangements is negligible in relation to the total number of our own development projects. These licenses are concentrated exclusively in those areas where it would take too long to come up with our own development plans or where it would be impossible to do so at the present time."

Although the original plan was that this would be just an informal chat, the interview with general Rendulic had wound up moving in a more business-like direction.

He did not tell us very much about his personal career, which was marked by a passionate love affair with the wild blue yonder. Born in Jastrebarsko, he started building model airplanes as a hobby when he was 14 years old. He graduated from a glider pilot school, and in 1940--while studying at the Engineering Faculty in Zagreb--he earned his powered-Flight pilot's license and became a military reserve pilot.

In April 1941 the German "Stukas"--manually guided it seems--made it to Kurilovec outside Velika Gorica before the reserve pilots. The "Breguet" and "Potez" planes went up in flames before their very eyes and were left lying in pieces.

Nevertheless, he managed to make his way--via Zumberk and the 13th Proletarian Brigade--to the airbase of the Croatian General Staff in Krbavsko Polje. His wartime career then took him across the Mediterranean to Libya where at the Benin base outside Bengazi the first fighter squadrons were being formed that bore our red star insignia.

"I did not get a chance to fly any combat missions. There were more experienced pilots than me to fly our 'Hurricanes.'" To this day the general is unable to make this confession without a trace of sadness in his voice, the same general who toward the end of the war--after transferring to Cairo, Basra and Teheran--succeeded in graduating from the Air Force Academy of the USSR.

A year later he was already working as a test pilot at our Air Force test flight center. Engineer Rendulic, who was eventually appointed director of the Institute for Aeronautical Engineering, also contributed his share to the development of our first jet aircraft, namely, the "Caleb," "Jasgret" and the "Kraguj" (known as the partisan plane).

He went back to his favorite field--aerodynamics. He earned his master's degree at Michigan University ("Many of America's future Apollo astronauts studied there"), and he received his PhD in 1962 at the Mechanical Engineering Faculty in Belgrade.

Our air force servicemen remember general Rendulic as the head of the Air Force Engineering Administration, back in the days when general Viktor Bubanj was

Commander of the Air Force. Just 2 years ago general Rendulic was still flying jet aircraft.

But there is a much larger circle of people who know him as the author of the book "Vazduhoplovne doktrine" [Principles of Aeronautics], which is a unique compendium of this type here in Yugoslavia. In the final chapter of this work, entitled "Thoughts about the Future," Dr, eng Rendulic employed the scientific method of extrapolation in describing future trends in the development of missile weaponry and combat and transport planes and helicopters in order to reach the following conclusion: "The local wars that were waged after 1945 served to point out the enormous importance of aviation as well as all of the consequences that will befall anyone who does not have access to aviation."

Contributors to our country's military journals have also paid a great deal of attention to his study on the role of the infantry in modern warfare. Access to advanced missile weaponry has all of a sudden given infantry troops a broader range of capabilities to defend themselves against attack by enemy armored and airborne weapons.

And a new work by general Rendulic entitled "Naucno-tehnicki progres i naoruzavanje" [Scientific and Technological Progress and Armaments] is already in press. The author promised to grant us an interview when the book is published.

The telephone rang just as our visit was coming to an end. Our host excused himself and speaking in a respectful voice proceeded to carry on a fairly long conversation. After he had hung up the receiver he could tell from the look in our eyes that we understood that "even a general has to report to another general."

"That was Joza," he said. "my aircraft mechanic back during those first postwar years. You know, it is hard to explain the friendship that exists between a pilot and his mechanic. It is a friendship that lasts forever."

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ASSEMBLY VICE PRESIDENT HADZI VASILEV INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1558, 9 Nov 80 pp 22-23

[Interview of vice president of the SFRY Assembly Kiro Hadzi Vasilev by Jug Grizelj: "How To Conquer Egoism"]

[Text] [Question] Continuing our interviews on relations in the Federation and our relations as a community in general, Kiro Hadzi Vasilev, vice president of the SFRY Assembly, is NIN's guest. In view of the "narrow specialization" of our subject, who for years was concerned with the problems of building up the political system, NIN wished to hear from Kiro Hadzi Vasilev responses to the numerous critical remarks which have been made to the effect that it is possible that there has been considerably more criticism than satisfaction concerning the experience with the federal community since adoption of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, which also regulated the relations of our federal community in a comprehensive way.

[Answer] It is understandable that there should be concern on the part of everyone with respect to achievement of community among the nationalities and ethnic minorities and among the republics and provinces in the Federation. However, we should mention that "community spirit" (zajednistvo) is a considerably broader and deeper concept: as a society we have set our sights on a system which signifies emergence from what Marx called the obligatory community in which people's social relations are mainly based on coercion--to a real community in which these relations will be based on free conclusion of accords and compacts among equal principals, from individuals up to the highest communities. The basic premises of this kind of orientation lie in the equality in principle of people's position relative to the means of social reproduction. This is, of course, in principle, historical and legislative equalization does not yet signify establishment of actual equality. It could be anticipated that the transition to such a system would be a very complicated process, full of convulsions and problems. In my opinion, then it is not so strange that there is still a gap between actuality and what has been prescribed. It might be said that the greater wonder is that it is no wider. The essential thing is that this

transition has mainly succeeded and initiated the process of gradual elimination of differences between the actual and what has been prescribed.

[Question] The basic premise for the transition from the "obligatory community" to the "real community" is obviously the right of all participants to freely express their partial interests. Doesn't this also signify an unleashing of innumerable egoisms?

[Answer] Construction of this new type of community based on cooperation (zajednistvo) presupposes on the one hand the freedom of all representatives of partial interests to manifest and express them and to advocate them, but at the same time a sophisticated sense of the interests of others with whom is entering into equal relations. It presupposes, then, that various types of egoisms, from those of individuals to those of republics and provinces, will be overcome to a high degree. The overcoming of this egoism is not a matter for decree, since all man's past history, viewed from this standpoint, is the history of egoistic man and of egoistic groups, communities, and so on. It is natural that there should still be open sources of egoism, above all because of the relatively low level of development of the material forces and material goods. It would be an illusion to expect that even the self-managers at the base are altogether immune to displays of egoistic behavior. The problem is aggravated even more because of the specific effect of the remnants of monopolistic manifestations and forces, since if people are not immune to egoism even as real self-managers, they will be all the more subject to it when greater or lesser remnants of monopolistic relations and the privileged position of individuals or groups with respect to the means of social production are felt in society.

[Question] How, then, to overcome egoism?

[Answer] Egoism is a heavy historical legacy weighing us down, but as a society we have crossed the threshold into relations in which it is being broken down and must be broken down. People are becoming more and more convinced by their own experience that their own interest depends on optimum linkage with the interests of others. Consequently, if one is to gain a proper grasp of his own interest, to state it precisely and to advocate it as an equal, he must give equal consideration to the interests of others, to the honoring of those interests and to meeting people halfway, without imposing his own interests on them.

[Question] Do you mean by this, to put it in concrete terms, that in the conclusion of compacts among the republics and provinces, which is the topic of our conversation, it is necessary that there be as many difficulties and problems as there have been?

[Answer] The difficulties and problems in achieving this cooperative community, I repeat, whether it be a cooperative community of people in a OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] or, which is the topic of our

conversation--the cooperative community of republics and provinces in the Federation, arise out of the differences in interests themselves. But the most significant thing about the process of overcoming those differences is controlling manifestations of monopolism and egoism. Fuller achievement of the cooperative community, then, presupposes achievement of authentic development of self-management relations at the very base, above all in associated labor.

If we are to achieve more equal and successful conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces in the Federation, we must achieve the principle of free and successful conclusion of accords and compacts to an ever greater extent in the self-management base of society.

[Question] If the question arises in a basic organization of associated labor of who is expressing his authentic interest, doesn't that same question also arise when the republics and provinces are to agree within the Federation? During this survey of ours concerning the cooperative community, several participants have expressed concern because of excessively frequent agreements concluded by the administrations and governments of the republics and provinces instead of the delegate base.

[Answer] The conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces should essentially be a process whereby agreement is reached among self-managed communities which are themselves complex and composite. If that process of agreement takes place predominantly or exclusively within the confines of certain authorized republic bodies and agencies, especially when it is confined to executive bodies and administrative agencies, then this by definition is not agreement among the republics and provinces as we have defined it, just as in the basic organization of associated labor we cannot speak of a self-management accord if an agreement is concluded exclusively by the professional management components and representatives of certain bodies and organizations, say the trade union or the workers' council. It is the first premise of the authentic process of reaching agreement that the republics and provinces would correctly reveal and formulate their authentic interests with respect to whatever specific problem is involved.

[Question] Can it be said that certain conflicts and certain blockades also occur because the interests of the republics or provinces have been expressed in a way that was not authentic?

[Answer] It can. We can even assume that this will often happen when the interests of the republic or province has not been revealed, understood and stated on an authentic self-management basis, that is, if the political position on this matter has not been articulated in a manner that conforms to authentic self-management. I would say that the second essential prerequisite for fuller achievement of the cooperative community is a sophisticated sense of the interests of the other republics and provinces and appealing for their positions, precisely because one cannot otherwise get a good grasp of his own interest.

[Question] One of the participants in our survey spoke about entrenchment as a pronounced problem in the conclusion of agreements.

[Answer] This has indeed been one of the marked shortcomings in the processes of agreement among the republics and provinces so far. Positions and commitments stated at the outset have been held to excessively long, and the mutual influence of positions has been too little felt, and rarely has it happened that delegates have frankly, objectively and comprehensively familiarized their own constituencies with the views of others, with all their convincing arguments, so that both sides of the coin could then be seen. Of course, this again could be seen as a certain lack of willingness to treat the interests of others in the same manner as one's own interest. But the essential thing about our system is that today it is very difficult for tendencies based on attempts through various forms of pressure--in agreements among the republics and provinces--to impose a solution apparently favorable to oneself, but at the expense of others, to make their way. That is usually why we have a standstill today in the process of decisionmaking and the blockades you have referred to. But we do not have cases in which solutions have been forced on others. The tendencies to impose solutions are sooner or later arousing general resistance, and this is the guarantee that an awareness of the necessity to honor the essential prerequisites of authentic and equal agreement will be steadily increasing and that in practice there will be greater willingness for us to behave accordingly.

[Question] There have been many assessments of late to the effect that monopolistic interests and forces at all levels in society have frustrated the compacts and accords. How can this situation be overcome in conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces at the level of the Federation?

[Answer] If an authentic process of consensus is to authentically take place, above all in the SFRY Assembly, in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, we must guarantee that the positions in the assemblies of the republics and provinces, which send their delegations to the Federation, are truly founded on authentic principles of delegation, which means that they arise out of the very base of associated labor.

[Question] One of the most delicate questions of our cooperative community is the relation among the advanced and the underdeveloped. Could this be another reason for blockades in conclusion of agreements?

[Answer] Certainly: one of the very serious sources of difficulties does lie in the objective material problems of our entire community, which is still at a relatively low level of development of the material forces, and particularly in the great disproportions, especially in the level of development of the republics and provinces. Thus the problems of the underdeveloped in general and especially of the underdeveloped republics and provinces, are a burden and do make it more difficult to reconcile positions.

It seems to me that on this problem we need to achieve full unity in both conception and policy concerning certain initial premises, and what I mean is this: first, the essential thing is not just the absolute level of development of the various republics and provinces, but above all relative relations, the actual differences. If those differences are greater, the problem will not be corrected. Even at a considerably higher overall material level of our society.

Why? Because differences of that kind in the context of a market economy signify an inevitable siphoning off of the surplus value of labor from the underdeveloped to the advanced. Moreover, these differences are essentially reflected in the intimate nature of society, in social consciousness itself, and thereby in the real feeling of community. It is understandable that the smaller the differences in level of development, the firmer the foundations of the cooperative community will certainly be. Or, conversely, the greater those differences, the more problems there will be for achievement of the cooperative community. Which is precisely why overcoming these differences lies in the objective interest of all, as well as of the whole. The question of whether we have always found the best and most effective specific solutions is another matter. We must all be prepared for a frank discussion and reassessment of that issue, since better, more optimal and more effective solutions can always be found.

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1839

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs

Albanian Delegation to Kosovo 1
Kosovo Delegation Departs Tirana 1

ALBANIA

Briefs

Ambassador to FAO 2
Delegation's Departure for Turkey 2
Leaders at Museum Inauguration 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

URO Secretary Calls Aid to World Trade Unions Necessary
(Viliam Kozik; PRACE, 7 Nov 80) 3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Polish Situation Blamed for Renewed 'ABGRENZUNG' Policy
(Peter Jochen Winters; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 29 Oct 80) 6

New FRG Government Urged to Change Basic Law, Normalize Relations
(Werner Haendler; DIE WELTBUEHNE, 11 Nov 80) 9

Less Regimented Education Needed for Gifted
(Gerhart Neuner Interview; FORUM, Oct 80) 12

HUNGARY

Lekai Defends Stance of Catholic Church in Hungary
(C. Gustav Stroehm; DIE WELT, Nov 80) 16

MSZMP's Aczel Addresses Budapest AKTIV Meeting
(Gyorgy Aczel; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 3 Dec 80) 18

POLAND

Reactions of Krakow Students to Recent Unrest Noted
(STUDENT; Various Dates) 22

Resolution Issued
Meeting With Minister Gorski, by Jerzy S. Latka
Communique on Meeting

FRG History Textbooks Criticized
(Janusz Moszczenski; TRYBUNA LUDU, Nov 80) 37

Council of Ministers Decree on Alternate Service for Conscripts
(DZIENNIK USTAW, 30 Oct 80) 40

ROMANIA

'SCINTEIA' Marks Transylvania Unification Anniversary
(AGERPRES, 30 Nov 80) 52

'Legitimacy' of Transylvania Unification Reaffirmed
(AGERPRES, 1 Dec 80) 54

Role of 'Tribunes of Democracy' as Public Opinion Outlets
(Mircea Moarcas; ROMANIA LIBERA, 28 Nov 80) 56

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN DELEGATION TO KOSOVO--A delegation of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania, headed by its secretary, Feim Ibrahimi, left for Kosovo on 16 November. The delegation will hold talks with the Kosovo Musical Artists Society. Kujtim Buza, secretary of the union of writers and artists, was present to bid farewell to the delegation. Likewise, the writer Ismail Kadare also left for Kosovo. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Nov 80 AU]

KOSOVO DELEGATION DEPARTS TIRANA--The delegation of the Turist-Kosovo Enterprise of the Autonomous Socialist Provice on Kosovo, headed by its director, left Tirana on 11 November. During its stay in Albania the delegation had talks and signed a protocol for tourist relations between the Albturist Enterprise of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Turist-Kosovo. It also visited various cultural, tourist and economic centers. It was received by Viktor Nushi, minister of domestic trade, who gave a dinner at Hotel Dajti . Also present was Branko Komatina, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [AU132210 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 80]

CSO: 2100

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO FAO--The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Italy, Prio Bita, presented the credentials as permanent representative of the PSR of Albania to FAO to the general director of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, Edward Saouma. Attending the ceremony of the presentation of the credentials was also the general vice-director of FAO, Sima. [AU152022 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 14 Nov 80]

DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE FOR TURKEY--At the invitation of the Turkish radio-television, a delegation of Albanian Radio-TV, led by the general director, Cajup Rusmali, left for Turkey today. The delegation was seen off at the airport by the director of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency Arqile Aleksi, the director of the fourth department of the Foreign Ministry Justin Papajorgji, the vice-general director of Radio-TV Marash Hajati and other comrades. Present to see the delegation off was also the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the PSR of Albania Metin O. Karaca. [AU182023 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 18 Nov 80]

LEADERS AT MUSEUM INAUGURATION--A ceremony was held today at Terbac Village in Vlore District, to inaugurate the "Hysni Kapo" Museum House. In addition to a large number of people from Terbac and other villages in the Mesaplik area, from the city of Vlore, former partisans and others, the ceremony was attended by comrades Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu and Vito Kapo, as well as members of Hysni Kapo's family and relatives. Sul Baholli, first secretary of the Vlore District party committee, opened a rally which preceded the inauguration ceremony itself. Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami delivered a speech on the occasion, in which she highlighted decisive moments in the life and work of Hysni Kapo. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 80 AU]

CSO: 2100

URO SECRETARY CALLS AID TO WORLD TRADE UNIONS NECESSARY

Prague PRACE in Czech 7 Nov 80 p 5

[Speech by Viliam Kozik, secretary of URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] at the 10th plenary session: "To Strengthen Unity and Class Solidarity"]

[Text] At the beginning of his statement he reported in detail on the recent meeting of the general council of SOF [World Trade Union Federation] in Moscow which took place on the 35th anniversary of the SOF foundation. Then he continued:

"In connection with the intensification of the class struggle on the international scale, increase in unemployment and semi-employment, undermining of social securities, increased militarization, hectic arms race in the capitalist countries, there has been an increase not only in resistance and radicalization, revolutionary mentality of working people and trade unionists, but also in the attacks of the monopoly capital on the rights of trade unions and working people. In this context we could cite hundreds of examples from various countries of Western Europe and the United States, where human rights and trade union rights are violated on a mass scale, where drastic measures are applied against workers and progressive organizations, trade unions among them. Let me give at least some representative examples: a draft of the so-called employer's law has been prepared in Great Britian recently according to which the right to strike and to organize pickets should be virtually eliminated and the direct elections should be replaced by indirect elections. Law No 230 in Portugal permits other organs and organizations to interfere in trade union affairs, while its main objective is to deprive the Portuguese workers of their achievements in the area of trade union rights. The federal court in the FRG ruled recently that the enterprise council did not have the right to participate in the decision, if the enterpreneur extends the normal working time during a strike.

The DGB [German Trade Union Federation] NACHRICHTEN bulletin No 10 of this year states that the unity of trade unions is attacked and threatened in the FRG today as never before since the foundation of DGB. It is more than a paradox that, while these gentlemen increase, virtually every day, their attacks against the trade unions, speak emphatically against the workers' elementary interests, and tolerate most flagrant discrimination, they simultaneously and in every possible way promote and incite the centrifugal forces undermining the unity, the class and international spirit of trade unions as amply made clear also by their campaign in connection with the events in Poland.

International capital pays increasing attention to the consolidation of its positions in the developing countries in the effort to squeeze the biggest possible profit from every franc, dollar, deutsche mark. It is not uninteresting to note that some reformist representatives presented a kind of a new Marshall Plan for the developing countries at this year's conference of the International Labor Organization. We have not yet forgotten what the Marshall Plan signified in the 1950's! We have not yet forgotten that it represented an effort to consolidate the positions of international capital in Europe, to block and reverse the progressive processes in Europe, to consolidate the positions of American imperialism.

Nobody in the West denies that the 1980's are to be the years of struggle for the orientation of developing countries in which the Socialist International, the social democratic parties and trade unions are to play a much important role than ever before. A number of institutions have existed already for decades which are engaged in the study of the general situation in the developing countries and trade union movement, and pay special attention to the training of cadres in the spirit of reformist ideology for the developing countries.

I certainly do not have to emphasize that sharp attacks of international capital are directed against the countries which have embarked on the socialist path of their development. These attacks intensify and mulitply. Let us mention for example Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and other countries.

In this situation, our political, moral and international assistance must significantly increase. For this reason, the fulfillment of our international obligations to the working people and progressive trade union movement in various countries of the world is an integral part of our everyday work in trade unions. As of 1 October 1980 we collected more than Kcs 34 million from the sale of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] solidarity stamp and more than Kcs one million were sent directly to the ROH international solidarity fund so that the total exceeded Kcs 35 million.

We especially appreciate and extend our thanks to some individuals. For example comrade Frantisek Morkus from Liskovec near Frydek sent Kcs 5,000; Josef Moravec from Prague 2 Kcs 10,000; the authors' collective headed by comrade Academician Bedrich Svestka from Prague 10 sent Kcs 20,000 to the solidarity fund. You will agree with me, when from this place I express high appreciation of the profound international spirit of these comrades which was reflected in concrete deeds.

In addition to good krajs, okreses and plants as to the purchase of the solidarity stamp, there are also some average krajs -- they constitute the biggest proportion -- and some below the average, as you have been informed in the written document which has been disttibuted, where we must investigate the reasons for the poor performance in the purchase of the solidarity stamp and imporve the situation in accordance with the resolution of the highest trade union organs. Like many times in the past we must state also today that it is not our members who are to blame, but the way in which they approached, in which the importance of this campaign is explained to them and in which those responsible work with them.

Our assistance to the trade unions and working people in the developing and capitalist countries is general. We have expended more than Kcs 18 million from the ROH international solidarity fund so far this year and this is not yet the end of 1980. Material assistance was for example rendered to the fraternal central council of

trade unions in Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Mali, South Africa, Namibia, Guinea, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Greece and recently also to Algiers, trade unions of many Arab countries such as Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Yemen Arab Republic, Syria, Palestine [? Liberation Movement] and Lebanon. Major support and aid is rendered to the international trade union committee of solidarity with the workers and people of Chile which has its headquarters in Prague. The ROH supported from its solidarity fund the trade unions also in other Latin American countries.

For the most part, this assistance consisted of furnishings for the trade union headquarters. Most demanded were the means of transportation, microbuses, cars, motorcycles, tape recorders, radio receivers, projectors, x-ray equipment, drugs, medical instruments, tents, office supplies, sporting goods. We have been asked to supply literature, translations of material from the history of our trade union movement.

I do not have to emphasize that we pay special attention to the training of cadres who are the most valuable capital. We are glad to do it. In this context I would like to express our appreciation of our A. Zapotocky trade union school in which these seminars take place.

Every year, our country entertains the children from the families of striking or unemployed workers in the ROH pioneer camps. This year, it was the children from Great Britain, France, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus. In addition, children from Vietnam and Angola came for recreation in our country. And I have not mentioned yet the number of people who come to our country for an extended medical treatment and so on.

It is thus clear that the solidarity fund is used for many purposes. In connection with the intensifying struggles of workers and progressive trade unions against imperialism and reaction, there will be an increased need of our solidarity in specific forms. For this reason, we immensely appreciate the international attitude of the working people toward our class brethern in the developing and capitalist countries.

I would like to express the hope that every organ and organization, every trade unionist will actively participate both by their work and attitudes in strengthening solidarity also in the future everywhere that our class brethren will need it. This is in the interest of peace, happy life of working people and social progress throughout the world."

10501
CSO: 2400

POLISH SITUATION BLAMED FOR RENEWED 'ABGRENZUNG' POLICY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLEGMEINE in German 29 Oct 80 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, late October: "SED Plays With High Stakes--Resentment in GDR at Honecker's Abrupt Change of Course in German-German Policy"]

[Text] As the strikes in Poland kept growing in intensity last July and August and strikers' demands became more and more political, increasing numbers of people could be found in the GDR who, when involved in conversation about events in Poland, would reply spontaneously: "No matter what the outcome, we in the GDR will be the ones to suffer." Today this has been confirmed for practically everyone concerned. The citizens of the GDR had never been particularly fond of their neighbors east of the Oder and Neisse; they accuse them of emptying their shops. But during the last days and weeks, resentments dating from the end of the war against the Poles (the term "Polacks" is not infrequently heard in the GDR) has, if anything, increased. Certianly, many in the GDR who know via Western radio and TV (since their own media are silent on the issue) about the Polish workers' battle for independent unions, for legalizing the right to strike and for freedom of opinion and social improvements, are watching in awe and perhaps even with some envy, how Polish workers intimidate the party and the Politibureau and how they are making life difficult for them. But all the secret sympathy for Lech Walesa and his cohorts is drowned out and pushed aside by the conviction that developments in Poland--whatever turn they may take--will have nothing but adverse effects upon the population of the GDR.

There is no lack of confirmation for these feelings. In view of the events in Poland, Federal Chancellor Schmidt was forced to cancel his meeting with SED chief Honecker in the GDR, a meeting to which the GDR population had been looking forward with some hope. Because of the tense economic conditions in Poland the GDR was forced to make supplementary shipments to Poland. The GDR population is fully aware that in their daily shopping they feel the effects of additional exports over and above the quantities agreed upon for delivery to Poland: 100,000 tons of rye, 1,500 tons of chickens, 1,000 tons of butter, 200 tons of oats, 100 tons of baby food, 70,000 articles of mens and womens' clothing as well as other consumer goods. But that is not all: because of the strikes in Poland, Polish imports contracted for do not arrive on time and in the proper amounts in the GDR. Especially in those GDR enterprises which are dependent on hard coal, the lack of shipments from Poland is drastically obvious. Thus the side effects of the events in Poland increase considerably the already pre-existing economic difficulties in the GDR. Under these circumstances,

there can hardly be any question about a further rise in the GDR population's standard of living.

But the population was hardest hit by the SED leadership's putting into effect a drastic increase in the mandatory money conversion rate for Western visitors. Not only was the GDR population forced to renounce any hope that the German-German dialogue might perhaps result in increased opportunities for travel to the West; the increase in the mandatory money conversion rate further subjected it to a drastic reduction in human contact with relatives and friends residing in the West. Honecker's speech in Gera, in which he made impossible demands as the price for the continuation of his "normalization" policies for relations with the FRG (i.e. recognition of GDR citizenship, a change in permanent representation in embassies, which would be tantamount to recognizing the GDR as a separate country under international law; acceptance of the GDR position in the controversy about the ELBE border)--all that was an ex-post facto official confirmation for the GDR population that 'Abgrenzung' has once again displaced detente policy. Hardly anyone in the GDR believes the official justification for the mandatory money conversion rate (reduced purchasing power of Western currencies and speculation in Ostmarks through "fraudulent maneuvers" in the West); rather, people feel that with these explanations they are being given the "idiot treatment." They find it obvious that this time it is not a matter of money, but that the SED is trying to choke off the flow of visitors by means of the mandatory money conversion rate. That is the sort of thing which promotes resentment and increases discontent in the GDR population.

It is quite possible that the SED leadership was thoroughly worried about internal security in the GDR in view of the events in Poland. Inasmuch as the reigning Politbureaucrats are only sketchily informed about the real mood of their own population (they get their information almost exclusively from State Security Service reports), it may well be that the SED leadership was afraid that the Polish freedom spark could leap over to the GDR and therefore felt it necessary to pull the intra-German emergency brake. However, it is more likely that East Berlin was forced by Moscow, which is highly alarmed by developments in Poland and fears serious consequences for the entire "socialist camp," to stop the detente process with Bonn, which the Soviets consider under the present circumstances to be an additional source of danger for the interior security of their bloc. In any case, Honecker and the members of the SED Politbureau (especially the minister for state security, Mielke) have given the GDR population clear warning of the SED's determination not to permit "Polish conditions" in the GDR. Said Honecker in Gera: "We would like to see a stable situation in the People's Republic of Poland; the counterrevolution must realize that west of the Elbe and Werra there is a limit to its sphere of power."

In analyzing the official reaction by Moscow and the other Warsaw Pact states to the events in Poland, it becomes apparent that Moscow is most reticent in its statements while the party leaders in Prague, Bucarest, Budapest and, last but not least, East Berlin, are all the more issuing loud and emphatic warnings against counterrevolutionary developments in Poland. Honecker clearly stated in Gera that "the socialist GDR cannot be indifferent toward the fate of People's Poland," adding emphatically: "The People's Republic of Poland is and will remain a socialist country." Taken together with statements by Ceaucescu and the leaders of the Czech and Hungarian parties, this gives the impression of a well-produced play with the speaking parts distributed among, on the one hand, Moscow and the above-named Warsaw Pact countries on the other. It is beginning to look as though a possible

Soviet intervention (which would of course entail the participation of the other Warsaw Pact nations, including the GDR) would this time not be "justified" by a cry for help from the country concerned, but by a plea from the surrounding countries to Moscow to stop the dangerous developments in Poland. It is easy to imagine the disastrous consequences of participation by German soldiers of the GDR's NVA in an intervention in Poland upon the relationship between Germany and Poland, not to speak of other consequences.

SED stakes in this game are high even without an intervention in Poland. After all, it has provoked resentment and discontent among the population by these intimidation measures, which were originally designed to prevent these feelings. While the strikes in Poland and the Polish workers' fight for greater freedom had touched the GDR population to a very limited degree and certainly did not incite it to follow suit, Honecker's abrupt change of course in German-German policy, the renewed brutal Abgrenzung policy by the SED, has provoked widespread outrage. It can hardly be expected that this dissension will merely express itself in heightened resentment against the Polish neighbors.

9273
CSO: 2300

NEW FRG GOVERNMENT URGED TO CHANGE BASIC LAW, NORMALIZE RELATIONS

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German Vol 75 No 46, 11 Nov 80 pp 1441-1443

[Article by Werner Haendler, Bonn correspondent for GDR Radio: "The Real Open Questions"]

[Text] What promotes and what impedes neighborly, reasonable, normal relations between the GDR and the FRG? Four weeks after Erich Honecker's Gera speech, which triggered intense reactions, speculations and imputations in the FRG, one would expect the people in the FRG to begin to analyze and discuss these problems in a more objective way. So far, however, there have been no indications that this is about to happen.

It is grotesque, for example, that DIE WELT--the "respectable" paper of the Springer concern in whose products the letters GDR must be enclosed in quotation marks--regretfully states that Erich Honecker's speech put a stop to all moves toward detente. Such a statement by the very paper that has always rabidly opposed and still opposes the smallest step toward detente! But even semi-official reactions in Bonn--that do acknowledge the fact that the GDR, all difficulties and problems notwithstanding, considers further steps on the road toward normalization of the relations between the two states to be feasible and desirable--contain the accusation that this road has been blocked by an "avalanche of unacceptable demands" on the part of the GDR. But all Erich Honecker did was to call a spade a spade. He pointed out that the FRG policy of intensified interference and of violation of the sovereigny of its Eastern neighbors seriously endangers the process of normalization. The allegedly unacceptable demands turn out to be a requisite exhortation to Bonn finally to discontinue its internationally unlawful practices, that is to say to recognize GDR citizenship, to exchange ambassadors and to drop its opposition to a conclusive settlement of the border problem.

In reply to the question exactly why normal inter-German relations conforming to international law are unacceptable to Bonn, the FRG always cites its Basic Law as an insurmountable obstacle. In fact, here are the deeper reasons underlying the inconsistencies of the policy that the social-liberal coalition has been pursuing for 11 years vis-a-vis the socialist states. To be sure, the FRG eventually faced up to the necessity to establish contractual relations with them (incidentally, with reason: In order to forestall the impending isolation, to gain access to the United Nations, to help the business sector to effect transactions with the East, etc.); at the same time, however, the FRG set up revanchist rear positions,

a good example of which is the basic thesis of "leaving open the German question." Behind this thesis, there is the hope of finding--somehow and someday--ways and means of restoring the power of capitalism in the GDR. This is as illusory as fantastic, but it proves that the FRG is not prepared to accept the existence of socialism on German soil. And that smells of revanchism--all the gloss notwithstanding.

It goes without saying that the continuous references to the "limits of the Basic Law" are only an excuse. Whenever it served the strategic interests of German imperialism, the FRG rulers have always been quick about revising the constitution and they have done so in over 100 cases--once, at the time they pushed through the emergency laws, even against the sharp protest of the majority of the population. No, in reality the Basic Law is not the obstacle; the crux of the matter is the still prevalent--albeit concealed--revanchist tenor of Bonn's policy. In pursuit of this policy, the FRG rulers put up the most sophistical, pseudo-legal constructs--shaky structures far removed from any reality.

On the one hand, the existence of two independent states is--of necessity--recognized and even contractually sanctioned. At the same time, however, citizens of the contracting partner are not recognized as citizens of their state; rather, the FRG claims (with reference to the citizenship law of 1913!!) that they are "German citizens", thus continuously violating the GDR's sovereigny. In practice, this leads to paradoxical situations such as were encountered by the present writer in his capacity as the Bonn correspondent of GDR Radio: Since he, too, was subject to that "comprehensive German citizenship", he regularly received--all his protests notwithstanding--official communications requesting him to vote in state and federal elections. If I had belonged to a younger age group, I would possibly even have received an induction order by the Federal Armed Forces.

I trust no comment is necessary to show how much this attitude and this practice impede the relations between the two states. As democratic jurists in the FRG have pointed out, this is a "unique anomaly"; in fact, the FRG probably is the only state in the world that wants to impose its citizenship on citizens of another state, with which it simultaneously maintains contractual relations. On 21 December 1972, in ratifying the Basic Agreement, our government placed on record the hope that the "agreement will facilitate a s ttlement of the citizenship problem." That was 8 years ago; the balance sheet shows, however, that Bonn did not in any way use these years to effect a rapprochement; rather, Bonn has hardened its dogmatic--i.e. revanchist--position. This is evident from the questions concerning the course of the border that have remained undecided: Settlement of these issues has been blocked, since certain circles in the FRG want to shift the Elbe border further toward the East--if only by a short distance.

Would not the interests of peace and of neighborly relations be served better, if--after the joint border commission has done its work and reached important agreements--the course of the border along the Elbe River were settled as soon as possible in accordance with international law?

Incidentally--and this is meant merely as a comment on certain speculations of FRG media--as regards the reaffirmation of these legitimate and peace-promoting demands, the moment is well chosen: No elections are imminent in the FRG. In Bonn,

a new government is about to take up its duties; free from time-related and other pressures, it thus can concern itself with the normalization of its relations with its Eastern neighbor, an important contracting partner.

On the other hand, in the interest of its citizens the GDR must ponder the question what form the relations with the FRG are to take in the next 10 years. This question is pressing if only because of the fact that in the recent past the FRG has been playing the role of a vanguard--both in regard to the drafting of NATO's long-term armament program and in regard to the implementation of the Brussels missile resolution. These actions and decisions--of which the FRG chancellor has been boasting everywhere--are a blatant manifestation of a policy of confrontation; they are diametrically opposed to the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente. After all, confrontation and coexistence, revanchism and neighborly relations are irreconcilable. The time is ripe for solving these contradictions. The sooner the FRG can come up with a constructive answer to the question posed at the beginning of this article, the better for all parties involved.

8760
CSO: 2300

LESS REGIMENTED EDUCATION NEEDED FOR GIFTED

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 34 No 20, Oct 80 pp 4-5

[Interview by Thomas Heubner with Prof Gerhart Neuner, president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "How Does One Educate the Gifted?" A translation of a recent East Berlin EINHEIT article by Professor Neuner is published under the heading, "Social Science Teachers To Stress Dialectics, Class Morality," in JPRS 76481, 24 Sep 80, No 1815 of this series, pp 92-102]

[Text] [Question] In all fields of social life--whether in science, in the production sector or in other fields--people are calling for the development and strengthening of our citizens' creative faculties and creativity. In this regard, the present stage of the scientific-technological revolution is setting new goals and standards. Have the pedagogical sciences developed any ideas in regard to ways of solving this problem?

[Answer] We must more effectively translate into action all that we know, all that is clear in this respect. This is the first requirement. One thing is clear: Those who are not educated, not open, not sensitive to science and culture cannot be expected to produce creative results. A high level of all-round education certainly is not the be-all and end-all. But this where creativity begins. According to tests involving individuals participating in the student competition and in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, creative young people have from childhood been strongly activity-oriented. They have interests and hobbies; they read; they are never bored. They are always--and have always been--occupied with a project.

Creative achievements require original thought, novel solutions, the courage to leave the beaten track. Some people consider contemporaries showing such traits to be disagreeable. I think teachers and leaders should take care not to bury through careless measures and evaluations what should be cultivated, promoted and guided into the proper channels. Creative achievements require energy, willpower, persistence, the capacity for teamwork, and discipline. All this must be trained and practiced as well--until physical and psychological stability is attained.

But there is a second requirement: In certain important fields, our knowledge is either not sufficient or it is not yet ready for application. Thus we do have a certain amount of information as to what general and specific psychological attributes are necessary for creative achievements. But we are not able reliably to diagnose them. We know a few things on certain sets of problems and on problem-

solving procedures, but for problem-oriented instruction we still lack fully developed and tested methods and procedures, collections of interesting problems for different grades and subjects. We know that creative achievements are not only a matter of intellectual faculties, of grades and grade point averages, but we still do not sufficiently help the teachers and educators in their evaluations--and especially in their decisions concerning study plans and vocational careers--correctly to assess the total personality. Moreover, such evaluations frequently are not yet attributed sufficient importance in admission proceedings. These are research- and educational policy-related problems and we are continuing our efforts to solve them.

In some fields, e.g. in sports, there is relatively accurate information as to how peak performance is attained. In regard to science, the situation is different. What course does pedagogics pursue so as to train or prepare the children already during their school years for subsequent scientific achievements and at the same time to prevent them from turning into ivory-towered specialists?

Young people promising to produce outstanding results (whether this will come to pass no one can predict with certainty) can be selected all the better, the broader and more specific the selection possibilities created by the school and by extracurricular activities. Consequently, the selection must be based on a thorough, prognostic evaluation of the young people's capacities. And it is necessary to use special promotion methods. In some fields, e.g. mathematics, sports, foreign languages and certain artistic disciplines, such methods are relatively well developed, but less so in the scientific-technological disciplines.

These methods are applied by us on the basis of and in combination with general education, the development of the personality as a whole. In the children's and youth sport academies, too, the young people receive an all-round education and training. However, a high level of athletic performance and performance motivation remains the focal point of the personality development.

It has been established that the capacity for peak performance is closely related to education, to the loyalty to our state, to respect of the working class and of work to industriousness, reliability, modesty. In aiding the advancement of young people, one must avoid producing in them the impression that they are little Einsteins, Lomonossovs, etc. Only the actual accomplishments can show if an individual is going to be innovative in science or technology. And such innovations call for involvement of the entire personality!

In our polytechnical high school, we have numerous possibilities concerning the advancement of special talents: Differentiated work in the obligatory subjects, optional subjects, student projects, teaching assistants, study groups, fairs and olympiads. At present, we are looking into ways of exploiting these possibilities still more effectively. I feel there are untapped reserves here--even in regard to the formal framework of olympiads and fairs. Sometimes, the emphasis is on attendance figures and exhibits rather than on real talent development. We have the extended high school, vocational training capped by high-school graduation, and other college-preparatory programs, which we are presently developing and improving in terms of both substance and organization so as to further raise the quality and effectiveness of the college-preparatory programs. The pertinent measures adopted and initiated must be viewed, understood and implemented in the above-mentioned

framework. In our educational system, we have diverse special schools, specialists' camps, student associations and other special forms serving to advance special talents. In vocational training, in the universities and technical colleges, there are proven ways and methods of aiding gifted apprentices, young skilled workers, students and junior researchers. The Fifth University Conference evaluated the experience gained in this respect and broached questions concerning future developments. I fully agree to statements made at the conference, above all statements in the report of the minister for university and technical college affairs, Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, to the effect that in applying the numerous regulations concerning the development of gifted children, we should be bolder, show more initiative and develop more original ideas. In principle, our uniform socialist educational system offers the requisite flexibility of educational channels. However, the pathways from the classroom to the achievement of outstanding results, above all outstanding results in science and technology, frequently are not yet sufficiently efficient and effective. In this regard, it is not only encouragement that is required; we must also analyze and generalize positive results, e.g. by means of individualized study plans and individualized educational programs. We should also examine whether all of the problems concerning the points of transition between the individual stages of the educational system have been settled in accordance with the objectives of the talent-development program. In collaboration with the Central Institute for Vocational Training, the Institute for Higher Learning and the Institute for Technical School Affairs, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has produced a study that broaches the pertinent problems, and we will further research this complex of questions; we are going to produce more accurate analyses and work out proposals and recommendations.

Regardless of what methods and forms of organization are chosen, the crucial contributions are made by competent scientists, engineers and technicians, who personally work with the young people, with university and high school students, with apprentises. All of our experience shows: The capacity for outstanding achievements has a personal component; it presupposes an appropriate relationship between teachers--taken here in the broadest sense--and students!

[Question] In conclusion, another question: What pointers and advice would you give a present-day student? In your view, what are the key study principles that a student should observe so as to be able upon his or her graduation to meet the expectations of our society?

[Answer] Considering the advice given the students by the Fifth University Conference--above all the remarks in Prof Kurt Hager's concluding statement--I cannot and do not want to say anything new. I can only confirm from my own experience: I am deeply convinced that any course of studies requires total commitment on the part of the student. Society places confidence in the student--in advance, as it were. As a result--I do not mind repeating it--there is a great political and moral obligation. In my view, to study is to learn thoroughly, to review, to seek the best way of letting sink in the subject matter learned. I strongly urge the young people systematically to train their memory.

This should not be confused with mechanical cramming. I want the students to be so courageous as to go beyond the textbook, the lecture, the tasks at hand and to draw on their own words, ideas and solutions. At the University Conference, it

was justly pointed out that this also involved problems concerning study organization and that these problems could not be solved by the student alone.

I am strongly in favor of high requirements. Those whose goals are insufficiently high, who want to proceed at a comfortable pace, who are oriented toward average accomplishments--they fail to see the issues that presently are of crucial importance in all fields, and in science and technology in particular. I approve of the practice of acquainting the university students at an early stage with scientifically productive problems, all the more so since we have begun to introduce high school students to such tasks. This is a challenge; it gives them the opportunity to test their abilities, to deepen their knowledge in a particular field. There is a great deal of truth in the statement of A.W. Lunacharskiy, the young Soviet state's first people's commissar for national education, to the effect that one should be capable of taking in all of the music, the harmonies produced by the entire orchestra, but that one should play one particular instrument masterfully.

Naturally, I do not recommend that the students do nothing but pore over their books, that they totally withdraw to their studies and wear themselves out through constant stress. Every specialist must first of all be a citizen, a universally educated individual. He or she must have a point of view and must also defend it; he or she must take an interest in world affairs, must participate in the activities of the FDJ [Free German Youth] group, must carry out social tasks, must love, be sociable, engage in sports, read a book, go to the theatre, in short: He or she must find the rhythm of an industrious, interesting, cultured and healthy life!

I expect people will say: It is easy for him to talk. How can one find the time to do all this? The day has only 24 hours. That is both little and much. As far as I am concerned, I learned during my studies--and that was a long time ago--to manage my time, to work by the calendar, to find time for the most pressing tasks. This has always been helpful to me.

8760
CSO: 2300

LEKAI DEFENDS STANCE OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN HUNGARY

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Nov 80 p 7

[Article by C. Gustav Stroehm: "Conversation With Cardinal Lekai, 'We Cannot Accomplish Anything by Pounding on the Table'"]

[Text] Esztergom--Where does the Hungarian Catholic Church stand today? What is its relationship with the communist state--and what is its attitude toward its Polish fellow believers, who have gained so much attention because of the most recent events and because of Pope John Paul II? Archbishop and Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, the primate of Hungary, was remarkably open when answering questions during a conversation with Western journalists in the archbishop's Palace of Esztergom (Gran), located on the Danube and in view of the large basilica.

Lekai, a vigorous, witty man with a good sense of humor, was using the German language. He was obviously trying to correct the image that has been created of him in the West and in Polish Catholic circles: The image of a man who gives in too easily to the communist regime.

"Even the pope realizes that the Polish way is not the only one leading to salvation," Lekai said at the conclusion of his meeting with the WELT correspondent. "Being Hungarians, Hungarian Catholics, we have to go our own way." Conditions in Hungary are different from those in Poland. Each East European country has its own special conditions. "The Czechs, for instance, would like to change with us, but we would not like to change with them. Strictly speaking, we would not like to change with the Poles either."

So-called heroic deeds, the cardinal said, accomplish nothing. When he made such statements, the listeners remembered that Lekai was at one time secretary to Cardinal Mindszenty, who was arrested by the communist secret police the day after Christmas in the same rooms where we were now engaged in conversation.

The Hungarians, Lekai continued, had taken the road of heroic deeds twice and received no assistance whatsoever except beautiful words. "At one time, my predecessors on this chair of the Archbishop of Esztergom negotiated with the king of Hungary who was simultaneously emperor in Vienna. My situation right now is quite a different one. The church is not bound to emperors and kings but it is there for the people of God. The people of God, however, want this church to exist. We are, after all, living in a communist country--and we want to survive, and survive in a manner which makes believers feel that they are human beings."

Constant disputes and constant disturbances are not good for the people, the cardinal stated. Alluding to the most recent events in Poland--but without giving the name of the country--he thought that the following Latin saying was appropriate for the people: "Primum est vivere, deindre philosophare" (Living comes first, philosophizing comes later). One can only philosophize when one is not "When one has a stomachache because one is hungry, one is restless." There has never been hunger in Hungary and even today no hunger exists thanks to the good organization of agricultural cooperatives.

Subsequently the cardinal pointed to the coat of arms he had chosen for himself. It consists of a cut off tree, the stump of which is producing new green branches. Nevertheless, you cannot expect a tree to have new branches at noon when it was only cut off in the morning. It is a tedious process. The question is asked again and again, in Lekai's words: "Why is the Hungarian church not breaking loose?" His only answer to that is: "No, that is not our way, that is not our situation. It would be unwise." Lekai put it this way: Although the country is governed by communists, "a certain pluralism" exists in Hungary between believers and nonbelievers, between theists and atheists.

Both share common interests but also difficulties. The latter, however, can only be solved through "great, overwhelming patience. We cannot accomplish anything by pounding on the table," Lekai stated. Rather, "cautious, prudent dialog" is necessary.

The cardinal used sharp words in criticizing the activities of certain so-called "basic congregations" that are accusing the official church of being too "servile" toward the state, inciting a revolution against the hierarchy and, as a consequence, ruining the unity of the church. The cardinal was referring to approximately 52 congregations of this kind in Hungary. Their membership consists of 12 believers and one priest for each congregation--following the example of Christ and the 12 apostles. The church, however, does not owe the fact that it has survived to date to these "ungrateful people" but to those simple priests who are performing their duties sacrificially.

"A few things are beginning to happen here," Lekai said. He pointed, among other things, to the theological correspondence courses which had finally been approved by the regime. The reason why only 300 had been accepted out of 600 applicants for these courses was not because the regime demanded it but because only persons with a secondary school diploma could be considered. With regard to the establishment of relations between the Vatican and the Hungarian government, it is of concern primarily to these two institutions. He, Lekai, could get along without it.

Apparently, the primate wants to wrest concessions from the Hungarian regime. The church is to be rewarded for its stabilizing role in society. He wants to prevent Hungary from suddenly being caught up again in the whirlpool of Polish unrest, as happened in 1956. At that time, the revolt started in Poland--but the catastrophe did not strike until Budapest got involved, and the Poles, eventually, washed their hands of the affair.

Lekai's effort to establish a "counterpoint" to Poland is in agreement with the intentions of the Kadar regime. "He is a good Catholic and a good Hungarian," was the comment of an official state functionary concerning the conversation with the cardinal.

8991
CSO: 2300

MSZMP'S ACZEL ADDRESSES BUDAPEST AKTIV MEETING

AU090814 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Dec 80 p 4

[Report on address by MSZMP Politburo member Gyorgy Aczel at a 1 December Communist AKTIV meeting at the Budapest Party Committee's Educational Directorate: "Lecture by Gyorgy Aczel on Topical Issues of Our Cultural Life; Let Us Retain Our Achievements, Let Our Work be More Exacting"]

[Text] "Defining our current goals and long-term ones for years ahead, our party's 12th Congress has provided a clear mobilizing force program for our people as a whole. It simultaneously urges the preservation of our achievements, which requires dynamic activity, and a creative-spirited regeneration, which calls for better and more exacting work in all areas," stressed Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the preamble of a lecture he held at a communist AKTIV meeting at the Villanyi Street Educational Directorate of the Budapest Party Committee.

In Conformity With Requirements

Before leading officials and activists of the capitol's party, state and social organizations and educational institutes, he dealt with topical issues of our ideological and cultural life. In the context of the directives of the 12th Party Congress and the present requirements of our development, he analyzed the tasks of people working in cultural areas that are of outstanding significance in a multifaceted shaping of the human factor, which plays such an important role in the accomplishment of tasks, and in the development of collective-mindedness, including the area of arts. He pointed out: Not only does the stability of our system and the constancy of the main elements of our policy not mean an unchanged character of our work and practice, but, indeed, they call for dynamism and progress. Without advancing, we cannot preserve our achievements. However, it is only feasible to advance if we consolidate our results to date. Today, even more than before, development obliges us to be able to want to and to dare to break away from everything that has had its day and, at the same time, to seek, discover and apply as extensively as possible and as consistently as possible modern principles and methods that are more in keeping with stricter requirements. We have to keep the future in mind even while we accomplish today's tasks. In so doing, we must endeavor, also in the further phases of socialist development, to retain and even strengthen the unity in action of the classes and strata of our society and maintain completely and develop mutual trust between our party and people.

Our plans and aspirations build simultaneously on a general and vocational education in keeping with the increasing requirements of development a modern world outlook and moral attitude, cultured public life and the enrichment of personality. The person who feels well and works in a sound and fruitful workplace atmosphere where he is really needed can use and develop best his ability not only to the advantage of his immediate community and society, but to his own advantage as well.

Science and Practice

Scientific workers should be given tasks that are a challenge to their knowledge and ability, sensible, useful and inspiring tasks. They should feel and experience constantly that their work is needed and practical activity is ready to absorb and utilize new results. We cannot be satisfied by far with our results in this area to date; however, having the path of a solution in sight, we are taking steps that accord with the interests of science and production. We are guided by a dual goal. First, there must not be experts regarding themselves as superfluous at scientific workshops and research institutes. Second, there should be an appropriate intellectual capacity at the disposal of producing and manufacturing enterprises for the earliest and most effective introduction of modern technical and technological processes. Changes can cause human conflicts, but we will see to it that personal upsets be as small as possible and over with as soon as possible. We intend to assert social interests--which come, of course, first--with consideration to personal interests.

Substantive Rejuvenation of Public Education

Schools play a determining role in smoothing the path of the age groups reaching adulthood and the education of experts who possess a modern general education and vocational knowledge, experts prepared and able to knowingly absorb and creatively apply what is new. The position of the educational institution system affects society as a whole and has a direct impact on the activity of all classes and strata of society. Modernizing general and higher education, the outlines of which are already visible, will be one of the greatest undertakings of the one to two decades ahead of us. While retaining proven forms and the stable character of education, plans promise a vigorous improvement of the quality of training. Through changes, we intend to create better prerequisites for the acquisition of versatile knowledge.

In public education, a substantive rejuvenation of school work will be brought to the fore. Just as in the entire educational process, the teacher is the school's determining figure in bringing that about. At the same time, we intend to develop a program capable of arousing the entire society's attention, interest and active and committed approval. We would like parents and families to participate even more actively in resolving the problems of the cause of education.

The Role of Ideology Has Increased

The significance of ideology has increased in recent years, noted Gyorgy Aczel, stressing: We must provide new answers to the new questions that arise in the course of development. Intensive ideological work is required by the interpretation and suppression of certain disturbing manifestations and erroneous and perhaps harmful views as well. All this requires a constantly strengthening of the

hegemony of Marxism. Marxist ideology helps to make people feel natural that development is not devoid of contradictions and, at the same time, it makes it easier for them to separate the inevitable from the accidental.

Life has proven the correctness of the guiding principles of educational policy developed by our party more than 2 decades ago, principles that have been unabatedly prevailing since. Their application and implementation have enriched our national culture and intellectual life with lasting values. Those principles are valid even today and will remain viable in the future as well. However, we must further develop some of their substantive elements and practical methods. As with other areas of our life, we must emphasize the improvement of quality also in this respect.

The Responsibility of Cultural Workshops

We understand the sincere, responsible voice of creators in the grip of the difficulties of progress, but we come out resolutely against superficiality, cheapness, an unhistorical approach and false generalization, which appear at times even in works. In supporting the arts, priority will be enjoyed also in the future by socialist-spirited creations that serve socialism and the people on a high standard. We respect and encourage experiments and endeavors--which might only bear fruit tomorrow--which are not self-centered, which are not aimed merely at their creator's "self-realization," but which strive to depict our life in a more profound way and our truth in a novel way. We are and will be patient also with creators who are not as yet socialists, but enrich our socialist culture with their works and the values of them. Our cooperation is built on a principled basis and also requires that we conduct a debate as between partners. However, we will continue to guard against anyone being able to use the public forum in the service of destructive ideas intended to cause harm and endeavors contrary to our laws.

Gyorgy Aczel spoke with emphasis about the responsibility of cultural workshops and their leaders. They should ensure the freedom of creation in the service of our good cause and the culture of the people as a whole, but should not permit anyone to abuse it. Their independence should be coupled with suitable responsibility and their exactitude should express itself in espousing quality and genuine values and supporting talent. They should take care that lack of talent and commonplace should not encroach anywhere and creators should not lose touch with their public, the cultural requirements and interests of the millions of working people. They should keep that in mind in spite of the fact that it is our duty to do all we can for the esthetic education of the broadest strata and to foster understanding for true culture even by criticizing cheap taste.

Marxist criticism plays an indispensable role in espousing initiatives of the right direction, seeking out new values, developing the freedom of creation and strengthening contacts between the arts and the public. However, it can fulfill its mission only if it becomes more of an initiator and bolder in evaluation, in praising what is good and censuring what is to be ejected. Its cultivators should consider, among other things, that the mediating and guiding role of criticism may become distorted if personal emotions take the place of principled assessment.

We Continue to Rejuvenate Our Intellectual Life

We intend to continue regenerating and rejuvenating our intellectual life. We abide by what has been laid down by our party's 12th Congress: Art and culture are fulfilling a role that cannot be substituted with anything else in the building of a socialist society and the shaping of socialist man. However, to make progress, a more committed and open support of genuine values and improvement of the direction of artistic workshops are needed, said Gyorgy Aczel at the end of his address.

CSO: 2500

REACTIONS OF KRAKOW STUDENTS TO RECENT UNREST NOTED

Resolution Issued

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 19, 25 Sep - 8 Oct 80 pp 5, 11

[Commentary by editors of STUDENT: "Plenum Notes"]

[Text] "For a long time now we have realized that our country is faced with a mounting social and economic crisis. The events of recent months have given us a reason to hope for a better future. In these difficult times we have made it known that we are in sympathy with the workers' demands calling for improvement in the quality of life and for the democratization of public life.

"On numerous occasions university students have given voice to their concerns and fears about the future. Unfortunately, their statements have gone unheeded. But we are now pleased to note that their proper demands have finally been placed on the agenda for a public debate. We believe that the real strength of our society, which has manifested itself under such dramatic circumstances in the past, will be given a permanent role to play within the framework of our country's political system.

"The courageous stand taken by the workers and intellectuals has shown us that it is possible to openly advocate the views of our student community, views which are in line with the thinking of a majority of Poles.

"It is our duty to fight to make sure that the serious issues which the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] has raised on so many occasions, issues which have thus far been ignored, should finally meet with some response.

"It is imperative that the spirit of change and renewal that is spreading throughout our country, something which we all have been looking forward to for so long, should also have an impact on institutions of higher education and on our role in these institutions and in the life of the nation as a whole."

The above remarks comprise the introduction to a resolution of the Plenum of the Krakow Board of the SZSP held on 17 September 1980. In view of the importance of this resolution and the debate it has touched off in the student community we would like to acquaint our readers further with its contents.

Part one of the resolution is devoted in its entirety to SZSP organizational matters.

"We believe that an umbrella organization uniting all students should continue to play an active role in the life of the university student community. This organization must be open to everyone who accepts the political tenets contained in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. It cannot set up any barriers to membership in it based on personal world views. It musr provide a forum for united action on the part of the student community as a whole.

"We also believe that in order to insure the implementation of the demands which it raises it must be a self-governing and autonomous body. The strength of the university student community resides in its unity and cohesiveness. Only by remaining united will we be able to insist upon the effective and prompt fulfillment of our legitimate demands. This is why we take the position that there should be only one university students' organization based on this kind of all-encompassing, federative framework aimed at representing the interests of all young people enrolled in the universities. At the same time, we acknowledge that other student organizations and associations, set up in accordance with standards that are not universally shared, might also have a role to play.

"We are proposing that delegates to the governing boards of the colleges should be elected directly and without any interference from the existing student organizations.

"We firmly believe that the idea of a universal students' organization sprang from the experiences of the university students' movement, and the SZSP is also a part of this movement. As far as the practical aspects of our work are concerned, and this holds true for the SZSP organization as a whole, we have dedicated ourselves to the goal of bringing about the full realization of the principle of universality, and in so doing we have tried to avoid raising up any barriers within the academic community. Unfortunately, however, there are many awkwardly phrased provisions in the bylaws of the SZSP that could be and in fact were interpreted differently.

"This is why we are demanding that steps should be taken to rewrite these provisions. This must be taken care of at the next congress of the SZSP. We want the date for the convening of this congress to be moved up so that it can be held in October of this year. This congress must see to it that these matters are spelled out in clear and unequivocal terms in the SZSP Statutes. In particular these provisions must contain some reference to the principles of the SZSP's autonomy and independence with regard to the process whereby it states its views on the problems related to Poland's socioeconomic development and also to the SZSP's openness to all students, regardless of their religious beliefs.

"At the same time, the Krakow Board of the SZSP enjoins all of the collegiate and departmental branches of the SZSP in its jurisdiction to conduct a wide-ranging debate prior to the convening of the congress that will be focused on proposed changes in the way our organization carries out its duties with special reference to:

--the role of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth and the SZSP's affiliation with this organization,

--the reform of the SZSP's electoral system along lines geared toward the holding of direct elections and the separation of its executive and deliberative powers,

--setting age limits for persons (who are not students) holding elective offices and devising a method for their rotation,

--and shortening the terms of persons holding elective offices on the Provincial Boards and on the Central Board of the SZSP."

Part two of the plenum's resolution consists of statements made by representatives of the Krakow SZSP organization dealing with the country's current social and political situation.

These representatives are demanding that steps should be taken to institute the complete rotation of SZSP officers at all levels coupled with the establishment of fixed rules to govern this process; to promulgate legal standards which endow all self-governing organs with decisionmaking powers and insure the effectiveness of their actions; to reform the system for awarding promotions and filling leadership positions in order to make sure that these positions are filled by competent individuals; to eliminate all practices whereby public funds are spent in a wasteful manner; to publicize and make better use of the opinions of scholarly experts concerning the country's social and economic affairs; to acknowledge the right of the SZSP to freely express its views, including the right to do so in student newspapers.

It was also proposed that the state should pay more attention to fostering the nation's cultural heritage, its educational system and its arts and sciences by increasing its funding allocations in these areas and by permitting an overall increase in the number of published book titles and printing runs--especially so in the case of the more prominent works of Polish and world literature and also in the case of scholarly and research works--and by increasing the printing runs of newspapers and periodicals.

It was also demanded that questions of environmental protection should be taken seriously as one of the most important issues affecting the public health.

The representatives of the Krakow SZSP also sympathized with demands calling for the curtailment of censorship powers in order to make sure that these powers will not be used to restrict free criticism and free exchange of information and views.

Part three of the plenum's resolution discusses the whole range of issues pertaining to the system of higher education and to the status of university graduates and young families.

Demands were made calling for broadening of the self-governing powers of the colleges by passing amendments to the law on higher education which in its new form should spell out, among other things, the scope of the authority of the colleges governing bodies, running the gamut from those which act in an adisory advisory capacity to those which have decisionmaking powers; the reaching of a final agreement as to the number of student representatives that would be entitled to hold offices in the college administrations and as to the scope of their authority (their participation in this capacity would not be regarded as serving

any useful purpose until after a decision has been made to fulfill those demands calling for a redefinition of the powers of at least one-third of the members of the college governing boards, and the student representatives should be elected directly by the entire student body); making the positions of rector, dean and other officers of the university administration elective offices; the revision of the working rules of disciplinary and expulsion committees by proposing, among other things, the establishment of an office that will provide defense counsel for students called to account before such committees.

Demands were made calling for the adoption of the principle whereby the colleges would be given a free hand in the development of their curricula and educational policies, the reinstatement of the longer courses of study that used to exist, as well as for giving the colleges a larger say in the initiation of their own research programs; guarantees that would safeguard a fair and democratic university recruitment and admissions policy in keeping with the principle of an open admissions policy for all institutions of higher education, meaning that steps would be taken to abolish preference points, to put a stop to the practice whereby only "olympic athletes" do not have to take entrance exams to get into the universities, and to abolish special admissions and social-benefits privileges for children of officials working in those ministries which have guaranteed such privileges; giving students guaranteed access to all domestic and foreign learning resources; the broadening of the scholarship system and the determination of scholarship awards based on the findings of studies on the real costs a student will have to pay in order to get through college; the reservation of guaranteed spaces in student dormitories and cafeterias for all students who are in need; the complete overhauling of the student health care services system.

Demands were made calling for changes in the system of job placement services for college graduates, changes what would make it possible for this system to harness the genuine career and social ambitions of students in a totally efficient and fair manner; the adoption of decisions that would guarantee equitable conditions for the life and development of young families through the implementation of reasonable demands concerning the compensation of university graduates on a level that is commensurate with the average wage paid in a given industry; the improvement of housing conditions and the establishment of higher family supplemental income allowances; paid leaves of absence for child-care purposes, and the revision of the terms under which special loans are granted to young married couples.

Demands were also made calling the rewriting of the rules under which young people are recruited for positions on the university faculty.

The resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP closes with a demand calling for the passage of legislation that will define the role and authority of the SZSP in our sociopolitical life at the national level and in the universities. It was pointed out therefore that it is necessary, among other things, to more clearly delineate the powers of the college governing boards and the permanent membership parity for the student representatives that will sit on these boards and to guarantee that they will have a say in the selection of vice rectors and assistant deans responsible for student affairs.

The representatives of the Krakow university students' organization expressed the belief that this time their views will be carefully listened to and thoroughly examined.

The complete text of the resolution may be obtained from the Krakow Board or from the college councils of the SZSP.

We are presenting these views, which were hastily put into writing a couple of hours after the close of this plenum, in the hope that they will be studied more thoroughly two days from now (hence before the next issue of STUDENT goes to press) at the meeting of the Central Board of the SZSP in Uniejow and, more importantly, during the course of the community-wide debate that will precede the next Congress of the SZSP which will spell out these views and thoughts of the university student community in more concrete terms.

Meeting With Minister Gorski

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish no 21, 23 Oct - 5 Nov 80 pp 3, 11

[Article by Jerzy S. Latka]

[Text] I arrived at the last minute. The spacious lobby of the "Rotunda" Krakow Student Center was crowded with students. On the stairs two NZS [Independent Students' Association] officials were handing out leaflets entitled "concerning the Resolution of the Plenum of the Krakow Board of the SZSP." The meeting was being held in the theater of the student center. Every meter of space in front of the first few rows of seats was filled with students sitting right on the floor.

A diminutive woman student stepped up to the rostrum and was greeted with a round of applause by students wearing green NZS badges sitting in the first few rows of seats on the left side of the hall. "Since the organizers of this meeting are late, I am going to read for you the first issue of the Bulletin of the Independent Students' Association," she began standing a bit too far away from the microphone. Members of the audience shouted: "Louder!" Malgorzata Bator explained that she was too short to reach the microphone. She got her first ovation.

The organizers of the meeting together with their guests still were within their 15 minute grace period. But the NZS representative went on with her address. "There is no question of a coverup in any of this, rather the government really did not know what was going on in the country. How could it have known what was really happening? It won't have anything to do with any feedback that is not a mirror image of its own desires, and the only permissable feedback it gets consists of the insipid optimism broadcast by the official propaganda media...." At this point her address was interrupted by loud applause.

Much of what this NZS official (one of the more active ones) had to say consisted of a polemic with the SZSP. Namely, she claimed that the SZSP is an organization which has "usurped the right to represent all students," which is "dead as far as its pretensions to being a mass movement are concerned," which is nothing more than "a convenient rung on the ladder to success for career-minded people," an organization which has "arrogated to itself the right to run every aspect of university life," and so on and so forth.

The fact that the Krakow Board of the SZSP came out on 17 September with a very radical program of its own, a program which, as was borne out by the ensuing debate, was subscribed to as well by the representatives of the NZS, is also

displeasing to the authors of this statement. "It can of course be said that the 'winds of history' are accelerating the process of change and the development of a more mature consciousness and that within the immediately foreseeable future heretofore hidden layers of nonconformism and a truly impassioned interest in public affairs will be brought to light. But this is beside the point. As ever, the Board has gone about this in the following way. Namely, it has advocated a number of reforms on behalf of the student body without bothering to ask students what they have to say about this. We may believe in the sincerity of its intentions, but what will happen when the 'winds of history' blow in some other direction...."

Bator concluded her address with the following remarks: "We are probably the largest social group that is directly involved in cultural affairs. At this point it is entirely up to us as to how we are going to go participate in the movement dedicated to the renewal of our country's social life. But in order to do this we must create an entirely new kind of organization, and we must see to it that it will be possible to organize ourselves for the purpose of fostering a renewed sense of social activism. The identity of our goals does not presuppose the need for organizational unification. Quite the contrary, we are going our separate ways while preserving an awareness of our basic unity, but this is not the kind of unity that is imposed on us from above. The kind of unity that was rammed down our throats for so many years was a unity of silence and indifference, the unity of one voice speaking for us all. Let us learn how to speak up for ourselves!"

Once again, thunderous applause.

It was not until now that Maciej Brzezinski, chairman of the Krakow Board of the SZSP, was able to welcome the invited guests. The open meeting between the minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, Janusz Gorski, and the students of Krakow was called to order. The meeting was organized so that the ministry--speaking through its highest ranking official--could come before a broad cross-section of the student body and comment on the demands contained in the resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP dated 17 September 1980. (We published an extensive commentary on this resolution in issue no 19 of STUDENT).

The minister expressed his sincere thanks for being invited to attend this meeting, although, as he put it, "invitations to meetings of this kind are not as welcome as they were a few months ago."

Professor Gorski talked about democracy and about respect for the views of others. "Professor Lipinski was my mentor and doctoral dissertation adviser." After a brief pause, so as to leave no doubt as to whom he was talking about, he explained: "That is, Edward Lipinski." Applause. "I collaborated with professor Lipinski up until the time of his retirement when I inherited from him the post of departmental chairman...." More applause.

Minister Gorski stressed that it would be a mistake to totally repudiate the accomplishments of the past 10 years. In 1970 the universities under the ministry's jurisdiction had a total of 1,800,000 square meters of floor space, whereas they now have 3,300,000 square meters of total floor space. In 1970 our student dormitories had room for 80,000 students, and in the last 10 years we have built enough student housing to make room for an additional 50,000 students. He went

on to cite more facts and figures about cafeterias, monetary outlays for higher education, scientific research, and employment. "My dear students, it is utterly out of the question to claim that we have been twiddling our thumbs during these past 10 years. A great deal has been accomplished in Poland during the past decade."

A little bit later, as if he were arguing with himself, minister Gorski pointed out that "the country's current economic situation is alarming."

From there he went to make the following remarks. "Just remember one thing. Namely, in the course of learning how democracy works, don't overwhelm the country by holding too many meetings." Continuing this theme, and here it seemed as though he was referring to Malgorzata Bator's speech, minister Gorski made the following point: "What we really need to do now is to carry on with our work in a responsible and calm manner, and in so doing we must learn how democracy works and strive for the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Katowice agreements. We are going to carry out these agreements. At the present no one in Poland with any sense is going to believe that, after all of the shocks which our country has experienced lately, it would be impossible to go back to doing things the way we used to. We all realize that we are going to have to come up with new ways of doing things."

Referring to the aberrations that were brought to light in recent weeks, minister Gorski made the following statement: "We need to devise some specific institutional arrangements through the application of which we will finally be able to insure the proper functioning of our public life."

The above statement increased the minister's esteem in the eyes of the students. But this esteem lessened considerably--as was apparent from the spontaneous reaction of the audience--when the speaker went on to cite some statistics concerning the situation of the university in Krakow. Neither did the audience put any stock in the statement that the university is not all that bad off as far as its autonomy is concerned. Only the minister has the power to appoint the university's rector and vice rectors, and it is the rector himself who appoints the deans (laughter in the audience). The university has the sole responsibility for dealing with all other matters, including the awarding of academic degrees. It is true that there is a regulation which states that the minister or the premier can suspend an individual's candidacy for an academic degree, but there had only been one occasion in the last 10 years when the former exercised this authority. And during the same period there were only three occasions on which the premier suspended nominations for professorships (out of a total of more than 4,200 such nominations submitted during this period). Nor were any restrictions being imposed in the area of scholarly research, although it is true that problems have arisen in connection with the publication of some research findings.

The minister also had something to say about the university students' organization: "The SZSP has called attention to a number of problems concerning the improper functioning of the universities. The SZSP certainly has not made life very easy for us in the ministry."

Hour Number Two

Minister Gorski went on with his monologue. He raised the following question: "The problem is what are we going to do first...." "Establish order!" shouted the audience in reply. This was probably the first time the entire audience was in complete agreement, including the NZS and the SZSP. It finally came time to say something about the demands contained in the plenum resolution. There were two such demands concerning which a definite gap existed between the position of Minister Gorski and the feelings of the audience. Namely, the demands related to freedom of access to passports and the reinstatement of the former military training system. The minister concurred with and expressed his support for the other demands. He was of the opinion that these demands ought to be considered, but he also believed that some of them were worded in a manner that was too strident.

At this point the meeting was declared to be open for a general discussion. An SZSP representative referred to the minister's remarks about the shrillness of the resolution's demands and appealed to all of those attending this meeting in their capacity as representatives of the university student community to reformulate these demands in more concrete terms. The meeting was beginning to resemble a closely contested match between three teams of athletes. One of the teams, the NZS, was trying to score goals against two of the other opposing teams, the SZSP and, on occasion, minister Gorski, while the other team, the SZSP, was going after the minister. The minister listened and took notes.

Hour Number Three

Speaking in a monotone voice, the NZS representative returned once again to the origins of the NZS, which he believed to be a product of the atmosphere of general ennui that prevailed at the university. "Unfortunately, none of the initiatives presented within the forums of the university's institutes and departments, even those that were advanced by people who had nothing to do with the SZSP or who were not acting in concert with the SZSP, received any support from the student body, since they realized that at any moment they could be exploited for...." At this point he was interrupted by someone in the audience who yelled out: "I'm getting lost. We thought that you were going to give us some constructive suggestions. Get to the point...."

Then somebody else spoke up: "Direct your questions to the minister and not to...." The person who interrupted was drowned out by a din of competing voices, shouts, "bravos" and clapping.

There are many points on which the NZS program is in agreement with the resolution of the SZSP. The NZS program is more precise than the Krakow Board's declaration in calling for "free access to all library and archival collections." No sooner did he finish stating this demand than he was backed up a round of thunderous applause given simultaneously by members of both the NZS and the SZSP.

Maciej Brzezinski then invited other members of the audience who were of a mind to do so to take the floor. He knows most of the members of the NZS founding committee who are on the offensive against the SZSP. They were all free to speak. Only once did Brzezinski express any reservations on this score. "I have here a request to address the meeting submitted by Mr Borzecki who is, I presume, a member of the 'Solidarity' Independent Self-governing Trade Unions. I would like to remind him that this is a students' meeting...."

However, Borzecki, completely undaunted, made his way up on to the stage and informed the audience in a loud voice that he had been chosen to attend this meeting by the Inter-factory Founding Committee with the right to speak out whenever the scope of the issues under discussion touched upon problems which are of concern to the "Solidarity" movement. He made it known that the Inter-factory Founding Committee of the "Solidarity" Independent Self-governing Trade Unions supports the NZS (even though it could not agree with all of the provisions of the NZS statutes), since the circumstances of its formation and its goals are to a certain extent in line with the demands of the "Solidarity" movement. He praised the resolution of the SZSP; it is apparent, he said, that the authors of this resolution "were sincerely concerned about the welfare of this nation and the welfare of the working people." The centralized structure of the SZSP calls into question its ability to cooperate with "Solidarity." The Inter-factory Founding Committee is of the opinion that the SZSP should collaborate with the NZS, but "only insofar as it proves to be possible to formulate a realistic joint program and to carry out that program by means of a joint effort." Hence also the suggestion that--if these talks with the minister are supposed to be at all meaningful--all of the interested parties should be allowed to take part in these talks. He also mentioned that in Krakow there exists a group made of several thousand university faculty members and members of the Polish Academy of Sciences that is affiliated with the "Solidarity" Independent Self-governing Trade Unions. However, he also observed that any attempt to call a student strike during the current phase of these talks "would inevitably meet with the resolute condemnation of the everyone associated with 'Solidarity.'"

Hour Number Four

The caustic comments uttered by Dariusz Adamek (of the SZSP) and directed at the previous speaker elicited both jeers and shouts from the audience. Brzezinski called the speaker to order. The hall calmed down again. Adamek went on to discuss some specific issues. "It is all very well and good that we should want to penalize those who have committed economic offenses, but what kinds of penalties are we going to impose on those who have committed offenses in the realm of scholarship and learning, people who are responsible for authorizing improper promotions and for petty personal rivalries, the same people who have acted as advisers to our economic and party leaders? Scholarship ought to be synonymous with the truth. In the meantime there have been all too many cases, especially so in the social sciences in general and in the field of sociology in particular, where the truth has been twisted to conform to personal biases." The speaker went on to talk about the learning environment of medical students. "I personally would not be surprised if some day students stopped showing up for their pharmacy classes. Without exception, there is not a single pharmaceutical lecture hall or laboratory that is not in violation of basic health regulations."

Hour Number Five

Henryk Martenka, head of the College Council of the SZSP at Jagiellonian University: "I would like to share with you an item of news with I just received from a member of the audience. Colleagues! I just received the following news. Speaking on behalf of the SZSP at Jagiellonian University, I feel that in relating this news I will be expressing the joy and enthusiasm felt by all of us. Polish Radio has just announced that this year's Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to...Czeslaw Milosz!"

The two thousand students in the auditorium of the "Rotunda" went wild with joy. This announcement was followed by several minutes of euphoric pandemonium.

Martenka moved that this mass meeting should be adjourned and that plans should be made for conducting an issues-oriented debate with government representatives. The debate would be broadcast over the university's closed-circuit television to the "Rotunda" theater. Problems arose in connection with NZS representation. It was proposed that the delegation participating in the debate should be made up of an equal number of representatives from the SZSP and the NZS. However, the NZS members declare that they have not been authorized by the student body to take part in such a debate, so they decline to participate in these talks.

The discussion drags on. More statements, more demands. Would it not be possible to give the students refunds on the fees they paid for membership in health service cooperatives? Would it not be possible to place books, newspapers and printed matter on the "list of specially controlled goods" so that faculty members and students could also take part in the work of the committee on higher education? Statements were made on the subject of the status of young families and, above all, the status of young mothers. Demands were made calling for the repeal of the decree dating back to 1960 which states that the rector can dissolve student organizations and enforce changes in their statutes. For its part the NZS had more to say about problems related to the copying of printed materials and about grievances directed against the minister concerning the handling of the June 1980 letter of the Academic Renewal Movement.

Hour Number Six

Tomasz Szczypinski, vice chairman of the Karkow Board of the SZSP: "The entire student body is in agreement with the demands that were submitted. We knew all about this, but we also wanted to convince minister Gorski of this. During the course of this meeting nothing has been said to indicate that any particular item on this list of demands is not without merit. The only problem was how to decide who is going to carry out these demands. Is it going to be this group or that group, or maybe a third party? The question as to what the structure of the university student organizations is going to look like is our business. This issue did not necessarily have to be dragged into the forum of a meeting with minister Gorski. The emphasis on the divisions that exist within the student community is not going to have a positive effect on our talks."

Applause. Szczypinski moved that the meeting should be adjourned in order to make it possible to move on to a discussion of concrete issues. But the meeting went on.

Hour Number Seven

Minister Gorski took the floor once more. He commented on the demands that were raised during the discussion period, and once again, addressing each issue item by item and speaking more precisely and concretely, he discussed the feasibility of implementing the demands contained in the resolution of 17 September. The steady drone of his monologue was suddenly interrupted by a woman student speaking in an excited voice. Her statement was rambling and incoherent, interrupted again

and again by approving applause from the entire audience. "Eversince I was born I have always heard people saying: 'things will get better,' 'a complex problem has arisen, 'the people need to be advised about this or that,' 'the meeting was conducted in a business-like atmosphere.' I don't want to change the system. I know that the present situation is very difficult.... I don't want too many rights. What I'm concerned about is my self-respect as a student. What I want is order so I will have a chance to figure out what really matters.... You, sir, keep talking about society in general. I have been listening to people talk about society in general for 20 years.... I am always wondering why I never managed to fit in as a member of society in general? You are saying that we share certain interests in common. Regardless of how it may sound, I am not making fun of what you are saying. I even agree with what you are saying. I even sympathize with you. I really am a hard-working person. You can find out for yourself that this is so. I have nothing but straight 'A's' in my index.... I am not out to make a lot of money after I graduate.... I am a good seamstress, so I can always find something to do in that line. All I really want is for people to quit trying to deceive me in such a disgraceful manner."

She fell silent just as suddenly as she began. This was followed by a few moments of genuine silence, whereupon professor Gorski continued with his statement, this time speaking in an even more weary voice.

Hour Number Eight

The meeting finally broke up. Minister Gorski and his attendants adjourned to the conference room for an item-by-item discussion of how to go about fulfilling all these demands.

The meeting in the conference room went on for another two hours, whereupon minister Gorski finally left the building.

P.S.

Some of the people I interviewed who are from Gdansk accused me of being dishonest since I did not sign my real name to the article published in the last issue of STUDENT and entitled "University on Strike." I used the pseudonym "Jerzy Siemko" instead.* The reason for my decision to use this pseudonym had to do with the fact that 19 lines of the text for this article were deleted without my knowledge.

Communique on Meeting

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 21, 23 Oct - 5 Nov 80 p 11

[Communique on talks held between representatives of the Krakow SZSP organization, the minister of science, higher education and technology, professor Janusz Gorski, and representatives of other ministries with administrative responsibilities in the system of higher education for the purpose of determining the procedures and deadlines for the fulfillment of the demands contained in the resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP dated 17 September 1980]

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* The article the author speaks of is published in JPRS 76945 No 1832 of this series 5 Dec 80, p 55 entitled "INDEPENDENT STUDENT ASSOCIATION FORMED"

[Text] On 9 October 1980 in the theater of the "Rotunda" Krakow Student Center an open meeting was held attended by students and young faculty members. The meeting was organized by the SZSP organization in Krakow. During the meeting the minister of science, higher education and technology, professor Janusz Gorski, responded to the demands of the Krakow University student body as set forth in the earlier resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP and to other demands that were raised during the meeting. During the second half of this meeting, in the course of bilateral talks with representatives of the Krakow organization of the SZSP, the following conclusions were reached concerning the procedures and deadlines for handling the problems that were brought to light.

I. The Sociopolitical Situation in Poland

1. The minister, as a representative of the government, cannot take stands on the laws governing elections to the Sejm and the national councils. The Krakow organization of the SZSP has decided to submit tis demands on this issue directly to the Sejm.

2. Concerning the demands set forth in section II, items 2 through 9, 12 and 15 with reference to: the rotation of public officeholders, administrative personnel, the improper expenditure of public funds, the analysis of the performance of the justice system, censorship powers, the utilization of scholarly expertise, and support for the nation's cultural institutions and environmental protection the minister gave an account of the work that has been accomplished to date in these areas on a national scale and of the ministry's contributions to this work. He expressed the view that he possesses no authority to make any commitments on any of these issues. The fulfillment of these demands is taking place on the basis of the Gdansk Agreements and the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee through the legislative initiatives already taken and through the pledges made by the government, concerning which the student community will be further informed.

3. In reference to item 14 concerning the process of reform within the PZPR the minister discussed the results of the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and, speaking as a party member, expressed the firm belief that this process will unfold in a better and more consistent manner.

4. In reference to item 10 of the resolution adopted by the Krakow Board of the SZSP the minister leaves it up to the student body itself as to how it wants to deal with the problem of an independent student press. This view is not shared by the Krakow organization of the SZSP, which stresses that the independence of the student press is contingent upon the general system of laws governing publishing activity in the PRL.

5. With regard to changes in the military training program for university students and graduates (item 13) the minister once again stated that he is in agreement with the currently prevailing laws on this subject. He would only commit himself to conducting an investigation into the substantive merits of the existing military training programs. This position was not accepted by the other side. The Krakow organization of the SZSP decided to relay its views on this problem to the Ministry of National Defense and to urge that a meeting should be held between representatives of the Ministry of National Defense and the SZSP.

6. In reference to item 11 of section II concerning free access to passports it was resolved that, given the conflicting views of the two sides on this matter, within 7 days after receiving a written statement of the position of the Krakow organization of the SZSP on this issue, the minister would relay this message to the minister of internal affairs.

II. Concerning Points 1, 2, and 3 of Section III--the Universities, Graduates and Young Families

This is in reference to the proposals concerning the autonomy of the universities, the powers of university governing boards, the definition of the role of student representatives in university administrations, and giving the universities a free hand in development of their curriculums. On these issues the participants in the meeting reached a general consensus of opinion that was in accordance with the resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP. Nothing could be done to reach a consensus on the question of whether or not to give the students the right to vote for the candidate of their choice for the position of vicerector for student affairs. Adhering to the view that university administrative officers should be elected by the university senate, the minister pledged that he would include this proposal of the Krakow organization of the SZSP in the draft version of a new law on higher education. This draft law will be submitted for general debate in the universities by no later than the end of December 1980, and the projected deadline for submitting this bill to the Sejm will be set for the end of June 1981.

1. In reference to the question as to whether or not the time limit on the duration of university studies should be extended it was concluded that the availability of social and welfare services is the only factor that imposes any restrictions on the duration of these studies. After consulting with the minister of finance, minister Gorski will present an official reply to the question concerning the extension of the time limit for the duration of university studies in technical colleges by the end of November 1980, and he will submit a proposal calling for the introduction of a five-year course of studies in the liberal arts disciplines.

2. In reference to the proposed changes in university admissions policy the minister promised that he would submit these proposals for a general debate by no later than 30 November 1980 and that they would thereafter be placed on the agenda of official government deliberations. A final decision on these matters should be made by no later than 15 January 1981. The minister advised that on 1 October 1981 Poland's first Open University would open its doors in Warsaw.

3. Concerning the restrictions on access to learning resources the minister pledged that he would clarify this problem and present some recommended solutions by 30 November 1980.

4. In reference to proposed changes in the scholarship system the minister declared that he is willing to give every consideration to any proposal for a new system that is developed within the university student community, provided that it does not exceed the state's financial capabilities. A study group made up of students attending the Main School of Planning and Statistics was appointed for the purpose of conducting investigations into the living conditions of students and young faculty members. The results of these studies would be submitted to a general debate in the student press once every quarter.

5. In reference to the demands set forth in section III *items 9, 10 and 12) concerning the establishment by 31 October 1980 of an equitable system of job placement services and guaranteed fair wage levels it was decided that, with the consent of the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, a team of experts would be appointed which would present specific proposals in this area by 30 March 1981 (including, inter alia, proposals for an amendment to the laws on mandatory employment and for the establishment of a fixed entry-level wage rate). The minister instructed the universities to adopt a policy whereby young faculty members are to be recruited on the basis of open competitive applications. On the other hand, pending the revision of the Labor Code, the minister will submit separate proposals for dealing with the problem of doctoral candidates.

6. In reference to proposed changes in the status of postgraduate study programs the minister advised that postgraduate scholarships would be increased by Zl 600 during the first year of postgraduate studies and by Zl 1,200 for all subsequent years of postgraduate study, and he pledged that by no later than 30 November 1980 he would review and submit a binding and official response in writing to the other questions raised in the resolution adopted at a meeting of representatives of the Krakow University postgraduate student body held on 8 October 1980.

7. In reference to the problem of insuring that everyone in need would have access to university housing and meal services the minister declared that the ministry has committed itself to a capital construction program that will insure the fulfillment of this demand. At the same time, he observed that right now, in view of Poland's economic situation, there is no way that the fulfillment of this demand can be speeded up. The SZSP did not accept this assessment and obtained assurances from the minister that the provisions of this program would be submitted to the SZSP for review by no later then 15 November 1980. The SZSP will then take steps aimed at encouraging the government to adopt decisions that would accelerate the process of fulfilling these demands.

8. In connection with the deficiencies that exist in the university food services establishment and the need to come up with a prompt solution to this problem the minister pledged that by 31 December 1980 funds would be made available for the purpose of furnishing students with supplemental meal allowances enabling them to take their meals in off-campus restaurants run by the Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative "Spolem." After the rules for implementing this food services program are worked out by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, the Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative "Spolem," and the SZSP, the minister promised that he would provide assistance for the purpose of setting up separate food service facilities for Krakow University students with special dietary needs by 31 October 1980.

9. With a view to making a thorough study of and recommending changes in the duties performed by the Krakow University health service a special working group will be appointed by 30 November 1980, with the consent of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, which by no later than 31 January 1981 will submit and implement proposals designed to enhance the efficiency of the university health service.

10. The minister reported on the thrust of the work being done by the government in the area of providing aid to young families, and he pledged that he would review and present to the government the demands that were made in this regard by the SZSP.

On behalf of the Krakow Board of the SZSP,
Maciej Brzezinski, chairman of the Krakow Board of the SZSP [signed]

Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology,
professor, Dr hab Janusz Gorski [signed]

11813
CSO: 2600

FRG HISTORY TEXTBOOKS CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 80 p 6

[Article by Janusz Moszczenski: "Noncompliance with Instructions on FRG Textbooks and Maps"]

[Text] Compliance with Polish-West German instructions on textbooks is justly regarded as a litmus-paper test of the actual implemention of the basic resolutions contained in the treaty concluded by the PPR and FRG in December, 1970.

Ten years after this important document on normalization of relations between our countries was signed, and four years after the agreement on cultural cooperation, in which Art 4 states that both parties "will work towards implementation of textbook instructions," let us briefly review one of the most important aspects of this problem. Let us attempt to respond to the question--to what degree have these instructions been followed in FRG history and geography books.

A research team from the G. Eckert School Book institute in Brunswick conducted a study on 100 textbooks. The results of the study filled almost 300 typed pages. One of its final conclusions was that insofar as specific changes are concerned, the effect of the instructions on the text of the books is absolutely undiscernable. Positive changes can be detected only in the quantitative sense, and even that, only to a small degree.

Let us closely examine some materials on Poland and Polish-German relations from several publishers, which, in principle, indicate a willingless to at least partially comply with the instructions.

The history textbook "Fragen an die Geschichte" ("History Questions," Hirschgraben Publ, Frankfurt am Main, 1978), approved for school use in four FRG Laender, is an example of a new publication which has expanded the scope of information on Polish-German relations and contains some small changes in interpretation of pertinent events. In the introduction it mentions the role of PPR-FRG relations and devotes a separate subsection to them. But unfortunately its authors, too, did not guard against wordings that deviate

from the stipulations contained in the instructions. Instruction No 22, relating to the relocation of the German people, was only partially complied with, applying, among other things, the term "expulsion" (Vertreibung), used by the retaliationists.

There is no map in the textbook that shows Poland's present boundaries only. But such revisionist concepts are contained as the "German eastern regions" or the "Oder-Neisse line," which undoubtedly give the student the impression that the boundaries are temporary and have not been permanently fixed. The December 1970 PPR-FRG treaty is erroneously described several times as "an agreement renouncing force." which may lead one to believe that it does not signify final recognition by the FRG of the Oder-Neisse boundary. Also, one of the tables published in the textbook cites false data, based on disinformation disseminated by compatriots and other retaliationist organizations, on the number of Germans allegedly living in the PPR.

The text and choice of information on Poland and Polish-German relations in the textbook "Die Reise in die Vergangenheit" ("Journey into the Past", published by Westermann, Brunswick, 1974), approved for use in five Laender schools, to a large degree interprets historical events in compliance with the instructions. But although the book cites the full text of the 1970 PPR-FRG treaty, the publisher still uses dual boundary markings, showing the 1937 German boundaries also.

Similar positive and negative comments must be made about the textbooks "Geschichtliche Weltkunde", Diesterweg Publ, Frankfurt am Main, 1976) and "Spiegel der Zeiten", ("A Reflection of the Times", Diesterweg, 1976) used in six Laender. In both textbooks, information on pre-War Polish-German relations has been expanded in compliance with the spirit of the instructions, but the stereotypes and statements conflicting with the instructions are still there. In the latter publication, for example, the resettlement of the German population from Poland is compared with the displacement of Poles during the Nazi occupation, the direct implication being that there was no difference between them.

So much for the textbooks, whose publishers and authors doubtless showed some willingness to comply with the instructions. As concerns such books as "Zeiten und Menschen" ("Times and People", Schoenig-Schroedel Publ, Paderborn), "Menschen in ihrer Zeit" ("People and Their Times", Klett Publ, Stuttgart, 1976), and others, the list of charges is much longer and more serious. Newspaper space limitations simply do not allow discussion of them.

Let us comment, however, on "Diercke Wetlatlas" (Westermann Publ, Brunswick, 1977), an atlas approved for use in all types of schools in all of the FRG. In this atlas, contrary to instructions, boundaries are dual marked throughout, i.e., next to the Oder-Neisse boundary is a dotted line showing the boundary of the German Reich in 1937. This applies to political maps as well as to the subject and survey maps. This dotted line appears on 44 maps in the atlas. It fails to appear on only one map and on the world maps. Only on a few maps do the place names appear in two languages. On the

remaining, only German names appear. It should be noted that the introduction states that this atlas "was developed in compliance with the guidelines of the individual ministries of education" of the FRG Laender.

Compliance with instructions for textbooks used on the Rhine, developed jointly by PPR-FRG educators, is obviously far from adequate. It fully confirms the correctness of the previously mentioned study made in Brunswick.

It is time that the gravity of this problem be recognized in Bonn and in the capitals of the individual Laender, especially those ruled by the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), and that the instructions be rapidly implemented. Perhaps then the publishers, too, will agree to publish textbooks that comply with the instructions and will not be afraid that they will not be approved for school use.

9295
CSO: 2600

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE ON ALTERNATE SERVICE FOR CONSCRIPTS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 23, 30 Oct 80, Item 87 pp 245-249

["Decree of Council of Ministers of 29 September 1980 Concerning Alternate Service for Conscripts"]

[Text] On the basis of article 142, paragraph 2, of the law of 21 November 1967 concerning the universal obligation of defending the Polish People's Republic (Dz. U. [DZIENNIK USTAW], 1979, No 18, item 111), the following is decreed:

Section 1

The Procedure for Referring Conscripts to Alternate Service and the Method of Performing It

1.1. Conscripts destined at their request for alternate service for conscripts, known below as "alternate service," are referred for the performance of this service:

1) to social establishments of the health service, in particular to health care teams, industrial health care teams, specialized health care teams and health care teams for higher schools, to voivodship central hospitals and to voivodship specialized hospitals,

2) to social aid establishments, particularly establishments for the chronically ill and for the mentally handicapped,

3) to organizational units whose activity is associated with the protection of water and the atmosphere, and protection of agricultural and forest soil,

4) to public utility establishments, particularly institutions for cleaning cities, urban communication establishments, water and sewage establishments, to enterprises of the urban economy rendering services for making repairs for the people, to road and bridge agencies performing

work within cities, to heat and power generating plants and to electric power plants providing the populace with heat energy and electrical energy, and to postal and telecommunication offices.

2. With the stipulation of paragraph 3 and section 2, paragraph 2, conscripts are assigned to perform alternate service in establishments located in a place of permanent residence or of temporary residence for conscripts, lasting more than 2 months, designated below as "place of residence," or in establishments to which a daily trip to work is possible.

3. While billeted (section 8), conscripts can perform alternate service in establishments different from those defined in paragraph 2.

2.1. In accord with the guidelines of the Minister of National Defense, the chief of the voivodship military staffs will annually determine the number of conscripts who may be assigned to perform alternate service.

2. In conjunction with the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs will determine the number of conscripts who can perform alternate service in establishments located outside of voivodship territory, in which there are places of residence for conscripts.

3. On the basis of proposals from establishments and within the framework of determinations spoken of in paragraphs 1 and 2, local organs of state administration on the voivodship level determine the number of conscripts who can perform alternate service in various establishments, and communicate this to the chiefs of the voivodship military staffs of the voivodships within whose territory conscripts will be assigned to alternate service, and also local organs of state administration on a subordinate level with respect to the headquarters of these establishments.

4. The number of conscripts who can be assigned to perform alternate service in establishments subject to the Minister of National Defense will be determined by the chiefs of the voivodship military staffs.

5. The military recruiting commanders will transmit to the organs of state administration on the basic level, with due regard for the place of residence of conscripts, lists of the names of conscripts assigned to perform alternate service, at the same time presenting the number of conscripts available for this service in individual establishments.

3.1. A conscript is referred to alternate service:

1) by the local organ of state administration on the basic level with due regard to the place of residence of the conscript or

2) by the pertinent military recruiting commander, if the service is to be performed in an establishment subject to the Minister of National Defense.

2. A conscript is assigned to alternate service by means of a personal notice delivered with return receipt requested. This notice defines the obligation of presenting oneself for service on the designated date and in the designated establishment. The director of the establishment, in which the conscript is to perform alternate service, is notified of the notice.

3. A conscript can be assigned to alternate service no later than the last day of the calendar year in which he becomes 24 years old, but if the assignment could not be made during this time for reasons defined in article 42, paragraph 2, of the law of 21 November 1967 on the universal obligation of defending the Polish People's Republic (Dz. U., 1979, No 18, item 111), designated below as the "law," no later than the last day of the calendar year in which he becomes 28 years old.

4. The organ which assigns the conscript to alternate service guarantees the conscript free transportation from his place of residence to the place of performing the service.

4.0. A conscript assigned to perform alternate service, against whom penal proceedings are in progress, can be assigned to this service if the public prosecutor or judge have not placed him under temporary arrest.

5.1. The establishment will send the conscript, who has reported to perform alternate service, to a preliminary medical examination.

2. The establishment will permit the conscript to perform work after conscript training in the area of labor safety and sanitation and after ascertaining that he demonstrates satisfactory acquaintance with their regulations and principles, and necessary skillfulness in performing this work.

3. The director of the establishment will assign the conscript a working post in conformity with his vocational skills and the results of medical examination.

6.1. Non-appearance of the conscript within the designated time to perform alternate service is justifiable if he was not able to appear within this time because of illness attested to by a medical certificate from an establishment of the social health service.

2. A conscript must immediately notify the establishment of the impossibility of appearing within the designated time for performing alternate service.

3. The director of the establishment can accept as justified a delay, not exceeding 2 days, in the appearance of the conscript to perform alternate service under particularly justified circumstances different from those defined in paragraph 1.

7.0. If a conscript does not appear within the designated time to perform alternate service and does not give notification of the cause of his non-appearance, the director of the establishment will notify the organ which assigned the conscript to the alternate service.

8.0. In concord with the local organ of state administration on the voivodship level, the establishment can billet (quarter in a body) conscripts performing alternate service.

9.1. During the performance of alternate service, the regulations concerning principles for justification of worker absence at work and being late for work will be applied in justifying the absence or tardiness of conscripts for work or for tasks within the framework of defense training.

2. If a conscript does not report to work and does not notify the establishment of the cause of his absence within the time defined in the regulations spoken of in paragraph 1, the director of the establishment must immediately notify the organ, which assigned him to the work, of the conscript's interruption in the performance of his alternate service.

10.1. If the conscript is unable to work because of illness lasting at least 3 months, the director of the establishment is obligated to inform the military recruiting commander, with authority at the place of residence of the conscript, of this fact. The military recruiting commander will send the conscript to the regional conscript commission, and if this commission does not do so, to the military medical commission for the purpose of determining the ability of the conscript to perform military service.

2. If, during the working period, the alternate has become ill or suffered an accident, and was sent to the hospital, the establishment will immediately notify a member of legal age of his immediate family of this.

11.1. On the proposal of the director of the establishment, the conscript can be assigned to perform alternate service in another establishment, spoken of in section 1, paragraph 1, if this is justified by the essential personal qualities of the conscript or by the organizational conditions of the establishment.

2. The decision concerning the transfer of a conscript to another establishment is made by the organ which assigned him to the service, in agreement with the director of the establishment to which the conscript will be assigned. The military recruiting commander will be notified of the transfer if the transfer is made by the organ spoken of in section 3, paragraph 1, point 1.

Section 2

Obligations and Rights of Conscripts Performing Alternate Service

12.1. The conscript is obliged to fulfill his alternate service in an exemplary and conscientious way, to heed work discipline and to apply, in matters referring to work, the service recommendations of the director of the establishment and of the workers authorized by him.

2. The conscript is particularly obliged to:

1) try to achieve the best possible results in his work,

2) to heed the times of work set in the enterprise and to use this time in a very effective way,

3) to heed work regulations and the order set up in the establishment,

4) to take care of establishment property, to protect the possessions of the establishment and to use them in conformity with his assignment,

5) to heed the regulations and principles of labor safety and sanitation, as well as the fire regulations,

6) to maintain state and service secrets,

7) to participate in defense training,

8) to obey the regulations established during billeting,

9) to heed the principles of community life.

3. If the conscript neglects his obligations or infringes upon the order set up in the establishment and work discipline, the director of the establishment can give the conscript a reprimand and, if the reprimand is not effective, reduce the length of his periodic furlough and also warn him of the penal responsibility established in article 218, paragraph 2, point 2 of the law.

13.1. From the establishment in which he is fulfilling alternate service, the conscript is entitled to:

1) a full day's free food or a financial equivalent,

2) free protective and working clothing and personal protective equipment in conformity with the obligatory norms in the given establishment,

3) a salary at a height and according to the principles anticipated for troops performing basic military service,

4) a financial equivalent for clothing,

5) compensation according to principles anticipated for workers who are paid from the planned personal wage fund,

6) free quartering during billeting time,

7) free monthly travel tickets to travel from the place of residence of the conscript to the establishment and return,

8) social financial benefits from the establishment social fund.

2. Under justified circumstances the establishment can allot the conscript benefits from the establishment residential fund.

3. The conscript is entitled to financial dues and benefits, spoken of in paragraph 1, during the time he performs work, and also for times of furlough and release from work, and justified absence from work.

4. The conscript enjoys the right to use the social facilities in accord with the principles established for workers.

5. During temporary performance of work outside the site of the establishment, the conscript is entitled to dues from the establishment in accord with principles determined in the regulations for travel allowances and other dues for service travel time within the country.

6. The conscript performing work under conditions harmful for health or under particularly arduous conditions is entitled to a bonus for performing this work under the principles determined for workers performing the same work.

7. The Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs defines:

1) the food norms and the amount of the financial equivalent, spoken of in paragraph 1, point 1, in agreement with the Minister of Domestic Trade and Services and with the Minister of Finances,

2) the amount of the financial equivalent, spoken of in paragraph 1, point 4, and the principles of its payment, in agreement with the Minister of Finances.

14.0. A conscript, who conscientiously performs his obligations, can be allotted a monthly premium amounting to 25 percent of the average monthly basic compensation of workers employed in the positions at which the same or suitable work is performed, by the director of the establishment.

15.1. A conscript working at night is entitled to 15 percent of the average hourly rate of basic compensation for workers employed in the positions in which the same or similar work is performed, for each hour of this work.

2. In return for time worked on the recommendation of the director of the establishment above the establishment norms for working time, the conscript is entitled to the same amount of time off of work.

16.1. The establishment is obliged to enable the conscript to participate in exercises organized within the framework of defense training.

2. The conscript can attend a school for workers, as well as professional courses or training, if he obtains permission from the establishment in which he is performing alternate service.

3. A conscript, spoken of in paragraph 2, is entitled to the rights defined in the regulations for workers studying in their time away from work, for school leave and for lump sums to travel to school.

17.1. With the stipulations of section 12, paragraph 3, a conscript is entitled to a periodic furlough lasting 7 days in the first year of alternate service and 10 days in the second year of service.

2. In the first year of alternate service the establishment can grant the conscript a periodic furlough after he has performed service for at least 6 months.

3. If a conscript whose length of periodic furlough has been reduced perfectly fulfills his obligations for a period of at least 3 months, as mentioned in section 12, paragraphs 1 and 2, the director of the establishment can grant him a periodic furlough of full length.

4. If a conscript has not used his periodic furlough completely or partially because of temporary incapacity to work as a result of illness, the establishment can grant him the unused furlough at a later time.

5. During the performance of alternate service away from his place of residence or in an establishment to which he cannot travel to work every day, the establishment will cover the travel costs of the conscript for a periodic furlough from the place where he is performing service to his place of residence and return, in accord with the principles defined in regulations concerning travel allowances and other dues for service travel time within the country.

18.1. A conscript is entitled to a furlough by reason of being an honorary blood donor at the rate of 1 day for each 200 ml of blood given.

2. The establishment can grant the conscript a furlough, spoken of in paragraph 1, along with a periodic furlough.

19.1. A conscript deserves emergency furlough because of:

1) marriage of the conscript,

2) the birth of a child of the conscript,

3) the death and funeral of a member of the family or the death and funeral of another person supported by the conscript or under his direct care, according to principles defined in regulations for workers,

4) serious illness of a member of the family of the conscript or another person, spoken of in point 3, if the conscript cannot visit them during his time off of work because of the place where the alternate service is being performed.

2. The establishment can also grant a conscript an emergency furlough in cases different from those mentioned in paragraph 1, if this is justified by important personal considerations or considerations of the family of the conscript.

3. Under the circumstances defined in paragraphs 1 and 2, the establishment will grant an emergency furlough for up to 3 days, unless special circumstances justify the granting of a longer furlough, but one not lasting longer than 5 days.

4. In case it is necessary for an alternate to travel to another community for reasons defined in paragraph 1, the establishment will cover the costs of travel for the conscript to this community and return in accord with principles defined in regulations concerning travel allowances and other dues for service travel time within the country.

5. In other cases not mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2, the conscript is entitled to be released from work according to principles defined in regulations concerning workers.

20.0. A conscript performing alternate service is entitled to free medical services and a free supply of medicines, first-aid resources, necessary prostheses and resources to prevent deformation and lameness.

21.1. The establishment will give a certificate certifying to the acquisition of qualifications to a conscript who has achieved definite professional qualifications during his performance of alternate service.

2. At the request of the conscript, the establishment will provide a certificate certifying to the period and type of work performed during the performance of alternate service.

22.1. If the establishment infringes on the rights of the conscript resulting from the performance of alternate service, he can lodge a grievance with the establishment director.

2. The establishment director is obliged to examine the grievance of the conscript after a hearing and to give him a written answer within 14 days.

3. If his grievance is not considered, a conscript can, within 7 days from the day of receiving an answer as mentioned in paragraph 2, address himself to the director of the unit above the establishment, which will make the final decision on the matter and notify the position occupied by the conscript and the director of the establishment no later than 30 days.

4. Matters concerning repayment for damage caused by the establishment to property of the conscript are examined according to the principles and procedure anticipated for workers.

23.0. In determining the amount of posthumous compensation due to the members of the family of the conscript, there will be consideration of financial dues mentioned in section 13, paragraph 1, points 1, 3, 4 and 5, and paragraph 6, in sections 14 and 15, except that the basic amount of compensation cannot be less than the lowest basic compensation for workers employed in the socialized economy for a full monthly period of work.

Section 3

Discharge from Alternate Service for Conscripts

24.1. The day of discharge from alternate service is the day in which a period of 24 months of service is completed, taking section 26 into consideration.

2. The director of the establishment, 7 days before the time of discharge of conscripts from alternate service, will establish a list of these conscripts and send it to the military recruiting commander with authority in their place of residence.

3. On the last day of the performance of alternate service, the director of the establishment will give the conscript a notice for the military recruiting commander, defining the day of discharge of the conscript from service.

4. The military recruiting commander, in assigning the conscript to the reserves, will record the date of discharge from service in the personal military documentation of the conscript.

25.1. If, on the last day of performance of alternate service, the conscript is undergoing treatment in a social establishment of the health

service, he will be discharged from service after the conclusion of the treatment, but not later than 3 months after the day on which the conscript was subject to release from this service, but if the treatment is the result of an accident occurring in connection with the performance of the alternate service, not later than after the passage of 6 months. On the written request of the conscript, he may be discharged from alternate service before the completion of these periods.

2. After the conclusion of the treatment, a conscript spoken of in paragraph 1 will be sent by the military recruiting commander to the regional conscript commission, and if this commission does not act, to the military medical commission for the purpose of determining the capacity of the conscript for military service. A conscript found capable of military service is transferred to the reserves.

26.1. Unjustified absence, lasting at least 1 day, is not counted in the period of performance of alternate service. However, the director of an establishment can include in the period of performance of this service unjustified absence of up to 3 days per year, if the conscript then distinguishes himself by a high degree of discipline and good work results.

2. The period of performing alternate service will not include a period of:

1) temporary arrest, unless the conscript was acquitted or the penal process against him was dropped,

2) performance of a basic or alternate sentence of confinement.

27.0. In a special case, justified by family or personal circumstances, a conscript who has completed at least 18 months of alternate service can, at his request, approved by the director of the establishment, be discharged from further performance and transferred to the reserves.

28.0. Under special circumstances, justified by the conditions of alternate service, a conscript can be discharged from this service before its completion and assigned to basic military service or basic service in civil defense, at the suggestion of the director of the establishment, for the period remaining before the completion of 24 months of service.

29.1. A conscript, who has been subjected to temporary arrest, is discharged from alternate service:

1) after completing 3 months of temporary confinement,

2) at the time when the conscript would have been subject to discharge from the service, if the temporary confinement occurred after 21 months of service had been performed by him.

2. The conscript is transferred to the reserves in the case mentioned in paragraph 1, point 2.

3. The military recruiting commander notifies the judge or public prosecutor, under whom the conscript remains during his confinement, of the discharge of the conscript from alternate service in cases mentioned in paragraph 1.

30.1. The conscript is discharged from alternate service before its completion and transferred to the reserves, if the discharge occurred:

1) in connection with a need for him to exercise immediate care over a member of the family or to run a farm, or on recognition of the conscript as the only support of the family, when he has performed service for a period of at least 12 months,

2) in connection with instructions concerning his fulfillment of a sentence depriving him of freedom, including an alternate sentence, or a summons to serve a sentence of confinement exceeding 1 month, when he has completed service for a period of at least 21 months.

2. A conscript is discharged from alternate service before its completion without being transferred to the reserves, if the discharge occurs:

1) as a result of his being recognized as permanently or temporarily incapable of military service because of his state of health,

2) for reasons spoken of in paragraph 1, point 1, before 12 months of service have been completed,

3) for reasons mentioned in paragraph 1, point 2, before 21 months of service have been completed.

31.0. In cases spoken of in section 25 and sections 27-30, conscripts are discharged from alternate service, and are also transferred to the reserves by the military recruiting commander.

32.1. A conscript discharged from alternate service without being transferred to the reserves, after the cessation of the reasons for his discharge from this service, is assigned to alternate service for the remaining period of the 24 months of service, if he is capable of military service and if there are no emergencies justifying his postponement for other reasons.

2. A conscript, spoken of in paragraph 1, can be assigned to alternate duty no later than the last day of the calendar year on which he becomes 24 years old.

3. The regulations in paragraphs 1 and 2 are applied appropriately for a soldier discharged from basic military service before its completion, if he has been assigned to alternate service at his request.

4. A conscript, mentioned in paragraph 3, is not entitled to a periodic furlough if he has used his periodic furlough in a given year of service during the performance of basic military service.

Section 5

Final Regulation

33.0. This decree will go into effect on the day of publication.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: J. Pinkowski

6806
CSO:2600

'SCINTEIA' MARKS TRANSYLVANIA UNIFICATION ANNIVERSARY

AU301941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 30 Nov 80

[AGERPRES headline: "Romanian People's Historical Work, the Results of its Struggle and Will of Unity and Independence"]

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Nov (AGERPRES)--Marking the completion, on December 1, of 62 years since the union of Transylvania to Romania, SCINTEIA of November 30 prints an extensive article pointing out:

The union of Transylvania to Romania 62 years ago marked the rounding off of the Romanian national state, whose foundations had been laid in 1859, through the union of Moldavia and Wallachia. The two unions were stages of an objective process whose beginning was as early as the beginning of the Romanian people They crowned its aspirations and century-old struggle for unity and independence.

Stressing that the territorial, ethnical and linguistic unity of the Romanian people, definite attribute of its development, was not mained by the statal division in the Middle Ages, nor was it by foreign dominations on parts of the Romanian land, the newspaper writes: The awareness of the unity of kin of the Romanians, in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania relied on the awareness of joint origin and on the broad economic, political and cultural links between the three Romanian principalities.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the completion of the national unity had become an objective necessity seen as such by all socio-political forces of the Romanian society. The building of the unitary national state was the fundamental objective of the entire Romanian community. The working-class movement in Romania approached this problem in the spirit of the peoples' right to self-determination, and the achievement of unity was associated with the revolutionary renewal of the structures of the Romanian society.

Pointing out that the beginning of the First World War created a new international context for the Romanian people's struggle for national emancipation and unity, that Romania committed herself to it in order to free the ancient Romanian territories inhabited by Romanians, at that time under the comination of Austro-Hungary, SCINTEIA stressed:

The intensification of the revolutionary and national movement and the collapse of the two big empires--Czarist and Austro-Hungarian--radically changed the conditions of the struggle for the rounding off of all Romanians' national unity.

A vigorous popular trend was manifest in the territories till that time under Austro-Hungarian authority, leading to the removal of the Hapsburg authorities, to the formation of new, revolutionary bodies, democratically elected. Mentioning that on December 1, 1918, the great national assembly, made up of delegates of the millions of Romanians of all parts of Transylvania, voted the union forever to Romania, SCIENTEIA writes: That was the attainment of a desideratum for whose coming true numberless generations made their contribution in fight and sacrifice. Their doing fitted in with the legality and logic of history: only one people, only one country.

Pointing out that the coinhabiting nationalities in Transylvania and the Banat recognized the legitimacy of the union of Transylvania to Romania, the newspaper goes on:

The rounding off of the Romanians' national unity as therefore achieved through the struggle of the entire people which took advantage of the conditions provided by the collapse of the Czarist and Austro-Hungarian empires in order to exercise its right to self-determination and to freely and democratically express its will to get united within the boundaries of only one state: Romania. Next followed the international recognition of the act of December 1, through peace treaties of the so-called Versailles system. This chronological sequence expressed a profound historical reality: the Romanian state was not an artificial resultant of a military conflict. It was the coming true of a century-old ideal in full harmony with the historical process governed by objective laws.

The building of the unitary national state provided the favorable framework for the Romanian society's multilateral progress.

The historical mission to solve in keeping with the interests of the broad mass of people the big issues that faced the Romanian people after the building of its unitary national state devolved upon the Romanian Communist Party.

The solution of the national question in the spirit of revolutionary principledness ensured unshakeable foundations to the unity between the Romanian people and the coinhabiting nationalities. Romanians, Magyars, Germans alike are today firmly and in brotherhood engrossed in the effort for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

CSO: 2020

'LEGITIMACY' OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIFICATION REAFFIRMED

AU011333 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1120 GMT 1 Dec 80

[AGERPRES headline: "The Union of Transylvania to Romania--Historical Legitimacy"]

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--Romania celebrates today her union with Transylvania, an historic act which on December 1, 1918 marked the rounding off of the Romanian national state. The press prints on the occasion extensive articles stressing the importance of the event in the Romanians' history, as the crowning of its millenary aspirations and struggle for unity and independence.

The completion of the statal national unity, Professor G. Platon shows in an article published by the ERA SOCIALISTA magazine in its latest issue, was not a spontaneous act, nor was it a consequence of the peace treaties that ended the first world conflagration. It was an act towards which our entire historical development converged, it remade on a higher stage the unity of the people that came into being on this land through the Daco-Roman synthesis.

The awareness of the unity of kin of the Romanians in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania was relying on the awareness of the common origin, on the ample economic, political and cultural links between the three Romanian principalities. In the writings of the Romanian chroniclers and in numerous stories of foreign travelers one can find proofs of the awareness of the fact that the Romanians all over the Dacian area make only one people. As Dimitrie Cantemir, a scientist of European reput wrote, there had previously been an ethno-territorial community, "the Romanian country which then was divided into Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania."

History proves that the perfect territorial, ethnic and linguistic unity of the Romanian people was not lessened by the statal division in the Middle Ages, or by foreign dominations on parts of the Romanian territory, reads an article authored by historian C. Cazanisteanu in the Sunday issue of SCINTEIA. It was upon that foundation that the first union was achieved by Prince Michael the Brave in 1600 which, although short lived, took on the value of a symbol which in the next centuries actuated the movement of national liberation and unity. The union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, which meant the foundation of the modern Romanian state, the winning on independence in the battle field in 1877 consolidated this state and ensured the Romanian people's ever more vigorous affirmation among the nations of the world.

The beginning of the First World War created a new international context for the Romanian people's struggle for national emancipation and unity, just as it did for the other peoples in Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe. At that time, the building of the unitary national state rallying within its borders all the Romanians was the fundamental goal of the entire Romanian community. In that conflict, C. Cazanisteanu stresses in his article, Romania got engrossed in order to free the ancient Romanian territories inhabited by Romanians and dominated by Austro-Hungary. Of course, alongside the intensification of the revolutionary and national movement, the collapse of the two empires--Czarist and Austro-Hungarian--radically changed the conditions of the Romanians' struggle. A vigorous popular current was manifest on the territories that until that time were under Austro-Hungarian authority, which led to the removal of the Hapsburg authorities and the formation of new, democratically elected ones.

At the call of the Romanian National Central Council, a representative body of all Romanians of Transylvania, the great National Assembly, convened on December 1 at Alba Iulia, voted their union forever with Romania. The assembly was constituant and had the character of a plebiscite, and the declaration endorsed there, by its profoundly democratic character, won the adhesion and support of the coinhabiting nationalities who were united with the Romanian people in the century-old struggle against exploitation.

The completion of the Romanians' national unity was therefore achieved through the whole people's struggle. The Romanian state, recognized on an international plane through the peace treaties known as the Versailles system, was not an artificial resultant of a military conflict. It was the attainment of a century-old ideal. The work of the people fitted in with the legality and logic of the history: one people, one country, SCINTEIA reads.

CSO: 2020

ROLE OF 'TRIBUNES OF DEMOCRACY' AS PUBLIC OPINION OUTLETS

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mircea Moarcas: "The 'Tribune of Democracy' and the Affirmation of Citizens' Initiative"]

[Excerpts] As we know, the public meetings called the "Tribunes of Democracy," instituted at the initiative of the secretary general of the party, the president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are an especially favorable framework for a direct participation of all workers in the cities and villages in the discussion of problems of general interest and the solution of public matters. Stimulating the development of political awarenss and the civil responsibility of all members of our society, the "tribunes" in their entire development are integrated organically in the original system of democratic institutions created in our country in the period following the 9th party congress and there are evidence of the broad interest in the vast and complex problems of our economic and social life.

The "Tribune of Democracy" is organized on a monthly basis by the organs of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, by localities, and in the case of municipalities and large cities, by sectors and districts. The importance of keeping the schedule for the place, day and time of the meeting should be stressed. This should be announced ahead of time by notices, radio announcements and by means of the local press.

As has been emphasized many times, it is desirable that the meeting be conducted by the mayor and that representatives of local party and state organs and leaders of different economic sectors and of municipal and communal activities also participate so that authorized, competent responses can be given to the questions of the citizens. The "Tribune of Democracy" does not have a pre-arranged theme; every participant is free to call attention to the problems which he considers to be most pressing. At a recent session emphasis was placed on the ineffectiveness of the practice of some councils in organizing public meetings on a single topic set ahead of time. This means the orientation of the sphere of the discussion in a unilateral manner and the limitation of the citizen's right to formulate questions and proposals in regard to every aspect of social life. Also, it was re-emphasized that every citizen is absolutely free to formulate any opinion and to express his opinions and that no one can be blamed in any way for a question which might appear to some as abnormal and out of place. The discussions between the public and the persons in

positions of responsibility should be simple, direct and open and each question should be followed immediately by a response. If some participants can clarify problems under discussion, their contribution has proven to be welcome. If the questions or problems cannot be answered on the spot, it is absolutely necessary that the response be given in the next meeting by responsible persons in the sectors concerned.

A highly significant aspect is the specific nature of the "tribunes" in the areas of the country in which workers of other nationalities live along with Romanians, where the organizers of the meetings are concerned with assuring the proper conditions so that the response during the dialog can be given in the language in which the question was asked.

The "Tribune of Democracy" is being inscribed more and more as a true public institution, as a real social organism, expressing the major interest of the citizens in a good organization and development of everyday life, in the strict observance of the laws, in the unceasing promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. The most varied questions formulated by the citizens, ranging from those dealing with the domestic and foreign policy of Romania, different aspects of the current international situation, to current problems of the respective city and district, to problems of a municipal and communal nature, shows the wide range of concerns of the participants, their natural desire to learn and to be informed and to make decisions in direct relationship with their legitimate interests and the interests of the entire country. If the way in which the "Tribune of Democracy" is being developed today demonstrates that it is a true school for the democratic, revolutionary formation of the masses, at the same time, it constitutes, to an every-increasing extent, a test of the competence and receptivity of the factors of responsibility toward the citizens' proposals and concerns, a real school of leadership for local party and state organs.

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9 January 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1840

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1840

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Analysis of 1979-80 School Year Reveals Shortcomings
(MESUESI, 1 Sep 80) 1

BULGARIA

Finance Minister Addresses National Assembly
(Belcho Belchev; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 17 Dec 80) 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Trade Union Calls for Closer Cooperation With Party
(PRACE, 31 Oct 80) 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IPW Director Discusses Problems of Strategic Balance
(TRIBUENE, 17 Oct 80; IPW-BERICHTE, Oct 80)..... 19

'Insane Strategy,' Important Initiatives, Max Schmidt Interview
Need for Continued Dialogue, by Max Schmidt

YUGOSLAVIA

Croatian Self-Management Attorney Discusses Problems
(Jure Ivezic Interview; SEDAM DANA, 22 Nov 80) 45

 [III - EE - 63]

ANALYSIS OF 1979-80 SCHOOL YEAR REVEALS SHORTCOMINGS

Tirana MESUFSI in Albanian 1 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by correspondent of MESUESI: "Let Us Ensure a Better Ideological and Scientific Direction of School Work"]

[Text] The annual analysis of education made this past Tuesday in the Ministry of Education and Culture examined the main problems of the 1979-1980 school year, along with the situation and the measures which must be taken for the start of the new 1980-1981 school year, in the spirit of the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP for the further development of science and technology.

In implementing the guidelines and decisions of the party for the school, a series of activities and analyses were organized throughout the country, such as the analysis and concretization of the tasks involved in increasing the scientific level of education, the work method and style of the sectors of education and culture in the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP of the current year, analyses for the improvement of the method and style of the research-scientific work of pedagogical departments, activities for the expansion of progressive experience, the training of teachers, and so forth. Studies for the assimilation of some subjects were organized, such as that of moral and political education, of Albanian language and literature, foreign languages and so forth, and measures were taken for the further strengthening of the programs, textbooks and teaching process.

The sections for education and culture in the districts paid more attention to the problems of the lower cycle, to the improvement of the ideological and scientific level, to teaching and to the best possible assimilation of knowledge by the pupils. Wide-ranging meetings were held throughout the districts, in which the problems were analyzed and measures were taken to improve the situation. Middle education was further extended and intensified, especially in the village where 12 new schools and branches were opened, and the number of pupils in agricultural middle education increased by more than 2,300 pupils in comparison to the preceding year. Results have been achieved in strengthening proletarian and scientific discipline in the work of the teachers and of the schools. Greater concern and interest is shown for the quantitative and qualitative fulfillment of the programs, something which is reflected in the reduction of teachers' absences from work, in the reduction of absences by the pupils and in

the better scientific and methodical preparation of classes, something which is reflected also in the number of students with passing grades and the quality of the education.

Despite the achievements, shortcomings and weaknesses which have been evident in certain subjects and disciplines, it is a positive fact that last year there was an increase in demands on the pupils for the assimilation of knowledge in the programs, but in some cases this has not been seen as united with the increase of demands on the teachers to assume responsibility for every pupil who fails.

The meeting also examined the causes of the shortcomings and weaknesses observed in the schoolwork, and measures were assigned for implementation in the future. First, it was stressed at the meeting, today's requirements from the schools to increase productivity and raise the quality of the teaching-educational work, are closely connected with the ensurance and maintenance of enrollment, with the regular and continuous school attendance of the pipils. Last year, the state and educational organs at the base and the school directorates paid greater attention and demanded greater accountability for the implementation of the educational plan. Nevertheless, the tasks were not fully realized by all the school categories. In the preschool educational level, although 3,000 more children were involved than a year ago, the tasks were nevertheless unfulfilled. Most of the nonfulfillments occurred in the districts of Puke, Tropoje, Mirdite and so forth. The existing capacities are not always and everywhere fully utilized, sometimes there is lack of interest and care for the opening of new nurseries and for the creation of all the necessary conditions which they need as educational institutions. These types of shortcomings, which are entirely subjective in character, have been evident especially in the districts of Mirdite, Mat, Durres, Shkoder and so forth. Good work in this direction has been initiated in Tirana District, which has realized better indicators in the spreading, expansion and quality of educational work.

Nonfulfillments were evident also in the 8-year and middle education without separation from work. In the 8-year schools there have been also dropouts of pupils under 16 in the districts of Tirana, Lushnje, Korce, Durres, Berat and Kruje. Whereas in the middle schools, the largest number of dropouts were observed in the districts of Berat, Fier, Pogradec, Permet, Shkoder and Tropoje. Poor work has been done also for the achievement of the contingent of pupils in the mining schools in Tirana, Pogradec, Kukes and Mirdite. There were more weaknesses and shortcomings especially in 8-year education without separation from work.

The failure to achieve contingents in the various categories of schools shows that small efforts have been made in implementing the law on compulsory 8-year education, the plan discipline has not been made clear to all, it has not been properly understood that without ensuring the contingents and regular and conscientious school attendance by the pupils, one cannot talk about passing and high quality, about productive learning and educational work at school.

The study of the problem of ensuring and maintaining the contingents shows that the school dropouts are those pupils who fail repeatedly and attain the required age during the schoolyear, pupils who are not treated warmly by the teachers and the school administration, who do not receive parental attention, and so forth. Therefore, the causes of dropping out of school are entirely of a pedagogical nature. Consequently, the teachers and the educational organs must concentrate their attention, in particular, on this question, they must be familiar with all cases of school dropouts and thoroughly study well the reasons for each case, by fighting indifference and liberalism which can be noted with regard to this problem. They are typical liberal manifestations which have been noted in some districts, such as in Sarande, Vlore and so forth, where there is ignorance of the situation of dropouts and of the transfer of pupils from school to school and from district to district, and this is not understood as an important task of the schools and of the sections. Investigations have shown that there are pupils who miss school during entire days, but the teachers and the school directorates show no concern over the situation; they do not know the reasons for failure to attend classes and do not take quick measures, within the day, whereas the sections provide small help to the schools, and they even cannot provide concrete data.

In the schools without separation from work, the requirements for the pupils are lower, there is laxness in evaluating the pupils, the cadre who teach in these schools, especially the outside specialists, show indifference toward work, often they are unprepared, are careless in providing the material and laboratory base and do not show the same concern and sense of responsibility as is shown for the school with separation from work. In order to strengthen and consolidate this important link of our educational system, in which more and more workers are being incorporated, it is important to establish a strong discipline so as to accurately implement the teaching programs, the school rules, the instructions and rules issued by the government and the Ministry of Education and Culture, and to prevent what happened in the middle school of Lac in the Kruje District, where serious cases of breaches of laws were found which violate the content and the aim of this important link of our educational system, and lower the moral image of the teacher.

Second, the analysis put the stress on taking measures for the strengthening of the teaching materials base and for the achievement, on time and with good quality, of investments and constructions. In this direction too, there have been continuous improvements. In the middle agricultural schools alone there have been established 483 cabinets for special subjects, and a good part of the schools are carrying out the education with a rich material base. The "Demir Progri" school in Korce, the "Kozma Naska" school in Elbasan, the agricultural schools in Divjake and Koplik, the general middle school of Gramsh, the "Fan Noli" 8-year school in Tirana, are outstanding in this regard.

Nevertheless, it becomes apparent that the situation of enrichment, maintenance and utilization of the educational material base remains unsatisfactory. The investigations carried out by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the districts of Berat, Mirdite, Fier, Sarande, Lezhe, and Durres, reveal a considerable number of misuses.

The meeting broadly examined the increase in the level of training of educational cadres. Improvements in this direction have been made from year to year, but the present and long-term needs necessitate the further increase of the ideo-scientific and pedagogical level of the educational cadres, starting with the nursery educators and up to the teachers in higher education. The tasks laid down by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP for the further development of science and technology, require that along with the general training of the existing cadres, the work for the training of the new cadres be strengthened.

The scientific and pedagogical training of cadres has been put on healthier bases. The commissions of subjects function regularly in schools, in the zones and on the district level, various activities are continually organized with the teachers--seminars, scientific sessions, pedagogical conferences, and so forth. Elbasan, Gjirokaster, Tropoje, Fier, and other districts have had good experience in this work. The general and uniform training of the educational cadres, and the organization of courses with the teachers of some subjects have had a positive impact in raising the ideo-scientific level of the teachers' work. But in the training of cadres there are still weaknesses and manifestations of formalism. It happens that in regard to these problems there is a lack of supervision, analyses and complete studies. This is why in a number of schools in Tepelene, Berat and other districts, the problems of training are not treated with the necessary seriousness. During the analysis, it was stressed that the educational organs and the pedagogical studies in the districts must occupy themselves in the first place with the main links which constitute the basic forms of this training such as individual study, method systems in the lower cycle and the subject commissions on the school, zone and district level, without neglecting the other forms. The principal aim in this work must be the struggle against formalism and against the tendency to be active for the sake of advancement. The entire training work which is carried out at school and outside it, the themes which are treated, and the studies which are completed, should reflect, in the best possible manner, the situation of the school, should clearly provide a progressive example and pave the way for its implementation in practice. The training work, in the final analysis, should be measured by the qualitative changes which it introduces in the process of education and in the education of the young generation.

In conclusion, the analysis dwelt with the further improvement of the method and style of work of the educational organs. Quite a few educational sections, such as those in Elbasan, Durres, Lushnje, Gjirokaster and so forth, are ensuring a better scientific management of the problems, are raising the level of quality of the investigations, are making efforts to solve the issues on study bases. But this is not taking place everywhere. Shortcomings are to be found especially in the directives, decisions and guidances. Some sections, such as those in Berat, Mirdite and so forth, limit themselves to drafting work programs, assigning some measures, and delegating some tasks to the managements of schools, and with that they consider their task accomplished.

An important task of the educational and cultural sections is the raising of the level and quality of state control and its coordination with worker and peasant control. In this direction there have been improvements, but in some districts, such as Vlore, Sarande, Lezhe, Shkoder and so forth, control continues to remain weak. Also, in some districts, the situation of schools is still not known well, the necessary, real and complete information is not provided by the schools.

The scientific management of educational problems, it was said in the analysis, requires scientific studies which must guide the sections on the basis of careful observation of the situation in the school, by drawing conclusions and by assigning concrete measures and ways to solve the important problems which concern education in the district. In order to execute the tasks qualitatively, a close cooperation is required at the same time with the various sections of the executive committees of the district people's councils, with the mass organizations, with the economic organs and with the military units under the leadership of the party organizations.

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CSO: 2100

FINANCE MINISTER ADDRESSES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

AU241842 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Dec 80 p 3

["Text" of report by Belcho Belchev, Bulgarian minister of finance, on the 1981 draft budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, read on 16 December at the 15th session of the seventh National Assembly in Sofia]

[Text] Comrades, people's representatives, the 1981 draft budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, submitted by the government for review and approval by the National Assembly, is the budget for the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period.

The year 1981 is expected with excitement, and greeted with working enthusiasm by the entire Bulgarian people as a year in which the BCP will hold its 12th Congress. As at every other party congress, at the 12th Congress the party will again outline the concrete program for the construction of the developed socialist society during the next period, and will define the goals and tasks of socioeconomic development.

This is a year which will mark the 25th anniversary of the historic April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. During the year we will evaluate the fruitful April line, which has contributed so much to developing socialist production relations, constructing the material basis of socialism, increasing the material and spiritual standard of the Bulgarian people and increasing the international prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

During 1981 we will also mark the 1,300th anniversary of founding the Bulgarian state.

These major historic events will give new impetus to our diligent people's creative activity, will mobilize their efforts for implementing and overfulfilling the requirements of the plan and the budget, and will allow us to take a new step toward further building the developed socialist society.

The successful implementation of the 1980 uniform plan on socioeconomic development of the country is a good basis for implementing these requirements. We are witnesses and participants in the implementation of a great creative and practical activity, performed under the leadership of the BCP and its central committee led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, after the 11th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference.

New capacities in chemistry, power supply and machine building were commissioned during this period. The production of material goods increased. Great efforts were made in applying the system of managing the national economy in accordance with the requirements of the economic approach. New forms of regulating the reproduction process in the individual economic units and the entire country were worked out. As a result of these creative efforts and regardless of the complex international situation and natural disasters which inflicted us, the necessary material and financial resources for socioeconomic development, as well as for the constant increase of the people's standard of living, were secured.

During these years, the state successfully fulfilled its functions as regulator of the distribution of the revenues of the economic organizations and society, and provided the necessary resources for conducting the party socioeconomic policy.

Our party's strategic course on increasing quality and effectiveness was a leading postulate in preparing the 1981 state draft budget. The direct basis of its preparation were the decisions of the National Party Conference, and the BCP Central Committee March 1979, July 1980 and November 1980 Plenums. The instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and especially his postulates on the global directions in developing the country during the present stage of building the developed socialist society, have exceptional significance. The 1981 state draft budget has been prepared in accordance with the indicies of the uniform draft plan on the country's socioeconomic development.

The 1981 state budget retains its significance as the country's basic financial plan. It secures the means of financing sociocultural enterprises and the country's management. Simultaneously, the budget implements significant predistribution processes of revenues among the branches in the area of material production. The means received from some branches of the national economy are directed to a large degree toward financing the current reproduction process and investments in other branches.

The preparation of the budget was done in accordance with the requirements of the economic approach in management of the national economy, and the application of the economic mechanism.

The draft budget plans revenues of 15,385 million leva, and expenditures of 15,370 million leva. A 15 million leva excess of revenues over expenditures has been secured. The necessary means for the government's reserve fund have also been secured.

The 1981 state budget has all the characteristics of a socialist budget.

What is characteristic for revenues is that they will predominantly come from the profits of the economic and other socialist organizations. The revenue from deductions for social security and other sources also increase. This revenue is almost 91 percent of the total amount of the budget's revenue.

In expenditures, the largest amount--5,312 million leva--will be used for socioeconomic enterprises. The allocation of such substantial expenditures for the social consumption funds is an expression of the party policy of further satisfying the

people's sociocultural needs. The expenditures for financing development of the national economy are also substantial.

Revenue

The basic part of the state budget is payments from profits.

During 1981, the economic organizations will pay 7,064 million leva to the budget, 4,742 million leva of which will come from profits from the production and sale of consumer goods in the form of turnover tax, and 2,322 million leva from normative payments for regulating the total revenue.

The payments from profits in the form of turnover tax is a revenue source which is especially important in its scope and character. These payments are regular and secure almost 31 percent of the budget revenues. Therefore these payments have exceptional significance for the budget's operational implementation. Their amount depends directly on the volume, quality and assortment of consumer goods, and the everyday services rendered to the population.

The BCP and the government attribute special significance and devote great care to better supplying the market with goods and improving the everyday services to the population.

The necessary conditions and preconditions related to the country's socioeconomic development plan, aimed at expanding the production of such goods and rendering such services, have been created. Simultaneously, one must stress that some weaknesses are still allowed in securing the necessary commodity funds. Some economic organizations-producers do not fulfill their contracted obligations and do not supply or supply with a delay to the trade organizations the contracted goods according to their quality, quantity and assortment.

The removal of these weaknesses depends especially on the economic organizations-producers and the trade organizations. Together they must study the consumers' market with a view to better satisfying it. Thus the market will have commodity funds which will correspond to the consumers' needs and the populations' income. Securing such correspondence has exceptional importance for further strengthening the leva, and the normal formation of one of the most important proportions in socialist society: commodity funds vs. financial income. Therefore during 1981 we must search for additional reserves for increasing the volume of production of goods and increasing services. Thus the socialist society's income will also increase.

The normative payments for regulating the total income are in second place in their significance and importance as revenues of the state budget. They will be entered in the budget according to the consolidated principles for forming and distributing the economic organizations' income.

In accordance with the requirements of the economic approach, the normative payments create the possibility of even better applying the principle of unity of direction in the interests of the separate collectives and society. The regulation of the total income through normative payments to the budget creates the possibility of

keeping a significant part of the profit in the economic organizations, which could then use them for expanded reproduction.

The scope of this part of profit depends on the effectiveness of economic activity. The more effective this activity is, the better will be the possibility for economic organizations to increase their income. A part of the larger profit realized will be utilized by the entire society; and vice versa, when the tasks set by the plan are not being implemented, society will suffer losses. However, the lower effectiveness of activity will prompt substantial sanctions against the economic organizations. Reaching the envisaged effectiveness is connected with securing the necessary resources for forming the wage fund and means for its payment. Therefore, the economic and effective utilization of the material and labor resources, the accelerated introduction of the most recent achievements of science and the technological progress, the quality of production, accelerating its placement and financing, as well as all other factors related to increasing profitability, have great significance for forming the wage fund.

The state security revenue for 1981 will amount to 2,992 million leva. They will completely secure the means for pensions, aid, children's benefits, recreation and so forth.

It has been planned that 1,350 million leva from taxes, fees and other payments on the part of the population will be entered in the budget. This amount is almost 8 percent of the total revenue of the state's centralized monetary fund. The relative part from the population's income is decreasing annually. This is yet another confirmation of the observance and consolidation of the principles on the basis of which the socialist budget is prepared, and an expression of the party's consistent policy on decreasing taxes on the population's income from labor. It characterizes the ever growing effectiveness of the national economy, whose revenue is sufficient for securing the basic part of the financial resources of the state's multisided activity.

Expenditures

The predominant part of expenditures, almost 85.5 percent of the 1981 state draft budget are aimed at financing the national economy and the sociocultural enterprises. This use of expenditures characterizes our socialist budget as the financial basis for implementing the economic and sociocultural policy of the party and state.

The means allocated for the national economy will be used to finance capital investments and basic overhaul, rendering temporary financial aid to some economic organizations to purchase agrarian production and to cover production of low-profitability or unprofitable articles, developing the municipal economy of populated areas, and so forth. During 1981, the state will allocate the substantial sum of 400 million leva to additionally stimulating agrarian production. The new purchase prices create conditions for highly profitable plant growing and stock breeding.

Consolidating the economic approach in management of the economic organizations is directly connected with better applying cost accounting. The economic organizations are conducting their activity and financing expanded reproduction with their own means and bank credits. They form their own financial basis for expanded

reproduction mainly from the profit which remains at their disposal, the allocations for amortization, restoration and overhaul, monetary funds' means, and some other sources.

When the economic organizations are unable to realize sufficient profit because of lower prices than the planned production expenditures, approved by the state plan, the budget will render temporary financial assistance. The allocation of such assistance will be done on the basis of previously determined norms for bonuses or increase in the articles' price. This system of distributing bonuses and price increases corresponds to the requirements of cost accounting. In addition, the bonuses will have a temporary character, and their amount will be reviewed annually with the view of decreasing them. In this manner the economic organizations will be compelled to decrease their production expenses through economic means.

The decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the basic trends of the March 1977 BCP Central Committee on further developing and perfecting the territorial and conurbation systems' organizations, created conditions for the accelerated solution of the housing problem. Appropriate programs for implementing these decisions during the Seventh 5-Year Plan period are successfully being implemented, and tens of thousands of families annually receive new apartments. A program on complex housing construction during the Eighth 5-Year Plan was prepared and approved in order to quickly solve this problem.

In accordance with the goals and tasks of the program, the budget allocation for housing construction in 1981 increases by 140 million leva in comparison with 1980. These means, as well as the means of the economic organizations, the citizens and the credits allocated by the state savings bank will reach 992 million leva, and thus secure the financial resources necessary for the construction of apartments envisaged by the 1981 plan on the country's socioeconomic development. It is necessary to devote particularly attention to limiting the duration of the investment cycle and accelerating housing construction.

The budget secures the necessary means for financing capital investments for further expanding the material basis of education, health protection, culture, urbanization and so forth, which will facilitate increasing the level of services rendered to the population and the satisfaction of its cultural needs.

Capital investments in the area of material production are aimed mainly at perfecting and modernizing the existing basic funds. Financing capital investments will be implemented in accordance with the requirements of the economic approach and total self-sufficiency. While implementing the investment process in the area of material production, the main direction must be toward concentrating the forces and means for timely commissioning the projects, reaching the planned capacities in the determined time, and decreasing the amount of incomplete construction.

The tasks and role of the Bulgarian People's Bank increase in connection with increasing the effectiveness of capital investments. Through an economic method and by its specific means, the bank must influence economic organizations to implement this especially important task.

Some capital investments in the area of material production, which have a special significance for further developing the national economy, such as in energy supply, geological research work, metallurgy, machine building, the state highway system and others, will be financed by the state's centralized means.

The public consumption funds have exceptional significance for developing the socialist worker, increasing his education and qualification, strengthening his health and increasing his cultural level. The constant development of these factors and increasing their social effectiveness are an important condition for achieving higher social productivity of labor.

Some 1,284.6 million leva are allocated for financing education. These means correspond with the tasks of the nationwide plan on implementing the theses on developing education in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, worked out by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Some 260 million leva of the budget are allocated for preschool education and training. They will be used for creating the necessary pedagogic and material-technical conditions for 6-year old children, who will enter first grade. The largest part of the means allocated to education are expenditures for the uniform politechnical high schools in their various forms. Along with the means for interschool for education in production, dormitories and boarding houses, extraschool establishments and others, the total amount of expenditures for the uniform politechnical high schools is 501 million leva. The amount of 109.9 million leva has been allocated for higher and semi-higher educational establishments, and 197.8 million leva for the professional schools, including the medical high schools and the art high schools.

The basic principles of socialist health protection in free, accessible and highly qualified health services for the population are really expressed by the amount of 886.5 million leva allocated by the 1981 state draft budget for financing health protection. The basic part of this amount, 495 million leva, will be used for maintaining hospitals. These means also secure improving the supply of medicines to the hospitals, something which will ensure faster and more efficient treatment of the sick. Some 91 million leva will be allocated for polyclinics, including the rural health services. It is necessary that the health workers increase the effectiveness of the general and specific preventatives and decrease loss of work time due to incapacity, and thus improve the utilization of free time. The good organization of leisure and treatment of the working people at the health resorts, as well as the broad development of physical culture, sports and tourism and to collaborate in the same direction. Some 64 million leva have been allocated for this purpose.

The expenditures for maintaining dispenseries, preventative clinics, kindergartens and other health enterprises will increase. The significant means allocated by the budget for developing health protection require taking new and additional measures for increasing the effectiveness of their use. The question is not just increasingly the needs up to the necessary and required social level, but simultaneously to increase the society's vital forces. The effect of improving work in this direction has an underlying socioeconomic character, and has decisive significance in quickly increasing the social productivity of labor.

Expenditures for financing culture, without activities financed by cost accounting, amount to 255 million leva. These means cover not only expenditures connected with further developing activity of the creative intelligentsia and the development of arts, cultural-educational institutes, museums, libraries and reading rooms, but also planned domestic and international cultural events related to the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

The role of Bulgarian science during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, which will be a period of scientific-technological progress, is exceptionally important and responsible. During the next 5-year plan period, through scientific-technological progress, an accelerated and effective introduction of the newest achievements of science is to be secured, as well as increasing the technological level of production, increasing production quality, increasing the competitiveness of our production on international markets, and reaching the relevant achievements of the most advanced countries. These tasks predetermine the amount of the expenditures planned by the budget and other resources in financing scientific research and engineer-innovative activities. For this purpose, the 1981 budget allocates 127 million leva, while the total amount of expenditures will reach 556 million leva. The significant and relative share of the economic organization's sources of financing scientific research and engineer-innovative activities depends on application of the new economic mechanism in this area of activity. We can justifiably expect that when such a substantial amount has been allocated, scientific workers will make their contribution to the intellectualization of labor, increasing labor productivity and increasing the national income.

The BCP and the socialist state's care for children, the elderly and those who are temporarily or permanently incapacitated is well known. The measures taken in this area in recent years, and corresponding to the December 1972 program, made our country one of the leaders in the world in this. A real expression of this attitude is the great amount which is annually allocated by the state budget for social security. In 1981 these means will amount to 2,759 million leva, or 52 percent of the total amount allocated for sociocultural enterprises. The basic part of this amount--1,815 million leva--has been allocated for various kinds of pensions. Expenditures for pensions increase not only because of the demographic factor, and the fact that the generations born immediately after World War I are entering retirement age, but also because of the lasting tendency to increase the average pension.

Expenditures for various kinds of assistance preserve their exceptionally high level reached during the current years. Some 679 million leva have been allocated for children benefits alone. The necessary means for paying various compensation connected with the short-term insurance of the workers and employees, according to the labor codex, have also been allocated.

Expenditures for maintaining the organs of the state government and management, the courts and public prosecutor offices, allocated for 1981, amount to 262 million leva. These expenditures correspond to the measures taken by the government on decreasing expenses connected with maintaining the administrative organs and limiting the increase of administrative staff.

The state draft budget allocates the necessary means for the country's defense and security.

Comrades, people's representatives, the total volume of the state budget's revenues and expenditures also includes the budgets of the Okrug and municipal people's councils, as well as the budgets of the city administrative organs. They have been incorporated in the law according to the Okrugs to which they belong, and amount to 2,944 million leva.

The predominant part of expenditures--1,728 million leva--have been allocated for financing the sociocultural enterprises. A significant part of the budget's expenditures and the capital investments have been granted to the people's councils. The budgets of the people's councils also allocate the necessary means for developing the municipal economy and urbanization.

The requirements for effectively utilizing the national economic means must be followed while allocating means to the people's councils. These means should be directed to such enterprises which can secure the best economic and socioeconomic results. Special attention should be paid to solving the problem of better satisfying the population's need for everyday services. This problem is especially important and its solution depends mainly on the efforts and determination of the relevant people's councils. This problem must be solved according to local conditions and the population's needs for everyday services, and by attracting young people as well as qualified artisans-pensioners and workers to this area.

The organization of the revenues of the people's councils' budgets creates conditions for increasing their interest in effectively developing economy and increasing their financial independence. The basic part of revenues of the people's councils' budgets comes from the economic organizations in their territory. In addition to local taxes and fees, the people's councils get their revenues from payments made by their own plants, as well as from allocations from the general income of the economic organizations and departments for developing territorial units. The great significance of the income from economic organizations for the budget of the conurbation systems, must compell the local organs of government to change their attitude toward the economic organizations' problems, and to devote greater care to fulfilling and overfulfilling the economic organizations' plans.

According to the law on preparing and implementing the state budget, the National Assembly must approve the implementation of the 1979 budget. In connection with this, the draft law which had been given to you, includes the amounts related to implementing the 1979 budget. The total amount of revenue reached 11,171.9 million leva, and expenditures--11,057.7 million leva, which means that revenue surpassed the expenditures by 96.2 million leva.

These results were reached thanks to the measures taken by the party and government on limiting some expenditures and the efforts made by the working collectives for increasing the social productivity of labor.

The implementation of the 1980 budget is taking place within the framework of the total amount of revenues and expenditures approved by the National Assembly.

Comrades, people's representatives, while preparing the 1981 state budget, we have mobilized the existing reserves of the national economy as well as the reserves of the individual economic organizations.

It is necessary that after adopting the plan on the country's socioeconomic development and the 1981 budget, all organs and organizations take measures and steps for maximally and effectively utilizing material and working resources, and increasing the social productivity of labor and the social effectiveness of public consumption funds.

As I have already pointed out, the basic source of the budget is the payments which will be made by the economic organizations. In order to realize these revenues, it is necessary to most strictly observe the party requirements for high effectiveness in all economic branches and organizations. The new attitude toward planning and the new economic mechanism gave the economic organizations great rights and possibilities for maneuvering with the financial resources. Simultaneously, the obligations of the economic organizations toward society increased. It is necessary to constantly improve the organization of economic and financial activity through strictly observing working, technological, planning and financial discipline, and effectively utilizing the basic production funds, raw materials, materials, fuel, energy and labor. Thus the necessary resources for implementing the tasks set for them will be secured.

On behalf of the government, I ask you, esteemed comrades, people's representatives, to please approve the 1981 draft budget of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the report on implementation of the 1979 state budget.

CSO: 2200

TRADE UNION CALLS FOR CLOSER COOPERATION WITH PARTY

Prague PRACE in Czech 31 Oct 80 p 3

[Article: "Main Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement During the Period of Preparations for the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—Decisions of the 10th Plenary Meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions"]

[Text] On 28 and 29 October 1980 the Central Council of Trade Unions discussed the main tasks facing the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] during the period of the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress. The decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee served as the basis for the discussion.

The preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress provided an incentive for the ROH to intensify efforts aimed at the fulfillment of the goals of the program articulated by the 15th CPCZ Congress in the socio-economic area as well as in other sectors of our social life.

Our working people's profound interest in, and full support of the decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the convocation of the party's 16th Congress obligate our trade union organs and organizations to adopt this particular approach.

Our working people appreciate the fact that they may develop their constructive efforts in building an advanced socialist society because of the prudent and farsighted CPCZ policy, the alliance with the USSR and with other countries of the socialist community, and their peaceful effort even under complex external and more demanding internal conditions.

For that reason the ROH has focused all its efforts on converting into reality the goals of the party's policy. The past period has shown once again that this orientation is correct because it makes it possible to fulfill in a creative way the basic functions of the ROH in all their complexity and correlation, and to intensify the unity of the ROH, its place in the political system of our socialist society, and the confidence of the workers and other working people in their united trade organization.

We appreciate very much the concern and attention the CPCZ pays trade unions. At the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak, its general secretary, spoke about the principled and irreplaceable task of the ROH in promoting the rights and interests of our working people, in resolving society-wide tasks, in making decisions on all problems concerning the socioeconomic development, in intensifying the efficiency and quality of work, and his words mean great appreciation as well as obligation for us.

In agreement with the decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] requested organizations and organs of the ROH that during the preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress they focus their activity on the following main tasks:

1. To acquaint all working people with the results and decisions of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the 10th plenary meeting of the URO, and to engage them in their actual fulfillment within each basic organization of the ROH. For that purpose to take advantage of membership meetings, consultations on production and other assemblies of our working people.

To increase the efficiency of mass political and educational work performed by trade unions. To focus their center of gravity on plants and work teams. To subordinate the contents and forms of that work so as to intensify our working people's socialist consciousness, and to foster their political, moral and professional growth. To expand our working people's awareness that they are responsible for the solution of all vital tasks and for the use if funds invested in the production for the purpose of increasing the wealth of our society and the material and cultural standards of our people. To pay attention to education every day and to expand the knowledge and the level of the executive aktiv. To place there more emphasis on clarification of international correlations in building a developed socialist society in our own country while consolidating the socialist community and implementing the principles of proletarian internationalism.

2. To strive to make the period of preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress noteworthy for the development of socialist competition, in particular in the form of specific personal and collective pledges in honor of the 16th Congress. To support and develop effective forms of initiative and activities of workers, technicians and other working people and of entire teams in order to upgrade social productivity of labor, to apply science and technology to practical use, to introduce new technologies and progressive organization of labor, to raise the technical standard and quality of products, to improve the exploitation of fuels, energy, raw materials and resources, to meet export tasks and deliveries for our domestic market, to fulfill capital investment projects and to make better use of production capacities and working time.

Before the 16th CPCZ Congress, ROH plant committees will organize, in cooperation with the economic management, public assessment and review of socialist pledges made in honor of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

They will call every worker to full responsibility for the assignment entrusted to him, and discuss with leading workers shortcomings detected in the management

and organization of labor, and consistently demand that the deficiencies be remedied and avoided. They will make full use of suggestions, incentives and proposals of the working people, and see to it that such proposals serve as a springboard for further improvement of quality in the process of production and of organizational and managing work.

3. To step up the collective effort for the fulfillment of our national economic plan for 1980 as the basic precondition for an unhindered advance and steady fulfillment of the tasks planned for the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. No needless shortfalls in production will be allowed to affect negatively the beginning of fulfillment of the plan for next year.

To fulfill consistently and thoroughly the plans of activity of basic ROH organizations for 1980, which reflect distinctly intensified specific contribution of trade unions toward the fulfillment of the socioeconomic program of the 15th CPCZ Congress. To endeavor to fulfill all pledges stemming from the collective contract for the trade union organization and management.

4. To create in enterprises, plants and institutions preconditions necessary for successful implementation of the plan for the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. To involve trade union organizations more vigorously in the fulfillment of national economic directives for the creation of the plan for 1981. To oppose vehemently promotion of narrow interests of the enterprise over societywide interests. To involve our working people in the management of production, and together with the economic administration in plants, enterprises and economic production units, to organize discussions of tasks in all workers' teams, and to implement gradually the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy After 1980.

To expand the influence of trade unions on the enforcement of the criteria of merit and justified differentiation of wages according to demonstrable achievements of labor. To involve the widest possible trade union aktiv in determinate improvement of wage policies and in the struggle against violations of wage principles. To inform our working people about the substance of the new regulations concerning rewards, about their assigned work, and the opportunities to obtain more funds for wages by exposing untapped resources, saving work force and raising the productivity of labor.

In accordance with the principles stipulated by the CSSR government and by the URO, to draft proposals for new collective contracts, particularly those for plants and enterprises, and to submit them for approval at membership meetings or ROH conferences no later than 15 February 1981.

To participate in drafting the five-year and annual operational plans for the cadre, personal and social development, and to project their implementation in the five-year collective contracts for individuals sectors and enterprises.

5. To be concerned in the development of production and at the same time, to continue endeavors to improve the working and living environment in order to create necessary conditions for every place of work to fulfill consistently its economic

and social plans. In honor of the 16th Congress and of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the CPCZ, to concentrate as much as possible on the program "Trade Union Members for Their Plants and for the Republic" which in 1981 will involve 35 million hours of voluntary work by teams of ROH members. To focus, in cooperation with national committees, on expanding the capacities of facilities for preschool children, to organize dependable transportation to work, and to adjust schedules for stores and in service facilities according to the needs of our working people.

6. To enforce more vigorously implementation of decisions of the 7th plenary meeting of the URO in order to render the political organizational program of the ROH more efficient. To implement in their spirit the style and methods of work enabling collective fulfillment of tasks, to improve the efficiency of the work performed by teams in plants and in places of work, and to upgrade the resourcefulness of trade union organizations. To improve the managing and organizational work of plant committees in basic organizations and to advance consolidation and intensification of the work of trade union chapters. To improve the quality of cooperation of plant and shop committees with their officials, particularly with area trustees.

To continue upgrading the level of planning and agenda for ROH membership meetings and consultations on production, so that the working people be able to participate directly and immediately in the management of production.

Pursuant to the law on the status of plant committees of the ROH, to intensify the cooperation and collaboration of plant and shop committees and of area trustees with appropriate economic organs in fulfilling the economic plant of the organization, in promoting the welfare of the working people, and in improving the discipline of work and technology.

The 10th plenary meeting of the URO appeals to all members of our trade unions and to all working people that they demonstrate again by their socialist involvement and by their creative efforts that the ROH is the mainstay of the CPCZ in building a developed socialist society. It expects that the decisions of the 10th plenary meeting of the URO will be reflected in the plans of the basic ROH organizations and organs. Let us do our best to make the period of preparations for the 16th CPCZ Congress a period of further initiatives and of dedicated work for the entire ROH.

All efforts of the trade union members must be focused on a successful 16th CPCZ Congress—in the interest of a happy life of our workers and of all our working people!

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IPW DIRECTOR DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF STRATEGIC BALANCE

'Insane Strategy,' Important Initiatives

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 17 Oct 80 p 7

/Interview by Hans Kramer with Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, Institute for International Politics and Economics, East Berlin: "Military-Strategic Balance Helps Secure Peace--Nuclear War Strategists in Pentagon and NATO Gamble With Security of Nations." Some of Professor Schmidt's answers draw heavily on an article he has written for his institute's monthly journal. A translation of this article follows this interview/

/Text/ Biographic Sketch

Prof Dr Max Schmidt was born on 6 January 1932 into a working-class family. He has taught at the Edwin Hoernle civil service academy in Weimar. After completion of his studies, he held a research post at the GDR academy for political science and jurisprudence. He then graduated from the SED central committee's institute for the social sciences. After working for the SED central committee for several years, he was named director of the institue for international politics and economics and head of the research council into questions of imperialism in 1973. On a number of previous occasions Prof Schmidt has commented on topical world affairs issues in the pages of TRIBUENE.

/Question/ The resolutions and propoals put forward by the member states of the Warsaw Pact such as the declaration of last May and the foreign policy goals of our own GDR have all underscored the objective and urgent necessity for progress in military detente time and again. What are the reasons for that ?

[Answer] As everyone can see, the world situation has become a good deal more aggravated in the eighties. The results of the process of political detente which were of value to all peoples, particularly to those in Europe, in the seventies are now in danger. Instead of taking steps to relax tensions, the leading circles of the United States and of NATO are now pursuing a policy of confrontation. They are stepping up the arms race and intensifying the conceptual and material preparations for war. The conduct of the arms limitation talks is being undermined and SALT II, a treaty so very important for peace is not going into effect as a result of its ratification being blocked in the United States.

At the same time, development, production and deployment of new nuclear and "conventional" weapons of mass destruction are being forcefully pursued by NATO on the basis of its 1978 long-range program and its December 1979 resolution.

The efforts by the most aggressive forces of imperialism to do away with the existing balance of power and to establish military superiority by engaging in greatly stepped-up arms programs is casting a kind of pall over the international arena.

In view of this, continuation of detente tied to disarmament is and will remain the cardinal question for the eighties, as Erich Honecker has recently stressed once again.

[Question] You have spoken of military balance of power. What exactly is meant by this ?

[Answer] The concept of military-strategic balance of power as a pre-condition for peace is something relatively new. It was first used deliberately by the socialist countries who look upon it as one of the bases and as the guarantee for peaceful coexistence between countries with different economic systems. It involves the recognition of the fact that approximate parity in military strength between the USSR and the United States and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact has been reached as a result of a lengthy process.

And it also involves recognition of the fact that given present power relationships in the international class struggle this military-strategic balance must serve as the basis for reaching agreement on limiting, restricting and at length reducing armaments while preserving intact the security of all participants.

[Question] Could one say that there now is approximate military-strategic balance between the two power blocs ?

[Answer] Yes. The member countries of the Warsaw Pact have repeatedly pointed out that there now is military balance in Europe and in the world as a whole. This assessment is based on an analysis of all the factors which need to be taken into account, including an overall comparison of nuclear and conventional weapons systems, their number and firepower, of troop strengths and of the strategic situation.

Geographic, logistic and economic factors must also be considered. To be sure, the military power relationship is extremely difficult to assess. But one must make a realistic start on the basis of the sum total of opposing military forces. Up until recently, members of the U.S. government and of other NATO countries have more than once attested to the fact that approximate parity exists as between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO. This was underlined in particular by the American President on the occasion of the signing of the SALT II treaty in Vienna in June 1979. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and other West European political leaders have also called attention to the existence of approximate parity.

[Question] What significance is there to the existence of military balance ?

[Answer] The evolution, the existence, operation and maintenance of approximate military-strategic balance between the main forces of the two different social systems in the world and of the countries allied with them is an important pre-condition for the preservation and the strengthening of peace.

This has been a decisive factor in starting on the road to political detente based on the efforts of the socialist countries and the position taken by realistic forces in the western world; a process which has been of political and economic benefit to all concerned and has opened up new vistas.

It has been a major element in thus far being able to prevent the outbreak of a third world war which is to say a war involving missiles and nuclear weapons.

It has been the principal factor for Europe, which twice has been the starting point of a world war,now experiencing the longest period of peace in this century and for the continent itself emerging as an example of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

It has provided the very basis on which successful negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament can be conducted, as SALT I and SALT II clearly demonstrate.

[Question] You have spoken of the recognition of military balance on the part of Western politicians. But what is their real attitude towards it ?

[Answer] I have already indicated by my answer to your first question that the efforts by the United States and NATO to do away with balance and to establish military superiority are the main causes for the aggravation and complication of the world situation.

[Question] What are the indications for this ?

[Answer] It cannot be overlooked that there has been a growing trend recently of members of Western governments and Western military figures --above all in the United States-- calling for making war or at least the use of military power in the service of political goals and based on superiority more practicable or efficaceous. The so-called State of the Union message by the American President in January 1980 designated the strengthening of American military power and the attainment of military superiority as the priority goal of the United States in the eighties.

[Question] In this connection, how is the American President's so-called directive 59 to be viewed ?

[Answer] This directive contains a new definition of U.S. strategy for nuclear warfare. The targets of U.S. nuclear missiles are to be varied and to be concentrated primarily on a wide range of military objectives in the USSR. In essence, this re-definition is aimed at lowering the nuclear threshold in order to carry out a preventive nuclear strike to annihilate the USSR and to be in a position to wage "limited" nuclear war.

This insane strategy is not really new. In fact, it has always gone hand-in-hand with the aims of aggressive circles in the United States wishing to confront the Soviet Union from a position of strength and superiority. But the attainment of strategic parity by the Soviet Union and the inability of the United States to carry out a devastating first strike forced American governments to recognize this parity, as evidenced among other things by the SALT agreements.

Now, the goal of overcoming military-strategic balance is openly being pursued again. In doing so, the United States are speculating on the qualitative and quantitative development of new weapons systems which are to provide a new material basis for their efforts aimed at attaining military superiority, primarily as regards a nuclear first strike capability.

They are hoping for greater accuracy, greater explosive yield and a high level of mobility for the MX and Trident missile systems among others.

/Question/ How does the NATO missile resolution of December 1979 fit in ?

/Answer/ It is absolutely correct to view this resolution in connection with U.S. nuclear strategy. In addition to the 8,000 nuclear units already positioned in Western Europe and the 3,000 nuclear delivery systems and the 1,000 delivery systems on board of warships in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, that is to say in addition to the so-called Forward Based Systems, plans are to deploy Pershing II's and Cruise missiles with a range of 1,800 to 2,500 kilometers. Their multiple warheads, more accurate and harder to defend against, could hit different targets simultaneously. Early warning time for these medium-range missiles is reduced to about 6 minutes as opposed to 30 minutes for strategic missiles. Thus, it is not a matter of "simply modernizing" obsolete weapons, as it is said, which have the same purpose as heretofore, but of introducing strategic weapons which would reach from West European soil far into Soviet territory up to the foothills of the Urals. The NATO decision thus has the aim of bringing about a fundamental change in the European strategic situation.

/Question/ What dangers are there, in your view, in this militant concept for nuclear war ?

/Answer/ First of all, this strategy does not aim for reducing nuclear war but for materially preparing for it. As this is being done, the insane idea is being put forward that limited nuclear war can both be waged and won. But it is totally unrealistic to believe in the possibility of a limited or regional nuclear war. Any nuclear attack would inevitably lead to a direct confrontation including retaliatory strikes forthwith.

/Question/ What implications does this have for Europe ?

/Answer/ As a consequence of the NATO missile resolution, the danger of atomic conflict, particularly in Europe, has increased. The deployment of new medium-range missile systems in Western Europe within the context of the new U.S. strategy turns these countries into atomic hostages of the United States to all intents and purposes. While the United States mean to use these additional missile systems to gain substantial military advantages as regards the USSR, the nations of Western Europe for their part are called upon to bear the "nuclear risk." The arms race is further intensified.

/Question/ And what does it mean for the socialist countries ?

[Answer] In view of the acute threat, the socialist countries will have to provide the necessary measure of military security for themselves. History has proven that the socialist states, headed by the USSR, have all the means necessary to meet the efforts of the NATO countries to upset the military balance.

[Question] You are now touching on our own position. Could you be more precise ?

[Answer] Let me summarize it briefly: the socialist states do not aim for military superiority or for altering the strategic-military balance in their favor which has evolved in the course of time. This applies equally to the strategic balance that exists between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO in the European area.

"Our efforts," Leonid Brezhnev has said, "are directed at not having a first or a second strike happen or, for that matter, any nuclear war at all. Our approach to this question is the following: the defense capabilities of the Soviet Union must be such that no one will dare disturb our peaceful life. Our policy does not aim at superiority in armaments but at their reduction and at a reduction of military confrontation."

This position also was part of the Warsaw Pact declaration of last May and was the basis of concrete initiatives undertaken by the socialist states at the the 35th General Assembly of the United Nations, at MBFR in Vienna and in other forums.

[Question] Which of these initiatives are most important ?

[Answer] The primary objective of all our efforts and proposals is to take further steps to reduce the danger of nuclear war. At the current U.N. General Assembly session, the USSR has countered the American nuclear war concept by submitting a list of the most urgent measures aimed at reducing the danger of war. It calls first of all for the ratification of SALT II by the United States; it calls for a start of negotiations on medium-range missiles; for tangible results at the Vienna talks and in connection with the Madrid conference and for the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. There are concrete proposals on all these matters on the table.

Let me point out the special importance of the USSR initiative aimed at overcoming the impasse in medium-range nuclear weapons negotiations created by the NATO resolution of December 1979.

There is a need for negotiations on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe-- even prior to the ratification of SALT II which, as is well known, has thus far been thwarted by the United States.

There is a need to establish an organic link between these negotiations and the problems raised by the so-called "forward based" American nuclear weapons. If any arms limitation agreements are reached in these talks, they could be taken up after SALT II has been ratified.

Erich Honecker has said that these proposals are important because "they serve to overcome the impasse in the disarmament dialogue created by NATO missile resolution adopted in Brussels."

/Question/ What role do you see labor unions playing in this endeavor ?

/Answer/ Ever since the Stockholm appeal in 1950 to the success of which the WFTU made a great contribution, as is well known, the unofficial organizations have grown rapidly in significance-- the way-stations being their fight against the neutron bomb over the past few years; their support for the holding of a European security conference and their active role at the U.N. special session on disarmament. The international trade union movement has had a large share in this. After all, it is the working class which plays the largest part in the worldwide efforts for peace and detente. Just the same, the recent meeting of the WFTU general council and of the WPC have both shown that more strenuous efforts must be made to combat the arms race and the danger of war.

"It is not enough to be shocked! Nor is it enough to be worried! The peoples have the power to safeguard peace which is their birthright! The time to act is now!" This Sofia appeal of the WPC is addressed to us as unionists, too.

Need for Continued Dialogue

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 9 No 10, Oct 80 pp 1-9

/'Analyses-Problems' feature article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director, Institute for International Politics and Economics, East Berlin: "Military-Strategic Balance, Political and Military Detente: U.S. Nuclear War Strategy Aims at Military Superiority-- Safeguarding Peace Requires Balance of Forces--Arms Limitation and Disarmament Versus Concept of Nuclear First Strike"/

[Text] The start of the eighties has witnessed a marked aggravation of the world situation. The results of the process of political detente which benefited all peoples, particularly those in Europe, in the seventies are now endangered. Instead of taking steps toward detente, the ruling circles of the United States and of NATO are now pursuing a policy of confrontation. The system of international relations is being strained to the utmost by the discrepancy between the readiness to agree to arms limitation and disarmament manifested in numerous declarations and treaty documents and the heightened activity on the part of the leading NATO countries which points in the opposite direction, heating up the arms race further and intensifying conceptual and material preparations for war.

The chances of success of the arms limitation negotiations are being undermined; the SALT II treaty cannot take effect, as important as it is to peace, because its ratification is being blocked in the United States and all this while the development, production and deployment of new nuclear and conventional weapons of mass destruction by NATO is proceeding apace on the basis of its long-range program of 1978 and the December resolution of 1979.

Balance of Power, Equal Security, Peaceful Coexistence

The most aggressive forces of imperialism are mounting a vastly stepped-up arms program in an attempt to do away with the existing balance of power and to achieve military superiority while refusing to supplement political detente with military detente. This has cast a kind of pall over the international arena. Safeguarding peace has thus become the cardinal issue of our time, as Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED central committee, has said. "We must continue to work for detente in the eighties, tying it to an orientation toward disarmament."[1]

This calls for building on the foundations laid for the benefit of mankind in the seventies but which certain imperialist circles do not seem able to accept. Developments during that time had created a world situation which opened up favorable opportunities in the fight for peace. Peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems was beginning to take concrete political and economic shape. Multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements proved their usefulness in improving international relations. An important factor has been and still is the evolution, the existence, operation and maintenance of an approximate military-strategic balance between the main forces of the two different social systems and of the countries allied with them. This balance is an important pre-condition for preserving and strengthening peace.

It has been a decisive factor in starting on the road to political detente, based on the efforts of the socialist countries and the main realistic-minded forces in the capitalist countries; a process which has been of political and economic benefit to all concerned and has opened up new vistas.

It has been a major element in thus far being able to prevent the outbreak of a third world war, which is to say a war involving missiles and nuclear weapons.

It has been the principal reason that Europe, which twice has been the starting point of a world war, is experiencing the longest period of peace in this century and that the continent itself is emerging as an example of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems.

It has provided the very basis on which successful negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament can be conducted, as SALT I and SALT II have shown.

The concept of military-strategic balance of power as a pre-condition for peace is something relatively new. It was first used deliberately by the socialist countries who look upon it both as one of the foundations and as a guarantee for peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems. This involves recognition of the fact that given present power relationships in the international class struggle this military-strategic balance must serve as the basis for reaching agreement on limiting, restricting and ultimately reducing armaments while preserving intact the security of all participants.

The member countries of the Warsaw Pact have repeatedly pointed out that there now exists "a military balance in Europe and in the world as a whole."[2] This assessment is based on an analysis of all the factors which need to be taken into account, including an overall comparison of nuclear and conventional weapons systems, their number and firepower, of troop strengths, of the strategic situation, of the consequences of possible surprise attacks and the effectiveness of defense installations. Geographic factors such as length and strategic location of borders, logistic and economic factors among others must also be considered.

To be sure, the military power relationship is extremely difficult to assess. To analyze it, a great number of quantitative and qualitative factors as well as global and regional ones must be taken into consideration. But, to be realistic, one must above all start out on the basis of the sum total of the military forces opposing each other. Any attempt to remove individual weapons systems or individual countries or even regions from their proper

context and to compare them will inevitably distort the picture. Overall, strategic balance is a reflection of the fact that neither side possesses or has hopes of attaining a devastating "first strike" capability.

Right up to the present, members of the U.S. government and of other NATO countries have more than once attested to the fact that approximate parity exists as between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact countries and NATO. This was underscored in particular by the American President on the occasion of the signing of the SALT II treaty in Vienna in June 1979. Chancellor Schmidt of the FRG and other West European political leaders have also called attention to the existence of approximate parity.

The existing balance of power clearly calls for another dimension in international relations: the principle of equal security which makes it incumbent upon all sides not to aim for preponderance and military superiority and, most importantly, to have this principle serve as the basis for all negotiations and agreements on arms limitation, arms reduction and disarmament.

In this sense, the principle of equal security has been upheld both in multilateral agreements such as the final document of the U.N. special session on disarmament in 1978 and in bilateral agreements such as the joint USSR-U.S. communique in Vienna in 1979 and agreements between the USSR and the FRG, the USSR and France and others.

Efforts To Attain Military Superiority Endanger Balance of Power

In view of the present international situation the question is how this fundamental aspect of peaceful coexistence is being viewed. This calls for a more exact analysis of intentions, doctrines and actions along the following lines: Are these efforts directed toward recognition of this balance, toward the reduction of the level of military confrontation and toward arms limitation based on the aforementioned principle or is this imperative being disregarded.

It cannot be overlooked that there has been a growing tendency recently of members of government and military leaders of the capitalist countries --particularly the United States-- demanding openly that war or military power as an instrument of policy based on superiority be made practicable again or be employed more efficaceously. On the occasion of a visit to the Pentagon, U.S. President Carter declared that he would see to it that the United States remains the premier military power in the world.[3] He thus clearly oriented American arms and military policy toward attainment of military superiority.

Testifying before the Senate foreign relations committee on the goals of increased U.S. and NATO arms programs, U.S. secretary of defense Harold Brown said that the purpose was to "surpass" the Warsaw Pact; to "gain a clear advantage."[4] Appearing before the armed services committee later, he asked for an increase of his military budget by saying: "We must now decide whether we intend to remain the strongest nation on earth."[5] The quest for military superiority also came up in speeches given by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former NATOcommanding general Alexander Haig at a conference of military experts in Brussels in early September 1979 on the subject of "NATO and the Next 30 Years." "Their statements lead to the conclusion," an FRG press report said, "that they are looking for superiority instead of approximate parity."[6]

President Carter's state of the union message of January 1980 lists concrete programs which, if carried out, would lead to a breach of approximate military parity as between the USSR and the United States and the attainment of American military superiority. The strengthening of the military power of the United States and its allies is given top priority in the eighties. In the current fiscal year alone, U.S. military expenditures will increase by $20 billion and by the middle of the eighties the U.S. military budget is to be more than $200 billion.

Special emphasis is being placed on strengthening the nuclear missile arsenal. Development and production of qualitatively newer strategic offensive weapons systems, among them the MX missiles, fixed-wing missiles and Trident missiles, are proceeding. A start has been made on the development of an interventionist "rapid deployment force" together with a special fleet of floating naval bases and an air transport fleet capable of transporting large-size units to the farthest reaches of the earth.

In political science communities in the capitalist countries voices justifying this policy of military power and the deployment of it are becoming louder. R Kennedy of the U.S. Army College's Strategic Studies Institute calls the ability to resort to force a pre-condition for successful negotiation and defines the function of military power as being "its ability to threaten and, if necessary, to resort to military power so as to force a preferred point of view upon the world order."[7] So much is clear: The quest of the United States for military superiority is to serve the goal of "forcing the point of view preferred" by U.S. imperialism upon the world order.

The heightened arms buildup by the leading NATO power is based on designs for worldwide expansion and not on U.S. security interests. Thus the former American diplomat Arthur M. Cox wrote as long as 5 years ago: "Brookings Institute analysts believe the defense budget could be cut in half, if our only object were to defend the territory of the United States."[8] In the meantime, U.S. arms expenditures have escalated to such an extent that the discrepancy between security needs and expansionist designs has widened even more. The United States is the only country which disposes of a worldwide system of military bases in 114 countries.[9]

'New' U.S. Nuclear War Strategy

In this connection the most recent decision of the President of the United States relating to U.S. nuclear strategy must be viewed with considerable alarm. Jimmy Carter signed "directive 59" which calls for varying the targets of the strategic nuclear missiles. Essentially, this change is designed to carry out the first strike against military objectives in the Soviet Union, to lower the nuclear threshold so as to be able to wage a limited nuclear war.

This concept of a limited strategic nuclear war against the USSR is not new. It was developed as long ago as 1974 by the then U.S. defense secretary Schlesinger and its origins, in fact, go back even further than that. When all is said and done, it always conformed to the designs of the forces opposed to detente which mean to confront the Soviet Union from a position of strength and superiority.[10]

The attainment of strategic parity by the Soviet Union and the inability of the United States to carry out a decisive and devastating strike forced the various U.S. governments to recognize this parity situation. This was manifested in the documents relating to the limitation of strategic offensive weapons and missile systems of 1972, in the treaty on the prevention of nuclear war of 1973 as well as in later protocols.

But there always were powerful forces among the ruling circles of the United States which were unwilling to accept strategic parity. They were constantly looking for military superiority which they define as the capability of carrying out a devastating first strike with superior weapons systems. The quest to attain such a first strike capability has never been relinquished by any U.S. government. Their approach to arms control and disarmament agreements has been and always is tied to the option of leaving the way open for once again attaining military superiority. This was particularly apparent in the debate on SALT II in the United States.[11]

Contrary to the official pronouncements of the American government that it is prepared to maintain parity vis-a-vis the USSR and is cognizant of the danger of a violation of the principle, there are renewed attempts now to aim at overcoming the military-strategic balance both materially and conceptually. The United States is basing its efforts on the qualitative and quantitative development of new weapons systems designed to provide a new material foundation for its quest after military superiority, primarily in the sense of attaining a nuclear first strike capability. There are three aspects relating to the qualitative factors upon which they are basing their hopes.

The first factor is the accelerated improvement of the accuracy of the nuclear missile systems; secondly , they are trying to increase the strength of the warheads and thirdly , they are trying to perfect so-called invulnerability or at least to make it more difficult to defend against U.S. weapons systems.

In this way they are attempting to develop the capability for a "disarming" first strike. A start was made as long ago as late 1977 when 300 Minuteman III missiles were equipped with the MK-12a nuclear warhead which is twice as strong and as accurate as its predecessor. But with the signing of directive 59 the following new weapons systems are coming into play.

First , there is MX, the intercontinental mobile ballistic system of land-based nuclear missiles. 200 of these have been included in the U.S. arsenal. Based on statements of U.S. experts, these missiles have a destructive capability 20 times as great as that of Minuteman III due to their greater accuracy and strength; they are mobile and therefore considered invulnerable.

Secondly , there is the development and deployment of sea-based Trident II missiles with individually controllable and maneuverable warheads. Each U.S. atomic submarine, equipped with 24 of these missiles, is capable of annihilating at least 200 fortified military targets. A report prepared by the U.S. arms control and disarmament agency refers to these missiles as first strike weapons with a significant potential for destroying priority targets.

Thirdly , there is the development of new types of aircraft and missiles which are said to be insensitive or marginally sensitive to radar. According to U.S. defense secretary Brown, they are already in the testing stage and should, he says, alter the military balance considerably. Clearly, the new assessment of nuclear strategy undertaken by directive 59 is based in large part on these systems.

Fourthly , in the light of the President's directive, there is a need to assess the decision of 12 December 1979 relating to the development and deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missile systems (Pershing II and Cruise) in Western Europe. In view of strategic parity between the USSR and the United States, U.S. political leaders and military planners, in seeking renewed superiority, are concentrating not only on the development of new strategic weapons systems but also on regional aspects, which is to say a shift of "regional balnces of power" in their favor. In this, they assign highest priority to Europe. It is considered a particularly important arena of military confrontation with the Soviet Union and the member states of the Warsaw Pact.

The so-called Schlesinger report set the course in this direction in 1975. In positing alleged Soviet aggressive designs against Western Europe and the deterrent function of NATO, the report said that "the threat of mutual annihilation narrows the range in which enemy actions can be deterred by strategic forces and places greater emphasis on deterrence by medium-range missiles and conventional forces."[12]

As long ago as 1975 priority was thus given to increasing the NATO medium-range missile arsenal as part of a long-range strategic program whose point of departure was actual military-strategic balance and by no means Soviet military superiority. In the meantime, the present U.S. defense secretary Harold Brown has come out with much clearer and more comprehensive language. In his report to Congress on the proposed military budget for fiscal year 1980/81, he said: "In our view, NATO needs a strategic 'triad' of its own which is different from ours...It must dispose of nuclear-strategic forces, tactical nuclear weapons and non-nuclear forces."[13]

In practical terms, this comes down to dual military-strategic superiority. According to this scheme, the nuclear-strategic forces of the USSR would be opposed both by those of the United States and those of NATO. The first line would be occupied by the "Euro-strategic" weapons systems pursuant to the NATO resolution of December 1979 whereas the new weapons systems Pershing II and Cruise are clearly intended to provide a first strike capability. The 1975 Schlesinger report which "justified" the stronger emphasis on medium-range missiles had already provided in no uncertain terms for the nuclear first strike option. Although "clearly limited, the attack should be carried out with sufficient force and decisiveness in order effectively to alter the conceptions of the Warsaw Pact leaders and to create conditions favorable to negotiations."[14]

Now this was by no means a threatening gesture of a mere tactical nature for as M. Kahler of Princeton University points out there are indeed forces active in the United States today which hold the principle of "assured mutual annihilation" to be obsolete and which are therefore coming out in favor of making nuclear weapons "applicable."[15] And they are not restricted to the United States. Commenting on directive 59, FRG military analyst A Weinstein, known for his outspoken support for the aggressive NATO strategy, wrote on 6 September 1980: "It is no longer true that there can be no victors in a nuclear war. It would depend on what kind of nuclear war is waged. Whoever carries out a first strike with precision weapons and in so doing destroys the offensive weapons of the enemy has a chance of winning."[16]

NATO Missile Resolution Aims at Changing Military Balance

What significance does the NATO resolution of December 1979 have with respect to the military power relationship ? To add to the 8,000 nuclear units already positioned in Western Europe and the 1,000 delivery systems on board of warships in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, it has been decided to produce qualitatively new American nuclear weapons and to deploy them in Western Europe, namely Pershing II missiles as well as fixed-wing missiles (the so-called Cruise missiles) with a range of 1,800 to 2,500 kilometers and an in-flight time of mere minutes. Their multiple warheads, being more accurate and harder to defend against, could hit different targets simultaneously. Early warning time would be reduced from 30 to 4 to 6 minutes.

Thus, it is not a matter of "simply modernizing" obsolete weapons, as it is said, which have the same purpose as heretofore, but of introducing strategic weapons which would reach from West European soil far into Soviet territory up to the foothills of the Urals. The NATO decision thus has the aim of bringing about a fundamental change in the strategic situation in Europe and at the same time undermines the agreements reached in the SALT II treaty. Bundeswehr major general (ret) G Bastian along with many other Western politicians and analysts considers this to be a "new situation" for the Soviet Union "in that the USSR does not have equal opportunities, namely to pose a nuclear threat to the United States with medium-range weapons."[17] So it may be said that the United States has set its course on developing a first strike capability in the European theater as well.

The NATO position relating to the proposed stationing of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe is being justified above all with the alleged need for "modernization." This position does not conform to reality-- either historically, politically or militarily. As to the historical aspect, it may be recalled that NATO's original tactical decision to station new American missiles

does not date from December 1979 but from the fall of 1977 when it was reached at the NATO nuclear planning group meeting in Bari. The official report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for FY 1980 states that the budget decisions for the development of the Pershing II missile were reached as long ago as 1974.[18] The Soviet missiles, however, which have repeatedly been used as ex post facto "justification" were an unknown quantity until 1975 by the United States' own admission. And the funds for the development of the fixed-wing missiles were decided upon even earlier, in 1972. Furthermore, it is worth recalling the previously mentioned American long-range plans for the attainment of military superiority which assign a labor-sharing role to the medium-range missiles.

As for the political aspect, long before the new medium-range nuclear systems of the United States and of NATO were decided upon and prior to the modernization of its own arsenal, the USSR proposed inclusion of medium-range weapons in the SALT negotiations. But, as the imperialist camp admits, these weapons were excluded by the United States.[19] Similarly, the Soviet proposals of 1979 for negotiations on the medium-range arsenal were simply brushed aside.

As for the military aspect, it should be pointed out that there is approximate parity in the medium-range nuclear weapons field, too, if not only similarity of available means but similarity of actual effectiveness are considered.

To justify the "modernization" lie, all sorts of calculations were being offered in the NATO countries, which were self-serving and exceeded the bounds of exaggeration. A particularly revealing example for this type of manipulation is a study commissioned by a group of CDU Bundestag deputies. According to the study, "Soviet superiority over NATO in short-range missiles stands at 4.5:1."[20] But Hamburg peace researcher Dieter S Lutz has taken a close look at the calculations on which this particular manipulation is based. He has found "that there is no way in which NATO military inferiority can be deduced in the TNF field. On the contrary, it cannot be ruled out that the Warsaw Pact may have to counter quantitative and qualitative improvements in the NATO arsenal by adopting modernization measures of its own."[21]

Comparative figures worked out by Lutz and based on total NATO and Warsaw Pact strength add up to a ratio of 1,622:1,637 systems. Now this reflects approximate parity without a doubt. In this calculation, the total number of weapons systems is taken into account as well as their differing qualitative criteria. Justifiably, the calculations are also based on the need to include U.S. and NATO systems frequently excluded by the bourgeois camp such as American equipped with Poseidon missiles operating in the Atlantic and the

Mediterranean under SACEUR; carrier-based aircraft in the same area, and all NATO with a range of more than 1,500 kilometers. Also included are the nuclear weapons systems of France and Great Britain.

As long as the aforementioned U.S. Forward Based systems which are capable of reaching the Soviet Union and against which the land-based Soviet missile arsenal constitutes a reply are excluded, there is no comparing and no negotiating about medium-range weapons systems. This is confirmed --unintentionally, it may be assumed-- in a report by the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, which states: "The U.S. contribution to LRTNF consists of forward-based F-111 and A-6 aircraft as well as a significant number of Poseidon RV's, all assigned to SACEUR."[22]

There are also major differences with regard to their strategic mission between the Soviet SS-20's and the proposed Pershing II's and the Cruise missiles which should notbe left out of consideration. The SS-20's are a replacement with no increase in range for the SS-4's and SS-5's which had already been in use for more than 10 years.

The deputy director of the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, G Treverton, confirmed this fact which has been pointed out by the Soviet Union on a number of occasions, stating the SS-20 poses "no qualitatively new threat" as compared to the obsolete delivery systems.[23] And Stockholm-based SIPRI in its latest yearbook also states that "if the existing missiles are replaced piecemeal by SS-20's, this does not introduce a quantitatively new threat." As for designating the Pershing II and Cruise missiles as "modernization," SIPRI calls that an "understatement" pointing to "qualitatively new capabilities" NATO could gain at the expense of the Warsaw Pact organization.

The number of medium-range missiles has not been increased in the European part of the USSR during the past 10 years, nor has the number of corresponding aircraft. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has stationed no such weapons on the territory of its allies. As a matter of fact, the number of medium-range missile launch pads and their nuclear warhead strength were decreased somewhat as was the number of medium-range bombers. The ministerial meeting of the NATO nuclear planning group in The Hague in November 1979 itself confirmed the fact that "the total number of Soviet missile launching sites targeted on NATO territory in Europe has been reduced somewhat in recent years."[24]

In a speech before the Brookings Institute in February 1980, defense secretary Harold Brown also acknowledged the fact that the USSR did not increase the number of its medium-range weapons and warheads in the seventies, but in fact decreased them.[25]

Thus, the NATO decision to develop, produce and station new medium-range nuclear systems in Western Europe is not the result of military superiority or a threat on the part of the Warsaw Pact states but based on the desire to attain military superiority and to abrogate the principle of equal security as the basis of mutual relations and negotiations.

A Deadly Scheme

The entire scheme of the United States and of NATO to gain superiority with the help of new weapons systems is highly dangerous and a threat to peace:

1. The danger of a general war involving missiles and nuclear weapons is not reduced but heightened; above all because there is an erroneous assumption of being able to wage and to win a limited nuclear war. It is a view that completely disregards reality that a localized nuclear war could be waged. Any nuclear attack would escalate into a direct confrontation in short order and involve retaliatory strikes. The 30th Pugwash conference of noted world scientists in late August 1980 rightly called for steps to counter this madness. M Kaplan of the United States, the secretary general of the international Pugwash movement said in conclusion: "Perhaps the worst thing that has happened is the increasing promotion and public acceptance of the idea that limited nuclear wars could be fought without the risk of nuclear escalation, that nuclear wars could be survived and won."[26]

2. The danger of nuclear conflict is heightened as a result of attempts by the United States and NATO to develop a first strike capability which is to say --in connection with directive 59-- above all in Europe. The deployment of new medium-range systems in Western Europe turns these countries into nuclear hostages of the United States to all intents and purposes. Whereas the United States are aiming for a considerable military advantage vis-a-vis the Soviet Union by adding these missile systems, the West European countries are called upon to bear the "nuclear risk." This has not only led to considerable uneasiness among the population but also to suspicion and anxiety among realistically thinking West European politicians.

Contrary to the U.S. position, official and unofficial views are being voiced in some of the smaller member states of NATO which oppose the new U.S. strategy aimed at lowering the nuclear threshold. This is true for example of the two largest political parties in the Netherlands[27] and equally of the retired FRG general Baudissin who now heads the Hamburg Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy and who warns of the dangerous consequences this U.S. nuclear war strategy would have.[28] There is a growing realization that the danger of military conflict in Europe and

for its population cannot be "escalated out of existence" by introducing new weapons systems but that military detente and arms reduction are needed.

3. The arms race is being stepped up. There are new rounds being started which forces the socialist states to take the necessary steps to safeguard their military security in view of the acute threat. History proves that the socialist states have the capability to match any new weapons technology introduced by NATO with corresponding new weapons of their own which are necessary for their defense. But it is a new round in the arms race with its very grave consequences that the socialist states would like to prevent.

It should be noted that a new round in the arms race does not in any sense signify a mere numerical enlargement of "somewhat modernized" weapons systems. Based on this erroneous thesis, some bourgeois journalists have come to the "reassuring" conclusion that military balance is bound to restore itself in the end. This would lead to a restoration of the status quo guaranteeing world peace once more. If one group of states were to add more arms to its side of the scales, the "international scales" would balance out again as soon as the other group of states adds an equal number of "weights" to its side.

The metaphor of the scales is antiquated and obviously deficient because of the mechanistic symbolism involved, even if it does have a certain descriptive value. At any rate, if it is used, one must not overlook a most important fact. Any scales can be weighed down up to a point. But if it is overloaded, the whole system collapses.

Any sober and objective assessment of the military-strategic situation in the world and above all in Europe must lay stress on the conclusion that armaments both in terms of quantity and quality are now dangerously close to the upper limit of the loading capacity of the military balance system. There is a fundamental threat to strategic stability in any new round of the arms race, particularly in the development, production and deployment of weapons of mass destruction and delivery systems with materially new capabilities. More and more realistically thinking politicians are coming to realize this. The long-time head of ACDA, Paul Warnke, for example, wrote: "The Russians are capable of warding off any threat to strategic equality just as we are able to forestall any attempt of theirs to attain superiority. The result of any stepped-up competition will be a situation comparable to the present but characterized by a higher level of potential destruction and more unsettled political conditions...Today, the best alternative which offers a guarantee against nuclear war is the

conclusion of agreements on strategic arms control conducive to reducing tensions and to paving the way to comprehensive and more effective disarmament in the future."[29]

4. An arms race which aims at the attainment of military superiority undermines the principle of equality of states in the system of international relations. The quest for hegemony is fostered; a policy of strength and the attempt to apply military pressure and to resort to blackmail to turn negotiations into dictates gains favor. There would doubtless be an increase in tensions and in suspicion between groups of states not only in international relations including those in the economic field. Clearly, this would also impede the work of all existing and projected bodies dealing with arms control and disarmament and impair the basis for negotiation.

5. Finally, there is a need to point to the many economic and social consequences of such a process for all states whether directly or indirectly concerned. Although these consequences are not discussed here, there is no doubt but that they would be extremely grave.

Arms Limitation and Disarmament Based on Equal Security

Despite all presently existing tensions and difficulties in world affairs, the socialist states believe that the process of detente and the results attained thus far must continue to have priority in international relations. They are in favor of constructive steps such as to counter further hardening of the international and the European situation.

The socialist states aspire neither to military superiority nor to a shift of the military balance which has historically evolved in their favor. This applies both to the strategic balance between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in the European area. It was already in 1977 that Leonid Brezhnev called the allegations according to which the Soviet Union was aspiring to nuclear superiority in order to carry out a first strike "nonsensical and totally unfounded," adding that "our efforts are in fact aimed at preventing both a first strike and a second strike and, for that matter, nuclear war itself."[30]

In May 1980, the Warsaw Pact countries renewed their pledge of never developing a nuclear first strike capability and of never arrogating to themselves any control over "spheres of influence" or international transport routes.[31] Their whole policy aims at eliminating the military factor. But as long as significant progress in the direction of general and total disarmament cannot be reached, the military factor continues to be important. That

is why the preservation of the military balance is one of the fundamentals of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems. But it is not only a military factor but also a pre-condition for practical measures aimed at arms limitation and disarmament.

The central goal of the foreign and security policy of the Warsaw Pact countries continues to be a reduction in the level of military confrontation on the basis of reciprocal reduction of forces and armaments. Their policy continues to be based on the principle of equal security, respect for the legitimate security interests of other states and readiness to enter negotiations about all types of weapons. The only condition they attach to all their proposals for arms limitation and disarmament is unequivocal and effective respect for the principle of equal security for both sides.

This position is also being supported by leading bourgeois experts. G Kristiakowski, for example, a former scientific adviser of the President of the United States and a long-time member of the top staff at the Los Alamos atomic center, wrote: "To reach agreement (on arms limitation-ed) we must unequivocally grant the Soviet Union equal status and take her legitimate security needs into consideration."[32]

The Warsaw Pact countries consider the preservation of approximate parity of forces an important stabilizing factor in world affairs. For this reason, their proposals have been and still are aimed at maintaining approximate military balance at a level to be gradually lowered with a view to reaching effective and mutually acceptable reductions in arms expenditures.

The Warsaw Pact countries are making numerous efforts to thwart any attempt aimed at disturbing the military-strategic balance and achieving one-sided military superiority. Now that the United States and other NATO members have set their sights on a new, stepped-up arms race, the Warsaw Pact countries have no other choice to adopt measures to increase their defense preparedness in the sense of preserving approximate military parity. These are measures that pose no threat to the security of any other country. But the socialist states cannot accept any disturbance of the military-strategic balance because this would endanger their security and threaten world peace.

The communique of the meeting of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact countries in May of this year spells out the main points of this coordinated socialist foreign policy which is in the interest of their own security needs and those of the world as a whole:

First: Agreement on the principle that no state or group of states in Europe may after a certain date increase the numerical strength of its armed forces in the area designated by the Helsinki Final Act. This is also how the most recent initiative of the socialist participants at the Vienna negotiations is to be understood. The deadlock at these negotiations could thus be broken and first results could be achieved, if the proposal were accepted to withdraw 20,000 military personnel of the USSR and 13,000 of the United States during the first stage of troop reductions as well as to impose a collective "freeze" on troop levels during the "intervals" between the reduction stages.

Second: Strict adherence to all terms of the Helsinki Final Act, above all to the basic principles all participants have pledged to uphold-- such as the renuncication of force or the threat to use force; the inviolability of national frontiers; the peaceful settlement of disputes; the non-interference in internal affairs; the fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

Third: Intensive bilateral and multilateral exchanges of opinion in order to structure the Madrid conference in such a way that practical steps aimed at comprehensive implementation of the Final Act can be agreed upon.

Fourth: Stepped-up preparations for a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe with the aim of reaching practical decisions in Madrid on the agenda, date, location and mode of operation of the conference and of concentrating the work during the initial phase on confidence-building measures.

Fifth: Ratification of the SALT II treaty and speedy conclusion of negotiations going on at present and/or broken off such as the talks on banning nuclear tests, radiological and chemical weapons and on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear nations.

Sixth: Immediate start of constructive negotiations on such issues as a world treaty on the non-application of force, a ban on the production of nuclear weapons and a ban on the development of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

Seventh: Discussions on the limitation and reduction of military presenee and military activities in the Atlantic, in the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, the Mediterranean and in the Persian Gulf.[33]

The primary object of all these efforts and proposals is to make further progress in reducing the danger of nuclear war. In addition to the ratification of SALT II, this calls for reopening the way to negotiations on medium-range missiles. As is well known, these

negotiations were blocked as a result of the refusal of the Soviet offer of 6 October 1979 and the NATO resolution on medium-range missiles of December 1979.

New Soviet Proposals

The newest initiative of the Soviet leadership calling for immediate consultations on the best approaches to solve the medium-range nuclear missile issue which was submitted both to the chancellor of the FRG on the occasion of his visit to Moscow in June 1980 and to the U.S. leadership is therefore of extraordinary, fundamental and topical importance. What are its main points ?

Its purpose is to start discussions and preliminary negotiations as soon as possible on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe--even prior to ratification of the SALT II treaty which, as is known, has been blocked by the destructive position taken by the United States.

The point is to conduct these talks "within the organic context" of the issue of the so-called forward based American nuclear weapons, including, as mentioned previously, the F-111 and Phantom combat aircraft stationed in Great Britain as well as American nuclear submarines assigned to NATO, particularly those on patrol in the Mediterranean.

Arms limitation agreements reached in these talks, if any, could be taken up which is to say realized following ratification of SALT II.

Such talks could commence without any pre-conditions whatsoever.

Erich Honecker, secretary-general of the SED central committee, has called these proposals "a means of breaking the impasse in the disarmament dialogue caused by the NATO missile resolution in Brussels."[34] Evidence that the proposals are considered to be meaningful is reflected in positive statements on some aspects of them in various European NATO countries. Thus, FRG chancellor Helmut Schmidt said he thought the inclusion of FBS in such consultations to be "quite logical," adding that he could "appreciate the Soviet position with respect to SALT II."[35] SPD disarmament expert Pawelczyk made a point of stressing that the Soviet proposal offers a way of gaining time and "one possibility of preventing an arms race in Europe in the medium-range nuclear systems field."[36]

Addressing letters to Western heads of state and government in August, the secretary-general of the CPSU central committee, Leonid Brezhnev, made new efforts to get the talks started. In a joint press conference, the U.S. and FRG foreign ministers reacted --at least indirectly-- by announcing their readiness to enter preliminary talks soon.[37]

But in this case, too, the idea is to take concrete steps without delay. And, one cannot help noting that a kind of rejection movement against the USSR proposals is already beginning to form in some of the NATO countries. There are demands, for example, not to include FBS in the talks, but only medium-range missiles. But even NATO military experts do not deny --as we have already shown-- that the stationing of Soviet medium-range missiles in European Russia was meant as and still constitutes a reply to the so-called FBS which in effect fulfill the function of medium-range nuclear missiles. In the final analysis, the issue is the entire range of weapons which fulfill the same or a similar function-- unless one is making an attempt arbritarily to alter the present approximate military balance in one's own favor.

Pessimistic estimates are also being given according to which it would be extremely difficult to conduct such talks and negotiations because of the subject matter involved. It may even take years to agree on a mutually acceptable definition of the matter at issue, it is said.

But: the subject matter treated by SALT I and SALT II also was extremely varied, particularly with respect to the comparability of types of weapons, their location and range and their destructive capabilities, etc. Nonetheless, results were achieved conforming to well-perceived bilateral interests. The decisive aspect is mutual good will which in the end contributes greatly to mutual trust. The peoples impatiently expect and yearn for negotiations. The apparent and totally unfounded hesitancy in the guise of the alleged need to give careful "study" to the USSR proposal gives rise to suspicions that the object is to gain time in order to pursue goals and arms measures of one's own and to create accomplished facts of a most dangerous nature.

Today's world is one of heightened tensions. The situation is complicated. It demands the highest degree of political readiness to to work toward and to conduct a dialogue about issues in dispute and at the same time to avoid anything that might contribute to aggravating the situation. A shift toward military detente in the eighties is possible, if the negotiations are based on the existing approximate strategic balance and the principle of equal security for all sides.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 9 Sep 1980

2. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 24 Nov 1978

3. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 8 Mar 1977

4. ICA-BULLETIN, Washington/Bonn, 20 Sep 1979

5. NEW YORK TIMES, New York, 14 Dec 1979

6. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 8 Sep 1979

7. R. Kennedy, "Essays on Measuring the Strategic Balance" in "U.S.A. and the Strategic Balance," Munich, 1980, p 23

8. A.M. Cox, "The Dynamics of Detente," New York 1976, p 130

9. NEUE ZEIT, Moscow, No 4, 1979

10. Cf J. Stelzow, "Strategic Parity or Strategic Superiority ?" in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, No 8. 1980, p 95ff

11. Ibid

12. J.R. Schlesinger, "The Theater Nuclear Force Posture in Europe: A Report to the United States Congress in Compliance with Public Law 93-365," Washington, U.S. Department of Defense, 1 Apr 1975, p 2

13. Quoted by S.D. Fair, "TNF and the Strategic Balance" in "U.S.A. and the Strategic Balance," loc cit, p 38

14. J.R. Schlesinger, loc cit, p 15

15. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 1 Jul 1980

16. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Frankfurt/Main 6 Sep 1980, p 10

17. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main 13 Aug 1980

18. Fiscal Year 1980 Arms Control Impact Statement, 96th Congress, 1st Sec, Mar 1979, Washington, DC, p 135

19. See e.g. P. Schlotter, S. Tiedke, "Is There an Alternative to Rearmament in Eurcpe ?" Frankfurt/Main, 1980

20. H. Hoffmann, R. Steinruecke, "Armament and Disarmament in the Euro-Nuclear Area," Washington/Bonn 1979, p 35

21. D.S. Lutz, "The Military Strength Ratio in the Field of Euro-Nuclear Weapons Systems," IFSH-FORSCHUNGSBERICHTE, No 12, Hamburg, Oct 1979, pp 31-32

22. Group of Authors, "The Controlled Chaos: The Crisis of Disarmament," Frankfurt/Main, 1980

23. Cf G. Treverton, "Nuclear Weapons and the Gray Area" in FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, Summer 1979, p 1080

24. EUROPA-ARCHIV, Bonn, No 2, 1980, p D 29

25. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 31 Jul 1980

26. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 5 Sep 1980

27. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 12 Aug 1980

28. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 15 Aug 1980

29. P. Warnke, M. Krepton, "The Awesome Fact Behind the SALT-Debate" in "Across the Board," New York, No 3, 1979, p 18 ff

30. NEUE ZEIT, Moscow, No 26, 1980, p 11

31. Declaration by Member States of Warsaw Pact in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 16 May 1980

32. DEFENSE MONITOR, Washington, Mar 1978, p 7

33. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 16 May 1980

34. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, East Berlin, 26 Aug 1980

35. DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, 7 Jul 1980

36. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 21 Jul 1980

37. INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris, 28 Aug 1980

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CROATIAN SELF-MANAGEMENT ATTORNEY DISCUSSES PROBLEMS

Zagreb SEDAM DANA Supplement to VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 80 pp 8-9

[Interview with Attorney Jure Ivezic by Vlado Rajic]

[Text] Last year alone, self-management attorneys handled 18,000 cases and for each one of them they were to find an appropriate solution and coordinate particular interests with Yugoslav self-management practices. How did they find their way through all of this in order to perform the tasks that the society requires of them? The numerous difficulties they encountered can best be illustrated by examples of those evaluations that threaten to remove investment capital from some basic organizations of associated labor where the decisions insist on the application of provisions of the Law on Associated Labor.

[Rajic] I have attended many meetings and heard my fill. Recently I have been hearing louder and louder the repeated thesis that in introducing self-management, we made a great mistake, because we should have educated the workers to deal with self-management first, and only then introduced the system itself. What should be the response? It is as if we had forgotten that one can only learn to swim in the water.

[Rajic] That was the comment with which our conversation with Jure Ivezic, about the work of the public self-management attorneys began. Ivezic is the public self-management attorney for Croatia. We talked about the people who are professionally responsible for finding the route between the Scylla and Charybdis of self-management practice.

[Rajic] We recall that after the first enthusiasm, the willingness of the attorneys to cooperate in filling newspaper columns fell very rapidly. They simply do not appear publicly.

[Ivezic] At first there was a fear in some places that our function would be transformed into a source for data for a "black chronicle." To that we must add the pressures on the attorneys from some offices typified by the line "Comrades, let's not bring these things out into the open, so that we can avoid causing public scandals." This completes the picture of some of our absence (if such is the case) from the pages of the newspapers and radio and television programs. Those have been and are the two extremes in discussions about presenting our work. Here too,

it is forgotten firstly that the law obliges us to perform a public function and secondly, items from our operations cannot be regarded as an element for increasing circulation, but rather as a serious political evaluation of the causes and results of some self-management situation.

Paid For, But It Does Not Work

[Rajic] How can those pressures be overcome?

[Ivezic] We should not waste time on them. You see, for example, the attorneys made a list of some tens of labor organizations and other working units in the republic where relationships have been poisoned for years. Some of them could already celebrate anniversaries of their own stupidities. Under such circumstances, time does not heal, but rather only worsens the situation. Things become more tense and consequently we had to conduct lengthy discussions in a number of communities in order to resolve such problems. And we encountered varying degrees of understanding.

[Rajic] When does that misunderstanding cause the most difficulty?

[Ivezic] This happens when organizations of particular social importance are involved, such as schools or hospitals. At one health institution relationships were so bad that the story spilled out onto the streets, so that the citizens themselves demanded that order be restored no matter what the cost. In another case, at a school, we had to institute temporary measures. In such an environment there can be no healing, nor study and learning.

[Rajic] Data indicate that last year self-management attorneys handled 18,000 cases. Is that a reflection of trust in your function, or of something else?

[Ivezic] I would not venture to say that it is only because of trust that there are so many cases on our desks. We know that many have come to us only after they have tried everything else, after they have tried to find solutions in the party and the trade union, the community and the assembly. Recently, the president of a community executive council sent a comrade, a man who had been a soldier, to have the attorney resolve a matter that had long been awaiting resolution. I asked him where his request was waiting, and he responded that it was at the community headquarters. But you see, he was being paid to decide such matters in the executive council quickly and with respect for persons.

A Full Measure of Manipulation

[Rajic] And now the question is whether the self-management attorney is more a community, and less a social position.

[Ivezic] Well there are all kinds of us. From the beginning it was unclear that the self-management attorney dare not become a functionary outside the system, a functionary of the political system who would only call up constitutional formulations as his support, that he was an agent of the social community. Even today that is not completely clear, so that errors occur literally everyday. Let us say that some responsible comrade from a community calls me to say that his at-

torney is making ultraleftist policies. He tells him "Forget that Law on Associated Labor, that is not for us undeveloped people." Or let us consider judgements involving temporary social protection measures. The community executive council and the attorney are authorized to propose such measures. The first does not want to cause hard feelings, and that becomes a reason that is stronger than the Constitution. There have been cases where a criminal action has been instituted against an attorney. That shows the extent to which someone can be an impassioned and oppressive bureaucratic addlehead, when he becomes involved with the court, after which comes a party punishment, rebuke at meetings, release from duties and the like.

I would also say this: We have had to arrange a special series of meetings and inter-community committees of the League of Communists in order to assure some community leaders, party people and others that they cannot regard the attorney as a party to their agenda of daily obligations. When we are involved in such things, it is clear where we stand. To take an example from Rijeka: There there are 15,000 residents of the city waiting for apartments from the city Housing Office, and there is a full measure of manipulation taking place. Now those people are not angry at the Housing Office, but at the entire society. Now you tell me, how the attorney is to work with individual partners from some communities that cannot comprehend that there is also an advocate in their area that is not under their command.

[Rajic] Then that means that the community structures do not have much respect for the self-management attorneys?

[Ivezic] Such generalizations are dangerous. I do agree, however, that everything depends on the people who are doing the job. If as a man, he is able to develop authority and respect for himself, then he will have it as a self-management attorney also. I do not support the notion of docile attorneys, but neither am I in favor of those who immediately grab for the paragraph in print. Those people should not be where they are either. That is not because the function of the attorney is something heroic, but rather that the man who "releases water onto the meadow" can put a question mark on the entire function of self-management attorney, bringing damage and disgrace upon it. We should not be guided by the fact that there are personnel problems in other structures, and that the implementation of the Law on Associated Labor is not being discussed in the trade unions, committees and community assemblies. We can establish our authority only by our own work.

Between Reality and Necessity

[Rajic] So you defend the attorneys resolutely?

[Ivezic] I defend them, and do so in principle as responsible people and as a function. Concerning individuals, of course, speaking in concrete terms, we can talk as we do about the personnel in other organizations. I am the first who would direct their attention by saying "Colleague, that is not a decision that you can make in this position. It lacks these points, and you have failed to consider these elements." On the other hand, if a committee secretary or the president of a community takes a critical position regarding "his" attorney, and

in doing so is not expressing the opinion of a forum but rather his own specially camouflaged one using the formula "we discussed that more broadly," then I will defend the man with all my strength. For it is better to show the mistake of a single attorney than that of all 3 councils of the community assembly.

Stabilization has brought many errors to light. You know what they tell me: Why is that attorney "of mine" complicating things? He jumps on the SAS [expansion: self-management administrative council? translator]: "Let him rest a little, until we finish our investments." What should I tell such people? Or they call me from 4 or 5 communities to say that things are thick, that their basic organizations of associated labor that were formed by the dispersion (or the integration) of the Zagreb economy are suffering torment in implementing the Law on Associated Labor, for some from the "administration" are threatening and growling about the Law on Associated Labor, and we are withdrawing investments. Imagine an evaluation that says either money or self-management.

[Rajic] How is an attorney to be established in those circumstances?

[Ivezic] That is what I would ask you, how? How can we fail to admit that the argument of the community member is convincing, when he says: "Don't, brother, we are going to lose money, and then what have we done." That is the squeeze in which the attorney often finds himself, between reality and necessity, on the one hand, and his constitutional and social responsibilities on the other.

[Rajic] Is it easier if he is working on a case from a smaller organization?

[Ivezic] All together, and not only the attorneys, step on the small ones easiest. However, when large organization are involved, their commercial results and high income are impressive and few would venture to ask about the progress of self-management. I have read the answer of the director of a large labor organization to precisely that question. He said that self-management was going well, for they had provided hot rations, barracks for dwellings, and seen to the workers' recreation and annual vacations. Well, is that self-management?

[Rajic] Is the director always to blame?

[Ivezic] He is often to blame without any guilt. From an analysis that we made it was shown that the director in, eg., a self-management organization of associated labor, or a large labor organization, is far away from his workers. Anyway, where would he get if he maintained contacts with several thousand people. Along with the director, however, there is a whole series of lieutenants, --managers and officials from labor organizations that can make a man's life miserable. A paradoxical statistic points out how dangerous those lieutenants are: 70 percent of the rights of workers were violated by decisions of labor councils and worker assemblies. Naturally, this is so since the officials hid themselves behind the proclaimed decisions that they themselves had composed, so that they are the only ones who can understand them. That is opportunism, for the members of the workers' council cannot and should not know how to write legal paragraphs.

What is a Preventative, then?

[Rajic] All of these examples illustrate an unusual situation: If things are to be cleared up completely, Jure Ivezic is needed to help. How do you evaluate an attorney who needs your authority, because by himself he can make no progress?

[Ivezic] Such interventions should be regarded as abnormal-normal cases. After all, the ambitions of the attorneys vary, as do their abilities and also, their influence in their own situation and in other functions.

[Rajic] I know, but there are attorneys with political ambitions who perhaps want to launch their careers from this platform, while at the same time there are those who are at the end of their public activities, and who have taken this job only to increase their pension base. What about them?

[Ivezic] We should not put a tragic coloration on the fact that attorneys want to go to other positions. That is a type of recognition of their work as attorneys, for we must not forget that that job involves dealing with human distress. There is no one who will come to praise the attorney if everything is all right with him.

I would, however, like to talk of an assertion that comes from some of the most responsible and well-intentioned people, who say that the attorneys should be more involved in preventive measures, rather than in individual cases. I do not agree with that, although I believe that a terminological misunderstanding, as to what preventive measures mean, is to some extent to blame for the assertion. If that means to close the doors to workers and go from meeting to meeting, then the function of the attorney should be abolished immediately.

[Rajic] There is much that is unclear in connection with that. Why is there so much insistence on the application of something that is unclear?

[Ivezic] So far no one has attempted to define the concept of preventive measures as a method of operation for the attorneys, and I even believe that it would be impossible to do so. Therefore, we try to resolve it by examples. Let us say that a worker complains about the housing waiting list. We go there and discover that there either are no procedures or they are worthless. Then the attorney forces them to prepare a set of procedures and thereby, to make it possible to protect the rights of other workers as well. Is that a preventive measure? Consider the functioning of self-management worker controls. In the past 2 years, who has tried to bring those people together in one place and encourage them a little to work more decisively? And yet symposia are held by those people who paste stamps on envelopes. That means that a preventive measure would be to conduct political work with those people.

[Rajic] Is it a preventive measure if all self-management agencies operate in a place where the causes of some self-management malfunction has occurred?

[Ivezic] It is, and that can best be seen in the cooperation of the attorneys and the judges of associated labor. I always say, the offices and lists will not bring about any resolution to the difficulties. While we continue to behave in

that way, we will live in the false illusion that everything can be solved by state or pseudoofficial agencies. Look at the example in Croatia, where we have instituted 6 supreme courts that are parallel, based on the general constitutional conception according to which, in the self-management system, the workers and citizens themselves solve their own working and living problems, and their mutual relationships.

Step on the Corns of Troublemakers

[Rajic] Has there been a practice in some decisions where the attorneys avoid pressures not to announce the results of their work publicly?

[Ivezic] The attorney can accomplish a great deal if he submits his proposal to the community assembly, and then it is read and justified before the delegates. There have been attempts, for example in Vinkovci and Split, to suppress cases, but when the proposal reached the delegates' benches, the process had to be carried through. Then it was recommended to 2 collectives of those cities that they have a two-month period in which to correct matters.

[Rajic] Should self-management have such corrective periods?

[Ivezic] It should! Experience has taught us that. Situations are not clear just because we have the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor. Let us say, a clash occurs between the workers' council and the director about housing malversation. The attorney said, "shouldn't you prepare a good set of regulations, and institute temporary measures." But those temporary measures do not involve changing people, but rather the momentary suspension of the entire system. Therefore, before their implementation it is worthwhile to provide a period in which to utilize all possibilities and avoid this drastic one.

[Rajic] Aren't such periods usually used mainly by various hard heads who can't stand self-management?

[Ivezic] We forget the year that we are living, and the society in which we live, and the way that we work, for how can we explain that some yell to us: "Open up to the public more," while others fear scandal. Yet no one thinks about the fact that these situations dare not happen in our society. And every individual must know that, as well as what awaits him if he does not behave in a proper way. Comrade Vladimir Bakeric, for example, in an interview with the newspaper BORBA, said that all opponents of development should have their corns tramped on.

[Rajic] One gets the impression that the attorneys avoid the public eye also because they doubt their own effectivensss.

[Ivezic] That is right. At times there are too many dilemmas so that is seems that we do not know what we want and how far our decision or proposal will reach. Yet we know that cooperation needs 2 sides. I can come to you with any sort of data, but if you say that it has no connection, then the cause is lost. Even the attorneys are not always in favor of cooperation. Some of them like to stay off to the side and let the crush pass them by it is easier that way. There is

also conformism and resignation, and the feeling that nothing is being resolved or can be resolved. To be clear, I think it is necessary to keep the final goal in view and see if we are moving toward it with little steps, or are we just stamping in place.

[Rajic] What forces us to stamp?

[Ivezic] Here is an example for you: In agreement with the director, the disciplinary commission in a basic organization of associated labor punishes a driver who stole a truckload of lumber. He unloaded the lumber somewhere and it was found later. The decision of the disciplinary commission was that he should be punished with a rebuke, for he had committed a violation but "the lumber belonged to a competing enterprise, and was not ours." There you see what is vital, that conflict between the legality of the system we are building and the shortcomings of our own democratic culture, which continues to support a group ownership mentality, which can in turn be regarded as one of the greatest sources of our social difficulties.

The Self-Management Organization of Associated Labor, That's the Slogan

[Rajic] A remarkable practice has been introduced. In situations where the basic organizations of associated labor cannot reach agreement, they are being disbanded. What do the attorneys do in such cases?

[Ivezic] They do nothing! Some 80 percent of the commissions for implementing the Law on Associated Labor in communities and basic organizations have not even met this year. On the other hand, some self-management organizations of associated labor have emerged out of time and space. I asked in a working environment what that acronym SOUR means, besides a sign, and someone told me, "Well we have sportsmen too."

In the Constitution we clearly established that the labor organization is a family of basic organizations of associated labor and the latter cannot function outside it, but that means nothing if the regulations are not maintained. Now the opinion arises that the whole self-management idea should be put into the basic organizations of associated labor, and it is understood that the completion of the structure will include bureaucratic and administrative personnel. That would only lead to increased administration, but to no particular self-management effects, for it is clear that the superfluous official in the basic organization and in the Federal Executive Council is the same man: both of them eat the income of the worker, and do not create it. In that race of officials the situation is simply absurd: hiding from one another, 2 directors of basic organizations in the same labor organization go abroad to undercut the other's price (depending, or course, upon who arrives first).

[Rajic] Can the self-management attorneys influence a reduction in the volume and length of self-management acts?

[Ivezic] Not completely! That has already become big business. For example, the district economic courts receive carloads of fat goods comprising our self-

management acts. What is a judge to do but to see that the document has a signature and a seal and approve it. Who is to read it all? That is the source of the illusion that everything must be regulated, when it has already been clear for a long time that we do not even know how to follow the law strictly. And here we can note the absurdity that 2 years ago the Yugoslav Assembly approved the Resolution on Implementing the Law. Who knows if we are adhering to it, probably not. Most of the self-management acts can be characterized as heavy books for which someone received massive honoraria, but for which not even the printer at times should be paid, since they contain so many errors. The collectives are not to blame, but rather something in the concept that all relationships must be regulated by a self-management act. From act to act, until a pile forms, and the content is precisely summed up in the tale "How Little Djokica Understands Self-Management." Let me finish with the example of a complex in Slovenia that, in order to satisfy all its self-management obligations, was required to write and approve 1500 self-management acts!

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1841

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14 January 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1841

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Hygiene Problems Persist in Cities, Villages
(Editorial; ZERI I POPULLIT, 21 Nov 80) 1

BULGARIA

Bulgarian Delegate Speaks at Colombian CP Congress
(BTA, 20 Nov 80) 3

Briefs
Bulgarian-Moroccan Cooperation Plan 4

POLAND

Soccer Union President Comments on Sportsman Morality
(Marian Ryba Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 16-17 Aug 80) 5

ROMANIA

Party Education Program for 1980-1984 Discussed
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Nov 80) 8

Role of 'Tribune of Democracy' Meetings Analyzed
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Nov 80) 17

Conclusions Resulting From Exchange of Party Cards
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Nov 80) 22

Corruption of High Party, Economic Cadres Deplored
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Nov 80) 26

Awards at Timisoara Drama Festival Arouse Controversy
(CONTEMPORANUL, 28 Nov - 5 Dec 80) 30

Dramatist Refuses Award
Attitude of Dramatist Criticized

YUGOSLAVIA

Drafting of Fifth Constitutional Amendment Described
(Stevan Niksic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 16 Nov 80) ... 33

Data on Mortality Showing Age, Sex, Causes, 1952-1976
(Biljana Radivojevic; STANOVNISTVO, Jan-Dec 78) 40

HYGIENE PROBLEMS PERSIST IN CITIES, VILLAGES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 21 Nov 80 p 1

[Editorial: "For a More Scientific Organization of Work in the Prophylactic Institutions"]

[Excerpts] Despite all the measures taken in the field of hygiene and epidemiology, in the cities and in the villages there are still some problems which should not be underestimated. One of these is the problem of drinking water. There are water sources and depositories which lack health protection areas and which do not correspond to the regulations set forth in the Council of Ministers resolution on this matter. These things have an effect on the health of the people so the health organs should fight for the rigorous implementation of hygiene and health regulations. In the design and construction of new water mains, especially in the villages, hygiene and health demands are not met. The hydro-geological organs and the design and utilization organs have not worked closely with the health organs. In some cases, the opinion of the latter is sought after the installation has been constructed or when it is about to be used. The executive committees of the district peoples councils should not allow such things which are injurious to the health of the people. There are also problems in regard to hygiene in the food industry and in the marketing of food. They take the form of failure to observe the regulations for the technological process of food production and in their packaging and preservation.

Shortcomings are also noted in the hygiene and health conditions of some work and production centers, in the insufficient concern for discovering and eliminating causes of occupational diseases, in the lack of concern for measures for lessening environmental pollution. During this five-year plan workers in the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology and the appropriate directorates in the districts have been involved in the study of a number of important problems. These include the study on the protection of the environment, the study of occupational diseases in the metallurgical and chemical industries, the study of the physio-chemical content of drinking water, the study on the expansion of the range of immunobiological preparations and the protection of their quality. However, the struggle for implementing the conclusions of the studies is still inadequate.

It is necessary that the problems which cause anxiety in this area be studied thoroughly and solved. This requires the specialization of cadres who work in these sectors. This is why teams have been sent and seminars have been held to discuss various problems of hygiene and epidemiology in Diber, Kukes, Fier,

Librazhd, Berat and Shkoder districts. It must be said that nothing can replace the organized forms for the continuing training and specialization of cadres. It is unallowable that unspecialized cadres are working as hygiene doctors in some districts, such as Kruje, Lushnje, Mirdite and Permet. In other districts, doctors from the hygiene and epidemiology sector move from one sector of medicine to another for no reason at all.

CSO: 2100

BULGARIAN DELEGATE SPEAKS AT COLOMBIAN CP CONGRESS

AU200956 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 20 Nov 80

[Text] Bogota, 20 Nov (BTA)--The head of the Bulgarian delegation at the 13th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party, Mr Mircho Spasov, member of the Central Committee of the BCP, greeted the delegates at the congress on behalf of the Bulgarian communists and working people.

It is said in the Central Committee of the BCP greetings address that the Bulgarian communists approve of the consistent struggle of the Colombian Communist Party in defence of the vital interests of the working people of Colombia, of their civil rights and freedoms against imperialism and reactionary oligarchy, for peace, progress, democracy and socialism.

It is underlined in the address that in their work the Colombian communists apply the principles of proletarian internationalism, participate actively in the initiatives of the international communist movement and thus make their contribution to the consolidation of its unity and cohesion.

The Bulgarian communists will continue to render their support and assistance to the Colombian communists in their efforts to fulfill the responsible tasks in the name of the happy future of the Colombian working people and in the interest of peace and social progress in the world.

Reaffirmed is the fraternal solidarity of the Bulgarian communists and working people with the peoples of Latin America, especially with the people of Nicaragua, who under the leadership of the Sandinista Front are building a new, truly free and democratic society. Reaffirmed is also the solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay who fight aginst the bloody and cruel dictatorships. Expressed is the confidence of the Bulgarian communists that this just cause will triumph.

CSO: 2020

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN-MOROCCAN COOPERATION PLAN--Sofia, 23 Dec (BTA)--Today a plan for cultural and scientific cooperation was signed here today by Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Morocco. The document covers the 1981-1982 period. Relations are to be established between the higher educational establishments and research institutes in the two countries. Every year students in different specialties will be exchanged. Bulgarian lecturers will teach in physics, mathematics, chemistry, biology and technical subjects at Moroccan secondary and technical schools. There will be organized exhibitions to acquaint the public in the two countries with the achievements of Bulgarian and Moroccan artists. A deepening of contacts is scheduled in the field of the cinema, the radio and television, through which special programmes will be fulfilled on national holidays and major events in the lives of the two peoples. A cooperation agreement in the field of physical culture and sport for 1981 was also signed. [Text] [AU232123 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 23 Dec 80]

CSO: 2020

SOCCER UNION PRESIDENT COMMENTS ON SPORTSMAN MORALITY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Aug 80 p 8

[Interview with Dr Marian Ryba, president of the Polish Soccer Union [PZPN] by A. Lewandowski]

[Text] The new soccer season--what will it be like? Let the players and staff answer this question--by their level of play, the competence of the instruction, and the value of the organizational and training solutions adopted. What should it be like? This is a somewhat easier question, since it includes expectations, wishes and hopes.

And so: What will this season be like? This is what Gen Dr Marian Ryba, president of the PZPN, has to say:

[Answer] What is unique about this season is the fact of our participation in the World Cup elimination matches and the need to make every effort to get through the eliminations and advance. I also have grounds to expect that what the teams do in the league and cup games will harmonize with the aspirations of the national team.

[Question] Official optimism of the president?

[Answer] My attitude is not merely due to my position. First, I see that even the Olympics did not stifle the interest in soccer; this attests to the strength of our discipline and the people's attachment to it. This is very nice, but it poses obligations as well. Second, our optimism is tied up with a sharp critique of previous games. These critical considerations have no doubt touched the players, trainers and club personnel. It was time to rethink these considerations and their corresponding implementation. This must--in my opinion--prompt changes for the better.

[Question] But these matters are not so simple.

[Answer] That's right. Much depends upon the influence of the PZPN on training. If we take as our point of departure the real possibilities of the union, then these are one thing in relation to the clubs and another in relation to the national team.

The PZPN continues to have little influence on what occurs in the league clubs. And until such time as we manage to change that situation, there will be problems. Let's look at that with respect to training. It is not enough for us, e.g., to have the right to protect the club trainer and the ability to make joint decisions in this area--this may be relatively simple to deal with on the legal and organizational level. We must, however, have a greater and more varied impact. There is, e.g., the matter of our demands submitted to the personnel training school and our stubbornness in pushing our reasons. There is the question of our participation in the system of improving personnel cadres as well as the range and quality of the direct training activities carried out by the PZPN. In these two questions it is not enough merely to be resolute; we need competence and a highly skilled team. We do not yet have such a team.

However, we had to speak about the influence of headquarters on the clubs.

This simply has to do with one of the forms. If we are to be more competent, our influence on the clubs must increase. It is clear, however, that it is not merely this matter. There are also the every-day matters. Can I give you an example? Of course. The clubs--the national team. We decided before the games to set up larger groups than those previously. The demand to extend the groups is a definite departure from the principle enunciated earlier and stated that staff members could be trained in the clubs. No doubt they could, but we had examples that lowered our confidence in the clubs to a certain extent; there were reasons for not living up to our declaration: everything for the national teams--along with ordinary matters. Because our influence is still too weak on many club decisions, it is difficult to take responsibility for everything.

[Question] And for the national team?

[Answer] Of course--yes. I spoke already about its program, and there is also a method for attaining our goal. Several points have sometimes appeared to be controversial, but one can now see that the plan is a good one. Step 1: games with strong opponents. Step 2: a trip to South America with good matches there; if Argentina seeks to pay for the Poles' costly trip, it means that our national team has made a big impression. Step 3 consists, once again, of games with strong rivals. including Czechoslovakia and Spain, and immediately prior to the eliminations matches with Malta and the GDR, practice games with club teams that use a similar style of play.

[Question] Finally, the thorny question of so-called "morality" in and around soccer that has sometimes been the object of loud talk. What is that all about?

[Answer] We in the PZPN are also getting disturbing signals about irregular transfers and attempts to pressure referees and to replace athletic competition with money. These matters are very difficult to clarify and especially to substantiate. The perpetrators employ sophisticated methods, and the chances of an investigation by the union are slim. Meanwhile, measures may be taken only when based upon evidence and not rumors or suppositions. I must view this problem as a lawyer. At present, we are conducting an investigation into the matter. If proof is found, it will cause a great stir.

The union will respond sharply to all indications that behavior based upon a faulty grasp of morality has been introduced into our sport. There are, however--and I wish to underscore this sharply—discussions on the results, and we must rigorously pursue the reasons. For a proper appraisal of this work, for the protection of both club and public funds and for a fair evaluation of the contractual "donors," one should not focus exclusively upon the "recipients," etc. Therefore, e.g., we initiated uniform principles for all clubs in leagues I and II, so that responsibilities would be the same in each division, and thus the players would have the right to expect the very same treatment. In such an arrangement, movement between clubs would occur according to the laws of nature--into clubs better organized and better trained. Following that, on the other hand, if this mechanism were to work correctly, one would need a rule that is not only applicable to all, but one that is uniformly applied by all presidents and boards of all clubs. The PZPN is not in a position to regulate, whether it be everywhere and always, the implementation of rules that had been adopted unanimously by the club presidents. Regulation is above all the task of the organs of athletic and administrative authority in its broadest sense and that of the specialized institutions and elements. I would say that in this area I am also an optimist. For if there is a loud and critical outcry about so-called "soccer morality," this means that the thinking is public in scope and reaches deeply. And if this is so, then it will bring about results, primarily a heightened sensitivity to these disturbing signals.

[Question] Let's attempt to sum up.

[Answer] This will be a very important season. The proverbial game of soccer will roll along on several playing fields: on the grass field--in the club-national, club-cup and national-team system. Likewise, these "fields" are also important where there are questions of concept, organization, arrangement of relations, system of regulation in the sense in which we spoke earlier, and human attitudes. There is a lot of commotion, but the active members of the soccer organizations expect that this season will prove better than that of last year.

3190
CSO: 2600

PARTY EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR 1980-1984 DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Nov 80 pp 3-9

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The organized political-ideological training of communists and other workers took place in 1977-1979 on the basis of the plan of measures adopted by the RCP Central Committee Plenum of November 1976. In accordance with these measures, the requirement was introduced to have a presentation of political information in the general party and UTC meetings, propaganda was extended through conferences, while political and leadership universities were organized for the organized study of party policy and ideology, as well as party political-ideological instruction for a 3-year period and political-ideological instruction for UTC members, while for the working masses who are not party members, political-ideological instruction was organized together with the trade unions and the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity. This system for organizing political-ideological study, with a stable structure, has proven its viability for a longer period, contributing to knowledge of the basic theoretical problems of party policy in a closer tie with the specific requirements of party work.

In accordance with the Decision of the RCP Central Committee Secretariat, the Report of the Central Committee presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and other documents adopted by the 12th party congress were studied in an organized way in political-ideological instruction in the 1979-1980 study year.

I. 1. Taking into account the experience accumulated in the organization of political-ideological instruction over a long period, with a stable structure and varied range of studies, capable of answering the choice of the students and the need to study and have a well-founded discussion of the current theoretical, political and practical problems, the RCP Central Committee's Political Executive Committee decided to organize political-ideological instruction for a 4-year period--1980-1984--until the 13th party congress. The study will be organized by courses of instruction and differentiated thematic programs, depending on the concrete problems concerning the party organizations. The instruction will be organized by the following courses:

a) Basic problems of scientific socialism and of the leadership of the socialist society by the Romanian Communist Party; the style and methods of activity of the party organs and organizations in fulfilling their tasks from the party's program and from the decisions of the 12th party congress.

b) Basic problems of the socialist economics and of applying the new economic-financial mechanism in the stage of building the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

c) Basic problems of the revolutionary, patriotic and socialist education of the masses and of the party's political-ideological activity.

The organization of political-ideological study by these types of courses takes into account the documents of the 12th party congress and the indications given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for raising the communists' ideological level, for developing the masses' socialist awareness, connecting the study with the problems of fulfilling economic tasks, having a thorough knowledge of the essence of the new economic-financial mechanism, seeking to have a well-based study both of the Report of the 12th Party Congress as well as of the Directives and Program Directives adopted by the congress and the ideas and tasks included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches.

The courses are organized for a 4-year period (1980-1984). The orientative subjects for each course will include 45-50 subjects for the 4 years, of which the party organizations will select eight subjects for each year of study, taking into account the specific conditions, concerns and options of the students. The RCP Central Committee Propaganda Section will improve these orientative subjects annually in the spirit of the speeches of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and of other party documents.

Generally, the courses will be organized by base organizations, while many study circles will be set up in the case of base organizations with more than 40 members. In the same organization, with more than 40 members, circles may be set up which would belong to different courses, depending on the needs for training the students and their requests.

Generally, members of the party bureaus and committees, other party members, including UTC members who are party members will be included in the courses under point a). In particular, members of the workers councils, foremen, other heads of formations, engineers and technicians, other workers with special tasks in applying the new economic-financial mechanism will be included in the courses under point b). In particular, party members with activity in propaganda and culture, political-educational work in the trade unions, youth and women's organizations, teaching cadres and so forth will be included in the courses under point c). The form of study taken by the participants in previous years also will be taken into consideration when they sign up for the courses.

Bearing in mind the need for new party members to make a thorough study of the provisions of the RCP Statutes and their well-based preparation in a revolutionary, combative spirit, the party organizations may organize separate study circles of 2-years' duration within the course entitled "Basic problems of scientific socialism, of leadership of socialist society by the RCP; style and methods of activity of the party organs and organizations in fulfilling their tasks from the party program and from decisions of the 12th party congress" for young party members and other workers who are preparing to become party members, with the subject "Basic problems of the RCP Statutes and Standards of Communists' Life and Work ."

The party statutes, forms and methods of party work, the code of principles of life and work for communists, socialist ethics and equity and party decisions and documents on internal party life, the communists' style of work as well as subjects on economic, political and ideological activity of the party will be studied in these circle.

Bearing in mind the needs for work in scientific materialist education and the atheist education of communists and other workers, the party organizations also may organize separate study circles lasting 1 year within the course entitled "Basic problems of the revolutionary, patriotic and socialist education of the masses and RCP political-ideological activity" with the subject "Problems of the dialectical alist concept of the world and society and of scientific atheist education."

These circles in particular are organized for training lecturers and propagandists for work of scientific materialist education of party members, UTC members and other workers.

Following the 2- and 1-year cycle, respectively, the participants in these circles will continue their activity within the 4-year course to which the particular circle belongs.

Subjects on the international situation, the processes and changes occurring in today's world, and the foreign policy of our party and state also will be included annually in the program of all three types of courses. Special attention will be given to combatting theories apologizing for the modern capitalist world from dialectical and historical materialist positions and our party policy.

2. Political-ideological instruction for members of the county, municipal and city party bureaus of the committees will be organized in the form of monthly discussions, seeking to have a thorough study of the current problems in raising the party's leading role, improving organizational, economic cadre, political-ideological work and knowledge of the basic problems of the new economic-financial mechanism and the scientific leadership of society, economic relations and cooperation with other states and international life and the world ideological struggle.

3. Teaching cadres in all degrees of instruction may choose one of the courses of party political-ideological instruction specified above. Political-ideological instruction for teaching cadres will be organized by party organizations, while, depending on the number of students, they will be organized by school or at the commune level for the villages.

4. Party organizations in the creative unions and cultural institutions organize political-ideological training in accordance with the measures included in this material, seeking that subjects on the ideological problems of culture and artistic-literary creation, the party's concept of the world and society, the tasks of the creators and workers in the cultural institutions in enriching the heritage of our socialist culture with valuable works inspired from the people's lives and work and the ideals of socialism and communism and in promoting the real values of socialist art, the participation of people in art and culture in the confrontation of ideas at the international level and other subjects be included in the program of study.

5. For members of the party organs and for the political-ideological training of cadres who work in various areas (party apparatus, economy, education,science, state

mass and public organs), the political and leadership university lasting 4 years will continue in operation. The courses will take place once every 3 weeks, with 12 subjects being studied annually. The program of study will be spread out as follows:

Year I: "Basic principles of scientific socialism; the problems of work of party and state and of the scientific leadership of society of the RCP";

Year II: "Problems of socialist economics, of applying the new economic-financial mechanism and the scientific leadership of economic activity by the RCP";

Year III: "Problems of the country's history, of the RCP and the workers and democratic movement in Romania and of the worker and revolutionary movement at the international level";

Year IV: "Problems of dialectical and historical materialism and of formation of socialist awareness and leadership of political-ideological activity by the RCP."

Subjects on the international situation, the processes and changes occurring in the world today, the party and state foreign and domestic policy also will be included in the courses. Special attention also will be given to combatting bourgeois apologist theories from the positions of our revolutionary, dialectical materialist concept.

The political and leadership university will operate at the county office for ideological and political-educational activity. Branches of this university also may be organized at the level of municipalities, cities, united agroindustrial councils and large enterprises which have available lecturers and the necessary material conditions.

The secretariats of the county party committees will approve the list of students enrolled in the political and leadership universities, the lecturers and propaganda workers as well as the subjects of the courses annually.

At the end of each year of study, the students will be given an examination testing their knowledge, while they will work out and support a work for graduation at the conclusion of the 4 years of study on a specific problem of party work.

6. Taking into account the increased interest of many communists in individual political-ideological training, the county offices for ideological and political-educational activity may organize individual study circles annually at the county level for graduates of the political and leadership universities and of the party schools and for other party members who want this and who have a high political-ideological level, with a view to continuing their political-ideological training.

The subjects for study will be approved annually by the secretariat of the county party committees and will follow the study of some theoretical, political and economic problems which are current, the research and discussion of economic, social, educational, cultural phenomena, on the basis of 12th party congress documents. The discussions will take place monthly, while the conclusions which result from the study and research will be presented for utilization of the county party committee secretariat.

7. In order to stimulate raising the cadres' political-ideological level and that of the party apparatus, discussions will be organized quarterly at the county level on theoretical and political problems which are current, with the aid of RCP Central Committee lecturers.

The subjects for these discussions will seek to have a thorough study of ideological, economic, social and creative problems in light of the 12th party congress documents and tasks drawn for the party organs by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. These discussions primarily will be based on studies made in the field by the participants on the basis of a subject plan approved annually by the secretariat of the county party committee.

8. Proceeding from the decisions of the 12th party congress on raising the ideological level of the entire party and from the indications of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party's secretary general, regarding cultivation of a revolutionary, militant spirit, the party organs and organizations will continue giving special attention to improving the activity of all resources for the political-ideological training of the party members, cadres and mass of workers. For this goal:

Action will be taken to increase the political-educational role of the general meetings of the base organizations and party organ plenums, seeking to have a discussion of the most current problems of party work, promotion of a critical and self-critical spirit, rise in combativeness toward shortcomings and incentives for all communists to have a say in the discussions.

Emphasis will be placed in the political information presented at the general meetings on presenting party decisions, laws and other legal regulations which have appeared and the party's position on problems of socialist construction and the international situation and tasks belonging to the party organizations in fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th party congress and five-year plan. There also will be a regular presentation of international facts, economic-social phenomena, contradictions and social struggles in the capitalist countries and problems in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress and socialism.

The practice will continue of presenting reports on statutary mattersand problems of the code of socialist ethics and equity as well as current theoretical and ideological problems in the general meetings as well as during instruction of the party apparatus and of the party organ members.

There will be generalization of the practice of organizing consultations and answers to the questions of party members and other workers, with these consultations being organized at least once each quarter.

Permanent attention will be given to individual study by the communists and other workers of the party decisions, works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, dissemination of the press and social-political literature and organization of collective audiences for the broadcasts and consultations presented on social-political subjects on television.

II. With regard to the political-ideological training of other workers:

a) The political-ideological training of youth and students will be carried out by courses organized in accordance with the specific nature of their work, under the

guidance and control of the party organizations, on the basis of instructions which are to be established by the UTC Central Committee.

b) The political-ideological training of worker personnel in the enterprises and institutions not included in the courses for political-ideological instruction of the party and UTC is to be done through courses organized by the trade unions and organizations of socialist democracy and unity, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations. The courses are to be organized by trade union groups and will comprise eight to nine subjects annually, with the propaganda workers being supplied and trained by the party organizations.

c) For the members of agricultural production cooperatives who are not included in the party and UTC courses for political-ideological instructions, the political-ideological training is provided through courses organized by the organizations for socialist democracy and unity and the leadership councils of the agricultural production cooperatives, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations. The circles are to be set up by farms or brigades, with their programs comprising eight to nine subjects annually and with the propaganda workers being provided and trained by the party organizations.

d) For citizens in neighborhoods and from villages who are not among the workers, the organizations of socialist democracy and unity, under the guidance of the party organizations, will organize cycles of eight to nine speeches annually, for their political-ideological information, with the lecturers being provided and trained by the party organizations.

e) The political-ideological training of military personnel and soldiers in conformity with the programs which are to be worked out by the political councils of the Ministry of National Defense and the Minister of Interior, and approved by the RCP Central Committee Secretariat, while the political-ideological training of members of the patriotic guards and young people in the training detachments for the country's defense is to be done on the basis of the instructions adopted by the RCP Central Committee for this purpose.

III. The RCP Central Committee sections, the county, municipal, city and commune paty committees, all the party organs and organizations, and trade union and UTC organs as well as organizations of socialist democracy and unity will give primary attention to the content and effectiveness of political-ideological study. All political-ideological instruction will be based on a thorough study of the 12th party congress documents, the party program, the theoretical ideas and practical tasks from the speeches of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and other party and state documents, the basic problems of scientific socialism and of dialectical and historical materialism.

Special attention is to be given to a knowledge of the scientific bases of party policy, of the creative contribution of our party, of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the development of revolutionary theory, knowledge of the theoretical and practical problems of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society in our country and the economic-financial mechanism and the leadership of society by the Romanian Communist Party.

It will be sought for the theoretical and political-ideological problems to be mastered in close connection with the specific problems of practical activity to fulfill

the plan tasks, to improve economic and social activity and to cultivate a revolutionary spirit and communist education of the masses.

In the cities, a main spot in economic problems will be held by subjects on the knowledge and application of the economic-financial mechanism, understanding of the paths of action for raising net production and physical production and reducing the consumption of raw materials, materials, fuel and energy, recycling reusable materials, reducing production costs, raising labor productivity, economic efficiency and profits, improving the quality of products, promoting technical progress and advanced technologies, more and more efficiently participating in international economic exchanges, improving the activity of collective leadership organs and promoting worker self-management.

In the villages, special attention will be given to understanding the ways to implement a thorough agrarian revolution of development, modernization and sustained growth of vegetable and animal production, of improving the leadership, organization and unified planning of agriculture, activity of the united agroindustrial councils, of superior organization of production and work, growth in economic efficiency, rise in the role of the collective leadership organs, strengthening of order and discipline, formation of the peasantry's socialist awareness and broadening of their economic and political horizons.

A central spot in all the courses of political-ideological instruction in the cities and villages will be held by problems regarding the party exercising its leading role in society, improvement in the practical activity of the party organs and organizations, solid mastery of the forms and methods of the party's political-organizational work, improvement in the style of work of communists and party organs, cultivation of criticism and self-criticism. Special attention also will be given to problems on improvement in political-ideological activity, the work of communist education, of forming socialist awareness, cultivation of a partylike, revolutionary spirit, vigilance and communist firmness, rise in the revolutionary combativeness of all political-ideological activity and development of a progressive attitude toward work and the general interests of society.

In all the courses permanent concern will be given to the education of communists and the masses in the spirit of patriotism, ardent love for the country, the party and people and the determination to work steadfastly for flourishing of the country as well as in the spirit of international solidarity. There will also be a firm seeking of scientific materialist education and promoting of the high principles of socialist ethics and equity.

Special attention throughout the system of political-ideological instruction will be given to mastering the basic principles of our party and state's foreign policy, knowledge of our party 's positions on the basic problems of international relations, evolution of the modern world, of the communist and worker movement, of the development of revolutionary theory in the current era, rise in combativeness toward backward theories and any political practices which lead to poisoning of the international atmosphere, understanding of the need for new efforts for peace, security, disarmament and for a new economic and political order in the world. Permanent concern will be the presentation of the realities and phenomena which are taking place within modern capitalism, the contradictions and social struggles in the capitalist countries, the problems of the transition from capi talism to socialism in the current era, cultivating

combativeness toward bourgeois ideology, apologist theories and toward currents of reactionary ideas and anticommunist propaganda.

The main method for carrying out political-ideological instruction must be individual study, well-based discussion of the problems, a lively dialogue between the propaganda workers and the students and a competent answer to the problems concerning the participants in the instruction.

IV. The study year in political-ideological instruction in the cities will begin in October each year and conclude in June of the next year, while it will start in November and conclude in March in the villages. At the end of each study year, one or two talks will be held as a summing up and deepening of knowledge.

In the units and locations where workers belonging to the cohabiting nationalities also live and work alongside Romanians, the political-ideological instruction can take place in the mother tongue of these nationalities, with the party organs and organizations providing the lecturers, propaganda workers and bibliographic materials and necessary documents in the particular language.

The propaganda workers for all the courses of political-ideological instruction in the cities will be trained at the start of the school year through courses without being removed from production, in four afternoons. They will be trained monthly, without being removed from production, one afternoon during the school year, while they will be instructed two afternoons, without being removed from production, for the summing-up talks at the end of the study year.

The propaganda workers from the villages will be trained, with removal from production, for three days at the start of the study year and two days at the end of the study year, with a view to the summing up talks. During the study year their monthly instruction will be provided without being removed from production, by the commune party committees or at the level of the united agroindustrial councils, according to the need.

During the summer, after the courses have concluded, the party organs and organizations,and, under their leadership, the UTC organizations, the trade union organizations, the organizations of socialist democracy and unity will take measures so that the activity for the political-ideological training of the party members and other workers continues through the organization of speeches, answers to questions, consultations on political-ideological subjects and other forms of educational work, toward this end working out special programs of political-educational activities.

Annually or as many times as is considered necessary, the county, municipal, city and commune committees, the party organs and organizations in the units will analyze the organization, content and quality of political-ideological instruction, taking the necessary measures to raise its effectiveness.

V. The following will be undertaken to aid the party organizations, lecturers and propaganda workers:

The RCP Central Committee Prop ganda Section will proide for working out and sending to the counties the orientative subjects for all the courses of political-ideological instruction and for the political and leaderhip university. With the aid of the

Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the Political Publishing House, the publishing of theses, manuals, consultations, brochures, graphs and other propaganda materials will be provided to aid in political-ideological study.

The Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Minister of Education and Instruction, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and other central institutes will work out collections of documentary materials, of methodic guidance and they will aid political-ideological instruction by sending lecturers, organizing discussions and other activities to aid the lecturers, propaganda workers and students.

The RCP Central Committee Propaganda Section will coordinate the activity of publishing and sending to the press, radio and television the subject plans, consultations, answers to questions and other documentary materials to aid in the training of the propaganda workers and students in political-ideological instruction.

The RCP Central Committee Organizational and Propaganda sections will aid the county party committees in organizing and conducting political-ideological instruction and they will organize checks, exchanges of experience, meetings with a view to continually improving this activity.

Locally, the county, municipal, city and commune party committees will lead all the activity of the political-ideological training of communists and other workers and they will provide the guidance, control and aid for all students; they will organize exchanges of experience regularly and will work out the documentary materials, subjects, sketches, graphs and other materials needed to carry out political-ideological instruction under good conditions.

At the end of each study year the propaganda and organizational sections of the RCP Central Committee will present reports to the RCP Central Committee Secretariat about the way in which the political-ideological instruction took place and proposals of measures to continue improving it.

8071
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ROLE OF 'TRIBUNE OF DEMOCRACY' MEETINGS ANALYZED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Nov 80 pp 22-25

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Having integrated itself organically into the original system of broadly democratic institutions created in our society in the period which has passed since the 9th party congress, the "Tribune of Democracy" is an expression of the profoundly innovative thought of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the leader of our party and state. It is asserting itself as a particularly favorable framework for "the more and more active exercising of the citizens' liberties and democratic rights, the direct participation of all workers from cities and villages in discussing the problems of general interest and in solving public matters and in developing the political awareness and civic responsibility of all members of society."

It is significant for the efforts which the party is making in the direction of broadening and deepening the democratism of our system that, within the many meetings at the "Tribune of Democracy," the citizens address thanks to the party leadership and to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally and express their satisfaction with the opportunity being offered them to exercise their right in an organized and systematic way to participate directly in discussing the problems of general interest and in solving public matters and to be informed at this civic forum of the main problems of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state.

Positive experience has been accumulated in the organization of the "Tribune of Democracy" meetings by the councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity under the leadership and guidance of the party organs and organizations; this experience must be enriched and generalized in all the country's economic-social units and locations. Interest and the citizens' degree of participation in the discussions brought on by the "Tribune of Democracy" have risen from one month to the next and there has been an emphasis on the direct dialogue between the party and state leadership cadres from various levels and the broad categories of workers, with the masses' collective wisdom and their spirit of initiative being stimulated and being demonstrated fully in the benefitof improving the leadership work of various sectors of our social-economic life. Both for the ones who ask questions and come with well-founded critical observations and valuable suggestions as well as for the cadres called upon to give explanatory answers, the "Tribune of Democracy" is a true revolutionary school of socialist patriotic devotion, an inexhuastible source for enrichment of experience, thought and transforming practical action.

Organized Framework, Favorable Atmosphere, A Fertile Dialogue

The sensible way in which the many demostrations within the "Tribune of Democracy" were conceived, organized and produced by the responsible factors has contributed to their success. What is significant in this regard is that the many councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity, among them the ones in Bucharest Municipality and Arges County, program the "Tribune of Democracy" meetings for the same day of the month and the same hall--the culture houses, enterprise clubs and so forth--and the citizens prepare their questions and proposals which they will advance in time.

The success of these meetings is assured by the concern of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity councils,directly aided by the local party organs, to assure participation in these dialogues with citizens of competent cadres with responsible work in the party organs, people's councils, the main economic and social institutes, directors of commercial enterprises and services provided,the leaders of the local militia and justice organs and so forth, from the particular county or city, from ministries and other central organs and so forth. Undoubtedly, it is primarily the members of the local councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and the committees of the organizations of socialist democracy and unity who must be present at these meetings. Practice until now has shown that the "Tribune of Democracy" is enjoying a special audience in those places where all these organs send their best representatives, with a competence to advise on the problems raised; the quality, content of ideas and finality of the dialogue depend upon the responsibility with which they treat the citizens' proposals.

There are many locations where, having provided good organization, the cadres participating in the meetings with the citizens become involved in a free discussion without creating artificial distances between the speakers and avoiding the establishment of a holiday-like atmosphere which is not favorable to a lively and concrete discussion.

With regard to the pratical method for selecting the problems to be discussed, some of the county or municipal councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity—among which are those in Bihor, Constanta and Harghita—are used in organizing the "Tribune of Democracy" on the basis of subjects established beforehand, ones which aim, for example, at the following: the social-economic development plan on a territorial basis, problems of systematization of locations, of utilization of material resources in a high spirit of management, superior utilization of all agricultural areas, labor legislation, better management of locations and so forth.

In this way, having been informed in time, the citizens can get prepared more solidly, they can come with specific proposals and solutions, ones which are well thought out and they even can make personal commitments, contributing to the application of initiatives born in this favorable framework. Of course, it is the duty of the local party organs to watch that such a practice, which is capable of favoring a thorough study of the problems brought into discussion, in no case leads to blocking the citizens' opportunities to also raise other problems and freely give their opinion about any other aspect of social-economic life which

Discussions at the "Tribune of Democracy" in the practice of other local councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity, as, for example, that of the Suceava County Council, begin with some aspects directly brought out by the participants in the dialogue and gradually they concentrate on the ones which cause major interest:

better neighborhood management, the most sensible possible utilization of vacant land, improvement of joint transport and the quality of social-cultural actions and of civic education, services and so forth.

Regardless of the particular form of treating the problems, what is essential is that a favorable climate be provided at these public meetings, as requested by the party's secretary general, in order to discuss in an organized manner the various problems of our economic, social and political life with the broad masses of citizens and to ask questions and get answers in connection with any principled and practical aspects of party and state domestic and foreign policy, of socialist construction and international life. Such a climate may be maintained above all by demonstrating a high degree of receptivity by the party and state cadres present at the discussions, by their striving to find solutions to the proposals made by the citizens, by steadfast respect for the regulation that they inform the citizens at the start of each "Tribune of Democracy" of the way in which their requests and observations have been resolved and the way the proposals they advanced at preceding meetings have been utilized. The people's councils and workers councils in the economic units also must demonstrate the same high responsibility toward the citizens' proposals, effectively analyzing them during the sessions and meetings and setting terms and responsibilities for applying them.

Active and Effective Nature of the Work

A major idea must run through both the method of organization as well as the actual development of the discussions in the "Tribune of Democracy" is the one brought out particularly strikingly by our party's secretary general, the one which stressed: "We can and must discuss any problems during the meetings of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity within the "Tribune of Democracy." Nobody should be subjected to any kind of hardship because he expresses his opinion about one problem or another; but the discussion of any problems during these broad, democratic meetings also means the responsibility that, regardless of whether there were differing opinions about one problem or another, action be taken following it in the spirit of majority decision and laws of the country, providing the people's firm unity in achieving socialism and communism in Romania.

The subject of discussions at many tribunes of democracy has been the tasks and indications included in the 12th party congress documents, speeches of the party's secretary general, specific ways to implement them in the particular locations, units and institutions. For example, approaching the problems raised by the future development of municipalities and cities and the change of some communes into agroindustrial cities, the citizens in many locations in Caras-Severin, Mures, Cluj, Prahova counties and Bucharest Municipality have presented and supported concrete proposals for speeding up the rate for achieving some economic goals and municipal management goals, rational use of the land, the saving of energy and fuel and of raw materials and materials, reintegration of reusable materials into economic circulation, utilization of the traditions of local architecture, development of small and handicrafts industry and so forth.

Participants in the many meetings until now have adopted a combative attitude toward demonstrations of bureaucratism, routine and conservatism, of violation of legal provisions and the standards of social life. In some communes and villages in Sibiu County the citizens have formulated criticism of those who do not participate enough in agricultural work during the campaigns and in actions to clean and beautify roads,

streets, homes and so forth. Also, at "Tribune of Democracy" meetings in the communes of Vicovu de Sus, Calafindesti, Forasti and so forth in Suceava County, many speakers have made criticial references regarding the activity of some education and cultural institutions, stressing the need to increase their concern with the patriotic formation of scientific atheism in the spirit of dialectical materialism, particularly in the youth.

Levers of Political and Methodological Leadership Which Are Viable and Flexible

Faithfully placing the content and results of the "Tribune of Democracy" in the main coordinates marked out by the party's secretary general in his speech to the 2d Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity Congress decisively depends on the way in which the party organs and organizations lead and aid the local councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity, on the good organization of these broad civic forums and on the method they adopt in continually enriching and raising their level of quality.

Permanent knowledge of the way in which these political actions take place--by requesting information from the local Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity councils and, in particular,by the direct participation of the members of the county, municipal, city and commune party organs, enterprises and institutions, in the "Tribune of Democracy" discussions--is a basic requirement in this regard and an effective means for improving the act of political leadership. Having the secretariats of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee, the Timis County Party Committee and other county, municipal, city and commune party organs make a periodic analysis of the content of these meetings, suggestions and critical observations made by citizens regarding the stage of achievement of the proposals they have advanced offers the concrete opportunity for drawing practical conclusions, for intervening promptly, by knowing the cause for eliminating shortcomings and utilizing the masses' experience and wisdom. Thus the necessary conditions are provided to placing the "Tribune of Democracy" at the level of quality required by the party leadership and for having a real and well-based solution to the problems brought out by citizens, with their being convinced in practice of the receptivity shown to their opinions by the forums they are addressing. There is interest from this viewpoint in the practice of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee and the municipal council of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity to follow up on these actions weekly and assign members of its bureau and apparatus for good preparation of it. It also should be remembered that in Timis County, for example, the method for carrying it out, the orientation of the content of the discussions in the"Tribune of Democracy" and the conclusions drawn are the subject of information and discussions during the monthly instructions for secretaries and the apparatus of the county, municipal,city and commune party committees and of exchanges of experience and meetings with the participation of members of the local councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity.

Also, many county councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity and county committees of the ODUS [expansion unknown], among which are the ones in Dimbovita and Buzau, organize instructions for the local organs of ODUS and the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity under the leadership and guidance of the county party committees. In the center of these instructions are an outlining of the paths, methods and means of specific action for these organizations with a view to fulfilling the social-economic tasks of the particular county. We also remember that there also has been insistence on such occasions on generalizing the experience accumulated in the organization of the tribunes of democracy, bringing out the need to have well-founded preparation

of them, to avoid the predominantly theoretical nature of the discussions, to organize them only at certain levels, deficiencies which have been observed in certain places in the practice of the tribunes of democracy.

For the purpose of generalizing the positive experience gained in the organization and development of these political demonstrations, many county party organs have popularized the activity of the leading councils of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity in the local newspapers and they give broad descriptions of the content of the tribunes of democracy. CUVINTUL NOU and MEGYEI TUKOR newspapers in Covasna counties have some columns entitled "Tribune of Democracy," "You Have the Floor," "Answers to Workers' Questions," "The Citizens Propose--The Citizens Carry Out," which present the valuable proposals and the commitments made by workers participating in these democratic forums.

The area of methods of the party organs and local Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity councils in conceiving and carrying out the "Tribune of Democracy" is particularly broad. For example, it includes the method utilized by the party and state cadres in Covasna County to support their formulation of the most convincing answers to the citizens' questions on a rich audiovisual material, among which are short documentary films as, for example, "Net Production," No to Waste," graphs, sketches, slides containing graphic economic calculations and so forth.

What is decisive for continually raising the effectiveness of this new and viable form of the democratism of our system is that the guidance activity by the party organs and organizations of the local Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity councils and the organizations of socialist democracy and unity is crowned with the effective aid in solving the citizens' proposals and suggestions, active involvement in this direction by the local organs of state power and administration in order to direct all the material and human resources of our society into a unique current.

8071
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CONCLUSIONS RESULTING FROM EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Nov 80 pp 18-21

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The broad and important action of exchanging party documents, which has polarized the attention of all party organs and organizations since the beginning of the year, is drawing to a close. Individual discussions have been held by the bureaus of the base organizations with nearly all communists, general meetings have been held in more than 99.5 percent of the organizations to discuss the conclusions resulting from the discussions to establish what should be done, with a view to improving the activity of each communist and each base organization . As was stressed at the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 14 October, the discussions resulted "in concrete measures intended to lead to a strengthening of militant spirit, of order and discipline, to stimulating the critical and self-critical spirit of the leadership cadres and all communists and to increasing the political influence of the party organizations among the masses and their ability to unite the workers' efforts to have precise fulfillment of the tasks resulting from the documents of the 12th party congress, from the Central Committee decisions and the indications given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding fulfillment of the social-economic goals of this year under the best possible conditions and the most solid preparation for the 1981 plan."

Carried out in a committed atmosphere of high partylike responsibility, the meetings devoted to handing out the new cards expressed the firm determination of communists to take action steadfastly to implement the Romanian Communist Party Program to create the multilaterally developed socialist society and direct Romania toward communism.

Strictly conceived, the action to exchange party documents has placed its mark for a long period of time throughout political-organizational activity. It is a natural result of the lessons learned by the party organs and organizations and the communists from the measures established for the future for raising the level of work in all links of the party. Concrete programs in this regard have been compiled everywhere, with the central task being permanent concern for their application, the source for the ceaseless growth in the role of the party organs and organizations in the leadership of activity in all areas. The bureaus of the base organizations, the party committees by sections and by units and the local party organs have the high duty to provide for complete fulfillment of what has been established and to involve all the communists' forces toward this goal, to exercise regular control over the way in which what has been decided upon is implemented and to give all the necessary aid so that the results are at the level desired.

The rich lessons which are full of importance, resulting from this action, must be kept in mind in everything undertaken to achieve the goals established.

A basic conclusion, which validates the entire orientation given by our party's leadership, aims at the requirement for continually strengthening the ties of the party organs with the mass of communists and for creating all the conditions favorable to their increasingly more active participation in all leadership activity. The way in which the individual discussions have been carried out has permitted the base organization bureaus to establish a very close relationship with the mass of communists and has led to a better knowledge of each party member's political ability, while in the dialogues carried out on the subject of strengthening party internal life, the increase in the role of the base organizations has brought many important proposals, the application of which has given new impetus to political activity, substantially raising its contribution to solving the major economic, social and cultural-economic problems.

What is important is that this dialogue should be permanently retained under various forms and that the close contact of the party organ members should develop with each communist. The annual organization of individual discussions with communists, the prior consultation regarding the intentions to organize them and to establish measures to solve various problems, their being regularly drawn to carry out studies and checks and to prepare the general meetings and bureau meetings, the effective participation of the bureau members alongside the other communists in fulfilling the decisions and measures, entrusting of concrete tasks toward this end and giving all the aid to achieve them, the daily dialogue of the bureau members with as many communists as possible have proven to be methods which acted as a true binder, strengthening the ties between the party organs and the communists even more powerfully.

The result of the action of exchanging the party documents is that there still are broad opportunities for bringing the members of the local party organs, particularly the secretaries and other bureau members, closer together with the mass of communists. A basic desirable is their regular presence among them, both with a view to preparing and carrying out actions as well as, in particular, to carrying on a lively dialogue on the job. This is the path through which the concerns of the county, municipal, city and commune party committees and the decisions they have adopted which aim at the particular collective can be made known as easily as possible and the sources bringing success and the causes which bring the appearance and retention of shortcomings and difficulties can be found, thus creating conditions to increase effectiveness in generalizing good methods and preventing or quickly eliminating everything which places an obstacle in the firm progress forward.

The particularly precious conclusions have been drawn in connection with strengthening internal party life, order and discipline throughout the activity of the party organizations and each communist. "The people judge the party by its behavior and by the way the activists and communists act," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the recent RCP Central Committee plenum. "That is why the activists and the communists must be an example. They must understand that they are revolutionaries and communists in every circumstance and they are obligated to act as such."

Fulfillment of these indications aims at all party organizations and organs. Primary requirements are to assure the participation of all communists in the general meetings regularly and knowing the case, entrusting specific tasks to each one, to give permanent aid for their fulfillment and to exercise regular control over the way in

party members fulfill their obligations. But practice shows that the results of work have been better and better in those places where the distribution of tasks has been reviewed carefully, with measures having been taken for them to be entrusted according to each person's ability and possibilities, without neglecting any communist or loading others with too many responsibilities and where the bureaus of the base organizations have relied on the party members to an increasingly greater extent in preparing for the general meetings and other actions.

The action to exchange party documents has brought the introduction of strict order in recordkeeping and has shown how harmful it is to neglect strict recordkeeping. Here we also have the need for the party organs and organizations to give all their attention to all the aspects connected with recordkeeping so that they faithfully express the situation of each party member at any moment. Many difficulties have been encountered because some communists have left one unit for another without drawing out moving forms. The causes lie both in some party organs' neglecting this aspect as well as in the failure of some party members to know the duties. The need is felt that, parallel with the demonstration of greater concern with drawing up the necessary forms when a party member leaves, the party organs and organizations regularly initiate actions, particularly reports and discussions in the general meetings, by which they assure that each of their members knows the standards of internal party life and the instructions which regulate the move from one organization to another.

A detailed analysis of the way in which party members fulfill their statutary duties and obligations assumed by signing the "Solemn Committment" has resulted in decisive positions being taken toward those communists who have demonstrated various violations, with many of them drawing attention to themselves, others being penalized, while for others it has been decided not to issue them a new party card again due to grave violations of statutary standards. However, there have been cases often where the party organs and communists were reprimanded because they did not avoid the appearance of disorders. From here we also have another important conclusion resulting from the action of exchanging the party documents and that is that an increase in concern is demanded to prevent deviations and shortcomings in the life and activity of communists.

Now each party organ and organization know the weaknesses which have been demonstrated. What is important that , remembering the frequency of their appearance and the causes of them, political-educational activity take place regularly so that any negative tendency is eliminated from the very start. Members of the party organs and the best communists can be entrusted with the mission of being closely concer ed with the guidance of those who have demonstrated shortcomings and weakness in order to help them not to make the mistake again and to improve their behavior steadfastly. At the same time, there is a need for the party organs and organizations to be interested more closely with the life and activity of each communist and to react promptly to any signal which would indicate the appearance of shortcomings by giving the necessary aid to prevent them.

Of course, the action of exchanging the party documents is drawing to a close. The spirit of high demandingness imprinted by it on the activity of all party organs and organizations and the concerns intended to educate the communists, strengthen order and discipline and to respect the standards of socialist ethics and equity scrupulously must be raised to an even higher level, however. This need results from the

lessons learned from experience, which have shown convincingly that shortcomings appear particularly in those places where concern slackens toward the communists' activity and behavior, where violations are overlooked or they are penalized with leniency. If some party members prove that they are not succeeding in rising to the level required by the position they hold and if it is determined thatthe violations of some persons has been passed over easily, the party organs and organizations have not only the right but the obligation to take action and the necessary measures.The fact that new party cards have been handed out nowhere should be a hindrance to deciding to take it away in the case where it has been found that some persons do not deserve theirs. Clearly, such a measure should be taken in agreement with the statutary provisions and confirmed by the legal party organs.

The basic goal of all the action of exchanging the party documents lies in strengthening the ranks of the base organizations and their fuller and fuller assertion in all the life of the work collectives. This desirable has a vital content, which leads primarily to the need for the concerns in this regard to be of a permanent nature. The regular link of the members of the local party organs with the bureaus of the base organizations has had a particular effect. In the period preceding the handing out of the new party cards, it became a proven practice that the results are better when the members of the bureaus of the county, municipal, city and commune party committees and from the big economic and social-cultural units and all the other committee members do not limit themselves to simple participation in some actions but actively cooperate with the bureaus of the base organizations and aid them in preparing for the meeting and in effectively solving the more difficult problems. Thus, conditions are created so that the bureaus and base organizations themselves become more and more active and develop their ability and potential for action, which is the basic thing in achieving the goals set by the RCP Central Committee with regard to exchanging the party documents, particularly those referring to raising the role of the party organs and organizations in the leadership of political, economic, social-cultural activity, strengthening the responsibility, combativeness and revolutionary spirit of all communists and consolidating even more powerfully the cohesion and unity of action around the Central Committee and party's secretary general.

8071
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CORRUPTION OF HIGH PARTY, ECONOMIC CADRES DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Nov 80 pp 88-91

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Our party constantly includes among its priority concerns the formation and development of a high moral, political and professional profile for the communists, primarily the cadres with party and state leadership jobs. What is significant in this regard is that the very secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, steadfastly demonstrates a special concern with assuring the moral purity of the cadres and with having them give strict respect to the main principles which must govern their work add life so that the job with which they have been invested by the party is not used under any circumstances to create personal advantages.

Benefitting from this special attention from the party leadership and from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, in the context of the permanent concern with making the moral-political education process of communists more profound, the immense majority of those invested with leadership jobs in various departments of our economic and social-economic life is proving day by day a high political and ideological level, selflessness and self-denial in defending the supreme values of our system and in placing their knowledge, understanding and energy unconditionally at the service of the triumph of the cause of socialism and communism in Romania and the precise implementation of party policy and they are doing everything for strict respect for the party decisions and country's laws in the area in which they work.

As a natural and supreme corrolary of this high communist attitude, dozens and dozens of thousands of cadres are enjoying the respect, trust and value of the collectives which they head as well as of the workers and citizens.

After the party leadership repeatedly has taken a firm attitude against the abuses committed by some cadres in a number of counties, it is all the more to be condemned that there are acts--true, more and more rare--which some leaders of economic-social, administrative or public units have resorted to, leaders implicitly invested with big duties and political responsibility.

Taking advantage of their jobs as president and secretary of the Association of Philatelists of Romania and avidly seeking to create material advantages, Constantin Danciu, Victor Puchita and other members of the association's leadership committed an entire chain of abuses which brought big material and moral losses to this public organization, under the guidance of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

In the 1977-1980 period, violating the laws of our socialist state and provisions of the statutes of the Association of Philatelists, they accepted the receipt of supplementary dues beyond the statuatory ones and arbitrarily established the prices of philatelic publications and materials; with independent power, without notification of the Ministry of Law, they ordered the employment of personnel beyond the approved number and illegal payments; they organized and held philatelic exhibits with international participation without legal approval, an occasion on which they spent more than 177,000 lei; by illegally establishing and utilizing the president's fund to give prizes and other expenses, the central Association of Philatelists of Romania lost 76,900 lei; the persons mentioned created large material advantages by establishing and utilizing prize funds resulting from dues and incomes from the exhibits as well as by obtaining some stamps issued in a reduced circulation and many copies from the same issue, keeping in stock a large portion of the stamps received from the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications for the Association and using them to give themselves prizes as members of the leadership instead of distributing them to the philatelists.

The seriousness of the facts related is all the greater since the association's leadership simply ignored the measures proposed by the members of the central auditing commission, which had determined many of the violations signaled, regarding abiding by the law, with the president, secretary and other of its members continuing to act abusively, as they wished.

This dishonest method of handling large monetary funds and valuable stamps also spread to the Bucharest branch of the association. What is significant is that the prizes in money and strips of stamps received by its leadership members for 3 years totaled around 150,000 lei.

Following a check made by the central organs, measures were established which would provide for establishing legality in the association's activity and the cadres guilty of the violations committed were removed from the leadership jobs in this organization, with the party organizations to which they belong having the duty of discussing the persons in the case and taking appropriate measures.

The concern for his entire behavior to be an example and contribute to raising the party's authority before the masses must guide the work and life of each communist invested with responsibility before party, mass and public organizations or collectives.

Abusing his job as president of the Prundu Agricultural Production Cooperative in Ilfov County, along with committing other violations, Zamfir Cotiga favored his own close relatives, making it easy for them to get money without working by drawing up fictitious time sheets; illegally he gave 15 conventional norms monthly, he used an area of .24 hectares as personal plot beyond the provisions of the agricultural production cooperative statutes,also giving additional land to other cooperative members, particularly his relatives. For the violations committed,Zamfir Cotiga was removed from his job, penalized by the party with a "vote of censure with warning," removed from his job as member of the bureau and the commune party committee; at the same time, he was charged for the losses brought to the agricultural production cooperative.

An obligation of the party organs and organizations and all communistsmust be to watch that not even the smallest evasion of the moral standards of our party and our society

be permitted, overlooked or neglected. This is because, as has continued to occur in some places by not taking a firm and prompt position toward certain violations by cadres with responsibie jobs, felt completely unjustifiably by those aroumd to be small and insignificant violations,a climate of tolerance has been created in which more serious violations could be committed and this sheds an unfavorable light on those involved and reduces the prestige which the leadership cadres, communists and party organizations must continually fortify before the masses.

In February 1979, Gheorghe Mantale, then mayor of Tansa Commune, Iasi County, was penalized with a "vote of censure " and a year later was stripped of his job. This course of events was caused both by the negative features of his character, among which was the enormous desire for getting rich , for making money without working and for profiting from his position, as well as by the climate of leniency in which he could carry out his reprehensible actions as he wished. Gradually, from violating some elementary financial rules, he advanced to greater and greater abuses. Instead of encouraging the action of aiding the process to join instruction together with production through the authority of his job, he found nothing better to do than to make various metal objects in the school's workshop in his own personal interest.Holding a plot, he made the cooperative members of the commune provide work on it free of charge. Of course the "overseer" tendency and his grasping for profit could have been stopped in time if the commune party committee and county party committee would have taken into account more promptly the repeated complaints made by the people in the commune regarding the mayor's abuses. Unfortunately, the intervention of the county party committee occurred only when nothing more actually could be done than to strip him of his job.

But the abuse of job also has other forms and manifestations which also could have been stopped in time if the party organs and organizations and communists from the particular collectives would have permanently shown a more emphatic combative spirit and would not have "closed their eyes," as we say, to inappropriate attitudes, regardless of the job of the person.

Proving to have clear inclinations toward making money, failing to resist the temptation to satisfy some personal interests and profiting from the duties with which they were invested, some leadership cadres from the Arta Populara Cooperative in Vilcea, headed by its president Nicolae Badea and the head accountant Emil Banciu, violated legal provisions in acquiring and selling some long-usage goods. Thus, 11 rugs and 9 carpets were bought from the Cisnadie Textile Enterprise and, instead of being sold through the cooperative's store, they were sold directly from the house of Gheorghe Ispas, legal advisor to Arta Populara, to some of the members of the cooperative's leadership and their relatives and friends. In order to cover the illegal road of the carpets with legal acts, the cooperative leadership ordered that fictitious acts be drawn up for the receipt of them in the warehouse.

While the cadres mentioned were indulging in these commercial "transactions" and the cooperative's vice president, Rodica Anton, was organizing the baptism of her son, in which more than 100 persons participated and from which she made a pretty nice amount of money, the cooperative's goods valued at tens of thousands of lei were falling into disrepair in a basement which was inappropriate for their stoarge.

For the violations committed and for violating legal provisions, the guilty parties were penalized by the party and along the administrative line.

Whereas he was less concerned with the good progress of the unit and application of the law, he proved to be particularly concerned with satisfying his own interests. This was the former director of the Ploiesti Enterprise for Cementation and Operations for Special Treatment. Violating a decision of the workers' council which established who exactly should be sent abroad for specialization, the director and his favorites were the ones who benefitted from the move. In this case, too, the abuse was stopped following repeated complaints.

Abdicating from the basic obligations belonging to those placed at the head of a community, to serve with devotion the people's general interests and to promote principledness, honor, correctness with firmness and exert all efforts to develop the national wealth and strengthen the collective's wealth, these kinds of cadres lower the leader's prestige before the masses, gravely harming the very authority of the particular party organization and of the communists comprising it. That is why the measures firmly taken against the persons to whom we have referred above are fully justified and what is more compulsory and capable of preventing the repetition of similar deviations from the standards of our society's moral code and of contributing to making the climate more healthy in the locations and units involved and to cultivating a combative, relentless attitude toward the shortcomings.

The full, prompt demonstration of a critical attitude and firm attitude toward any violation of the principles and moral standards by communists and, in particular, by the persons invested with responsible work is required by the fact that not intervenin in time, tolerating the deviations may cause particularly complicated situations in certain collectives, particularly in the ones which work directly with broad categories of workers and citizens, with direct repercussions for the quality of relations between the socialist units and the public. The perpetration of deviations at the Bucharest Comaliment Commercial Enterprise was also due to the fact that the former director retained inappropriate cadres in their jobs, cadres who had criminal records, and he unjustifiably reduced the penalties subject to approval, a fact which created and made permanent an unhealthy climate in the enterprise and, as a direct reflex, well-founded dissatisfaction among the buyers.

Thus, it is urgently necessary that, in everything they undertake and in all their work and life, the activists and cadres with responsible jobs be led steadfastly by the principles and standards of the party's moral code and the inspiring stimulus given by the leader of our party and state repeatedly, most recently in his speech to the 2d people's council congress; "We never should forget that our party and the communists do not have and cannot have a grander goal than the devoted service to the people's interests and to our socialist country. Communists differ from other workers only in the fact that they assume greater obli ations and responsibilities before the people in the d velopment of society and its revolutionary transformation. They do not have and cannot have any kind of privilege, except that of serving the country and the people, the cause of socialism and communism in Romania with all their forces and of being continually in close connection with the people, working together with them for the good of all our people."

It is a stimulus which crystallizes in it the quintessence of the communists' moral profile and that of the party and state activists, and to implement it precisely and unconditionally is one of their basic obligations.

8071
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AWARDS AT TIMISOARA DRAMA FESTIVAL AROUSE CONTROVERSY

Dramatist Refuses Award

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 28 Nov 80 p 2

[Letter from Paul Everac]

[Text] Dear Comrade Chief Editor

Please include the following in the next issue of CONTEMPORANUL, in the "Agora" column.

Yours truly,

Paul Everac

Overwhelmed with emotion, I would like to thank the judges of the current drama festival in Timisoara for the great honor which they have accorded me by giving me the award of the trade union of the Timisoara press, immediately after the dramatists Mazilu, Lovinescu, Baiesu and Tudor Popescu.

I would like to say, however, that I do not feel that I deserve it since there are many more talented dramatists, in my opinion, who can claim it, even if they were not present in the competition.

Therefore, I am obliged to return the award to the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions [ATM], asking the association to reaward it to whomever it believes to be deserving since, with all due respect, it is none of my business now, I do not want to burden my conscience with the fact that I might have usurped the rights of another with my modest productions, "Ordinatorul" [The Chief Accountant], "Un pahar cu sifon" [A Glass of Soda Water] and "Salonul" [The Salon]. Nor did I consider my play of a few years ago "A cincea lebada" [The Fifth Swan] deserving of such prominence that it would defraud the principal works of some confreres with special talent.

I take this opportunity to ask the theaters which take part in the sessions organized by the ATM, through its section on criticism, a veritable hotbed of theatrical inspiration, to abandon the vanity of presenting any play of mine, so they will not enter the competition with a useless handicap. As long as the criteria remain dedicated to a distinct minority, with a special narrowness,

with well-known tendencies, it is better than the theaters which operate within the limits of common conventions be prudent.

Nevertheless, I thank Teatrul Mic and the Giulesti and Resita theaters for courageously taking such risks for which I can compensate them only with my complete affection. Also, I thank directors Tudor Marascu, Cristian Hadjiculea and Mihai Manolescu for the artistic level to which they have raised the mounting of the plays presented in the festival and the public of Timisoara for their warm reception.

Attitude of Dramatist Criticized

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 5 Dec 80 p 2

[Letter from Dina Cocea, president of ATM]

[Text] We have received the following letter from the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions:

Dear Comrade Chief Editor,

Since the dramatist Paul Everac published an open letter in CONTEMPORANUL of 28 November 1980, we ask you to please publish the following response:

We have taken note of the desire of dramatist Paul Everac to "return the award for dramaturgy" which the judges of the festival of current Romanian dramaturgy in Timisoara gave him for the play "The Chief Accountant," an "award" obtained, as he said, "immediately after the dramatists Mazilu, Lovinescu, Baiesu and Tudor Popescu." We would have said "alongside" these confreres, which does not seem to us to be degrading at all. But, of course, everyone believes what he wants and the writer is free to accept an award or not to.

In light of the fact that the organizers of the Timisoara Festival were: the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, the Timis County committee for socialist culture and education, ATM and the Timisoara National Theater, we believe that the "handing back" intended by Paul Everac cannot be done only to the ATM, as he proposed, but must involve all the bodies mentioned above.

We have also taken note of the delicate insinuations which the dramatist Paul Everac makes in regard to the criteria on the basis of which the judges acted--Univ Prof Ion Zamfirescu was the head of the panel of judges--and which were said to have operated to his disfavor. If we take these insinuations into consideration we should question the validity of the awards for the best interpretation given to the actress Leopoldina Balanuta--the admirable performer of the role of Magda in the play "A Glass of Soda Water" by Paul Everac in the excellent presentation of Teatrul Mic--and the actor Stefan Mihailescu-Braila, the admirable performer of the role of Marin in the play "The Chief Accountant" by Paul Everac, a play presented with great success at the Giulesti Theater. In addition, the presence of the author's name three times on the awards list seems to us not to need any other explanations.

This is not the first time that Paul Everac has felt wronged by the evaluations of some panels of judges composed of university professors, theater critics,

directors, actors, outstanding figures in production and cultural activists--whose competence and good faith he questions. We cannot agree with such a position.

As for the work "The Fifth Swan" of the same author, in regard to which he leads us to believe that he was done an injustice "a few years ago," it is necessary to state that both the play and the production participated in the competition of the second edition of the "Hymn to Romania" National Festival and that the dissatisfaction of the dramatist in regard to that presence (or absence) should have been presented at the proper time. Let us specify, however, that this situation does not affect the ATM.

We hope that in the future the time wasted by Paul Everac for his letters will be used for the creation of new works which we, the admirers of his talent, await with great interest.

CSO: 2700

DRAFTING OF FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1559, 16 Nov 80 pp 7, 9-10

[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] On 29 October delegates of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly accomplished still another symbolic gesture by raising their hands: a bit like laying the cornerstone for seven new and important provisions of the constitution. It has now been 2 years and a few days from the moment when Tito, in an address to the delegates of the Eighth Congress of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, launched his well-known initiative to strengthen collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility, which has indeed been the principal occasion and reason for amending and supplementing the present text of the constitution.

The procedure for amending the Yugoslav Constitution is rather complicated. After a 3-month public discussion of the text of the draft amendment a position will be taken by the assemblies of the republics and autonomous provinces, and then it would be returned to the delegates of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. There is no need to even mention that consensus among the members of the Federation (the republics and provinces) must be reached on every detail and there must be consensus in every body which takes a separate position on this. At times this is not a simple matter even though the principles and goals aimed at are beyond dispute.

Three Different Versions

We can take as an example the work of the Constitutional Commission, whose members were not able to agree on specific formulations of the text concerning the Federal Executive Council--the so-called "fifth amendment"--after nearly 1.5 years of patient editing of the amendment. Everything else in this phase of constitutional changes, the first since 1974, when the new Yugoslav Constitution was adopted, and which were conceived as "minimal" and "restrictive," was by and large easily formulated: the principles of collective work and the definition of collective responsibility, the upper limit of tenure of public office, the 1-year term of

office for officials of the SFRY Assembly, the term of office of officials of federal administrative agencies, the terms of judges of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court and the president of the Constitutional Court.

At first glance the task of the Constitutional Commission appeared comparatively simple. The initiative to strengthen collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility in society and to introduce the 1-year term of office had been stated unambiguously and clearly. Not long thereafter the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee adopted precise and detailed resolutions in which inter alia it spoke about the indispensable changes that needed to be undertaken to achieve that goal. Finally, when the SFRY State Presidency sent the Assembly the proposal to undertake changes in the constitution, the suggestion was made that no "radical undertaking" be tackled on this occasion, that no thorough revision of the basic principles and solutions contained in it was being undertaken. The idea was to make only the minimal and most indispensable changes of certain articles so as to facilitate unhindered adaptation of the work of various bodies and agencies to the spirit of Tito's initiative.

But when the work began on the text, the first dilemmas arose. The largest ones were in that part of the text which spoke about the Federal Executive Council. What was at issue?

A glance at one of the recent versions of the text which the commission came up with this summer indicates that three different versions have come about. The dispute appeared all the more unusual because all three versions mainly presuppose that the present constitutional concept of the Federal Executive Council and to some extent even of the position of its chairman is to be retained. The differences manifested concerned only certain "mechanisms." Nevertheless, the differences in views between the various members of the body involved in writing the constitution have not been easy to overcome. According to the first version, the changes of this part of the constitution would come down only to stating that the chairman of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] could not be reelected to the same position and that members of the FEC would be limited to two successive terms.

The second version then altered more significantly the position of the chairman of the FEC both with respect to the term of office and also his powers as a "mandator." The institution of "mandator" would be altogether abandoned, including the right of the FEC chairman to propose the dismissal of particular members of FEC and the provision that resignation of the FEC chairman would result in the resignation of all members of the FEC. The conception was for the chairman and members of the FEC to be nominated by the SFRY State Presidency and that the FEC chairman's term would last 2 years. Moreover, he would be limited to only one more successive term in that office.

[Box] Amendment V

1. The preliminary procedure for nomination of candidates for chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council is to be conducted in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

The same individual may not be elected chairman of the Federal Executive Council twice in succession.

Members of the Federal Executive Council may not be elected to more than two successive terms in the same office.

2. At the expiration of 2 years from election of the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council, the Federal Executive Council, within the limits of its rights and duties, shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a report on the situation in all domains of social life, on the conduct of policy and enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and also on its own work and the work of federal administrative agencies. The chambers of the Assembly shall conduct a specific examination of this report, shall evaluate the work of the Federal Executive Council and shall decide whether to take a vote of confidence in the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council.

3. This amendment shall supplement the provision of Article 348, Paragraph 2, shall replace the provisions of Article 349, Paragraphs 2 and 3, and shall supplement the provisions of Articles 358 and 359 of the SFRY Constitution.

The Fifth Amendment

The third version also retained the role of the SFRY State Presidency in nominating candidates for chairman of the FEC. However, in this version the candidate for chairman of the FEC and the Commission of the SFRY Assembly for Elections and Appointments would submit a joint slate of candidates for members of the FEC, and the same kind of joint proposal might also be submitted for dismissal of individual members of the FEC, which to a certain extent would alter the present constitutional powers of the "mandator." In any case, according to this proposal, the chairman of the FEC would be elected for 2 years, and in exceptional cases he might be elected to one more successive term through a special procedure.

"It is not just a question of some personal position and personal rights. For precisely that reason, shortening the term of office of the chairman of the Federal Executive Council, if the term of office of the members of the Federal Executive Council were to remain at 4 years, could not be achieved in such a way that all the other constitutional provisions concerning the Federal Executive Council and other bodies and agencies of the Federation and their mutual rights would remain untouched. On the contrary, this would open up many of those complicated and delicate issues,

and there are no worthwhile reasons, at least at present, for reassessing them without thorough and comprehensive research and analysis based on considerably more lengthy experience in implementing the provisions of the constitution.... That is the reason why the view prevailed that the term of office of the FEC chairman should not be shortened. However, this does not mean at all that the provisions contained in the fifth amendment (concerning the Federal Executive Council) do not involve anything new, that they do not have great importance," observed Kiro Hadzivasilev in submitting the rationale of the draft of the amendment to the delegates of the Federal Chamber on behalf of the Constitutional Commission.

Dr Najdan Pasic, professor and president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia, was one of the authors of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution which have been put up for public discussion. When asked to comment on the provisions which caused the most dilemmas in the preliminary procedure, he said: "I am convinced that the present phase in preparation of the amendments and supplements of the SFRY Constitution has ended successfully. After all, the work on the amendments should be viewed in the context of the endeavor for continuous development of the democratic institutions of the system. Nevertheless, the principal problems did not lie in the institutional solutions, though even here something ought to be changed. The emphasis in the work to implement Tito's initiative should be on changing present political practice and not merely on altering institutions."

Pasic also said that during the work in the Constitutional Commission a broad and interesting discussion developed which often got right down to matters of principle.

"The solution agreed on does not essentially alter the character, the responsibility or the relation of the FEC to the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY State Presidency," Pasic said. It should only make it easier to apply the principles of collective work and responsibility more effectively in this case. "It is an innovation," Pasic said, "that in future the preliminary procedure of nominations for the FEC would take place in the Socialist Alliance. This is an altogether logical solution and conforms to the position and place of the Socialist Alliance in our system. As you see from the text of the amendment, the chairman of the FEC could be elected to that position only once, and the other members no more than twice. Up to now, in exceptional cases and by a special procedure the federal secretaries could be elected as many as three times to the same position."

The greatest amount of comment, even in the first reactions, was evoked by the provision which states that at the end of 2 years after the election the FEC would submit to the Assembly a detailed report "on the state of affairs in all domains of social life." The Assembly will conduct a special examination of that report, will evaluate the work of the FEC and will decide whether to take a vote of confidence in the chairman and members of the "government."

Why Are We in Love With Legislation

"During the work on this amendment it was said by some that this solution is not needed at all, since the Assembly can seek a report on everything at any moment even under the present text of the constitution as well as to put a question of confidence in the FEC. However, I think that what we have now introduced here into the amendment is still an essential and important innovation as compared to the possibilities that previously existed. This is now a fixed obligation on both sides, for both the Assembly and for the FEC, which will certainly contribute to achieving those goals we had in mind as we wrote the amendment," Pasic said.

Dr Jovan Djordjevic, professor and member of the academy, was one of the active participants in the writing of most of the postwar constitutional text in Yugoslavia. But this time he did not participate in preparing the draft of the amendments. That makes his comment interesting, since the present amendments alter to some extent the text whose creation he worked on himself. "I do not think that much has been changed, if anything has," Djordjevic said. "It seems to me that the essence of the requirements which need to be met to implement Tito's initiative on strengthening collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility might have been covered even within the present text of the constitution. I am not an advocate of frequent changing of a constitution at any price, but it seems that we are in love with legislation, and it often seems to us that we can achieve certain things only by making a simple amendment of the existing normative solutions.

"In essence, when the text is read carefully, everything comes down mainly to the length of the term of office, and that covers most of the changes from the present situation. Then it seems to me that the provision on preliminary nomination within the SAWP has in a certain sense omitted the function of the mandator, which up to now the chairman of the FEC has had. This principle and indeed the very term are no longer mentioned in the text, at least not explicitly. Probably this can be explained by a desire to collectivize the work of the Executive Council to a certain extent and at the same time to emphasize the role of the Socialist Alliance."

Not Only a Federal Constitution

Simultaneously with work on the draft of amendments to alter the text of the federal constitution, a great deal of work has also been going on in the republics and provinces to amend the constitutions of the republics and provinces. Judging by the solutions which have been arrived at in those drafts in the work to date, it was not difficult to conclude that they have been similar to one another, but there are still considerable differences between them.

We called upon Dr Radoslav Ratkovic, professor and chairman of the Republic Council for the Political System of the Socialist Republic of Serbia,

to comment at this time on the solutions which the Constitutional Commission of Serbia has set forth in the draft of the amendments to the republic constitution. Ratkovic recalled that the prevalent opinion in this republic as indeed everywhere was that a "restrictive" approach should be taken to this task, that is, that as little as possible should be changed, so that any interference to inclusion of Tito's initiative in the text of the constitution, if any exists, would be eliminated.

"As for the solution contained in the amendment on the republic executive council, we took the position that we should first of all deal with the length of the term of office in a new way.

"The amendment to the Serbian Constitution, just like the amendments to the federal constitution, provides that the upper limit of the term of office be 'not to exceed 4 years,' instead of '4 years,' as it has been up to now. The members of the executive council could be elected to only one more successive term. The chairman and vice chairman of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly would be elected for 4 years and could not be elected to a second successive term in the respective office.

"The other provisions in the present text of the draft are mainly similar to the provisions in the draft of the amendments to the federal constitution. Though there are certain differences and specific features, above all those which arise out of the character of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a composite sociopolitical community, that is, the specific relationship between the republic constitution and those of the provinces, which cannot contradict one another.

"The members of the State Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia would be elected to a term of 4 years and could be reelected to only one more successive term in that position. The chairman and vice chairman of the State Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the president and vice president of the Serbian Assembly would be elected to 1-year terms and could thereafter be elected to one more successive term in the same office."

Called upon to answer whether this kind of solution would nevertheless help to strengthen the dominant position of political executive bodies as compared to delegate assemblies, Radoslav Ratkovic, who incidentally is a professor in the School of Political Science at Belgrade University, said: "This is a problem which has never lost a bit of its relevance, and it is natural that it will remain topical in the future as well. But it must be resolved by other means. It would be naive to believe that any sort of normative solutions could altogether avert that kind of danger."

After everything that has been done so far and at the outset of the public discussion of the draft of the constitutional amendments, both federal and republic, still another important undertaking has been announced. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee has resolved that there is a need

"to coordinate work on amending the constitutions of the republics and provinces, to study problems in the work of political executive bodies and in one of the next meetings of the LCY Central Committee to make a comprehensive examination of implementation of Tito's initiative."

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DATA ON MORTALITY SHOWING AGE, SEX, CAUSES, 1952-1976

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[Article by Biljana Radivojevic, School of Economics, Belgrade University]

[Excerpts] The mortality rate of the population is an important indicator of the state of health and indirectly an indicator as well of social and economic development, which is why great importance is paid in a country to monitoring the mortality rate.

The population of Yugoslavia and of the socialist republics and provinces is characterized by a drop in the mortality rate over the last several decades, and it has been most marked in the postwar period thanks to development of the health service, improved knowledge about health and the influence of social and economic development. This paper shall offer an analysis of the changes which have occurred in the age-specific and sex-specific mortality rate of our population in the period from 1952 to 1976.

Table 1. Age-Specific and Sex-Specific Mortality Rates of the Yugoslav Population Since World War II

Age Groups	Deaths Per 1,000 Inhabitants by Age and Sex							
	Male				Female			
	1952—54	1960—62	1970—72	1974—76	1952—54	1960—62	1970—72	1974—76
Total	11,9	9,8	9,5	9,0	11,2	9,4	8,3	8,0
0	123,1	96,4	53,3	42,5	110,5	87,9	49,9	38,1
1—4	9,4	4,9	2,0	1,6	9,9	5.5	2,1	1,5
5—9	1,8	0,8	0,6	0,5	1,7	0.7	0,4	0,4
10—14	1,2	0,7	0,5	0,5	1,0	0.5	0,3	0,3
15—19	1,6	1,1	0,9	0,8	1,7	0.8	0,5	0,4
20—24	1,5	1,4	1,5	1,3	2,5	1.2	0,7	0,5
25—29	2,8	1,7	1,7	1,5	2,7	1,5	0,8	0,7
30—34	3,0	2,1	2,1	1,8	3,0	1,8	1,1	0,9
35—39	3,5	2,6	2,8	2,6	3,4	2,1	1,5	1,3
40—44	4,9	3,6	4,3	3,9	4,2	2,9	2,3	2,0
45—49	7,4	5,8	6,5	6,1	5,3	4,1	3,5	3,2
50—54	11,7	9,4	9,8	9,3	8,3	6.5	5,4	5,0
55—59	17,7	15,6	15,8	14,1	12,3	10.0	8,9	8,0
60—64	27,2	25,7	24,8	22,8	20,4	17.3	14,8	13,3
65—69	40,6	40,5	39,9	36,5	32,1	29.5	25,1	23,5
70—74	63,5	65,8	63,5	56,1	52,8	51,2	46,0	40,9
75—79	96,7	97,0	106,3	97,1	82,1	79,8	82,7	77,2
80—84	146,5	138,9	151,7	152,7	124,6	134,8	129,5	129,2
Over 85	209,0	188,8	217,0	216,5	184,5	162,4	194,0	202,3

The mortality rate of the Yugoslav population can be considered low for almost all age groups except infants. In a comparison with countries which have a low mortality rate (Table 2) we see that the differences are great for infant mortality, but that the level of the mortality rate for the 10-14-year age group is close to the mortality rate level of those countries. The differences in mortality are smaller for the other age groups.

Table 2. Mortality Rate of Selected Age Groups of the Yugoslav Population in 1976 and Comparison With Sweden and Norway in 1976

	Annual Number of Deaths Per 1,000 Inhabitants											
	Under Age 1		1—4		10—14		30—34		50—54		70—74	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Yugoslavia	39,5	35,0	1,5	1,4	0,5	0,3	1,8	0,9	9,5	5,0	58,7	42,0
Sweden	8,9	7,3	0,4	0.4	0,3	0,3	1,3	0,7	7,0	3,7	50,0	27,2
Norway	11,0	9,6	0,8	0,5	0,3	0,2	1,2	0,6	7,5	3,8	50,0	26,0

Source: Demographic statistics for 1976 and Demographic Yearbook 1976.

Age-specific and sex-specific mortality rates are given in Table 3 for the socialist republics and provinces.

Mortality has shown the largest drop in regions which previously had a high mortality rate. There was a drop in the mortality rate between the 1960-1962 period and the 1974-1976 period for the female population of all regions and in almost all age groups except the oldest ones. Over that same period the mortality rates of the male population of the advanced regions (Slovenia, Croatia and Vojvodina) increased in the age groups 20-24 and 25-29, as well as for the older middle-aged population. The mortality rate of the oldest population showed a rise in this period in all regions.

The following can be said about regional differences in the level of mortality. Though infant mortality has dropped in all regions, the differences are still very significant. In the 1974-1976 period Slovenia had the lowest mortality rate (male 21.9 pro mille, female 15.9 pro mille), and Kosovo the highest (male 80.3 pro mille, female 86.9 pro mille).

On the basis of the figures on the standardized mortality rates and also the comparison with actual general rates for each region, we can state the following. The death rate of the male population is higher in the more advanced regions (Slovenia, Vojvodina and Croatia) than in the less developed, while differences in the death rate of the female population are less pronounced from region to region, and the level of the mortality is by and large higher in the underdeveloped regions. The population of Montenegro has the lowest death rate. Accordingly, assuming the same age-specific composition, the differences in mortality from region to region are less significant, which means that they are largely the result of the differing composition of the population with respect to age.

Table 3. Age-Specific and Sex-Specific Mortality Rates for the Socialist Republics and Provinces in the Periods 1960-1962 (a) and 1974-1976 (b)

Male — Number of Deaths Per 1,000 Inhabitants by Age Groups

Age Groups	Bosnia-Hercegovina		Montenegro		Croatia		Macedonia		Slovenia		Serbia as a Whole		Serbia Proper		Kosovo		Vojvodina	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
Total	9,9	6,6	7,6	6,2	10,2	10,7	10,2	7,5	10,1	10,9	9,7	9,3	8,7	9,1	12,9	7,4	10,4	11,3
0	120,5	48,1	70,1	27,2	73,3	27,8	144,8	67,0	36,9	21,9	93,4	46,4	72,7	33,3	150,7	80,3	79,6	27,0
1—4	7,0	1,6	3,6	1,1	2,0	0,8	8,3	2,0	1,4	0,8	5,1	1,9	2,8	1,0	13,6	4,2	2,0	0,8
5—9	1,0	0,6	0,7	0,4	0,7	0,5	0,8	0,6	0,6	0,4	0,7	0,6	0,6	0,5	1,3	0,8	0,7	0,4
10—14	0,8	0,4	0,7	0,3	0,5	0,4	0,6	0,4	0,6	0,4	0,7	0,5	0,6	0,4	1,1	0,5	0,6	0,5
15—19	1,1	0,8	1,0	0,5	1,1	1,0	0,9	0,7	1,9	1,1	1,1	0,8	1,0	0,8	1,5	0,8	1,2	0,8
20—24	1,5	1,3	1,3	1,0	1,4	1,5	1,2	1,0	1,7	2,1	1,4	1,1	1,3	1,1	1,6	1,0	1,4	1,2
25—29	1,9	1,6	1,3	1,1	1,6	1,7	1,5	1,0	2,0	2,0	1,6	1,4	1,6	1,3	1,6	1,3	1,8	1,5
30—34	2,3	1,9	1,5	1,4	2,0	2,1	1,8	0,9	2,4	2,3	2,1	1,7	2,0	1,6	2,4	1,5	2,1	2,0
35—39	2,8	2,7	2,7	1,9	2,7	3,1	2,0	1,9	2,8	3,5	2,6	2,2	2,4	2,0	2,4	2,4	2,8	2,9
40—44	3,9	3,9	3,6	2,7	3,9	4,8	2,9	3,0	3,9	5,4	3,6	3,4	3,4	3,1	4,1	3,2	3,7	4,2
45—49	6,7	6,1	4,5	4,9	5,9	7,2	4,8	4,6	6,5	8,0	5,6	5,4	5,3	5,1	7,4	4,8	5,9	6,7
50—54	11,2	10,0	6,9	7,2	9,7	10,7	8,3	7,2	9,6	11,4	8,9	8,5	8,5	7,9	10,3	8,0	9,6	10,4
55—59	19,3	14,6	11,8	10,3	15,6	16,1	12,6	12,1	16,6	16,9	14,9	12,9	14,3	11,7	17,9	13,1	15,7	15,7
60—64	32,2	23,3	16,4	16,8	26,3	25,1	22,1	10,5	27,4	26,1	24,1	21,5	23,2	28,1	26,0	19,0	25,8	25,3
65—69	52,7	37,6	27,6	26,0	41,7	40,7	30,6	31,3	41,8	41,6	38,4	34,4	38,0	32,8	38,2	29,3	39,2	40,4
70—74	80,0	58,4	41,5	35,1	71,2	64,3	44,7	48,2	70,0	66,1	63,7	55,7	63,6	54,1	53,8	42,7	67,8	64,8
75—79	105,4	99,1	53,9	62,6	111,6	104,3	67,3	79,6	108,8	108,8	93,5	94,8	93,1	93,7	66,8	63,9	104,2	107,8
80—84	128,7	150,7	70,5	89,1	168,3	171,0	96,6	110,0	185,2	175,0	131,8	152,1	132,1	152,7	100,7	95,2	144,8	173,9
Over 85	156,0	180,7	109,7	187,9	218,1	136,1	160,8	211,3	241,7	273,9	190,7	216,6	200,5	210,3	139,2	158,5	207,7	252,2

Table 3 (continued)

Female — Number of Deaths Per 1,000 Inhabitants by Age Groups

Age Groups	Bosnia-Hercegovina		Montenegro		Croatia		Macedonia		Slovenia		Serbia as a Whole		Serbia Proper		Kosovo		Vojvodina	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
Total	9,0	5,8	7,3	5,6	9,2	9,3	10,2	6,5	8,7	9,7	9,6	8,5	8,9	8,4	14,6	6,9	9,3	9,9
0	103,3	38,3	70,3	26,9	62,2	19,9	142,2	66,4	27,4	15,6	90,0	43,5	66,4	26,5	163,8	86,9	66,2	20,6
1—4	7,8	1,5	3,9	1,1	1,8	0,7	9,5	2,0	1,0	0,6	5,8	2,0	2,8	0,9	17,6	4,8	1,8	0,7
5—9	0,9	0,5	0,7	0,5	0,4	0,3	0,8	0,4	0,4	0,2	0,7	0,4	0,5	0,4	1,7	0,6	0,5	0,4
10—14	0,5	0,3	0,5	0,2	0,3	0,3	0,6	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,5	0,3	0,5	0,3	1,3	0,3	0,4	0,2
15—19	90,9	0,4	0,9	0,4	0,6	0,5	0,8	0,3	0,5	0,5	1,0	0,4	0,7	0,5	2,4	0,3	0,7	0,4
20—24	1,4	0,6	1,0	0,5	0,7	0,5	1,2	0,5	0,7	0,5	1,4	0,5	1,2	0,5	3,4	0,7	0,9	0,4
25—29	1,8	0,8	1,1	0,5	0,9	0,7	1,9	0,6	0,7	0,6	1,7	0,7	1,5	0,7	4,2	0,9	1,2	0,7
30—34	2,3	0,9	1,8	0,7	1,2	0,8	2,2	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,9	0,9	1,8	0,9	3,7	1,4	1,4	0,9
35—39	2,9	1,4	1,7	1,0	1,8	1,3	2,5	1,2	1,4	1,2	2,1	1,4	2,0	1,3	4,3	1,7	1,6	1,3
40—44	3,7	2,2	2,0	1,9	2,4	2,0	3,2	1,8	2,1	2,2	3,0	2,0	2,9	1,9	5,0	2,4	2,5	2,1
45—49	5,1	3,5	3,2	3,0	3,5	3,3	4,4	2,8	3,5	3,5	4,3	3,2	4,3	3,0	5,8	3,2	3,8	3,6
50—54	3,3	5,4	4,7	3,7	5,5	5,1	6,5	4,8	5,3	5,0	6,9	5,0	6,9	4,8	9,4	4,4	6,2	5,7
55—49	14,1	9,1	7,0	6,9	8,8	7,7	10,5	7,4	8,7	8,1	10,3	8,0	10,6	7,9	12,1	7,5	9,1	8,6
60—64	23,8	15,8	11,1	10,0	15,1	12,8	18,2	13,0	13,8	12,0	18,0	13,5	18,6	13,3	22,2	12,4	15,6	14,3
65—69	37,2	27,9	17,8	15,8	28,3	22,1	28,1	24,0	27,0	21,3	29,9	24,0	32,1	24,4	28,4	18,9	25,6	24,4
70—74	62,6	46,1	32,7	16,0	51,0	39,4	44,1	37,4	51,3	39,0	50,9	42,3	53,4	42,6	47,5	31,4	46,6	44,6
75—79	74,6	83,9	42,9	48,7	89,4	78,0	57,2	70,6	86,3	72,5	79,2	78,8	82,0	80,8	54,0	57,9	81,3	79,5
70—84	113,0	119,1	63,0	76 7	140,4	138,7	95,9	107,8	150,7	134,0	122,0	130,6	125,2	133.7	88,0	80,5	127,0	138,8
Over 85	115,6	162,1	84,6	158,6	185,4	217,0	133,2	205,4	224,0	247,3	168,5	200,2	180,6	203,7	99,2	119,6	195,3	231,1

Source: Demographic statistics of the Federal Bureau of Statistics for 1969, 1971, 1974 and 1976.

Table 4. General and Standardized* Mortality Rate for the Socialist Republics and Provinces, 1976

		Bosnia-Hercegovina	Montenegro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia			
							As a Whole	Proper	Kosovo	Vojvodina
Male	Actual rate	6,7	6,5	10,5	7,5	10,9	9,3	9,2	7,3	11,2
	Stand. rate	9,25	6,75	9,40	7,80	10,10	8,62	8,09	8,15	9,34
Female	Actual rate	5,9	5,7	9,4	6,4	9,5	8,5	8,5	6,8	9,7
	Stand. rate	8,41	5,99	6,35	7,60	7,64	8,11	7,85	7,73	7,98

* The age-specific population of Yugoslavia was taken as the standard population.

The death rate of the male population is higher than the death rate of the female population in all age groups according to the figures for the 1974-1976 period (Table 5). The only exception is for females of Kosovo in the infant and 1-4-year age group and females of Montenegro in the 5-9 group. In the 1952-1954 period the death rate of the female population of Yugoslavia was higher than the death rate of the male population in the age groups 1-4 and 15-19, and in certain groups they were the same. It is significant that as the level of the death rate has declined, the tendency toward higher mortality of the male population has become evident. Differences between the sexes in the mortality rate are becoming larger in the advanced regions, since the death rate of males is rising in certain age groups, while the death rate of the female population is still dropping. This difference is most pronounced in Slovenia, specifically in the age group 20-24, but also in the age group 25-39. The reasons for the higher mortality rate of the male population are varied. In our country it seems that causes of a socioeconomic nature are most involved. The performance of heavier work, harmful habits (smoking, alcoholism), and the like are most probably the reasons for the higher mortality rate of the male population in Yugoslavia. The considerably higher number of suicides and accidents of the male population are also an important factor, which will be demonstrated in connection with the most frequent causes of death in our population.

In any case, with respect to sex-specific mortality it can be said that the mortality rate of the male population is higher in all age groups in the advanced countries than for the female population, while in the underdeveloped countries and developing countries female mortality is ordinarily

higher, especially under 50 years of age.* In addition, the mortality rates in the advanced countries for the young male population has ceased to decline or have even begun to rise slowly, while the mortality rate of the female population, with minor exceptions, is continuing to drop, which accentuates even more differences in mortality between the sexes and accordingly in life expectancy. The figures for a majority of European countries show that the largest differences in mortality are in the twenties because of the more frequent accidents of the young male population. Significant divergences also occur in the age group 50-65.

Table 5. Number of Male Deaths Per 1,000 Female Deaths by Age Groups in Yugoslavia

	1952—1954.	1960—1962.	1970—1972.	1974—1976.
Total	1.082	1.042	1.144	1.125
0	1.114	1.096	1.068	1.115
1—4	949	890	952	1.066
5—9	1.058	1.142	1.500	1.250
10—14	1.200	1.400	1.666	1.666
15—19	941	1.375	1.800	2.000
20—24	1.000	1.166	2.142	2.600
25—29	1.037	1.133	2.125	2.142
30—34	1.000	1.166	1.909	2.000
35—39	1.629	1.238	1.866	2.000
40—44	1.166	1.241	1.869	1.950
45—49	1.396	1.414	1.857	1.906
50—54	1.409	1.446	1.814	1.860
55—59	1.439	1.560	1.775	1.762
60—64	1.333	1.485	1.675	1.714
65—69	1.264	1.372	1.589	1.553
70—74	1.202	1.285	1.380	1.420
75—79	1.177	1.215	1.273	1.257
80—84	1.175	1.112	1.171	1.181
Over 85	1.106	1.162	1.118	1.070

With respect to causes of death we will offer only certain general remarks about the most frequent causes of death and changes which have occurred in the last decade and a half. The figures on the most frequent causes of death in Yugoslavia (1962 and 1976) and by republics (1976) are given in Table 6.

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* Specific mortality rates for the various age groups in certain less-developed countries are as follows:

	Deaths Per 1,000 Inhabitants			
	Algeria (1969)		India (1969)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0—4	53,1	48,8	58,3	70,2
5—9	4,5	3,2	5,8	7,4
10—14	1,9	1,9	3,0	2,7
15—19	2,6	4,3	2,1	4,2
20—24	3,9	4,4	6,5	6,1
35—39	33,8	25,0	55,9	52,2
65—69				

Table 6. Most Frequent Causes of Death in 1976 (percentages have been given in parentheses)

	(1) SFRJ	(2) Bosna i Hercegovina	(3) Crna Gora	(4) Hrvatska	(5) Makedonija
(10) Ukupno	182.965	25.178	3.465	45.074	12.377
(11) Muški	95.120 (100)	19.187 (100)	1.821 (100)	23.021 (100)	6.795 (100)
(12) Zarazne bolesti	488 (0,5)	152 (1,2)	11 (0,6)	67 (0,3)	62 (0,9)
(13) Tuberkuloza	1.414 (1,5)	490 (3,7)	24 (1,3)	291 (1,3)	112 (1,6)
(14) Rak (zločudni tumor)	14.303 (15,0)	1.767 (13,4)	241 (13,2)	4.201 (18,2)	815 (12,0)
(15) Pneumonija i bronhitis	5.043 (5,4)	698 (5,3)	74 (4,1)	1.214 (5,3)	660 (9,7)
(16) Bolesti srca i krv. sudova	28.458 (29,9)	3.162 (24,0)	361 (19,8)	6.253 (27,2)	1.550 (22,8)
(17) Bolesti moždanih krv. sud.	8.624 (9,1)	743 (5,6)	109 (6,0)	2.602 (11,3)	472 (6,9)
(18) Bolesti organa za varenje	4.597 (4,9)	774 (5,9)	54 (3,0)	1.264 (5,5)	388 (5,7)
(19) Nedovoljno defin. bolesti	13.542 (14,2)	2.197 (16,7)	608 (33,4)	2.536 (11,0)	1.510 (22,2)
(20) Ostale bolesti	9.155 (9,6)	1.748 (13,2)	167 (9,2)	2.136 (9,3)	724 (10,7)
(21) Nasilne smrti	9.496 (9,9)	1.456 (11,0)	172 (9,4)	2.457 (10,6)	500 (7,5)
(22) Ženski	87.845	11.991	1.644	22.053	5.584
Zarazne bolesti	461 (0,1)	141 (1,2)	11 (0,7)	70 (0,3)	58 (1,0)
Tuberkuloza	718 (0,8)	331 (2,8)	8 (0,4)	100 (0,6)	60 (1,1)
Rak (zločudni tumor)	11.301 (12,9)	1.245 (10,4)	173 (10,5)	3.345 (15,2)	504 (9,0)
Pneumonija i bronhitis	4.191 (4,8)	659 (5,5)	61 (3,7)	900 (4,1)	600 (10,7)
Bolesti srca i krv. sudova	31.064 (35,4)	3.681 (30,7)	375 (22,8)	7.341 (33,3)	1.506 (27,0)
Bolesti mozdanih krv. sud.	11.115 (12,7)	940 (7,8)	156 (9,5)	3.533 (16,0)	466 (8,3)
Bolesti organa za varenje	2.838 (3,2)	460 (3,8)	37 (2,3)	716 (3,2)	233 (4,2)
Nedovoljno defin. bolesti	15.279 (17,4)	2.359 (19,7)	621 (37,8)	3.381 (15,4)	1.446 (25,9)
Ostale bolesti	7.486 (8,5)	1.717 (14,3)	139 (8,5)	1.683 (7,8)	546 (9,8)
Nasilne smrti	3.392 (3,9)	458 (3,8)	63 (3,8)	974 (4,4)	185 (3,0)

Source: "Statisticki godisnjak" [Statistical Yearbook] for 1964 and for 1978.

Key:
1. Yugoslavia
2. Bosnia-Hercegovina
3. Montenegro
4. Croatia
5. Macedonia
6. Slovenia
7. Serbia
8. Serbia as a whole
9. Serbia proper
10. Total
11. Male
12. Infectious diseases
13. Tuberculosis
14. Cancer (malignant tumor)

Table 6 (continued)

(6) Slovenija	(7) Srbija (8) svega	(9) uža teritor.	Kosovo	Vojvodina
18.157	78.714	47.885	10.149	20.680
9.441 (100)	40.857 (100)	24.642 (100)	5.388 (100)	10.827 (100)
16 (0,2)	180 (0,4)	19 (0,07)	120 (2,2)	41 (0,4)
91 (1,0)	406 (1,0)	193 (0,7)	72 (1,3)	141 (1,3)
1.908 (20,2)	5.371 (13,1)	3.291 (13,6)	195 (5,6)	1.785 (16,5)
518 (5,9)	1.879 (4,6)	736 (3,0)	681 (12,6)	462 (4,3)
2.891 (30,5)	14.241 (34,9)	8.799 (35,7)	1.276 (23,7)	4.166 (38,5)
801 (8,4)	3.897 (9,5)	2.207 (9,0)	219 (4,1)	1.471 (13,6)
542 (5,7)	1.575 (3,9)	755 (3,0)	387 (7,2)	433 (4,0)
237 (2,5)	6.454 (15,8)	4.469 (18,1)	1.538 (28,5)	447 (4,1)
1.004 (10,6)	3.376 (8,3)	2.029 (8,2)	476 (8,8)	871 (8,0)
1.433 (15,2)	3.478 (8,5)	2.144 (8,7)	324 (6,0)	1.010 (9,3)
8.716	37.857	23.243	4.761	9.853
25 (0,3)	156 (0,4)	4 (0,0)	123 (2,6)	56 (0,6)
47 (0,5)	172 (0,5)	62 (0,3)	54 (1,1)	56 (0,6)
1.554 (17,8)	4.480 (11,8)	2.820 (12,1)	192 (4,0)	1.468 (14,9)
282 (3,2)	1.689 (4,5)	607 (2,6)	730 (15,3)	352 (3,6)
3.679 (42,2)	14.482 (38,3)	8.995 (38,6)	1.158 (24,3)	4.329 (43,9)
1.082 (12,4)	4.938 (13,0)	2.993 (12,8)	197 (4,1)	1.808 (18,3)
392 (4,5)	1.000 (2,6)	408 (1,7)	330 (7,0)	262 (2,7)
295 (3,4)	7.167 (19,0)	5.160 (22,2)	1.487 (31,2)	520 (5,8)
809 (9,3)	2.592 (6,8)	1.503 (6,5)	398 (8,4)	691 (7,0)
551 (6,4)	1.181 (3,1)	751 (3,2)	92 (2,0)	338 (3,4)

Key (continued)

15. Pneumonia and bronchitis
16. Diseases of the heart and blood vessels
17. Diseases of the blood vessels of the brain
18. Diseases of the digestive organs
19. Inadequately defined illnesses
20. Other illnesses
21. Violent deaths
22. Female

We should emphasize that the group "Inadequately defined illnesses" still accounts for a high percentage, which makes it difficult to draw correct conclusions concerning actual changes with respect to causes of death. This group is most sizable for the population of Kosovo and Montenegro. The mortality rate is lowest for this group in Slovenia.

The proportion of deaths resulting from infectious diseases, tuberculosis and diseases of the respiratory organs has dropped considerably, but the share of diseases of the heart, cancer, diseases of the blood vessels of the brain, respectively, has increased, which has to do with changes in the age-specific composition of the population. The share of these diseases is particularly high in the more advanced regions (Vojvodina, Slovenia and Croatia), where the share of the elderly population is higher.

In the comparison of the 1950-1954 period with 1962 there was an increase in the share of violent deaths. Whereas in the 1950-1954 period the percentage of violent deaths was 5.7 percent for the male population and 2.07 percent for the female population, in 1976 this share rose to 9.9 and 3.9 percent, respectively. The difference between the sectors in the share of violent deaths is certainly one of the [reasons] for the higher level of the mortality rate of the male population. This group of causes (accidents, homicides and suicides) is most significant in Yugoslavia, where it is 15.2 percent of all the causes for the male population and 6.4 percent for the female population.

Table 6 [sic]. Most Frequent Causes of Death in Yugoslavia, 1962

	Yugoslavia	
	Number of Deaths	Percentage
Total	183,843	
Male	93,889	100.0
Infectious diseases	2,043	2.2
Tuberculosis	5,060	5.4
Cancer (malignant tumor)	8,151	8.7
Pneumonia and bronchitis	8,312	8.8
Diseases of the heart and blood vessels	16,885	18.0
Diseases of the blood vessels of the brain	5,232	5.6
Diseases of the digestive organs	4,752	5.1
Inadequately defined illnesses	21,751	23.2
Other illnesses	18,888	15.8
Violent deaths	6,815	7.2
Female	92,954	100.0
Infectious diseases	2,076	2.2
Tuberculosis	3,471	3.7
Cancer	7,717	8.3
Pneumonia and bronchitis	7,736	8.4
Diseases of the heart and blood vessels	20,129	21.7
Diseases of the blood vessels of the brain	6,646	7.1
Diseases of the digestive organs	2,650	2.8
Inadequately defined illnesses	26,254	28.3
Other illnesses	18,887	14.9
Violent deaths	2,388	2.6

If a comparison is made between the advanced and underdeveloped countries with respect to the most frequent causes of death, it can be said that degenerative diseases (especially heart disease and cancer) are the most significant for the first group of countries, while infectious and parasitic diseases still have a high share in the underdeveloped regions. One of the reasons lies in the differing age-specific composition of the population, since degenerative diseases occur mainly in the older population, and in the advanced regions this group has a large share in the total population.

Infant Mortality

The entire postwar period is characterized by a decline in the infant mortality rate. In 1950 there were 118.6 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, and in 1978 the mortality rate was 33.6 pro mille. The infant mortality rate has also been dropping in every region, but fastest in Vojvodina (index number 1978/1950--11.3), Croatia (index number 18.3) and Slovenia (index number 20.1). The smallest drop in infant mortality has been in Kosovo (index number 49.4) and in Macedonia (index number 42.1), i.e., in regions where infant mortality is highest. In 1978 there were 69.8 infant deaths per 1,000 live births in Kosovo, and in Macedonia the rate was 57.5 pro mille. We can say that in these regions infant mortality is still rather high as compared to the countries with low infant mortality in Europe and in the other advanced countries of the world,* as well as with those regions in Yugoslavia which have low interest mortality.

In an age-specific analysis the most significant division is into infants who died in the first month of life (neonatal mortality) and infants who died between the age of 28 days and the end of the first year of life (postneonatal mortality). In countries with low infant mortality neonatal mortality accounts for more than 75 percent of all deaths, since infant mortality in in the postneonatal period has been almost eliminated. In Sweden, where the infant mortality rate in 1975 was 8.3 percent, 74.5 percent of infant deaths were in the first 28 days of life. That is, in the first month of life there is still a significant effect of so-called endogenous causes of death (genetic malformations, debility, premature delivery, accidents in childbirth, and so on), many of which are difficult to eliminate at the present level of development of the medical sciences.

The age-specific composition of infant deaths in Yugoslavia shows a relatively high percentage of infants dying after the first month of life, which signifies a high influence of exogenous causes of death (causes of the external environment, i.e., those which can be eliminated through adequate care, hygiene and treatment). Only in Slovenia has the percentage of infants dying in the first month come close to the percentage established in countries with a very low infant mortality rate.

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* In 1974 the infant mortality rates in certain countries were as follows: 10.2‰ in Finland, 10.5‰ in Norway, 9.6‰ in Sweden, 11.3‰ in Holland and 10.8‰ in Japan.

Table 7. Infant Mortality Rate in Yugoslavia in the Postwar Period

Year	Yugoslavia	Bosnia-Hercegovina	Montenegro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia As a Whole	Serbia Proper	Serbia Vojvodina	Serbia Kosovo
1950.	118,6	125,6	101,9	118,1	136,7	80,6	118,1	101,7	141,3	145,1
1960.	87,7	107,0	66,4	70,4	114,6	35,1	86,2	68,7	132,5	73,4
1970.	55,5	69,1	29,0	34,2	88,0	24,5	56,3	39,9	96,3	36,7
1976.	36,7	38,6	26,2	22,4	60,7	19,4	39,9	27,4	71,6	20,4
1977.	35,2	31,8	26,1	22,5	61,8	17,1	39,7	27,3	70,9	20,3
1978.	33,6	32,4	21,6	21,6	57,5	16,2	37,8	26,3	69,8	16,4
Index 1978/50.	28,3	25,8	21,2	18,3	42,1	20,1	32,0	25,9	49,4	11,3

Source: Demographic statistics for 1960, 1974 and 1976; "Statisticki godisnjak 1978." The figures for 1978 are provisional (SAOPSTENJE, No 327 of the Federal Bureau of Statistics).

Table 8. Age-Specific Infant Mortality in Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Kosovo (1976) and a Comparison With Sweden and Norway (1975)

	Broj umrle odojčadi na 1.000 živorođenih (1)	Ukupno umrlo odojčadi (2)	(3) Sastav umrlih po starosti (%) svega (4)	do 28 dana (5)	od 28—365 dana (6)
Yugoslavia	36,7	14.430	100	48,3	51,7
Slovenia	19,4	500	100	70,7	29,3
Kosovo	71,6	3.678	100	28,9	71,1
Sweden	8,3	625	100	74,5	25,5
Norway	10,6	894	100	66,1	33,9

Key:
1. Number of infant deaths per 1,000 live births
2. Total infant deaths
3. Age-specific composition of infant deaths (in percentage)
4. Total
5. In the first 27 days
6. From 28 to 365 days

On the basis of the age-specific composition of infant deaths it is estimated that in 1976 (and in 1975) about 20 infants per 1,000 live births in Yugoslavia died from exogenous causes, in Slovenia the figure was about 6 pro mille, in Kosovo about 51 pro mille, and in Sweden and Norway about 3 pro mille.

The biometric method,* which is based on distribution of the number of infant deaths with respect to age, gives good results for analysis of endogenous and exogenous causes of death, even when precise data on causes of death are lacking. Applied to the years 1954, 1960 and 1976, it yields the following data on endogenous and exogenous causes of infant mortality in Yugoslavia (1954, 1960 and 1976), Slovenia and Kosovo (1976).

Table 9. Total, Endogenous and Exogenous Causes of Infant Mortality in Yugoslavia (1954, 1960 and 1976), Slovenia and Kosovo (1976)

	1954.	1960.	1976. Yugoslavia	1976. Slovenia	1976. Kosovo	Index 1976/54 for Yugoslavia
a) Absolute numbers						
Total infant mortality	50.115	37.939	14.430	590	3.678	28,7
Endogenous causes	13.114	10.217	5.422	376	520	41,3
Exogenous causes	37.001	27.722	9.008	214	3.158	24,3
b) Mortality rates						
Total	101,6	87,6	36,7	19,4	71,6	36,1
Endogenous causes	26,6	23,6	13,8	12,3	10,1	51,8
Exogenous causes	75,0	64,0	22,9	7,0	61,4	30,5

The infant mortality rate in Yugoslavia resulting from exogenous causes of death has dropped considerably more (index number 30.5) than the rate of mortality related to endogenous causes (index number 51.8). This is in accord with previous analyses in other countries, since in countries with low infant mortality exogenous mortality dropped very rapidly, while endogenous mortality has changed slowly. In those regions infant mortality occurs mainly in the first months of life, and within that month the rate is highest in the first week of life and during the first day. This distribution of deaths in the first year of life emphasizes the significance of endogenous causes of death in the first days of life. In countries with high infant mortality mortality is also high in the other months, when exogenous causes of death have a large influence. Biometric analysis of infant mortality in Slovenia and Kosovo shows that Slovenia has come close to the countries with low infant mortality, while in Kosovo there is still a high death rate of infants resulting from exogenous causes of death. However, the lower endogenous mortality in countries with a low level of infant mortality indicates the possibility of a further reduction

* Regression lines

$Y = 13.114 + 2.26\ x$ for 1954
$Y = 10.217 + 1.70\ x$ for 1960 --Yugoslavia
$Y = 5.421 + 0.54\ x$ for 1976

$Y = 0.376 + 0.013\ x$ for 1976--Slovenia

$Y = 0.520 + 0.185\ x$ for 1976--Kosovo

For more on the biometric method see the study of Dr D. Breznik: "Demografija--analiza, metodi i modeli" [Demography--Analysis, Methods and Models].

even of endogenous infant mortality in Yugoslavia, and this would be achieved if more births took place in medical institutions, if mothers were provided better and more effective protection, if special measures were taken to protect premature infants, and so on.

With respect to the most frequent causes of infant death we will give only certain general trends and changes in view of the high percentage of infant deaths in the group "Inadequately defined illnesses," which represents a great difficulty in framing analytical conclusions.

Table 10. Most Frequent Causes of Infant Death in Yugoslavia in 1962 and 1976 and in Slovenia and Kosovo in 1976

Cause of Death	Yugoslavia 1962. Abs No	Yugoslavia 1962. %	Yugoslavia 1976. Abs No	Yugoslavia 1976. %	Slovenia Abs No	Slovenia %	Kosovo Abs No	Kosovo %
(1) UKUPNO	34.762	100	14.430	100	590	100	3.678	100
(2) Enteritis i enterocolitis	3.855	11,1	1.277	8,9	8	1,4	483	13,1
(3) Tetanus	345	1,0	57	0,4	1	0,2	29	0,8
(4) Male boginje	681	2,0	97	6,7	—	—	36	1,0
(5) Ostale zarazne bolesti (i TBC)	645	1,8	304	2,1	9	1,5	85	2,3
(6) Pneumonije i bronhopneumonije	6.517	18,7	2.970	20,6	56	9,5	1.034	26,1
(7) Urođene mane	761	2,2	1.028	7,1	150	25,4	59	1,6
(8) Povrede pri rođenju	1.282	3.7	940	6,5	47	8,0	52	1,4
(9) Nedonošenost	4.021	11,6	2.164	15,0	101	17,1	193	5,3
(10) Nedovoljno definisane bolesti	6.146	17,7	3.166	21,9	7	1,2	1.268	34,5
(11) Ostale bolesti	10.357	29,8	2.322	16,1	182	30,8	432	11,7
(12) Nasilne smrti	152	0,4	105	0,7	29	4,9	7	0,2

Source: "Savezni statisticki godisnjak" [Federal Statistical Yearbook] for 1964 and 1978.

Key:
1. Total
2. Enteritis and enterocolitis
3. Tetanus
4. Chicken pox
5. Other infectious diseases (and tuberculosis)
6. Pneumonia and bronchopneumonia
7. Congenital defects
8. Injuries in childbirth
9. Premature birth
10. Inadequately defined illnesses
11. Other diseases
12. Violent death

It is evident from the figures in Table 10 that in Kosovo 34.5 percent of infant deaths are in the group "Inadequately defined illnesses," and this percentage is rather high even for Yugoslavia as a whole (21.9 percent). However, it can be said that as infant mortality has dropped, there has also been a drop in the share of infectious diseases, pneumonia and bronchopneumonia, while there has been an increase of the share in the groups "Congenital defects," "Injuries in childbirth" and "Premature birth" (the example of Slovenia). In 1976 these causes of death accounted for 50.5 percent of all infant deaths in Slovenia, while their share was 28.6 percent in Yugoslavia as a whole and 8.3 percent in Kosovo. However, the rate of infant mortality resulting from these causes (per 1,000 live births) was 9.8 pro mille in 1976 for Slovenia, 10.5 pro mille for Yugoslavia and 5.9 pro mille for Kosovo, which suggests the hypothesis of approximately equal frequency of infant mortality resulting from these endogenous causes of death when we take into account the quality of the data (the large share in the group "Inadequately defined illnesses" in Kosovo).

The table below gives the rates for other groups of illness as well.

	Deaths Per 1,000 Live Births by Groups of Causes of Death			
	Yugoslavia			
	1962.	1976.	Slovenia	Kosovo
Infectious diseases (first 4 groups in Table 10)	13,3	4,4	0,6	12,3
Pneumonia and bronchopneumonia	15,7	7,6	1,8	20,1
Inadequately defined illnesses	14,8	8,1	0,2	24,7
Other illnesses	25,0	5,9	6,0	8,4
"Endogenous" group	14,6	10,5	9,8	5,9

An analysis of the infant mortality rate by groups of causes of death indicates the opportunities that exist with respect to eliminating exogenous causes of death, but certain results can also be achieved with respect to endogenous mortality.

Life expectancy for persons at age 15, age 50 and age 65 has also shown changes, and they have been more marked for the female population. Life expectancy of the male population has shown stagnation, and even a slight decline because of the higher mortality rate over the age of 20. In Slovenia, for example, life expectancy of persons at the ages of 15, 50 and 65 shows a drop between the 1952-1954 period and the 1974-1975 period. The variability from region to region with respect to life expectancy is considerably less for persons at the ages of 15, 50 and 65 than for newborn infants (Table 12).

Table 12. Life Expectancy of Persons 15, 50 and 65 Years of Age

	Male						Female					
	Age 15		Age 50		Age 65		Age 15		Age 50		Age 65	
	1952/54.	1974/75.	1952/54.	1974/75.	1952/54.	1974/75.	1952/54.	1974/75.	1952/54.	1974/75.	1952/54.	1974/75.
Yugoslavia	52,9	55,6	22,2	23,8	11,9	12,7	55,0	60,3	24,3	27,1	13,0	14,7
Bosnia-Hercegovina	50,5	55,5	20,3	23,6	11,0	12,7	52,5	59,5	22,9	26,3	12,7	14,2
Montenegro	53,8	56,9	23,2	24,1	12,5	11,9	56,0	61,5	25,3	28,0	13,4	15,0
Croatia	53,6	54,1	22,3	22,7	11,8	13,1	57,1	60,4	25,1	27,2	13,3	14,8
Macedonia	54,1	57,2	23,2	24,7	12,5	13,05	53,9	60,9	24,5	27,5	13,9	15,0
Slovenia	54,2	53,6	23,2	22,5	12,5	11,9	58,1	60,6	25,6	27,5	13,4	15,0
Serbia as a whole	52,4	56,4	21,9	24,3	11,6	13,0	53,9	60,2	23,7	26,9	12,6	14,5
Serbia proper	52,6	56,4	22,0	24,1	11,7	12,4	54,2	60,2	23,4	26,9	12,5	14,4
Kosovo	50,7	57,6	22,1	25,4	12,0	14,0	47,6	60,5	23,0	27,6	12,9	15,1
Vojvodina	52,7	54,5	21,6	22,9	11,2	12,0	55,7	59,6	24,2	26,4	12,6	14,2

Source: "Srkacene aproksimativne tablice mortaliteta za SFRJ, SR i SAP 1974/75" [Abridged Approximate Life Tables for Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republics and Provinces, 1974/1975].

Average length of life is higher for the female population in all regions than the average length of life for the male population. The differences are most pronounced for the population of the more advanced regions (Slovenia, Croatia). The figures for a majority of the advanced countries indicate that differences in length of life between the male and female population amount to between 6 and 8 years (as much as 10 years in the USSR in the 1971-1972 period) to the advantage of the female population, whereas in the less developed countries average length of life of the female population is less than 5 years than the average length of life of males.

It is evident from the comparison with the more advanced countries that average length of life in Slovenia is already at the level of those countries and in certain regions is coming close to that level, while [in others], especially Kosovo, it differs considerably from that level. The differences here are more pronounced for infants than for other age groups. For example, whereas life expectancy for a newborn male child in Yugoslavia (1974-1975) was 66.93 years, in Sweden it was 72.12 years (1973). However, at age 10 these figures are 60.50 and 63.15 years, respectively. The difference is 5.19 years for newborn infants, but 2.65 years for 10-year-olds.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1842

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Socialist Journalism Deans Meet in Bucharest
(PRESA NOASTRA, Nov 80) 1

HUNGARY

Functions of Central Committee Set Forth, Performance Evaluated
(PARTELET, Dec 80) 7

Members of Factory Quadrangle Define Roles at One Workplace
(Ilona Peter; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 2 Nov 80) 12

POLAND

Editor Terms Renewal Process Complex, Difficult
(Boguslaw Lesiewicz; PARTELET, Dec 80) 16

ROMANIA

Report on Meeting of Romanian-Soviet History Group
(Gh. I. Ionita; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Sep 80) 21

Book on 16th Century Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania Reviewed
(Nicolae Stoicescu; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Sep 80) 24

Paper on 1848-1881 Period Presented at Academy Session
(Constantin Damian; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Sep 80) 32

YUGOSLAVIA

Draft Amendments to Federal, Republic, Provincial Constitutions
(BORBA, 17 Dec 80) 35

SOCIALIST JOURNALISM DEANS MEET IN BUCHAREST

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Nov 80 pp 20-22

[Report of scientific meeting on journalism]

[Text] On 20-24 October 1980, socialist country deans of schools of journalism and leaders of higher education institutes for the press, met at the School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy.

The meeting was intended and conducted as an exchange of experience on the topic "Practical Experience, an Organic Part of Journalistic Education." Eleven higher education institutes for the press, from nine socialist countries including Romania, were represented at the meeting. Present at the opening session were Eugen Florescu, deputy head of the Press and Radiotelevision Department of the Central Council of the RCP, as well as Dumitru Ghise and Florin Balaure, pro-deans of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy.

Papers were presented and discussions were conducted by Prof Nikola Racev, Dr Mihail Minkov (Bulgaria), Prof Vladimir Hudec, Prof Iosif Borisek (Czechoslovakia), Prof Gerhard Fuchs, Dr Rolf Schulze (GDR), Prof Dragan Stoljilkovic (Yugoslavia), Lecturer Tadeusz Kupis, Dr Zbigniew Bajka (Poland), Prof Nestor Ignat (Romania), Dr Ferenc Ibos (Hungary), Dr Vladimir Serafimovici Vinogradski (USSR), as well as Bui Tru and Nguyen Sam (North Vietnam).

Also participating in the sessions were Romanian journalists, teaching staffs, and students from the School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy.

The meeting was conducted at a high scientific level, in a relaxed, friendly atmosphere of sincere collaboration, and was the occasion for a true exchange of experience on a topic which elicited the interest of all participants, each paper being followed by many questions and extensive discussions.

On 23 October, the guests visited Dimbovita County. At Tirgoviste they were received by Florea Ristache, first secretary of the Dimbovita County Committee of the RCP.

The participants, accompanied by Ghica Chiru, secretary of the Dimbovita County Committee of the RCP, then visited the Petroleum Equipment Enterprise, where the fourth year students of the school of journalism published an in-house newspaper in October, as part of their practical training.

This was followed by a very interesting visit to the Printing Museum and to the old ruler's court in Tirgoviste.

Some of the participant's comments are given below.

Prof Nicola Racev (dean of the School of Journalism of Kliment Ohridski University in Sofia):

Seven meetings of school of journalism deans represents an immense progress, progress in terms of professional, human, and friendship relations, and progress in terms of valuable experience for the education and instruction of young, new, socialist staffs; it also represents a wealth of means and ways for continued development and implementation of Marxist-Leninist theory in the study of journalism, which cannot be reduced to only one country or personality, but must represent the cause of scientists in all socialist countries; and finally, it furthers the tendency to stand united in our common struggle for socialism and communism.

That is why in my opinion, the idea of a deans' meeting is exceptional. I was particularly convinced of it by the last meeting in Bucharest. Our Romanian colleagues, and in particular Nestor Ignat, of whom we all have grown fond and consider as the dean of socialist country deans, deserves all the merit for having created this meeting, in which we have discussed a very important and timely topic.

Dr Mihail Minkov (pro-dean of the School of Journalism of Kliment Odhriski University in Sofia):

An essential trend of the conference has been to improve the training efficiency of young staffs in socialist journalism.

I believe it is imperatively necessary to find and implement the modern means and methods that could combine the soundest theoretical knowledge with the necessary work practices in utilizing mass information.

I want to stress and emphasize the atmosphere of work and friendship which pervaded the conference.

Our hosts, colleagues of the School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and the dean of the school, Nestor Ignat, have created wonderful conditions for carrying out our activities.

This event has been a forum for exchanging experiences and opinions.

The conference has enriched our experience, and I believe that we have taken a significant step forward in the traditional collaboration among our schools.

Prof Vladimir Hudec (dean of the School of Journalism of Karoline University in Prague):

I have participated in all seven conferences of school of journalism deans from socialist countries. At first, we were concerned with educational programs, then with scientific activities, and now in Bucharest, we dealt with a very interesting and serious question, namely, the connection between theoretical training and journalistic practice. Our Romanian colleagues made very good preparations for the conference, a meeting from which we will be able to derive a wealth of experience.

Prof Iozef Borisec (pro-dean of the School of Philosophy of Komenski University in Bratislava):

The conduct of the conference and its work fully confirmed how appropriate the idea was to hold it in Bucharest. The School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy has a wealth of experience and has obtained good results in the practical training of young journalists.

I am personally gratified that during the conference we had an exchange of experience regarding the practical training of journalism students. As stated by all the participants, practical experience acquires particular significance today, when the requirements for multilateral, complex training of qualified journalists have increased significantly. Its interpretation and methods differ in various countries. As a result of the conference, many of us will use the experience we have acquired here, and this is the area in which I think the meeting was important.

Prof Gerhard Fuchs (director of the Journalism Department of Karl Marx University in Leipzig):

We were most impressed by the exemplary organization of this meeting, the high scientific level of the exchanges of experience, and the significance of the topic advanced by our Romanian colleagues. Added to this is the open nature of the discussions, made possible by the fact that the paper of professor Nestor Ignat allowed the discussion of a wide range of questions. The papers of the deans of schools of journalism covered many problems involved in the training of students. In our opinion, it was a good idea to also invite to the conference journalists interested in the theory and practice of the press, as well as in journalist training problems. This has considerably increased the efficiency of the exchange of experiences.

The participants were directly influenced by the high esteem in which the party leadership holds the science and practice of journalism. Wherever we met, we encountered an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual respect, and I felt that this was one of the most important aspects of the conference.

Dr Rolf Schulze:

During our stay in Bucharest, I was most impressed by our hosts' detailed preparation of the conference, as well as by the comprehensive and high-caliber

program in which we participated. I have retained with great interest all the information I have heard about the training of journalists in Romania. Notable in particular, is the care devoted by the RCP to the training of journalists.

The visit to Tirgoviste is an event which will be hard to forget and which has enabled us to know the great achievements of the Romanian workers. We were aware every day of the hospitality of our Romanian hosts, while many collaborators of the academy accompanied us and provided information in the most friendly manner.

Prof Dragan Stoljilkovic (School of Political Sciences in Belgrade):

Each exchange of experience is very important, and in this context the exchange of experience in Bucharest is most significant. In addition to the importance and significance of the information regarding the system for training journalists in your country, we have also acquired a great deal of material about the manner in which this system is applied in neighboring and friendly countries. As an open society, we have great esteem for the opinions of others, and always seek to integrate into our practices those opinions and experiences which can be useful to us. From the little that we have learned here, we believe that we should -- and we will -- obtain a more detailed knowledge of your approach to training and your thinking about the specialization of journalists, so that we may include part of these ideas and experiences in our journalism education. In any case, we will leave Bucharest the richer for it, both those of us who have come as guests, and you, who have organized this conference. Because in an exchange of experience each of the participants leaves with two pieces of information: that which he had and which he communicated, and that which was communicated to him. This is why we feel that we leave here enriched by the information which we have acquired; and this is a good thing, because such an exchange of information is indispensible today for the progress of mankind.

Lecturer Tadeusz Kupis (director of the Journalism Institute of Warsaw University):

This has been the seventh annual conference of deans of higher education schools of journalism in CEMA member nations. The first was held in Warsaw in 1974, at the initiative of the Journalism Institute of Warsaw University. These are very useful meetings in which we all achieve a common goal: shaping the journalistic staffs for socialist means of mass information.

The Bucharest meeting has been particularly useful. We achieved an exchange of experience on the role of practical work in the training of journalists. We learned of the most interesting achievements of the School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy. We can envy the conditions under which our Romanian colleagues fulfill their scientific and educational tasks.

I am looking forward to our seeing each other again in Warsaw in 1981!

Dr Zbigniew Bajka (researcher at the Center for Press Research, Krakow):

The need for organizing meetings such as the one held in Bucharest is demonstrated not only by the discussions on the means and methods for training journalists, that

were held during official sessions, but also by those that were conducted outside the meeting. The many questions addressed to the speakers showed how attentively their papers were heard, and how acute a need there was for this exchange of opinions among specialists from various socialist countries.

The conference was very well organized. But more important that this ideal organization, was the great hospitality and cordiality of our Romanian hosts.

Dr Ibos Ferenc (director of the Education Directorate of the Association of Hungarian Journalists):

The conference of deans of schools and institutes of journalism, held in Bucharest on 20-25 October 1980, has offered us all a fruitful exchange of experience.

I believe that the Bucharest meeting was very useful because it brought into discussion the problem of practical work as a decisive factor in the training of journalists. Here in Bucharest, each one of us presented his experience in the field of journalistic practice. We all agreed that journalists are also party activists, and that writing is to serve the interests of socialism and communism.

The school's building in Bucharest is very beautiful, with its modern, elegant, imposing design. At the same time, we also saw how it operated inside, that is, how practical activities are actually conducted. Your experience is very interesting and useful. The house organ training projects for instance, offer the students the possibility of knowing big or little men, sites, and problems, and of working as they would in a press office, in a creative fever. I believe that it would be interesting to apply this exchange in our schools as well.

These deans' meetings also offer the opportunity for friendly collaboration among our countries, for better knowing each other, and for helping each other shape the profile of today's journalist.

On this occasion, I also thank our hosts for the invitation to participate in this conference. It created a real working atmosphere, and presented interesting problems and concrete means for solving them. I think that each one of us is leaving with new knowledge, and with new and interesting experiences from Romania.

Dr Vladimir Vinogradski (School of Journalism in Moscow):

The seventh international conference of deans and leaders of journalism education in socialist countries, which was held in Bucharest in October 1980 at the initiative of the School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, covered the extremely timely and important topic of practical experience as an integral part of the training of journalists.

The clear and interesting papers of the conference participants spelled out all that is new and valuable in the creative education of journalists and in the preparation of party fighters in the area of ideology, and provided an exchange of experience in the organization of practical work for future journalists.

The scientific and practical value of the conference is unquestionable, since it has disclosed many significant features in the professional training of journalists.

The participants' papers often mentioned the fact that practical experience represents the major link in education, in creating the viable and active position of the future journalist -- the position of the fighter, the public militant who is intransigent toward bourgeois ideology and tireless propagandist of communist ideals.

For instance, Russian students, future journalists, pass through a socio-political school in which they reach the peak of mastery, working on newspapers, in radio, and in television during the period in which the country is preparing itself for the 26th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.

The conference has once more shown that the journalist's efficiency fully depends on his ideologic level and on his practical training during schooling.

One should also point out the cordial and working atmosphere of our conference, and its splendid organization by the Romanian workers.

Bui Tru (counselor of the North Vietnam Embassy in Bucharest):

Each country under its specific circumstances has its own experience during the training of journalists. That is why we participated in this meeting, moved by the sincere and friendly desire to learn from the practical experience of the School of Journalism of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, and of the other specialized schools in socialist countries.

We believe that the papers and their discussions were interesting, and that the problems in the actual training of future journalists as well as the stages in the implementation of training to practice, are worthy of study and learning.

In our case, we are training Vietnamese journalists with a high political level and a corresponding professional level, who will be able to serve the needs of the revolution. In order to reach this goal we stress theory and particularly practical experience. Ultimately, the training process of journalists must define the basic features of any journalist: patriotism, devotion to socialism, and faithfulness toward the party policy and the cause of the revolution.

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FUNCTIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SET FORTH, PERFORMANCE EVALUATED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12 Dec 80 pp 18-21

["The Central Committee's Ways and Means - The CC's Resolution of 13 November 1980"]

[Text] It is an important lesson of our party's more than 6 decades-long struggle that its elected bodies--first of all, the Central Committee--are indispensable for fulfilling its historic mission and maintaining its leading role. For this reason, the Central Committee periodically examines its own activity and coordinates it with the requirements of current tasks facing the party. Most recently, it made an extensive resolution in 1968 to improve its working methods. In connection with goals defined at the party's 12th congress, the Central Committee found it necessary to evaluate the working methods of its own executive organs: the Political Committee and the Secretariate.

The Central Committee establishes:

The MSZMP sets its policies according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the Leninian norms are consistently implemented in the party's life and activity. Elected bodies make the decisions at all levels; the Central Committee determines the tasks through longer-range and principled resolutions; the mid-level and lower-level party organs and the party's branch organizations carry out their tasks with a great degree of independence and authority.

Through ideological and political leadership, the party makes it certain that the principles and goals of socialism are implemented in our society. Respecting the independence of state and social organizations, it implements its policies and resolutions through Communists who work there.

Following the directives of the party congress, the Central Committee continuously defines the tasks matured by social progress, eliminates the contradictions, and coordinates the interests of the working classes and strata; and organizes and mobilizes society's creative forces for the most important tasks in building socialism.

I.

The Central Committee endorses the present practice of the party's high-level executive bodies, namely, which summarizes and expresses the party's many decades of experiences in principles and politics.

1. According to the organizational by-laws, the Central Committee is, between two congresses, the party's primary body of political control, and its rights, duties and responsibilities are set accordingly. Its fundamental task is to implement, through ideological and political means, the direction accepted at the party congress. It manages and controls all party organs and organizations, and represents the party for state and social organizations, and in international relations. In its leadership and control, it deals with the tasks in the various areas of social life according to their importance. It decides in all fundamental questions of party policy, and in personal matters within its jurisdiction.

2. The Central Committee is the party's collective directive organ, and is the main consignatory of party unity and discipline. In its activity, it implements the principle of democratic centralism. It makes decisions collectively, and makes personal responsibility a part of the execution. In decision-making, it considers the interests of the people, weighs the expected social and political effects of its decisions, and determines the political and organizational tasks of the party organizations accordingly. It considers in its decisions the various interests that exist in society. There is an opportunity at the meetings of the Central Committee for democratic and creative discussion and for exposing various views. Free discussions, criticism and self-criticism guard the party against mistakes; they are indispensable requisites for correct decisions, exact implementation, and party unity. The democracy within the party has a decisive effect on the essential feature of our system, i.e., socialist democracy.

3. The Central Committee accepts a 5-year plan in which the resolutions of the congress are to be implemented and which determines the main aspects of the central party organs' activity. It works on the basis of annual work plans recommended by the Political Committee. The tasks included in these plans determine for the given year the main direction and more important areas in the work of the Political Committee, the Secretariate and the mid- and lower-level party organs.

4. The Political Committee and the Secretariate are the executive organs of the Central Committee. Their activity is managed and controlled by the Central Committee.

The Political Committee controls the party's political activity between two Central Committee meetings. It decides in questions within its jurisdiction, and directs the party's international activity. It is responsible for its decisions and work to the Central Committee. It prepares the Central Committee meetings and recommends the agenda.

The Secretariate decides in personal and organizational questions under its jurisdiction; matters requiring political decisions are submitted to the Political Committee. It organizes, coordinates and supervises the implementation of resolutions made by the elected central bodies. It directs the apparatus of the Central Committee so that it can fulfil its basic task in preparing decisions, and in organizing and supervising implementation. It coordinates the activity of the Central Committee and the regional party organs.

The Political Committee reports to the Central Committee about its own activity, including its international activity, in the form of agenda items, reports and proposals. The Political Committee and the Secretariate regularly informs in writing the Central Committee members about their activity.

5. The Agitation and Propaganda Committee, and the Committee on Economic Policy, elected by the Central Committee, exonerate and help the party's leading organs by discussing, and taking a stand on, ideological and practical questions under their jurisdiction. They do preparatory work for the Political Committee, and evaluate the individual submissions.

6. The Central Committee also sends out special committees, made up by its own members, to examine individual questions, to work out proposals, and to supervise the implementation of resolutions. Depending on the kinds of questions, the committees can also directly submit their proposals to the Central Committee. According to necessity, they also involve in their work a large circle of specialists in the given area, including non-party-members.

7. The Central Committee is responsible for implementing the principles of cadre policies. It decides in cadre questions that come under its jurisdiction. The Political Committee has preliminary consultations with members of the central committee who work in the given area.

8. The two leading bodies, i.e., the Central Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee, are coordinated. The Central Committee, when the need arises, initiates a meeting with the Central Supervisory Committee. The president and secretary of the Central Supervisory Committee participate in the Central Committee meetings as permanent quests.

The Central Committee invites to its extended meetings leading party, state and social officers, including non-party-members, all of whom have a right to participate in the discussions.

9. The Central Committee informs the party membership, the directing bodies of state and social organs, and the public, about its meetings. It issues communiques about its meetings, summarizing speeches, discussions and the essence of resolutions. These communiques must be considered official party documents. To inform the public, it issues, according to need, its resolutions and speeches in a suitable form.

II.

The term of the Central Committee members is the period between two congresses. They have equal rights and responsibilities.

1. Central Committee members are not, and cannot be, personally dependent on the party's executive organs. For this reason, the Central Committee reserves the right to decide in its own jurisdiction about job changes having an existential effect on its members. In especially urgent cases--if the member involved accepts the proposal--the Political Committee can also decide, but the resolution must be submitted to the Central Committee for subsequent approval.

2. Central Committee members participate in the preparation of resolutions, in meetings, in decision-making, in the party's every-day activity, and in the work of their own local organization. They have the right to voice their opinion in committee meetings about questions which are not included in the agenda; they may request that important questions be put on the agenda. They are personally responsible for their committee work and for the decisions made there. Even outside of meetings, they are required to represent the Central Committee's views, and are responsible for party unity and discipline.

3. Central Committee members may submit comments and proposals directly to the Political Committee and the Secretariate. They may turn with their questions and comments to any party, state and social organ which in turn is required to respond and, if necessary, to act.

4. It is a right of Central Committee members to look into the activity of the Central Committee members to look into the activity of the Central Committee's departments, to gain direct experience in the activity of regional party organs and organizations, and to participate in their meetings. They have the possibility, by special authority as temporary or permanent social associates, to participate in the work of a Central Committee department.

5. Central Committee members are informed about the more important items discussed in the meetings of the Political Committee and the Secretariate. They may look into proposals, resolutions and documents which are dealt with by executive organs and committees and which help them in their work.

They regularly receive the documents and informative material of domestic and foreign politics and party events, and a list of the main topics which are put in the given time period on the agenda of the party committees of Budapest, the megyes, and of megye authority.

III.

The Central Committee's working method, in accordance with the respective 1968 resolution, has progressed in the right direction. A further strengthening of the party's leading role, a more coordinated cooperation between party, state and social organs, and the tasks we are facing and which necessitate higher requirements, demand, first of all, that the Central Committee continue with its proven methods and improve its directive and supervisory work.

1. In accordance with the needs of socialist progress, and in addition to economic development and foreign policy, the Central Committee must pay more attention in the future to domestic policies and ideological questions.

2. To better prepare decisions, the Central Committee should discuss important questions more often during preparations. Proposals should include, when possible, alternate solutions. When differences of opinion arise in the evaluation of the given problem's essence, they also must be made known.

3. The Communist leaders of state, social and mass organizations should report on their work from case to case to the Central Committee, and should present individual items of the agenda, depending on the topic under discussion.

4. Central Committee members should be more involved in the preparation of personal decisions.

5. The Central Committee members' participation in public life, i.e., in domestic and international politics, in party programs, in party committee meetings, and in membership meetings, must be better organized.

6. Central Committee members should receive, as information, the work plan of committees which work alongside with the Central Committee. They should be invited, according to need or their request, to the meetings of these committees and panels.

7. By 1 November, the members of the Central Committee submit to the annual work plan of the party organs their proposals on questions they consider important. The Political Committee should evaluate these proposals, and make a report to the Central Committee about their adoption.

8. At the middle of the period between two congresses, the Central Committee should regularly examine the implementation of congressional resolutions.

9414
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MEMBERS OF FACTORY QUADRANGLE DEFINE ROLES AT ONE WORKPLACE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Nov 80 p 6

[Article by Ilona Peter: "The Paths of Democracy, the Workplace Quadrangle"]

[Text] Factory quadrangle. Whoever is in a work relationship, wherever he may be working, will encounter this concept. In general we know that at one pole of the quadrangle is the responsible economic director of the workplace while at the other there are the leaders of the social organs--the party, the trade union and the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League]. But can we give a similarly exact answer to the question of what role, function is played by the quadrangle in the life of the enterprise. Is this a body that stands above the collective? Is it a democratic forum? Or is it something else? What is the need for it? What do the members of the quadrangle discuss when the door closes behind them?

What is the Need for It?

The leaders of the Hungarian Wool Spinning and Weaving Factory have opened these doors and given us the opportunity to learn about the activities of the enterprise quadrangle and perhaps receive answers to the questions which I could go on multiplying. Before meeting with the managers of the enterprise, I again scanned through the mass political guidebook of a Budapest information office in which I found the following lines regarding the work of the quadrangle: "The function of the workplace quadrangle was and still is the subject of much debate. The debates are manifold. There are some who would fully eliminate it from the system of leadership work; others include it in the forum system of plant democracy; others regard it as decision forum and use it as such; some places they do not use the possibilities it affords; and in most places it is combined with the uses of personal responsbility and the collective sphere of authority."

These lines are based on general experiences and bring together those conceptual differences and contradictions which occur in the interpretation of the quadrangle's role. But let us not barge in. Let us start from the beginning.

[Question] Why do we need the quadrangle?

[Answer by Istvan Gyorgy, enterprise director] We have for long maintained that in respect to its ultimate goals economic work is not an end to itself and cannot be separated from the human, political and social interests manifested therein.

For my own part, this means that before making the most important decisions that affect the enterprise workers I must be familiar with the varying and sometimes conflicting interests and to the extent possible create harmony among them. The quadrangle is the first station in this process of preparing for the decisions.

[Question] The first? And there are other stations as well?

[Answer] Of course. I can give an example. I cannot share with anyone, like in any other problem, responsibility for the enterprise's wage management. And still, for example, before making a decision on the level and ratios of the year's wage development I try to understand the views and position of the social organs which represent the workers' interests. In practice, this is how it goes: as the first step I inform the leaders of the organs of the sums of money which are available and of those wage development ideas which in my view would best help realize the enterprise interests. Following this, the leaders proceed according to the inner democratism of their own organizations and carry the information further, taking it on the paths of democracy.

Does It Go the Way the Chief Wants It?

[Question] And still I frequently hear it said that in the enterprises it goes the way the "chief," or the "bread-giving master" wants it.

[Answer] The principle of one-person responsibility does not contradict such views, not even if a mistaken concept is manifest therein. My work would really be much simpler if I could share my responsibility for management, or if I could invest someone else with at least a part of it. But there is no such person in the enterprise. Our practice of personal responsibility by the leader, on the other hand, does not exclude the realization of democratism in the decision processes, the participatory right and protection of the workers and their representative organizations.

[Answer] If I understand them correctly, they claim that nothing is decided in the quadrangle. What is the explanation?

[Answer by Mrs Ferenc Csongradi, secretary of the enterprise party committee]

In the quadrangle the leaders of the social organs chosen by the workers represent the bodies. There is no way to arrive at a position in their place or without them. For my own part, I guard against committing myself ahead of time in any question where the body has the right to take a position. With this it can be explained why the quadrangle does not replace or take over the sphere of authority of the democratic forums. Its role is still important and hard to dispense with. It is the forum in economic and political work for problems which arise daily and need common solutions. It is the area for exchanging information; for determining tasks that need positions taken by the body; and it is frequently the starting point for the democratic process by which an enterprise prepares for a decision.

[Question] There are enterprises in which the members of the democratic bodies feel themselves to be superfluous because it is their impression that in the quadrangle they are limited to the approval of questions that are already decided. What is your opinion of this?

[Answer] Where this happens, the quadrangle has interpreted its role incorrectly, and it does not promote but rather it damages the personal democratic rights of the bodies and the workers.

[Question] What kind of subjects and problems are discussed in the quadrangle?

[Answer] In our place nowadays management problems occur more frequently than usual. Our enterprise is living through a critical and difficult period. In brief, I can characterize our situation as follows: In 1975 as part of the reconstruction of the textile industry, we also underwent large-scale developments and in accordance with the concepts and strict prescriptions of the time we had to devote the funds available from state supports and our own resources to the modernization of the weaving plant. But in our old factory this development resulted only in a half-solution. Because of the backwardness of the preparatory departments and the technique built on obsolete equipment, we did not achieve the results for which the modern weaving plant gave us the possibility. The developments also spurred a labor shortage. A new, modern factory unit was established in Demecser, where now more than 900 workers are employed. All this used up enormous sums of money. Our development basis was exhausted, and is wanting.

In a Difficult Situation

[Question] Let us return to our original subject. What can the social organs do when the enterprise is in such a difficult situation with its existence and future threatened?

[Answer] We like our enterprise, but no matter how worried we are about its fate we cannot take over the role of the economic leadership in working out the course and mode of development. But we regard it as our obligation to lend to their endeavors such support as the collective and the unity of the workers may represent. And this is no small matter.

[Answer by Laszlo Huszar, secretary of the enterprise trade union committee]

In a difficult situation the representation of the workers' interests will not put up with the least harm to democratism. If ever, we now truly need unity, consultation, and coordination. We are working under such circumstances that for the fulfillment of our plan and in the interest of development we need to ask more than usual of our workers, work of outstanding quality even under difficult conditions, and sometimes self-sacrificing endurance. But we cannot reward their efforts with higher wages, and sometimes even the well-earned premium is omitted. Only the frank work can be of help and if the workers see that there is sense to their efforts because the situation is gradually improving.

[Answer by Mrs Margit Szauer Varadi, enterprise secretary of the KISZ committee] "As previously decided in the quadrangle, we will soon discuss tasks remaining for this year and preparations for the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the KISZ basic organizations. Nearly half the collective in our factory consists of young people. What can I say? We would like to experience the Sixth Five-Year Plan here in this factory and see the enterprise prosper."

What kind of course is the enterprise on? Will it fulfill the hopes of the young secretary and her youthful colleagues? It is no secret now that the economic leadership of the enterprise sees the road to development in the modernization of the vertical as a whole, in that the missing link, the preparatory departments must also be developed. With this, to be sure, the enterprise's management could become effective and profitable within an extremely short time. They are planning, therefore, to develop the modernization of the preparatory department in the next plan cycle. Develop? At an enterprise that has no development funds?

It is a terribly great responsibility to make decisions in such important problems. The correctness of such a plan must be assured most thoroughly from every aspect and in the smallest detail, and it must also be certain that there is no other way of development except by adding to the current indebtedness with new credits.

Even in such big questions, of course, the quadrangle cannot be the forum of decision. But all those tasks--the mass of problems which concern daily bread and the security of tomorrow--start out from this forum but do not remain the personal affair of four people because via the paths and forums of democracy they arrive as it were to every worker. And in the work shops, the weaving and spinning plants new problems accumulate which proceed on the road back to the quadrangle, and also beyond where they seek the path to development from the important problems of management in our day.

6691
CSO: 2500

EDITOR TERMS RENEWAL PROCESS COMPLEX, DIFFICULT

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12 Dec 80 pp 37-41

[Article by Boguslaw Lesiewicz, editor of ZYCIE PARTII: "The Difficult Process of Renewal"]

[Text] The recent events in Poland were not surprising for many people. What was startling was the scope of these events and the complexity of the situation. The discontent of society--and, especially of the working class--has been accumulating in the past few years. The most characteristic symptoms of this discontent emerged in 1976 in Radom, but the party and state leadership of that time did not draw the consequences.

Many of our friends may ask: why did the confidence disappear and how could this social crisis become so extensive? For it is well known that Poland achieved significant results in the early 1970s in the area of economic and social development. Would it have not thus been possible to avoid the crisis?

The Precedents

The 3 million members of the PZPR and the entire Polish society have a lively interest today in these questions. Although it is true that our country achieved significant results in the early 1970s, but, beginning with 1974, the effects of the capitalist energy crisis, the shortages in raw materials, the increasing pace of inflation, and unemployment: in other words, the capitalist countries' economic crisis, became increasingly apparent. It would be a mistake not to notice these phenomena or to take them lightly, i.e., to consider them as matters which do not concern us.

The "opening" policy and the extensive international cooperation between the socialist and capitalist countries entailed significant credit transactions. However, the purchases of licenses were not always carefully made; all of this should have made us more cautious in our relations with the capitalist countries and to react swiftly to events in those countries. All of this failed to take place, however; we stubbornly continued with intensive investments, primarily in capital-intensive production branches which were at the same time the least efficient. Investments reached 34 percent of national revenues, and this was an extreme burden for the entire national economy; at the same time, they did not produce the desirable results. The national economy had great difficulties in coping with this

burden. This resulted in a slow-down of production--mainly of consumer goods--which in turn resulted in an increase of nominal wages as well as both prices and living expenses, creating additional burdens for the workers and lowering their living standard.

The difficulties were indicated through various channels. I would mention, for example, the extensive debate preceding the 8th congress last fall in which both party members and non-party-members made numerous comments and proposals, indicated the deteriorating situation in public supply, and demanded effective measures. In spite of important and justified resolutions, these most striking social problems failed to reach the stage of solution and were trifled away.

The gravity of the situation was shown by the first walk-out last July and by the subsequent wave of strikes in August. I must note that these strikes by the working masses were directed not against the socialist system but against the mistakes made by the party and state leadership, against the party's deviations from Leninist norms, and against the distortions in social life. It must be emphasized that it was only the leadership, not the entire party, which became separated from the masses! These questions must be thoroughly examined in order to draw conclusions that are appropriate in the present socio-political situation.

The attitude and collective wisdom of the 3 million party members made it possible for us to make the necessary evaluations of, and draw the conclusions from, the existing world situation at the 4th, 5th and 6th plenary meetings of the PZPR's Central Committee. They enabled us to draw both personal and general political consequences.

Under Changed Conditions

We must work under entirely different political conditions today when, alongside with a justified anger and efforts to improve the grave situation, the activity of anti-socialist forces has also increased, which want to cook their political steaks by the fire of this opportunity.

The party, its new leadership, and the party membership have a unified view of the crisis, which emerged because the fundamental norms of socialism had been disregarded. It is a fact that these events resulted in a significant loss of respect toward the party and the government. We recognize this, too, and the party organizations, and their leaders, must thus strive, both at present and in the future, to entirely regain society's confidence. This is not an easy task. A lack of confidence in the party was manifest in the new union movement and in the creation of factory and inter-enterprise workers' councils and committees, which constitute the basic cells of independent unions, and which, not trusting spoken statements, demanded the recognition of their demands in writing, in the form of bilateral agreements signed by government representatives. Such agreements were made in Szczecin, Gdansk and Jastrzebie.

The question of unions elicits a great public interest. Their earlier activity was generally sharply criticized. We must admit that this criticism was justified. The various union organs have long lost their appropriate functions, their sensitivity toward the direct interests and needs of the working class became torpid, they did not react to the signs of discontent, and did not defend the workers' justified interests against the disadvantageous consequences of increasing living expenses.

We know, of course, that this situation can also be traced back to the party's activity. Numerous party leaders strived literally to exclude these union organs and lead this movement themselves. The unions weakly bowed their heads and accepted without reservations the arguments of state representatives; they also accepted those measures which had a direct--and detrimental--effect on wages, living expenses, and working and social conditions. Union leaders were too eager to accept limitations in social benefits, and did not protest against the decrease in funds for the improvement of working conditions. We should not wonder, then, that the masses sharply criticized the unions at the onset of the conflict situation manifest in the strikes, and that they even demanded new, independent and self-governing unions.

The party recognized this demand, considering that this movement of the working masses remained in its main slogans on the ground of socialism (the main slogan of the new unions was "Socialism--yes, deviations--no"). This does not mean, of course, that we agree with the divergence of the union movement. We proclaim the necessity for a unified movement and expect that the new unions will, sooner or later, connect their activity with that of the earlier branch unions. These have gone through significant changes in recent months: there were numerous congresses, their working style was drastically changed, and they tried to carry out their proper functions through independence and autonomy.

The confidence extended by the party to the new unions is based on the requirement that they must work according to the bilateral agreements and in the spirit of the constitution, they must recognize the indisputable existence of the socialist system, the PZPR's leading role and Poland's position in international alliances, and they must guarantee that they will not strive, either at present or in the future, to become a political party or opposition. It is clearly apparent from this that the party's relationship with the new unions will be based on constructive cooperation in all areas of social, political and economic life, according to the interests of the working class and the entire society.

It would be premature to draw any kind of conclusion from the new unions, as they are still in the stage of organization, and working out their organizational structure. A new bill about union activities is under way; it will synthesize all statutes and decrees regarding the rights and responsibilities of both the old and new unions.

Efforts to Stabilize the Economy

The most important and most pressing issue for Polish society is economic stabilization. The recent events in production plants greatly slowed down production and

decreased efficiency. This means huge burdens, even if we do not include the losses resulting from direct walk-outs and strikes. The funds for wage increases for about 9 million persons are also considerable. It is understandable that this makes the situation extremely tense and difficult.

The tipping of market balance and the great shortages in basic consumer goods only increase the possibility of careless steps and, in the long run, of hostile activity. The situation is made worse by an extremely bad harvest. In several crops, e.g., in potatoes and sugar beets, production decreased significantly, about 30 to 40 percent when compared to last year's crop. At the same time, foreign debt creates more restricted import conditions, and these in turn have a negative effect on the supply of raw and basic materials of several production branches.

Apparently, the point is the combination of numerous economic difficulties, the elimination of which in the near future is impossible. These difficulties are not alleviated by additional socialist imports of food and industrial goods either. Numerous large investments must be halted, and industrial production for agriculture, which was neglected for years, must be stepped up. However, these require long-term activity which does not yield rapid and spectacular results.

Under the present conditions, a thorough reform of the system of economic management and planning is indispensable. The implementation of such reforms, however, is not at all a simple task: it requires time, detailed analyses and appropriate plans. An entire army of scientists and practical specialists is dealing with this question today; a special party and government committee has been set up to make the management system more efficient and to work out conceptions which would constitute the basis for the economic reform. This reform must be directed at every level of production toward the strengthening of economic self-accounting and the elimination of excessive directive indexes; it must guarantee a wide flexibility, freedom of action, and economic independence for the producing enterprises, and at the same time it must create the appropriate conditions for the directive organs so that they can direct the socio-economic processes efficiently at the high level.

The point is that the relationship between the central organs—and the enterprises—and the regional organs will change drastically. The objective of the reform is to strengthen the extensive direction of central planning and socio-economic development, i.e., to increase the independence of the production units and the individual regional organs. This is closely connected with the increase of the role and significance of the workers' and regional self-government organs as well.

Extensive Social Reforms

The latter already belongs to a wider topic, namely, to the question of broadening socialist democracy. As Comrade Stanislaw Kania said, "Democracy cannot be a favor by the state organs to society, but a basic necessity originating from socialism." Confidence in the party can only emerge only on the ground of such a real and wide democracy.

All of this necessitates a change in internal party activity and party life style, and a rapid return to Leninist norms; we must fight, even in the most basic organizational units, against formalism, unnecessary formalities and the rigid directive

system to clear the way for the widest discussion and consultation, and for political encouragement. We decisively reject methods through which some elected party organs and the local organizations almost copied the steps of the state administrative and economic apparatus. We must put life into our ideological work among the masses.

We must give an account at the meetings of active party workers, at the voivodeship's executive committee meetings and at the local party membership meetings about the past period, analyzing the mistakes made and holding those responsible who were instrumental in creating the crisis situation and who violated the basic moral and ethical norms. At the same time, we must guard those who do their work honestly against hostile allegations and intrique.

The tasks facing the PZPR's membership is extremely extensive and complex. Slowly, a consolidation will come to an end among the membership: those who fell during these trying days are being left behind, and bitterness is giving way to constructive activity.

In response to demands made by the membership, the party leadership has made plans to convene a special 9th PZPR's congress. The preparatory work for the congress has already begun. This is not an easy political task. It is clear to us that not only those forces are active in our country which support the implementation of party policies but also those of the opposition. It is without doubt, however, that the majority of the Polish people support socialism and renewal, criticizing the unbeneficial phenomena from this position so that they can be corrected. At the same time, we are not forgetting that the enemies of socialism are also present in Polish society. For them, mistakes made are opportunities to attack the people's power and pretexts to attack us politically. We think, however, that we have adequate means to stand fast against these phenomena and these forces.

9414
CSO: 2500

ROMANIA

REPORT ON MEETING OF ROMANIAN-SOVIET HISTORY GROUP

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Sep 80 pp 1802-3

/Article by Gh. I. Ionita: "Seventh Meeting of Joint Romanian-Soviet Commission on History"/

/Text/ The proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Commission on History were held from 22 to 25 April 1980 in Constanta, in the impressive building of the Museum of National History and Archeology.

The Romanian contingent was represented at the meeting by Univ Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy and chairman of the Romanian contingent of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Commission on History, Univ Prof Dr Gh. I. Ionita of Bucharest University, secretary of the Romanian contingent of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Commission on History, Dr Adrian Radulescu, director of the Constanta Museum of National History and Archeology, Univ Reader Dr Nicolae Ceachir of Bucharest University, and Dr Florin Constantiniu, Dr Constantin Serban and Ioana Constantinescu, head scientific researchers at the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History.

The Soviet contingent was represented at the meeting by Academician I. I. Mint, chairman of the Soviet contingent of the Joint Soviet-Romanian Commission on History, Dr of Historical Sciences Vladlen N. Vinogradov, vice chairman of the Soviet contingent of the Joint Romanian-Soviet Commission on History, Candidate in Historical Sciences Lidia E. Semenova, secretary of the Soviet contingent of the joint commission, Dr of Historical Sciences Vladislav I. Grosul, section head at the USSR Institute of History, Candidate in Historical Sciences Demir Dragnev, head researcher at the Institute of History of the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, Dr of Historical Sciences Irina S. Dostean, head researcher at the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, Dr of Historical Sciences M. A. Muntean, consultant of the USSR Embassy in Bucharest, and Candidate in Historical Sciences Tatiana F. Kuzmina, member of the joint commission.

The subject of the scientific discussion on this occasion was "Contacts Between Romania and the peoples in Russia in the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century and Their Reflection in the Historical Sources in Both Countries."

In opening the meeting Univ Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu, chairman of the Romanian contingent of the joint commission, greeted Comrade Elena Borodi, secretary of the Constanta County RCP Committee and invited her to speak.

On behalf of the Bureau of the Constanta County RCP Committee, Comrade Elena Borodi warmly greeted those present at the meeting and fully discussed the history of the traditional friendly relations between the two countries and peoples, which have improved in the last 35 years since the Communist Party became the government party on Romanian soil.

Then Univ Prof Dr Stefan Stefanescu spoke on behalf of the Romanian contingent of the commission about the importance of this new meeting of historians of both countries and warmly greeted those present.

Then Academician I. I. Mint spoke on behalf of the Soviet delegation to the meeting, expressing satisfaction with this new meeting of the joint commission and wishing its proceedings every success.

On the agenda of scientific discussion properly speaking, Univ Reader Dr Nicolae Ceachir presented the report "Progressive Thought in Romania and Russia at the End of the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century." Then V. N. Vinogradov and L. E. Semenova presented the report "Relations Between Russia and the Danubian Principalities in the Second Half of the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century (in the Light of Materials from Russian Archives)."

When the proceedings were resumed in the afternoon of the same day Dr Adrian Radulescu, director of the Constanta Museum of National History and Archeology, warmly recalled the brilliant pages of the history of the Romanian land and, against that background, of the noteworthy traditions of the existence and struggles of the inhabitants of the Dobrogean regions.

Then Dr Florin Constantiniu presented the report "The National Liberation Movement in the Romanian Lands and of the Peoples in Russia at the End of the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century As Reflected in the Contemporary Sources," and I. S. Dostean presented the report "Russian Journalism on the Subject of the Danubian Principalities at the End of the 18th Century and the First Quarter of the 19th Century."

The following reports were presented on the morning of 23 April: "Russian Statistical Accounts of the Danubian Principalities at the End of the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century As a Historical Source" by Demir Dragnev, "News of Russia and the Peoples of Russia in the Romanian Sources of the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century" by Dr Constantin Serban, "International Significance of the Peace of Adrianople" by V. I. Grosul, and "Current Efforts in Romanian Historiography to Investigate and Revaluate the Progressive Ideas of the End of the 18th Century and the Beginning of the 19th Century from the Contemporary Viewpoint" by Iona Constantinescu.

The excellence of the presented reports reflected the exceptional competence of their authors and created from the start a good basis for discussion that ensured the success of the discussions that were then held at the meeting of the joint commission.

Information and views concerning the reports were exchanged and extensive and fruitful discussions were held that enhanced the discussion and greatly expanded the scope of the value judgments concerning the important problems on which the Constanta scientific meeting was based.

When the proceedings were concluded and the minutes of the meeting of the joint commission were signed, recording the usefulness and outstanding scientific importance of the discussion. To this effect, it was pointed out in the minutes that "The meeting was conducted in an atmosphere favorable to constructive discussion of the existing viewpoints in both countries' sources and historiography, and it facilitated a fruitful exchange of information in determining these important problems."

The delegations agreed the joint commission's next meeting will be organized in the Soviet Union, in the fall of next year, on the subject "Features of the Formation of the National States in Central and Southeast Europe Reflected in Romanian and Soviet Historiography."

On the morning of 25 April the participants in the meeting of the joint commission were received in the Constanta County RCP Committee by Comrade Ion Stoian, member of the RCP Central Committee, first secretary of the Constanta County RCP Committee, and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Constanta County People's Council.

Those attending the meeting were then given a documentary excursion to historical sites in the Dobrogea area. They visited the historical monuments at Adamclisi as well as the chain of recreation stations on the Black Sea coast.

In the course of the Constanta meeting of the joint commission the participants also visited the Museum of National History and Archeology and other historical, cultural and tourist attractions in the community.

And so ended one more of the fruitful meetings of Romanian and Soviet historians participating in the work of the joint commission, as a symbolic and specific expression of the good relations that exist between our countries, parties and peoples.

5186
CSO: 2700

BOOK ON 16th CENTURY WALLACHIA, MOLDAVIA, TRANSYLVANIA REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Sep 80 pp 1819-1823

/Review by Nicolae Stoicescu of the book "Restitutio Daciae. (Political Relations Between Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in the Period of 1526-1593)" Albatross Publishing House, Bucharest, 1980, 236 pages/

/Text/ The close relations that existed on all levels among the inhabitants of the Romanian lands in the Middle Ages have been treated in many studies and monographs, which relations maintained the unity of the inhabitants beyond the state borders within which they lived. These relations, as well as the development of awareness of national unity, attracted the attention of the great Romanian historians D. Onciul (1), N. Iorga (2), I. Lupas (3), G. Bratianu (4), P. P. Panaitescu (5), C. C. Giurescu (6) etc., who devoted studies to them that are in great part valid even today. The subject is particularly fertile and important for Romanian history and still merits the historians' full attention.

Stefan Andreescu has added a new work to the many previously published ones, in which he studies in detail, for the first time in Romanian historiography, the political relations among the Romanian lands between 1526 and 1593. The period chosen by the author had not been treated in its entirety, although it precedes, explains and prepares for the union achieved by Mihai Viteazul at the end of the century.

The beginning and concluding dates of the study were not chosen at random but denote two highly important events: first, the fall of Hungary to the Turks followed by Transylvania's liberation from the Magyar kingdom and its resulting orientation toward the Romanian lands beyond the Carpathians and second, the start of the reign of Mihai Viteazul, who first united the Romanians.

As the author says, political relations among the Romanian lands were very active during the period studied, but his work overlooks no major aspect or phase of these relations, which resulted in a state of interdependence among the Romanian lands.

The author passes more rapidly over the better known aspects and dwells on the more important or less studied ones such as, for example, relations in the time of Alexandru Lapuseanu and Mircea Ciobanul and their successors, which he places in their true light and significance for the first time. In this way the author has succeeded in giving us "a picture quite different" from the known ones of Romanian politics in the second half of the 16th century.

The work is quite well informed, as the author uses nearly all the known materials, both sources and various works published to date. The information on the situations in Transylvania seems rather inadequate to me. The latest information has enabled the author to know the period studied as well as some authors' not always accurate opinions on 16th century problems, and he takes a critical and generally well-substantiated view of these opinions.

Careful study of political relations among the Romanian lands in the period before Mihai Viteazul and of the development of consciousness of national unity in this period has justified the author in concluding that Mihai's unification was the culmination of earlier efforts made in all three Romanian lands.

Another quality of the work is its generally clear and vivid style, which makes it interesting reading. But at times the style is almost bombastic.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first one, incorrectly entitled "Introductory Considerations" (pp 5-48), deals with Mihai Viteazul's unification, the problem of Dacia in the 16th century, and the "outside influences" in the same century.

Chapter II, "In the Name of a Common Ideal" (pp 49-122), which ideal is never entirely clear from the text, presents relations among the Romanian lands in the first decades of the 16th century, with emphasis on the reigns of Radu de la Afumati and Petru Rares.

Chapter III deals with "Political Ties Between Wallachia and Moldavia in the 1545-1593 Period"(pp 123-185), discussing the dynastic union of the two countries. It is the most substantial and interesting chapter of the book.

And finally, Chapter IV presents "Transylvania's Political Relations with the Other Two Romanian Lands in the Second Half of the 16th Century" (pp 186-236).

A first comment concerns the plan of the work, which suffers from a certain lack of systematization. For example, Chapter I, "Introductory Considerations" (p 5 et seq.) begins with an eventual end of the work (I say "eventual" because it goes beyond the limit of 1593), namely the nature of Mihai Viteazul's unification based on the close ties among the Romanian lands in the 16th century and the consiciousness of national unity.

Then the view of Romanian unity taken in historiography is discussed, with too much discussion of A. D. Xenopol's outmoded conception.

The way the Romanian princes saw their role as defenders of Christendom is taken up under the heading "The Memory of Dacia" (pp 21-36), although that subject does not pertain to the heading given because the idea itself of unity is not included in the heading. The memory of Dacia is not taken up until p 34, although that is the subject of the section.

Although there is a section on "Outside Influences in the 16th Century" (pp 37-48), the problem of "influences" is also discussed in depth in Chapter II, "In the Name of a Common Ideal" (p 49 et seq.). Under the heading "Stefan Mailat and the Autonomy of Transylvania" (pp 105-122), Chapter II also includes the history of Transylvania up to 1552 (including the period of Martinuzzi and Castaldo), going far beyond the heading of the section.

Generally speaking, the presentation is rather confused, that of relations with the foreign powers with those among the Romanian lands and with the idea of their interdependence and unity. The guideline is not very clear, and the plan of the work suffers accordingly.

Chapter III, entitled "Political Ties Between Wallachia and Moldavia in the Period of 1545-1593," often takes up their relations with Transylvania too, although the latter is the subject of Chapter IV. The author would have done well to treat these relations all together, as he did in Chapter II.

Although it contains a section headed "The Despot Phase" (pp 145-161), this chapter also discusses the thoughts, plans and assumed titles of that Greek adventurer in the preceding section (pp 140-142).

Chapter IV, in the section headed "The Year 1556" (pp 201-223), actually contains Transylvania's relations with the Romanian lands beyond the Carpathians up to 1590. (What is more, the two sections of this chapter, "Wallachian Exiles in Transylvania" and "The Year 1556," so formulated do not cover the title of the chapter referring to political relations with Transylvania in the second half of the 16th century and not up to 1556!).

Although the book is entitled "Political Relations" it also includes some data on cultural and artistic relations (pp 143-144, 181-183 and 223-235), which accordingly go beyond the scope of the work even if culture also has an important political bearing (as the author says on p 143). It would have been better if the author had made a complete presentation of those relations.

The presentation of the problem of awareness of national unity in the 16th century should have been better organized, since it also partly determines the political relations with which the author is concerned. The presentation is scattered throughout the book under headings that do not indicate it, such as "Petru Rares' Conception of the Unity of the Romanian Lands" (p 76 et seq.), "Stefan Mailat and the Autonomy of Transylvania (pp 105-121) or "Dynastic Union of Wallachia and Moldavia" (pp 162-184).

Treatment of the problem of Dacia and the efforts to restore it in the 16th century is also scattered throughout various parts of the book, and it is consequently difficult to follow (See p 27, 34-36, 93, 102, 117-118, 120, 139, 157-158, 215 etc.).

Accordingly the work suffers from a serious lack of systematization of the material, so that the evolution of the problems treated is somewhat difficult to follow.

An interesting problem that is underemphasized is the connection between the political relations and development of awareness of national unity and the extent to which they were interdependent.

In general the author clearly brings out the elements of unity among the Romanian lands, but there is a certain tendency to exaggerate that reveals the author's wish to idealize these relations in part and to make them progress as beautifully, calmly and peacefully as possible in the most perfect understanding and agreement with the consciousness of national unity. To cite a few examples, it is stated on p 30 that after 1476 Stefan the Great was recognized "almost unanimously as the supreme leader of the Romanian world." It is maintained on p 33 that "awareness of national unity was politicized" back in Stefan the Great's time, explaining the prince's

action concerning Wallachia. This would be fine, but then how is Stefan's statement in 1475 that "The Wallachians are like the Turks to us" to be explained?

Even the famous conflict between Stefanita and Radu de la Afumati is regarded as a "scenario" designed to mislead the Turks. Their quarrel was "simulated" to serve as a pretext for not joining the battles with the Hungarians in 1526! (pp 56-58) Yet the existence of the conflict is admitted on p 153. The author of course overlooks the fact that Moldavia's relations with Wallachia were strained in the first decades of the century, when Radu the Great or Neagoe Basarab supported pretenders to the throne of Moldavia. The author's opinion that while fighting in 1526, the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia "cooperated politically" strikes us as at least strange! (p 58)

The same is true of the statement that the occupation of Chilia in 1484 "had removed the only major source of discord between Wallachia and Moldavia" (p 60). Then how are the conflicts to be explained that disturbed relations between the two countries after 1504?

I am not convinced by the author's statement that the common battle plan of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania in 1538 "could not demonstrate more graphically the existence of a consciousness of the political unity of the three Romanian states in the period" (p 76). In the first place the prince of Transylvania, who was a Magyar, could have had no such consciousness. In the second place, it was sufficient for the sultan to assure Zapolya and Radu Paisie that he would not attack them for Rares to remain isolated before the great Ottoman army. What is more, Radu Paisie even sent an expeditionary force to support the Ottoman troops! Without denying the existence of consciousness of political unity in this period, we must note that it did not materialize in 1538.

And then, I feel it is too much to speak of Petru Rares' conception of the unity of the Romanian lands (p 76) when he made no attempt to achieve it. (Moreover, the foreign relations of Petru Rares' Moldavia are treated under this head, which relations have nothing to do with the unity of the Romanian lands.) And not all that foreigners said about the Romanian people's unity at the time can be included in Rares' "conception" (p 99 et seq.). It is the conception of the era and not of one person! This is the same lack of systematization that I have already indicated.

I do not think all the attempts of the princes of Wallachia to bring Moldavia "under obedience" or the reverse, those of the princes in Moldavia to subjugate Wallachia, were based on the idea of unity of the Romanian lands as the reviewed work suggests (p 140).

And then if the unity of the Romanians was a predominant idea of the century, how did it happen that the Moldavian boyars regarded the "Wallachian" Petru Schiopul as a foreigner? (pp 164-165) This indicates how forceful the dynastic idea was in the attitude of the time and how correct P. P. Panaitescu was in considering it one of the reasons why Wallachia and Moldavia were separate countries (7). Many things can be said about this problem. It is important to avoid the exaggerations that can only help our enemies to exploit them.

Then there are a number of errors of information or interpretation of the historical facts, some due to the young author's natural desire to look for new or original explanations of events known otherwise to historians.

For instance, it is stated that the "act of exception" in 1599-1600 can be understood only in the light of a joint reign (p 11). The analogy of Nicolae Patrascu with Mihail, the son of Mircea the Old and his associate on the throne, cannot be convincing. Mihail was an associate on the throne of the same country and ruled along with his father, while Nicolae Patrascu actually ruled in Wallachia in the absence of Mihai Viteazu. The author's very quotation to the effect that the Divan of Wallachia asked Mihai to leave his son "as their voivode, because they were unaccustomed to living without a voivode" (p 13) shows that Nicolae Patrascu was the deputy of the great prince in his absence from the country. Joint rule in the 14th-15th centuries was for purposes other than those for which Viteazul left his son in Wallachia as a deputy and not as an associate.

The author's equation of Nicolae Patrascu's title of "crowned by God" with the title of Mihail, Mircea's son, of "anointed by God" cannot constitute an argument that the two were associates on the throne. But it is known that in the Middle Ages the monarchy was considered of a divine nature, so that any monarch was regarded as "anointed" or "crowned" by God.

Furthermore, in the discussion of the uniform nature of the state created by Mihai Viteazul, Nicolae Patrascu's position in relation to his father (associate or deputy) is not very important. Mihai's title idicates that he considered himself and was considered the ruler of the three Romanian lands, whose political individuality he did not have time to change because his union did not last very long. There is no denying the fact that he had under his rule three state bodies with institutions of their own that were several centuries old and could not be dismantled immediately.

At the same time, as C. Rezachevici (quoted by the author on p 6) remarked, the necessity of defense played its part in the unification under Mihai's scepter. Let us consider Prince Viteazul's statement before the conquest of Moldavia: "When I have the three lands in my power I can truly seize the Turk by the beard and will serve Christendom the more." (8) The prince realized that by uniting the three lands he would create an armed force capable of resisting the Turks.

I do not agree with the idea of a "centralized" state resulting from Mihai Viteazul's union (p 21). At that time each of the three Romanian lands was in its turn a "centralized" state. Mihai Viteazul created a united but not centralized Romanian state.

Defense of Christendom is one idea and political unity of the Romanian lands is another. The Romanian lands were not "bulwarks" or "guards" of Christendom because of their unity, and no "necessary relationship" between the first and the second can be established.(pp 28-30). By the same token, consciousness of unity of faith does not entirely pertain to consciousness of national unity. There is also a solidarity of Christianity or orthodoxy that takes no account of nationality.

The name Vlad given by Stefan the Great to his son does not mean that Stefan wanted to make him a prince in Wallachia (pp 31-32). There was an old custom that grandsons should bear the names of grandfathers or great-grandfathers (Stefan himself had two sons named Alexandru and Bogdan). Since Stefan could not baptize his son Radu (the name of his father-in-law and rival), he took the name of Vlad Dracul, the father of Radu the Fair.

Furthermore, this problem has nothing to do with the "Memory of Dacia," under the heading of which it was included.

It is impossible to maintain that after the campaign in 1538 Soliman "planned no measure to change the autonomous status" of Moldavia (p 40), when it is known that the Ottoman domination of Moldavia actually began after that date. And on p 42 the author himself admits that the events of 1538 brought on "the loss of Moldavia's independence."

I do not agree with the author's statement that Ottoman domination of the Romanian lands began in the 1538-1559 period (p 44). It began somewhat earlier in Wallachia, in 1538 in Moldavia, and in 1541 in Transylvania. This is well explained by Mihai Maxim in the section "Ottoman Domination" in Vol III of "History of Romania."

The matrimonial ties between the thrones of the Romanian lands certainly do not mean a "dynastic alliance through women" (p 131).

I cannot believe that Petru the Young (a prince subject to the Turks) could have undertaken the expedition in 1563 independently of the Porte's decision. I do not find the author's arguments convincing (p 135).

In general the author exaggerates the role of the two impetuous women who were Elena, Petru Rares' wife, and Chiajna, their daughter and Mircea Ciobanul's wife. It is said of the former, for example, that after she was widowed in 1546 she "seized the reigns of power through the intermediary of her children in both the Romanian lands outside the Carpathians" (p 136). (In any case N. Iorga should have been cited here, who states to the same effect that Elena "could be considered the mistress of both countries." Cf. "History of the Romanians," V, p 7.)

The princes of the Romanian lands called eath other "brother" out of monarchic solidarity (9) and not for the reasons given on pp 150-152. Even Matei Basarab called Vasile Lupu "brother" when they were reconciled, just as the high officials called each other brothers (10). It is my impression that the author attaches too much importance to this terminology, which does not reflect the idea of unity.

Also in connection with terminology, I do not think the term "dynastic unification" of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1574-1583 and 1585-1591, when members of the same family were on their thrones, is appropriate (pp 166, 176). I consider "dynastic union" correct, since the unification was accomplished by Mihai Viteazul.

No doubt this dynastic union played its part in preparation for the rapprochement between the two Romanian lands, but I think the author is exaggerating when he states that "It decisively strengthened the Moldavians' and Wallachians' awareness of national unity, transforming it and elevating it from a rather vague level to the rank of a political argument" (p 180). The author thus excludes from the process of consolidating the awareness of national unity in the 16th century a number of other factors he himself takes up in the book.

St. Andreescu's statement that the so-called "dynastic unification" "also unified Wallachian and Moldavian architecture" (p 183) is equally exaggerated. Actually, as even the author says, there are some Wallachian influences in Moldavian architecture, but they did not lead to fusion of the two styles, which kept their distinctive characteristics.

The period at the end of the 16th century, before Mihai Viteazul, was unquestionably not one of political decline (p 236). Otherwise one of the main reasons why Viteazul took the field would be incomprehensible.

Treatment of some problems can be supplemented or further explained. For example, there is a fundamental difference between the suzerain-vassal system of the Bathoresti and Mihai's unification: Mihai united all Romanians, his blood brothers, under his scepter while the Bathoresti were foreign to the Romanian people and their ideals (p 26). Therefore Mihai could not repeat the Bathoresti's experience.

In 1561 Lapusneanu was not only betrayed (p 145). His troops did not know gunfire and were purely and simply terrified and broke into flight with their horses when they heard the noise of the weapons.(11).

Although our observations or opinions differ from the author's at quite a few points, in conclusion we must stress the scientific value and suitability of Stefan Andreescu's work. It unquestionably contributes to better knowledge of the political relations among the Romanian lands in the 16th century, and it proves that intensification of these relations and development of the consciousness of national unity prepared the way for Mihai Viteazul's feat at the turn of the century.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Idea of Latinity and of National Unity," Bucharest, 1919 (reproduced in "Historical Writings" II, edited by A. Sacerdoteanu, Bucharest, 1968).

2. "Development of the Idea of the Romanians' Political Unity," Bucharest, 1915. Idem, "Romanian Unification," Bucharest, 1934. Idem, "Notes on Romanian Unification" (REVISTA ISTORICA, 1920, p 1 et seq.) etc.

3. "History of Romanian Unification," Bucharest, 1937.

4. "Origines et formation de l'unite roumaine," Bucharest, 1943. Idem, "Origins and Formation of Romanian Unity," Bucharest, 1942. Idem, "Formation of Romanian Unity. Historical Factors," Bucharest, 1940 etc.

5. "Problem of Political Unification of the Romanian Lands in the Feudal Period," in the volume "Studies on Unification of the Principalities," Bucharest, 1960.

6. "Transylvania in the History of the Romanian People," Bucharest, 1967. See also A. Sacerdoteanu, "Elements of Continuity and Unity in the Medieval History of the Romanians," in "Unity and Continuity in the History of the Romanian People," Bucharest, 1968, pp 105-134. Stefan Pascu, "The Premises of the Romanians' Political Unity" (APULUM, 1969, pp 41-60) etc.

7. P. P. Panaitescu, "Why Wallachia and Moldavia were Separate Countries," Bucharest, 1938 (also reproduced in the volume of the same "Romanian Interpretations," Bucharest, 1947). The importance of the dynastic idea in the Middle Ages was also pointed out by N. Iorga, "Development of the Idea of the Romanians' Political Unity," Bucharest, 1915 and G. Bratianu, "Origines et formation de l'unite roumaine," pp 129-134, quoting to the same effect the famous letter of the Brailans to Stefan the Great in 1481.

8. Hurmuzaki, XII, p 610.

9. N. Docan, "Brother" (ARCHIVA, 1900, pp 427-430).

10. N. Stoicescu, "The Prince's Council and High Officials in Wallachia and Moldavia (14th-17th centuries)," Bucharest, 1968, pp 73-74.

11. "Foreign Travelers Concerning the Romanian Lands," II,pp 124, 257-258.

5186
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PAPER ON 1848-1881 PERIOD PRESENTED AT ACADEMY SESSION

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Sep 80 pp 1804-1805

/Article by Constantin Damian: "Public Report Session of Romanian Academy"/

/Text/ Prof Vasile Maciu, corresponding member of the Romanian Academy, read the paper "Formation of the Political Regime in Romania (1848-1881)" at the monthly reports sessions of the Historical Sciences Section of the Romanian Academy on 28 March 1980.

The paper threw a new light upon the formation of the modern Romanian political regime, based on analysis of the particular socioeconomic conditions of the historical development of Romanian society in the 19th century. In view of the fragmentary treatment of the problem in historiography, in works usually not written by historians, Prof v. Maciu covered the political phenomenon of the formation of the modern political regime in Romania in its entire complexity: causation, character, modifications, legislation etc.

In defining a political regime, Prof V. Maciu said that "It is to be equated to the state administration" and that "If the political regime is to be complete the state has to be sovereign and independent." He also defined the difference in content between a political regime and a socioeconomic system.

Following these general considerations, the speaker presented the economic, social and political realities of Romanian society that led to the establishment of a new political regime in the middle of the 19th century. "Having reached the threshold of modern organization, Wallachia and Moldavia were determined by the revolutionary movement of 1821 to create for themselves another political regime to replace the obsolete and non-Romanian Phanariot regime." Of a necessity, Romanian society in 1848 had to be reorganized on a new capitalist basis that would eliminate the Tsarist protectorate and Ottoman suzerainty, do away with the dependence of the lands, and have a democratic administration in one state uniting the three Romanian lands. In Wallachia the bourgeois-democratic revolution also had a brief republican regime. The demands of the revolution of 1848 in the three Romanian lands tended to formation of a democratic political regime, but it was suppressed by violence and this independent political regime was not created. But the events led to expectations of a bourgeois political regime founded on individual freedom and the will of the majority expressed by the people's elected representatives. Moreover the formation of the provisional revolutionary government in Wallachia determined the Moldavian

revolutionaries in Transylvania to organize for an extensive action in Moldavia, for which purpose we find them concentrated at Cernauti in Bucovina. The intervention of the foreign powers in the Romanian lands against the revolutionary regimes in Bucharest and Iasi succeeded in delaying for a while but did not stop the evolution toward modernization of the state administration and establishment of an independent political regime.

In summarizing the factual material, Prof V. Maciu stressed the importance of the events in 1959 and the election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza as ruler of the United Principalities. Elected by the Romanian people, Al. I. Cuza tried to give the country a strong regime based on a new socioeconomic and political-administrative organization. But the political regime he started was unstable even after the guarantor powers recognized the Union (1861). The governments were changed frequently and the main reforms were delayed (1859-1864). But once the series of major democratic reforms was started, the feudal organization broke down and a broad base was created for the regime of one-man rule. As Al. I. Cuza broadened his political support, the opposition composed of liberal (especially radical) and conservative groups was also organizing and became more powerful after the application of the Charter and the agrarian reform. In fact, the power of the opposition brought about Al. I. Cuza's abdication on 11 February 1866, so that the problem of the political regime arose again.

The monarchy was instituted as a political system when Carol was proclaimed prince of Romania by the Constituent Assembly (10 May 1866) and took the oath according to the Constitution. "When the Franco-Prussian War broke out in 1870-1871, the radicals in opposition started an action that was to lead to the removal of the prince and the proclamation of the republic." Events did not favor this attempt, so that "The coming proclamation of the state's independence induced Carol I as well as the National Liberal Party to give up their aspirations, first to rule with no very tight control of the legislative bodies and second to prosecute the former conservative ministers legally."

The parliamentary, constitutional and monarchic political regime in Romania took form in all its aspects during the 12 year government (1876-1888) of the National Liberal Party and ended in the proclamation of Carol I as king of Romania (14 March 1881). In conclusion the speaker pointed out the class character of this political regime, which primarily served the interests of the great bourgeoisie and the aspirations of the medium bourgeoisie and some of the intellectuals, attracted by various means to the hopes for a more pronounced democratization, but without the universal suffrage desired by the majority of the people and with maintenance of the class and property distinctions. This regime was favorable for law enforcement, although internal democratization was urgently demanded from the very start.

An analogy can be established between the formation of the political regime in Romania and that in other European countries. We can speak of a revolutionary period (1848-1859) under the direct influence of the revolution, to be found in France, Italy, Austria, the German states etc., the priod of the liberal regime with authoritarian tendencies toward one-man rule (1859-1866), also encountered in Napoleon's France, the Austro-Hungarian dualism etc., and finally the period of 1866-1888 marking the way to establishment of the parliamentary, constitutional monarchy.

The meeting was conducted by Academician Stefan Pascu, chairman of the section, who congratulated the speaker on his valuable ideas and original treatment of the subject of the formation of the political regime in Romania in the modern era. He noted Prof Vasile Maciu's personal contribution to clarification of the general

problems of the conditions and chronology of the stages in the formation of the modern Romanian state in a historical period that was very troubled and rich in events of overwhelming importance to comprehension of Romania's subsequent economic, social, political and cultural evolution. Then Academician Stefan Pascu thanked those who took part in the discussions (Prof Dr Constantin Velichi, Lecturer Dr Maria Totu, Researcher Grogore Chirita et al.) for their opinions about the paper presented by the speaker.

5186
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DRAFT AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL, REPUBLIC, PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 80 pp 2-9 of special supplement

[Draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces]

[Text] Draft Amendments to the SFRY Constitution

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the SFRY Constitution and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment 1

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Section 1, of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment II

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law shall be regulated by the constitution or the bylaws or law, in conformity with the constitution.

The term of office and possibility of reelection or reappointment of judicial officeholders as well as the term of office and restriction of reappointment of the public defender of self-management law shall be regulated by law.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 151 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment III

1. The president and vice president of the SFRY Assembly and the chamber presidents of the SFRY Assembly shall be elected for 1 year.

The president of the SFRY Assembly and the chamber presidents of the SFRY Assembly shall be elected each year from a different republic or autonomous province.

The vice president of the SFRY Assembly may not be reelected to the same office during the term of office of the delegates in the SFRY Assembly.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 312 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment IV

1. The SFRY State Presidency shall be made up of one member from each republic and each autonomous province, who shall be elected by the assembly of the republic or the assembly of the autonomous province by secret ballot in a joint session of all the chambers of that assembly, and of the chairman of the body of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as set forth by the Bylaws of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as an ex officio member.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 321 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment V

1. The preliminary procedure of nominating candidates for chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council shall be conducted in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.

The same person may not be elected chairman of the Federal Executive Council twice in succession.

Members of the Federal Executive Council may not be elected more than twice in succession to the same position.

2. Upon the expiration of 2 years from the election of the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council, the Federal Executive Council, within the limits of its rights and duties, shall submit to the chambers of the SFRY Assembly a report on the situation in all domains of social life, on implementation of policy and on enforcement of federal laws and other enactments and general acts of the SFRY Assembly and on its own work and the work of federal administrative agencies. The chambers of the SFRY Assembly shall conduct a specific debate of this report, shall evaluate the work of the Federal Executive Council and shall decide whether to take a vote of confidence in the chairman and members of the Federal Executive Council.

3. This amendment shall supplement the provision of Article 348, Paragraph 2, shall replace the provisions of Article 349, Paragraphs 2 and 3, and shall supplement the provisions of Articles 358 and 359 of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment VI

1. Officials heading federal administrative agencies and federal organizations and other officials appointed by the SFRY Assembly may be appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 366, Paragraph 2, of the SFRY Constitution.

Amendment VII

1. Judges of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court shall be elected to a term of 8 years and may not be reelected judges of that court.

The president of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court shall be elected from among the judges of that court for a term of 1 year, each year from a different republic or autonomous province.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 381, Paragraph 2, of the SFRY Constitution.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina

Constitutional amendments V-XI shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment V

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Section 1, of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Amendment VI

1. The presidents of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected to a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during that same term of office of the delegates in the assembly.

The chairmen of the executive bodies of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected to a term of 2 years and may not be elected twice in succession to the same office.

Members of the executive bodies of the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities, officials heading administrative agencies, and also other officeholders and holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the charter of the sociopolitical community or law, unless this constitution provides otherwise for certain of them, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years, but as an exception and through special procedure they may be elected or appointed to the same office for one additional term.

The term of office of judicial officeholders and the public defender of self-management law and restriction of their reelection or reappointment shall be regulated by law.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 156 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Amendment VII

1. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina shall have a president and one vice president, who shall be elected from among the delegates in the assembly.

The president and the vice president of the SR BiH [Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Assembly and the chamber presidents shall be elected to a 1-year term and may not be elected twice to the same office during the same term of the delegates in the assembly.

2. The manner of programming and coordinating the work of the chambers and working bodies in the assembly and the conduct of relations and cooperation between the assembly and other bodies and organizations shall be regulated by the assembly's operating procedure.

3. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 343, Paragraph 1, and Article 345 of the SR BiH Constitution, and in Article 412, Paragraph 1, of the constitution the words "vice presidents" shall be replaced by the words "vice president."

Amendment VIII

1. The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina shall be made up of nine members.

Eight members of the presidency shall be elected by the SR BiH Assembly upon nomination by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and after having obtained the opinion of the assemblies of the opstinas; the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina shall be an ex officio member of the presidency.

2. The SR BiH Presidency shall elect from among its own members the chairman of the presidency.

The chairman of the presidency shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office within the same term of the members of the presidency.

3. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 314, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 18, of the SR BiH Constitution insofar as it concerns the election and dismissal of the chairman and members of the SR BiH Presidency and of Point 5 of Amendment II to the SR BiH Constitution and shall supplement the provisions of Article 352 of the constitution.

Amendment IX

1. Members of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina shall be elected to a term of 4 years, but as an exception and through special procedure as set forth by law, they may be reelected to the same office for a second term.

The chairman of the executive council shall be elected for a term of 2 years and may not be elected twice in succession to the same office.

2. The procedure for nominating candidates for election of the chairman and members of the executive council shall be conducted by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

The SR BiH Assembly shall elect the chairman of the executive council from among the members of the executive council on the recommendation of the SR BiH Presidency.

The SR BiH Assembly shall elect the members of the executive council on the recommendation of the appropriate working body of the assembly and on the basis of the opinion of the SR BiH Presidency. The nominee for chairman of the executive council shall also participate in the procedure of nominating candidates for election of the members of the council.

3. The executive council shall have one vice chairman, who shall be elected by the council from among its own members.

The vice chairman of the executive council shall be elected for a term of 2 years and may not be elected twice in succession to the same office.

4. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 349, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 8; Article 361, Paragraphs 2 and 4; and of Article 362 of the SR BiH Constitution.

Amendment X

1. Officials who head republic administrative agencies and republic administrative organizations and other officials appointed by the SR BiH Assembly shall be appointed for a term of 4 years, but as an exception and through special procedure as set forth by law, they may be reappointed to the same office for a second term.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 377 of the SR BiH Constitution.

Amendment XI

1. Judges of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Hercegovina shall be elected to a term of 8 years and may not be reelected to the same office.

The president of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia-Hercegovina shall be elected from among the judges of that court for a term of 2 years and may not be reelected to the office of president of the constitutional court.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 392, Paragraph 2, of the SR BiH Constitution.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment VI

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work and decisionmaking, personal and joint responsibility and equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body. Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Section 1, of the Constitution of SR [Socialist Republic] Montenegro.

Amendment VII

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law shall be regulated by the constitution or the bylaws or law, in conformity with the constitution.

Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the

constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed for one term, and only as an exception may they be elected or appointed twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

Presidents and vice presidents of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same offices during the term of the assembly, nor twice in succession.

Chairmen of executive bodies of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected to a term of 2 years and may not be reelected to those same offices during the term of those bodies, nor twice in succession.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 170 of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment VIII

1. The president and vice president of the assembly and the chamber presidents shall be elected from among the delegates to a 1-year term and may not be reelected to the same offices during the term of the assembly, nor twice in succession.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 356 of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment IX

1. The presidency shall have nine members.

The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro shall elect seven members of the presidency on the basis of a list of candidates set forth by the Montenegrin Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

The members of the presidency shall be elected no later than 60 days from the date when the assembly takes office.

2. The presidency shall elect a chairman from among the elected members.

The chairman shall be elected to a 1-year term and may not be reelected during the term of the presidency, nor twice in succession.

3. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Point 2, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of Amendment V to the Constitution of SR Montenegro and shall supplement the provisions of Article 364 of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment X

1. The members of the executive council, republic secretaries and other officials heading republic administrative agencies and republic organizations who are members of the executive council shall be elected or appointed and dismissed by the assembly on the recommendation of the Commission for Elections and Appointments of the assembly and on the basis of the opinion of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

The assembly shall elect the chairman of the executive council from among the members of the executive council on the recommendation of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and shall also dismiss him.

Preliminary procedure for nomination of the chairman and members of the executive council shall be conducted in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Montenegro.

2. The members of the executive council shall be elected for a term of 4 years, but in exceptional cases certain members of the executive council may be elected to the same office twice in succession.

The chairman and vice chairman of the executive council shall be elected for a term of 2 years and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the executive council, nor twice in succession.

3. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 376, Paragraphs 2 and 3; Article 377, Paragraphs 2 through 5; Article 378, Paragraphs 1 and 3; and shall supplement the provisions of Article 359 of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment XI

1. Officials heading republic administrative agencies and republic organizations and other officials appointed by the assembly shall be appointed for a term of 4 years, and only as an exception may they be appointed twice in succession to the same office.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 397 of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment XII

1. The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of the president and judges of regular and self-management courts, of public prosecutors and of public defenders of self-management law shall be regulated by law.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title V, and Part III, Title V, of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment XIII

1. Judges of the constitutional court shall be elected for 8 years and may not be reelected to the same office.

The president of the constitutional court shall be elected from among the judges of that court for a 2-year term and may not be elected to that office twice in succession.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 414, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Amendment XIV

1. A proposal to undertake enforcement of the constitution may be submitted by any chamber of the assembly, by a group of delegates in the assembly numbering at least 20, by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and by the executive council.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 430, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution of SR Montenegro.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment I

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

2. The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

3. Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

4. Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

5. All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

6. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Title III of the constitution.

Amendment II

1. The term of office of the assembly of a sociopolitical community shall be 4 years.

2. The manner in which delegates shall be sent to the chambers of the assembly of the sociopolitical community shall be regulated by law or charter.

3. This amendment shall replace Paragraphs 1 and 5 of Article 210 of the constitution.

Amendment III

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

2. Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

3. The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law shall be regulated by the constitution or the bylaws or law, in conformity with the constitution.

4. The term of office and possibility of reelection or reappointment of judicial officeholders as well as the term of office and restriction of reappointment of the public defender of self-management law shall be regulated by law.

5. The presidents of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected for 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the delegates in the assembly.

6. The chairmen of executive councils of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected for 2 years and may be elected to one more successive term in the same office provided good reasons are given for their nomination to a second term.

7. This amendment shall replace Article 223 of the constitution.

Amendment IV

1. The assembly shall have a president and vice president, who shall be elected from among the representatives in the assembly.

2. Each chamber shall have a president.

3. The president and vice president of the assembly shall be elected for 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the representatives.

4. The chamber president shall be elected for 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the representatives in the chamber.

5. The president of the assembly, together with the presidents and vice presidents of the chambers shall debate matters related to reconciling and carrying out the calendars of the chambers and work schedules of the working bodies in the assembly and matters related to the procedure of the assembly, shall see to cooperation between the assembly and other republic agencies and agencies of sociopolitical organizations within the republic, shall interpret provisions of operating procedure with respect to the jurisdiction of the chambers and shall also handle other matters as defined by the operating procedure of the assembly.

6. This amendment shall replace Paragraphs 1, 2 and 7 of Article 371 and Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 372 of the constitution.

Amendment V

1. The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia shall be made up of nine members.

2. Eight members of the presidency shall be elected by the assembly in a joint session of all chambers by secret ballot.

The chairman of the body of the League of Communists of Croatia set forth in the bylaws of the League of Communists of Croatia shall be an ex officio member of the presidency.

3. The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia shall submit a list of candidates for election of the members of the presidency.

4. The members of the presidency shall be elected for a term of 4 years and may not be elected more than twice in succession to the same office.

5. The chairman of the presidency shall be elected by the assembly from among the members of the presidency on the recommendation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia.

6. The chairman of the presidency shall be elected for 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of that member of the presidency.

7. The decision on election of the members and chairman of the presidency shall be made by the assembly by a majority of the votes of all the representatives in the assembly.

8. This amendment shall replace Article 387 and Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 388 of the constitution.

Amendment VI

1. The executive council of the assembly shall be made up of a chairman and a specified number of members elected by the assembly and of officials heading republic administrative agencies as set forth by law.

2. The nominating procedure for election of the chairman and members of the executive council shall be conducted in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia.

The nominee for chairman of the council shall participate in the proceedings to nominate the members of the executive council.

3. The chairman of the executive council shall be elected for 2 years and may be elected to one more successive term in the same office provided good reasons are given for his nomination to a second term.

The members of the executive council shall be elected for 4 years and may be elected to one more successive term in the same office provided good reasons are given for their nomination to a second term.

4. On the basis of the list of candidates of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia the assembly shall elect the chairman and members of the executive council on the recommendation of the assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments.

5. The chairman of the executive council may commence an initiative for dismissal of individual members of the executive council even before expiration of their term.

In case of the resignation or dismissal of the chairman of the executive council of the assembly, the work of the council as a whole shall be taken up.

The resignation of a majority of the members of the executive council shall automatically bring about resignation of the entire council.

6. This amendment shall replace Line 3 of Article 382; Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 397; and Article 398 of the constitution.

Amendment VII

1. Officials heading republic administrative agencies and other officials appointed by the assembly shall be appointed for 4 years.

2. Certain of these officials may be appointed to one more successive term in the same office provided good reasons are given for their reappointment.

3. These amendments shall replace Article 405 of the constitution.

Amendment VIII

1. The constitutional court shall be made up of nine members.

2. The members of the constitutional court shall be elected for 8 years and may not be reelected to the same office.

3. The president of the constitutional court shall be elected on recommendation of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia from among the members of the court for 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office.

4. This amendment shall replace Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 423 of the constitution.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and shall take effect on the date of promulgation.

Amendment I

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and

discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Section 1 of Title III of Part I of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Amendment II

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

Elected and appointed officials and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by constitution, charter or law may through special procedure set forth by the constitution or charter be elected or appointed to the same office for one more successive term unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

The Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia shall ensure democratic sponsorship and nomination of candidates for public office and other offices in self-management and public life and other offices in society.

Presidents of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected to a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the assemblies, nor twice in succession in two terms.

Chairmen of executive bodies of assemblies or sociopolitical communities shall be elected to a term of 4 years and may not be elected twice in succession to the same office.

At the end of the second year of the term of office chairmen of executive bodies shall submit to assemblies of sociopolitical communities a special report on their work and on the work of the executive body, which shall be taken up in accordance with special procedure.

The term of office of judicial officeholders and the public defender of self-management law and restriction on their reelection or reappointment shall be regulated by law.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 167 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Amendment III

1. The president and vice presidents of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the chamber presidents of the assembly shall be elected to a term of 1 year.

The president and vice presidents of the assembly and the chamber presidents of the assembly may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the assembly, nor twice in succession in two terms.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 352 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and Paragraph 4 of the same article shall be deleted.

Amendment IV

1. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia shall elect eight members of the presidency on the basis of a list of candidates submitted by the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia in accordance with the procedure set forth by law.

A representative of the body of the League of Communists of Macedonia as specified by the Bylaws of the League of Communists of Macedonia shall be an ex officio member of the presidency.

The members of the presidency shall be elected for a term of 4 years and may be elected to one more successive term in the same office.

The presidency shall elect its chairman from among the elected members for a period of 1 year on recommendation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia.

The chairman of the presidency may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the presidency, nor twice in succession in two terms.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of Article 380 and the provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 381, and shall also apply to Subparagraph 19 of Paragraph 1 of Article 318 and to Line 2 of Article 338 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Amendment V

1. The chairman of the executive council shall be elected by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia on recommendation of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia for a term of 4 years, and he may not be elected to the same office twice in succession.

The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia shall elect the vice chairmen and members of the executive council.

The Commission for Elections and Appointments of the assembly shall submit nominees for the vice chairmen and members of the executive council together with the nominees for chairman of the council.

The vice chairmen of the executive council shall be elected for a term of 4 years and may not be elected to the same office twice in succession.

The members of the executive council shall be elected for a period of 4 years and may be reelected to the same office for one successive term if there are justifiable grounds. Before moving on to the business of the election the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia shall decide on the soundness of the reasons for the reelection by a majority of the votes of the delegates in the assembly.

Law shall specify which republic secretaries and other officials heading republic administrative agencies and republic organizations shall be appointed from among members of the executive council.

Resignation of a majority of the members of the council shall automatically bring about resignation of the entire executive council.

The executive council shall decide by a majority of the votes of the members of the council present in the session. Law shall state in which cases the executive council shall decide by a majority of the votes of the members of the council.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 395, Article 396, Article 397, and the provisions of Paragraph 2, Article 401, and the provisions of Subparagraph 25, Paragraph 1, Article 318, and Line 7, Article 338, of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic

of Macedonia, pertaining to the secretary of the executive council, shall be deleted.

Amendment VI

1. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia shall appoint officials heading republic administrative agencies and republic organizations as designated by law on the recommendation of the executive council and on the basis of the opinion of the Commission for Elections and Appointments of the assembly for a term of 4 years.

These officials may be appointed to an additional successive term if there are justifiable reasons.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 412 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Amendment VII

1. The Constitutional Court of Macedonia shall have seven judges, who shall be elected by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

The judges of the Constitutional Court of Macedonia shall be elected for a term of 8 years and may not be reelected to the same office.

The president of the Constitutional Court of Macedonia shall be elected by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia from among the judges for a term of 1 year and may not be elected to two successive terms in the same office.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 425 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Amendment VIII

1. The Chamber of Associated Labor and the Chamber of Opstinas shall debate questions, enact laws and issue authentic interpretations of laws on an equal footing in the following areas:

--land use and urban planning; preparation and use of government land and property; the operation and management of organizations of associated labor providing municipal services, the financing of housing construction and management (business operation) of residential buildings and individual housing units which are socially owned; safety of highway, rail and lake transportation; protection against fire and natural disasters, and games of chance.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Line 1 of Article 335 and Line 1 of Paragraph 1 of Article 334 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which pertain to the safety of highway, rail and

lake transportation, protection against fire and natural disasters, and games of chance.

Amendment IX

1. The Chamber of Opstinas shall be independent in the following:

i. debate of questions, adoption of laws and issuing of authentic interpretation of laws in the following areas: arrangement of settlements in accordance with the urban plan; allocation, preparation and use of municipal land; certification of signatures, manuscripts and copies; and the general principles of the optional contribution;

ii. debate of questions which the working people and citizens independently regulate in the opstina and in the local community.

2. This amendment shall replace Line 1 of Article 335, which pertains to arrangement of settlements in accordance with the urban plan; allocation, preparation and use of municipal land; shall replace the provisions of Article 336 pertaining to certification of signatures, manuscripts and copies; shall supplement Paragraph 1 of Article 302 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia on the general principles of the optional contribution, and the provisions of Line 3 of Article 335 shall be deleted.

Amendment X

1. In a state of war, as an exception, so long as that state shall persist and if the interests of the country's defense so require, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia may act as follows:

i. issue decrees with legal force which stay certain provisions of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia which pertain to certain of the freedoms, rights and duties of individuals and citizens and to the rights of self-managed organizations and communities and to the composition and powers of executive and administrative bodies and offices and may also form sociopolitical communities and define the composition of organizations and the jurisdiction of their offices and bodies, and

ii. vacate or annul unlawful acts of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and republic administrative agencies and republic organizations and enactments of bodies of the opstina and the municipal community, as well as enactments of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraph 2 of Article 378 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia

These constitutional amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment I

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Point 1, of the Constitution of SR Slovenia.

Amendment II

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law shall be defined by the constitution or bylaws, law or operating procedure of the assembly of the sociopolitical community, in accordance with the constitution.

The term of office of judicial officeholders and the public defender of self-management law and the possibility of their reelection or reappointment shall be regulated by law.

2. This amendment shall replace Article 182 of the Constitution of SR Slovenia.

Amendment III

1. The Presidency of SR Slovenia shall be made up of seven members elected by opstina assemblies and assemblies of communities of opstinas acting as separate sociopolitical communities, and the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia and the chairman of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, who are ex officio members of the Presidency of SR Slovenia.

The members of the Presidency of SR Slovenia shall be considered elected when a majority of all the delegates in two-thirds of the opstina assemblies and assemblies of communities of opstinas as separate sociopolitical communities have voted in favor of the list of candidates for membership of the presidency.

2. The Assembly of SR Slovenia shall elect the chairman of the Presidency of SR Slovenia from among the elected members of the presidency.

The chairman of the Presidency of SR Slovenia shall be elected for 1 year and may not be elected to more than two successive terms in that office.

The procedure and manner of election of the chairman and members of the Presidency of SR Slovenia shall be defined by law.

3. This amendment shall replace Article 383, Paragraphs 1, 3 and 4, of the Constitution of SR Slovenia and shall supplement Articles 335 and 350 of the Constitution of SR Slovenia.

Amendment IV

1. The same person may not be elected chairman of the executive council twice in succession.

The members of the executive council, the republic secretaries and other republic officials as designated by law who head republic administrative agencies may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office.

2. The executive council shall decide by a majority of the votes of all members.

3. This amendment shall replace Article 394, Paragraphs 5 and 6, and Article 397, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution of SR Slovenia.

Amendment V

1. The constitutional court shall be made up of nine judges.

The judges of the constitutional court shall be elected on recommendation of the republic presidency by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia for 8 years and may not be reelected at the end of that term.

2. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia shall elect the president of the constitutional court from among the judges on the recommendation of the Presidency of SR Slovenia for a term of 1 year; he may not serve more than two successive terms in that office.

3. This amendment shall replace Article 425, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Constitution of SR Slovenia.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment 1

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Section 1, of the Constitution of SRS [Socialist Republic of Serbia].

Amendment II

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law shall be regulated by the constitution or the bylaws or law, in conformity with the constitution.

Judges of regular courts, public prosecutors and other holders of judicial office as designated by law shall be elected or appointed for a term of 8 years and may be reelected or reappointed to the same office.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 175 of the Constitution of SRS.

matters in the area of upbringing and education, science, culture, health care, old-age and disability insurance, social welfare and the welfare of veterans and disabled veterans, the social system of information and the system of public news media within the competence of the Chamber of Associated Labor and the Chamber of Opstinas.

The competent chamber of the assembly which has jurisdiction over a matter on which the Sociopolitical Chamber has taken a position shall take up the position of the Sociopolitical Chamber and shall so inform the Sociopolitical Chamber.

If in adopting a law or other act the competent chamber does not adopt the view of the Sociopolitical Chamber, the competent chamber and the Sociopolitical Chamber shall establish procedure for reconciliation.

The Sociopolitical Chamber may on the recommendation of the Chamber of Associated Labor and the Chamber of Opstinas also debate other matters within the competence of all the chambers and take positions and submit opinions on them.

The provisions of Point 4 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Paragraph 1 of Article 322 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

5. The Chamber of Associated Labor, the Chamber of Opstinas and the Sociopolitical Chamber shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: constitutionality and legality and protection of the constitutional system; system of social planning and the social plan of the province; national defense and social self-protection; the election system.

The provisions of Point 5 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 325 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

6. The Chamber of Associated Labor and the Chamber of Opstinas shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: the system of government and self-management; government administration; jurisprudence and protection in criminal law; internal affairs and transportation safety; achievement and protection of human and civil liberties, rights and duties; the system of public information and the system of social information; upbringing, education, science, health care, culture, physical education, social welfare, protection of veterans and employment security; the system of land use planning, the land use plan of the province, the budget and the final statement; measures to implement the social plan; socioeconomic relations in rural areas, the status of private farmers and formation of associations of private farmers; self-employment; the system, sources and types of revenues of sociopolitical communities and the financing of general public [government] and community [social services] needs; public loans; social property, expropriation, and land consolidation through enlargement and exchange; relations in property law and the law of obligations; public property; protection and improvement of the environment; retail trade,

Amendment III

1. Members of the SRS Presidency, members of the Executive Council of the SRS Assembly, officials who head republic administrative agencies and members of collegial republic administrative bodies shall be elected or appointed for a term of 4 years and may be reelected or reappointed to one more successive term in the same office.

The chairman and vice chairman of the SRS Presidency and the president and vice president of the SRS Assembly shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may be reelected to one more successive term in the same office.

The president of a chamber of the SRS Assembly shall be elected for a term of 2 years and may be reelected to one more successive term in that office.

The term of office of chairmen of working bodies of the SRS Assembly and of working bodies of its chambers shall be regulated by the operating procedure of the SRS Assembly or the operating procedure of its chambers.

The chairman and vice chairman of the Executive Council of the SRS Assembly shall be elected for 4 years and may not serve two successive terms in that office.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provision of Article 364, Paragraph 4, and shall replace the portion of the provision of Article 352, Paragraph 1, concerning the term of office of the president and vice president of the SRS Assembly and the provisions of Article 380, Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, and Article 394, Paragraph 3, of the SRS Constitution.

Amendment IV

1. The SRS Presidency shall have 13 members.

The chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and the chairmen of the presidiums of the socialist autonomous provinces shall be ex officio members of the SRS Presidency.

2. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 364, Paragraphs 1 and 3, of the SRS Constitution.

Amendment V

1. Judges of the Constitutional Court of Serbia shall be elected to a term of 8 years and may not be reelected judges of that court.

The president of the Constitutional Court of Serbia shall be elected from among the judges of that court for a term of 1 year and may be reelected to one more successive term in the same office.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 407, Paragraph 2, of the SRS Constitution.

Amendment VI

In Article 361 of the constitution Paragraph 4 shall cease to be valid.

Amendment VII

1. In cities in which several opstinas are formed, those opstinas shall enter into association to form municipal communities as separate sociopolitical communities to which the opstinas, in their common interest, entrust certain rights and duties. Certain tasks that lie in the rights and duties of the republic may be turned over to those communities.

The opstinas which constitute a municipal community shall be designated by law.

The municipal community shall have a charter whereby it regulates the rights and duties of the community, the manner in which they are to be exercised and discharged and the manner in which funds shall be provided for performance of the community's tasks and shall set up the bodies and agencies of the community.

The charter of the municipal community shall be adopted with consent of the assemblies of all the opstinas coming together to form the community.

The municipal community shall become a member of the interopstina regional community in which the opstinas represented on its council are members in the manner set forth in this constitution for opstinas to enter into association to form an interopstina regional community.

The SRS Assembly and other republic bodies and agencies shall exercise oversight over the lawfulness of the work of the assembly of the municipal community and its bodies and agencies.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title VII, Section 2, of the SRS Constitution.

Amendment VIII

1. The Chamber of Associated Labor shall independently debate and decide on the realization and distribution of income; the status of organizations of associated labor; the entry of organizations of associated labor into association; the rights and duties of workers in associated labor; matters and relations in the domain of the economy and finance except those deliberated on an equal footing with the other chambers of the SRS Assembly; and other matters and relations of interest to the workers and other working people in social labor on which it does not decide on an equal footing with the other chambers of the SRS Assembly.

Point 1 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 328 of the SRS Constitution.

2. The Chamber of Opstinas shall independently debate and decide on the following: the preparation and use of municipal land and public property; the organization of local communities and of self-management within them; the optional contribution; cooperation among the opstinas; the keeping of vital statistics and other matters of interest to the working people and citizens in the opstina, except those matters and relations on which it decides on an equal footing with the other chambers of the SRS Assembly.

Point 2 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 329 of the SRS Constitution.

3. The Sociopolitical Chamber shall independently debate and decide on the following: protection of the system established by the constitution (state security); formation of associations by citizens; republic citizenship; the legal status of religious communities; the personal identity card and the residence and domicile of citizens, and other matters related to achievement, development and protection of the system of socialist self-management as set forth, except those matters and relations on which it decides on an equal footing with the other chambers of the SRS Assembly.

Point 3 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 330 of the SRS Constitution.

4. The chambers shall decide independently on their internal organization, elections and appointments within the limits of the rights and duties of the chambers.

Point 4 of this amendment shall supplement the provisions of Article 331 of the SRS Constitution.

5. All chambers of the SRS Assembly shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: amendment of the SRS Constitution; granting of consent to amendment of the SFRY Constitution; amendment of the borders of the SRS; achievement of the constitutional position and equality of the nationalities and minorities; the system of social planning and the social plan; price policy; the republic budget and final statement; the system for financing sociopolitical communities and the system of sources and types of revenues of those communities; nationwide defense and social self-protection; development of economically underdeveloped regions; rearing and education, science, culture and physical education, health, social and child welfare, old-age and disability insurance; publishing and filmmaking; the social information system and the public news media; the organization and operation of administrative agencies and other bodies and agencies in the republic; the operating procedure of the SRS Assembly; extension of the terms of delegates in the SRS Assembly; election and dismissal of the chairmen and members of commissions and other bodies of the SRS Assembly,

of the president and associate judges of the Supreme Court of Serbia and other courts established as republic courts on the basis of law; appointment and dismissal of the general secretary of the SRS Assembly, of the chairmen and members of republic committees, of republic secretaries and of other officials heading republic administrative agencies and organizations handling affairs of interest to the republic as well as of other officials and members of governing bodies as designated by law.

Point 5 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 332 of the SRS Constitution.

6. The Chamber of Associated Labor and the Chamber of Opstinas shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: issues and relations in the field of housing, utilities and municipal services and urban affairs; insurance of property and persons; the law of obligations; the rendering of services and supply of the public, land surveying and land records and natural conservation and environmental protection.

Point 6 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 333 of the SRS Constitution.

7. The Chamber of Associated Labor and the Sociopolitical Chamber shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: foreign policy and foreign economic relations; definition of crimes and economic offenses and accountability for them, execution of punitive and other penalties and social protection of self-management rights and social property.

Point 7 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 334 of the SRS Constitution.

8. The Chamber of Opstinas and the Sociopolitical Chamber shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: regional organization of sociopolitical communities and the entry of opstinas into association to form regional and municipal communities; marriage and family relations; personal names; jurisprudence; property relations and other relations in real law; public security; the system of misdemeanors; legal aid; welfare of veterans, disabled veterans, survivors of members of the armed forces killed in action and of active participants of prewar revolutionary movements in Yugoslavia and abroad, victims of the fascist terror and civilian war victims; questions concerning enjoyment of the freedoms, exercise of the rights and duties of individuals and citizens which are not debated and decided on independently by another chamber or on an equal footing with another chamber.

Point 8 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 335 of the SRS Constitution.

9. The chambers of the SRS Assembly shall decide on the following in joint session: election of the delegation of the SRS Assembly to the Chamber of

Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly; election of the member of the SFRY Presidency and members of the SRS Presidency; election and dismissal of the president and vice president of the SRS Assembly, of the chairman and members of the Executive Council of the SRS Assembly, of members of the Council of the Republic, and of the president and associate judges of the Constitutional Court of Serbia.

Point 9 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 336 of the SRS Constitution.

10. Any chamber of the SRS Assembly may as an interested chamber submit to another chamber proposals for adoption of acts in the jurisdiction of that other chamber, debate proposals for adoption of laws, drafts of laws, proposed versions of laws and other enactments or questions in the jurisdiction of that other chamber and submit opinions and proposals.

The competent chamber is required to debate the proposal or opinion of the other chamber and to inform it of its position.

Point 10 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 337 of the SRS Constitution.

11. Laws and other acts may be proposed by any delegate in the chamber, in a committee or in a commission in his chamber, by a commission of the SRS Assembly, by the Executive Council of the SRS Assembly, by the SRS Presidency, by an assembly of a province, by an assembly of an opstina, by the Assembly of the City of Belgrade, by an assembly of a municipal community, by an assembly of an interopstina regional community, by an assembly of a republic self-managed community of interest and by the Assembly of the Economic Chamber of Serbia.

Point 11 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 339, Paragraph 1, of the SRS Constitution.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment I

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and

discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Section 1, of the Constitution of SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo.

Amendment II

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

The chairman of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo, the presidents and vice presidents of assemblies of sociopolitical communities and the presidents of assembly chambers shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during that term of the members of those bodies, nor twice in succession.

The chairmen of executive councils or of corresponding collegial executive bodies of the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities shall be elected

for a term of 2 years and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the members of those bodies, nor twice in succession.

Members of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo, members of executive bodies of assemblies of sociopolitical communities, officials heading administrative agencies and also other officials and holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years, and they may be reelected or reappointed to one more term in the same office.

The term of office of judicial officeholders and the public defender of self-management law and restrictions on their reelection or reappointment shall be regulated by law.

2. This amendment shall replace the provision of Article 169 of the Constitution of SAP Kosovo.

Amendment III

The Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo shall have a president and one or more vice presidents, who shall be elected from among the delegates in the assembly for a term of 1 year; they may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the delegates in the assembly, nor twice in succession.

Each chamber of the assembly shall have a president elected from among the delegates in the chamber to a term of 1 year; he may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the delegates in the chamber, nor twice in succession.

This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 334, Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3, of the Constitution of SAP Kosovo.

Amendment IV

1. The Presidency of SAP Kosovo:

i. shall take up matters of importance to the political, economic, social and cultural life in the province and to achievement of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, as well as matters related to further development of the relations of socialist self-management in all domains of social life; shall if necessary take the initiative for their consideration in the assembly and other provincial bodies, agencies and organizations; on certain issues for the sake of implementation of the established policy shall take positions and propose the taking of appropriate steps to executive, administrative and other bodies, agencies and organizations in the province;

ii. shall take up matters in the domain of foreign policy, shall carry on international cooperation, shall take positions and propose to the competent bodies, agencies and organizations that they take appropriate measures to implement the established policy in this area;

iii. shall take up matters in the field of national defense and protection of the system established by the constitution, shall adopt positions, take steps and initiate procedure to coordinate the activities of competent bodies and agencies in the province in implementing the established policy in this area;

iv. shall deliberate the bases for establishing personnel policy and nominations for election or appointment to particular offices in provincial, federal and republic bodies and agencies;

v. shall nominate and shall propose dismissal of the president and associate judges of the Constitutional Court of Kosovo;

vi. shall award decorations and the highest recognitions of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo provided for by law;

vii. shall decide on reception of state delegations of other countries visiting the province and shall designate delegations which shall visit other countries on behalf of the province.

2. In its handling of the affairs and tasks in the area of national defense and social self-protection the presidency shall set forth the plan for the province's defense and the plan for social self-protection of the province, further guidelines for taking of steps to prepare all structures of society and mobilize all resources and forces for nationwide defense and social self-protection, coordinate the plans and measures of opstinas and the province, organizations of associated labor, and local and other self-managed communities for operation and work in case of an immediate danger of war and in wartime, shall set forth the plan of readiness measures and shall see that they are enforced.

Working bodies of the presidency, whose composition, organization and jurisdiction shall be prescribed by law, may be formed to handle matters in the domain of national defense and social self-protection.

3. The chairman of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo shall be an ex officio member of the presidency.

The presidency shall elect a chairman from among its own members for a term of 1 year; he may not be reelected to the same office during that term, nor twice in succession.

The member of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo designated by the presidency shall replace the chairman should he be absent and shall also perform tasks as assigned him by the chairman or Presidency of SAP Kosovo.

4. In the exercise of its rights and discharge of its duties the presidency shall carry on cooperation with opstinas, self-managed organizations and communities and the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities in the province and shall inform them of the matters which it has under consideration and which are of interest to those organizations.

Opstinas, sociopolitical organizations and other self-managed organizations and communities may on their own initiative or at the request of the Presidency of SAP Kosovo present their opinion to the presidency on certain matters within their competence.

Point 1 of the amendment shall supplement Article 340; Point 2 shall supplement Article 341; Point 3, Paragraphs 1 and 2, shall replace Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 343, while Paragraph 3 shall supplement the same article of the Constitution of SAP Kosovo.

Amendment V

1. The Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Kosovo shall be made up of a chairman and a specified number of members, who shall be nominated by the Commission for Elections and Appointments and elected by the assembly.

The chairman and vice chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Kosovo shall be elected for a term of 2 years and may not be reelected to the same office in the same term, nor twice in succession.

The members of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Kosovo shall be elected for a term of 4 years, and the same individual may be reelected to one more term as a member of the executive council.

2. On the recommendation of the Commission for Elections and Appointments the assembly shall appoint from among members of the executive council secretaries of provincial secretariats, chairmen of collegial administrative bodies and other officials heading provincial administrative agencies and organizations as designated by law.

The provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Point 1 of the amendment shall replace Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 352 of the Constitution of SAP Kosovo.

The provision of Point 2 of the amendment shall supplement Paragraph 2 of Article 351 of the constitution.

Amendment VI

Provincial secretaries, chairmen of collegial administrative bodies and other officials heading provincial administrative agencies and organizations shall be appointed and dismissed by the assembly on the recommendation of the Commission for Elections and Appointments.

Officials heading provincial administrative agencies and provincial administrative organizations and other officials appointed by the Assembly of SAP Kosovo shall be appointed for a term of 4 years and may be reappointed to the same office for one additional term.

The provision of Paragraph 1 of the amendment shall supplement Paragraph 1 of Article 366 of the constitution.

The provision of Paragraph 2 shall replace Paragraph 3 of Article 366 of the constitution.

Amendment VII

The Constitutional Court of Kosovo shall be made up of seven judges.

The president of the Constitutional Court of Kosovo shall be elected by the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from among the judges of the Constitutional Court of Kosovo for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to that office.

The provision of this amendment shall amend Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 377 of the Constitution of SAP Kosovo.

Amendment VIII

In Article 283 of the Constitution of SAP Kosovo, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 5, Line 9, the words "And command" shall be deleted.

Draft Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina

These amendments shall constitute an integral part of the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and shall take effect on the date of their promulgation.

Amendment I

1. All bodies and offices of government and of self-management and others holding offices in self-management, public office or other office in society shall within the limits of their rights, duties and responsibilities see that the interests of the working class and all the working people are realized in socioeconomic and political relations of socialist self-management and especially in the delegate system, and shall provide the conditions for the working people and citizens to exercise their rights and discharge their obligations and responsibilities in self-managed and other organizations and communities and in sociopolitical communities.

The organization, composition and procedure of collective bodies of government and self-management shall be regulated so as to ensure collective

work, decisionmaking and responsibility as well as equality of the members of these bodies in the exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties and responsibilities as set forth in the constitution and in the bylaws and law.

Every member of a collective body shall be personally responsible for his own work and, in conformity with his rights and duties, for the work and decisions of that body.

Every member of a collective body who is authorized to participate in the procedure of other bodies and commissions must in conformity with the principles of the delegate system act in accordance with the authorizations, guidelines and positions of that body.

All offices and bodies of government and self-management and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society must so exercise their rights and discharge their duties as to facilitate the exercise of social oversight over their work.

2. This amendment shall supplement the provisions of Part II, Title II, Section 1, of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment II

1. Elected and appointed officeholders and others holding office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, the bylaws or law, shall be elected or appointed to a term of 4 years unless the constitution provides otherwise for certain of them.

Elected and appointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law, may be elected or appointed no more than twice in succession to the same office unless the constitution has provided otherwise for certain of them.

The term of office and restriction on reelection or reappointment of elected and apointed officeholders and other holders of office in self-management, public office and other offices in society as designated by the constitution, bylaws or law shall be regulated by the constitution or the bylaws or law, in conformity with this constitution.

Presidents of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the assembly, nor twice in succession.

Members of executive councils of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected for a term of 4 years and may not serve more than two successive terms in the same office.

Chairmen of executive councils of assemblies of sociopolitical communities shall be elected for a term of 2 years from among members of the council and may not serve more than two successive terms in the same office.

Officials heading administrative agencies and organizations handling matters of interest to the sociopolitical community who are appointed by the assembly of the sociopolitical community shall be appointed for a term of 4 years and may be reappointed to one more term in the same office.

3. The term of office and possibility of reelection or reappointment of judicial officeholders as well as the term of office and restriction of reappointment of the public defender of self-management law shall be regulated by law.

4. The provisions of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 173 and the provisions of Paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 387 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment III

1. The Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina shall have a president and vice president, who shall be elected from among the delegates in the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Each chamber of the assembly shall have a president, who shall be elected from among the delegates in the chamber.

The president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, together with the vice president of the assembly and the presidents of the chambers, shall examine matters of coordinating and programming the work of the chambers and working bodies in the assembly and matters of assembly procedure and shall see to cooperation between the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the SFRY Assembly, the Assembly of SR Serbia and the assemblies of the other republics, the Assembly of SAP Kosovo and the assemblies of opstinas and sociopolitical and self-managed organizations and communities.

2. The president of the assembly, the vice president of the assembly and the presidents of the chambers shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the assembly, nor twice in succession.

3. This amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 343 and of Article 346 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment IV

1. The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina shall have nine members.

The Assembly of SAP Vojvodina shall elect eight members of the presidency on the basis of a list of candidates set forth by the nominating conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina.

The chairman of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina shall be an ex officio member of the presidency.

2. The members of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina shall be elected for a term of 4 years and may not be elected to more than two successive terms in the same office.

A member of the presidency may not be a delegate in the assembly of a sociopolitical community, nor a judge of the constitutional court or other courts, nor an appointed official of another government body or agency.

The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina shall have a chairman, whom it shall elect from among the members of the presidency.

The chairman of the presidency shall be elected for a term of 1 year and may not be reelected to the same office during the term of the members of the presidency, nor twice in succession.

A member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina designated by the presidency shall replace the chairman should he be absent and shall perform other tasks as assigned him by the chairman or the presidency.

3. The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina shall have a Council for National Defense. The presidency shall elect the chairman and members of that council.

4. In case of an immediate danger of war or during a state of war, if it is not possible to convene the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina, the Presidency of SAP Vojvodina, on its own initiative or on the recommendation of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina, may issue decrees with the force of law on matters within the jurisdiction of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina.

A decree with the force of law issued during a state of war may in exceptional cases, so long as that state persists and if the interests of national defense so require, suspend provisions of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina pertaining to certain freedoms, rights and duties of individuals and citizens and rights of self-managed organizations and communities or to the composition and powers of executive and administrative bodies and agencies. The decree with the force of law may also establish other sociopolitical communities aside from those envisaged by the constitution and may set forth the organization of their constituent organs.

The Presidency of SAP Vojvodina may during a state of war stay execution, vacate or modify unlawful acts of provincial bodies and agencies and other bodies and agencies in SAP Vojvodina and the acts of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities.

5. The provisions of Point 1 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 355; the provision of Point 2 shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 356, Paragraph 4 of Article 355, and Paragraph 3 of Article 359; the provisions of Point 3 shall replace the provision of Paragraph 1 of Article 361; and the provision of Point 4 shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 3 of Article 352 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment V

1. The Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina shall be made up of a chairman and members of the council, who shall be elected by the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina, of provincial secretaries and also of other officials heading organizations handling business of interest to the province as designated by law.

The chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina shall be elected from among members of the council.

2. The chairman of the executive council shall be elected and dismissed by the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina on the recommendation of the Presidency of SAP Vojvodina.

The members of the executive council shall be elected by the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina on the recommendation of the Commission for Elections and Appointments of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina.

Preliminary procedure for nominating candidates for the chairman and members of the executive council shall be conducted in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina.

A proposal for dismissal of individual members of the executive council may be submitted by the Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina.

Members of the executive council shall be elected for 4 years, and the chairman of the executive council for 2 years.

The chairman and members of the executive council may not be elected to more than two successive terms in the same office.

The Executive Council of the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina shall have a vice chairman whom the council shall elect from among the members of the council.

3. At the end of 2 years from election of the members of the executive council, the executive council, within the limits of its assigned rights and duties, shall submit to the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina a report on the situation in all domains of the life of society, on the implementation of policy and enforcement of laws, and also on its own work and the work of provincial administrative bodies and agencies.

4. The provisions of Points 1 and 2 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 5 of Article 369 and the provisions of Article 370, and the provision of Point 3 shall supplement the provisions of Article 377 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment VI

1. The executive council of the opstina assembly or the assembly of a municipal community shall be made up of a chairman and members elected by the assembly, officials heading the opstina or municipal administrative agencies as well as officials heading organizations handling business of interest to the opstina or municipal community as designated by decision of the assembly in accordance with the charter.

The preliminary procedure for nominating candidates for election of the chairman and members of the executive councils of opstina assemblies or assemblies of municipal communities shall be conducted in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Vojvodina.

This amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 166, the provisions of Paragraph 2 of Article 164 and of Paragraph 2 of Article 165 shall be vacated; and the words "or other corresponding executive collegial body" shall be deleted in Paragraph 3 of Article 164, in Article 167, in Paragraph 2 of Article 188, in Paragraph 1 of Article 169, in Paragraph 2 of Article 170, in Paragraph 3 of Article 172, in Paragraph 2 of Article 286, and in Paragraph 2 of Article 374 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment VII

1. Judges of the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina shall be elected for 8 years and may not be reelected to the same office. Judges of the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina may not simultaneously hold office in government or self-management bodies.

The president of the Constitutional Court of Vojvodina shall be elected from among the judges of that court for a term of 4 years and may not be reelected to the same office.

2. This amendment shall replace Paragraph 2 of Article 400 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment VIII

1. The municipal community or assembly of the municipal community and equivalent bodies, within the limits of the rights and duties of the municipal community, shall have the rights and duties which the opstina or opstina assembly and equivalent bodies have under the constitution.

The organization of government and of self-management in the municipal community shall be based on the principles of the sociopolitical system set forth in the constitution.

Opstinas may entrust to the municipal community tasks which are established in law as tasks performed by opstina assemblies and equivalent bodies.

The relationship between provincial bodies and agencies and the bodies and agencies of the municipal community shall be based on the principles on which the relations between provincial and opstina bodies and agencies as established in the constitution and law are based.

The opstinas which shall make up a municipal community shall be designated by law.

The charter of a municipal community shall be adopted by the assembly of the municipal community with consent of the assemblies of all the opstinas which have entered into association to form the municipal community.

The formation and abolishing of opstinas shall be regulated by law.

2. The provisions of Point 1, Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this amendment shall supplement Article 290; the provision of Point 1, Paragraph 6, shall replace Paragraph 4 of Article 290, and the provision of Point 1, Paragraph 7, shall supplement Article 287 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

Amendment IX

1. The jurisdiction of the chambers shall be regulated in such manner as to ensure that the Chamber of Associated Labor participates in making decisions on matters of interest to the workers and other working people in social labor, that the Chamber of Local Communities or Chamber of Opstinas participates in decisions on matters of interest to the working people and citizens in local communities or opstinas, and that the Sociopolitical Chamber participates in decisions on matters concerning achievement of the development and protection of the system of socialist self-management established by the constitution.

The provision of Point 1 shall replace the provision of Paragraph 2 of Article 161 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

2. The Chamber of Associated Labor shall independently debate and decide on the following: rights and obligations of workers in associated labor, organizations of associated labor and the conduct of their business and their entry into association; distribution of income and allocation of a portion of income to meet community needs [social services]; matters of the economic and financial system; economic relations with foreign countries; the system of self-management courts; and other matters and relations of direct interest to the working people in associated labor and in organizations of associated labor, except those matters and relations on which it decides on an equal footing with other chambers of the assembly or in joint session.

The Chamber of Associated Labor shall elect and dismiss the president and judges of the Court of Associated Labor of Vojvodina, the president and judges of other self-management courts as designated by law, and shall elect the members of the bodies of self-management of organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities when law so specifies.

The provisions of Point 2 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 320 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

3. The Chamber of Opstinas shall independently debate and decide on the following: the entry of citizens into association; achievement and development of self-management relations in local communities; taxes on individuals and the optional contribution; preparation and use of municipal land and land records; the bar and other forms of legal aid and councils of reconciliation; marriage, relations between parents and children, guardianship and adoption; vital statistics, personal identity cards, domicile and residence, the list of voters and records on individuals; the legal status of religious communities; and also other matters of common interest to the working people and citizens, except those matters and relations on which it shall decide equally with the other chambers of the assembly or in joint session of all the chambers.

The provisions of Point 3 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 321 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

4. The Sociopolitical Chamber shall take up matters of general importance to the achievement, development and protection of the system of socialist self-management established by the constitution and may take initiative and submit proposals for the taking of particular steps to the chambers of the assembly and to other competent bodies and agencies, organizations and communities.

The Sociopolitical Chamber shall take positions concerning achievement, development and protection of the system of government and self-management, of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, on the exercise and discharge of human and civil liberties, rights and duties, on principal

hostelry, tourism, hunting, fishing, commodity reserves, and transportation on the public highways.

The provisions of Point 6 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Article 326 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

7. The Chamber of Associated Labor and the Sociopolitical Chamber shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: matters of foreign policy and relations with foreign countries; development of the underdeveloped areas; social protection of self-management rights and social ownership; temporary restriction of disposition of funds for social reproduction.

The provision of Point 7 of this amendment shall replace the provisions of Article 327 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

8. The Chamber of Opstinas and the Sociopolitical Chamber shall debate and decide on the following on an equal footing: achievement of the constitutional status of opstinas and the formation and abolishing of opstinas.

The provision of Point 8 of this amendment shall replace the provision of Paragraph 1 of Article 328 of the Constitution of SAP Vojvodina.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Current Situation in Poland, Impact on Eastern Europe Analyzed
(Andre Brigot; DEFENSE NATIONALE, Oct 80) 1

Yugoslav Artistic Society Group Tours Albania
(Editorial Report) 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Auersperg Comments on Berlin Ideological Conference
(Pavel Auersperg; TRIBUNA, 26 Nov 80) 11

HUNGARY

Trade Union Role in Preparation of New Five-Year Plan Explained
(Laszlo Pukta; MUNKA, No 11, 1980) 16

POLAND

Avoiding Repetition of 1970 Labor Crisis Urged
(Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 13-14 Dec 80) 21

Discussion of Liberal Trend in Poland Noted
(Bernard Margueritte; LE FIGARO, 25 Aug 80) 25

Reasons for Social, Economic Crisis Discussed
(Bernard Margueritte; LE FIGARO, 25 Aug 80) 28

Rural Youth Council Writes Open Letter to ZSMP Members
(SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 31 Nov 80) 32

ROMANIA

Relations Between Orthodox Church, Catholic Church Discussed
(Dumitru Soare; BISERICA ORTODOXA ROMANA, Mar-Apr 80)..... 35

Role of Working Class as Leading Force in Society
(Dana Voinea; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Dec 80)..... 37

Transylvanian Prince Bethlen Honored on 400th Birthday
(C. Paul; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Dec 80) 45

YUGOSLAVIA

Workers Discuss TV Drama on Strikes
(Nino Pavic; SEDAM DANA, 6 Dec 80) 52

Vojvodina Constitutional Court Chief Justice Interviewed
(Nikola Balog Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
23 Nov 80) 59

Secondary Schoolers Strike Over Dismissal of Teacher
(Aleksandar Tijanic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 16 Nov 80) 65

Athletic Festival of Armament Industry Workers Described
(Z. Simic; ZUM REPORTER, 16 Oct 80) 70

CURRENT SITUATION IN POLAND, IMPACT ON EASTERN EUROPE ANALYZED

Paris DEFENSE NATIONALE in French Oct 80 pp 79-93

[Article by Andre Brigot: "Poland: Breakthrough or Impasse?"]

[Text] Beyond the reactions to the Polish problem, which swing between hope of freedom and fear of upsetting the established order, Andre Brigot, a lecturer at CEPODE*, on his return from Poland attempts to strip down the mechanisms determining the potential developments in a situation that can only be compared to the precedents of Czechoslovakia or Hungary.

The USSR, undoubtedly aware that tanks would resolve nothing, appears to be hesitating over what course to follow, having failed thus far to take the whole measure of the political and social consequences of economic failure.

In Poland they have gone from sporadic strike movements, apparently linked to the rise of certain prices, to a social upheaval whose magnitude and consequences cannot yet be imagined today.

Consequences for the internal organization of the government in Poland, but also for political and military balances that are crucial for all of Europe. Of course one can discuss interminably the sequence of events in Poland and the reactions carefully distilled day after day by PRAVDA, or prophesy in various directions.

But first it is important to outline several main themes underlying the changes that are still being talked about.

Facing the Facts of the Crisis

The ambiguity of the interpretations furnished by the various parties is largely explained by the discrepancy existing between the overall reality of the event (a profound social and political crisis) and what it is possible and prudent to speak of (economic and professional demands).

Let us sum up the principal troubles of the Polish economy.

The most visible economic angle is without a doubt the hugeness of the foreign debt. After the fall of Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had frozen investment by practising a kind

*CEPODE: Center for Political Defense Studies, University of Paris I. Director: Pierre Dabezies; secretary general: Jean Paucot. Assistants: Jean-Francois Bureau, Dominique David.

of peasant economy of accumulation of reserves, Edward Gierek in the course of the two plans of 1971-1975 and 1976-1980 launched a wave of productive industrial investment that in theory was not supposed to damage the progress of domestic consumption.

But those investments, financed by foreign loans, were chiefly brought about through the purchase of Western materials. The increased prices of such materials caused a perpetual overspending above the estimates and hence an "importation" of our inflation. The consequences of the rise in the cost of raw materials in the world, especially of energy (the USSR is known to be supplying its Eastern European partners with oil at nearly the world market price), and the difficulties occasioned by Polish exports being poorly adapted to the demand despite their advantageous price (very low wage costs), caused the gamble on opening up trade to be lost.

The object of the loans was also to satisfy labor's demands in the 1970's for consumer goods, but national production of food products remains inadequate. As for the investments, their profitability and sometimes even their usefulness are arguable. Huge developments, such as the Katowice steel complex, have been criticized to no avail since their conception, even by the Soviets. To which must be added the waste, the many examples of misappropriation or the seeking of a personal and quick profit on the part of highly-placed leaders who know that the wind changes quickly. In Poland one is never kept from lining up precise examples (even less so today), as it is true that in the East one may criticize all the facts, but independently of each other, as long as one refrains from emphasizing that together they constitute a characteristic of the system.

In an attempt to reduce imports and the debt, the Polish leaders since 1976 have continually encouraged exportation: favors granted to exporting firms, demands in bilateral relations with the West for trade facilities, etc. In the context of a domestic market, in which the demand is far from being satisfied, these watchwords in Poland look at best like a necessary evil, when they do not trigger a frank opposition; for example, the metallurgists of Silesia can be cited, who recently welded to the rails the freight cars destined for the USSR.

Agriculture is added to the debt problem. In this regard Poland's situation is completely different from that of the other Eastern countries. In fact, over 75 percent of the cultivated land belongs to private farmers, who account for nearly 80 percent of the agricultural production. These small peasants achieve that production with much less material means and fertilizer than the government-owned enterprises and the cooperatives. Having access to the free or unofficial market, they accumulate capital to their profit, using it to improve their living conditions. The Polish countryside offers many examples of those traditional wooden houses, behind which rise recent brick houses, often unfinished but certainly more spacious and modern than the ancestral dwelling.

Moreover, this "free" development of the agricultural sector had not been called into question by the USSR, even in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [CEMA], whose representatives had defended this Polish way of transforming agriculture against the criticism by other brother countries (the GDR, Czechoslovakia). The USSR itself may have inspired this criticism without wanting to take the responsibility for it. Be that as it may, a strategy of slow socialization was involved, depending on a life annuity mechanism granted to elderly peasants whose children were affected by the rural exodus due to Edward Gierek's accelerated industrialization. The lands were then seized by the state and assigned, preferably to the state-owned

agricultural enterprises. All conflict with the peasants was avoided; they were supported by the Church and ready to respond to any frontal attack by the immediate slaughter of the privately-owned cattle. Two-thirds of the value of the agricultural market production was supplied by livestock raising in 1977. Such a slaughter would be catastrophic for an urban market that was under-supplied with meat.

Therefore the only thing left for the leaders to do was to try to impose a price rise on consumption. A delicate prospect: in the past, every attempt (1956, 1970, 1976) had been followed by troubles and the departure of the highest-level leaders. Again this time the tactic of increases spread out over time and diversified as to regions and products, misfired. Polish workers obviously do not accept a lowering of their standard of living*.

Of course this does not mean that the crisis that exploded in August is just an economic one. It is well known that, although the price rises were deferred, the Gdansk strikers finally signed an agreement assuring them of a salary increase lower than the one proposed in the beginning, but compensated for in their eyes by other social clauses, infinitely more important for the future. The regime's inability to rectify the economic situation leads to this obvious fact: it is with regard to the system itself, the management of businesses, the waste and the various unproductive misappropriations that intervention must take place. But this would surely mean to affect the bureaucracy, the drawing up and operation of the planning system itself, in short to set up a control that would shake the foundation of the regime. A proposal envisaged with apprehension by the beneficiaries of the system, but also be the large majority of Poles, who believe such a challenge to be suicidal.

Disillusionment with "Real Socialism"

Thirty-five postwar years, 35 years of socialism, this is enough to form a generation. In the second most heavily populated Eastern country, after the USSR, half of whose population is under 30, at least two political generations coexist.

The first is made up of men and women who lived through and worked for the country's socialistic rebuilding. Often, in the beginning, sincerely supportive of the new leaders, today they have in their ranks a huge proportion of disillusioned, disaffected and cynical people.

In November 1978, in a "Report on the State of the Republic and the Paths Leading to its Stabilization," the group of opponents meeting under the name of Experience and Future [DIP] wrote:

"Our fellow countrymen, several times disappointed in their hope, today cling to the bitter conviction that a radical change in the operation of the sociopolitical system is absolutely necessary, and at the same time totally impossible. Acceptance of that state of affairs leads to extreme attitudes, beginning with conformity and the defense of the status quo, proceeding by way of the different forms of flight in the

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*Here Poland is clearly differentiated from Hungary, where the violence of the repression by Kadar, which immediately followed the movements of 1956 (2,000 to 3,000 executions, tens of thousands of imprisonments and ten times more internments than in Poland) made it possible to eliminate all opposition, to enforce an austerity policy for several years and then relax the reins. See "Kadarism" by Ferenc Feher, Paris, Payot, Book No 7.

*See "The Crisis in the Polish Economy," CORRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, Paris 1980, and on foreign trade, PERSPECTIVES POLONAISES, No 4 and No 5, Warsaw 1980.

private domain to revolt that is muted but filled with hatred. Skepticism, indifference, the decline of a constructive social thinking--these are the consequences"*.

The visible forms of this disillusionment extend from alcoholism to the many jokes and stories that have free rein in Poland, stemming from the incredulity concerning /any/ [in italics] official information--incredulity that is more obvious in a country where repression has never reached the level experienced in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and where there has always existed a certain freedom of expression. Certainly this generation is fully aware of what is tolerable in Poland, of the domestic and international limits of any movement, and at the same time it has had much experience with the mechanisms of recovery or seizure of the concessions of the government.

But another generation is appearing, made up of all those who were born and have grown up under this regime. A generation that is still profoundly nationalistic, but the incessant reminder by the government of the destruction and wounds left by Nazism, the magnitude of which is known to each of them, does not, to this new generation, excuse the inadequacies of 35 years of socialism. Moreover, its anti-German feeling undoubtedly causes it to be more opposed to the GDR, the leaders' favored partner, than to the FRG, whose prestige is certain and the consistency of whose foreign policy toward the East and against Moscow is appreciated.

Poland is very open to the foreigner. The number of emigres of Polish origin may be estimated at nearly 10,000,000. The taste for European culture--and, today, North American culture--makes Poland a country shot through with profound Western influences. Every year hundreds of thousands of Poles obtain a passport to go abroad, and many emigres come to visit their families, despite material difficulties and currency regulation. The influence of the West is manifested in many areas: the practical knowledge of the operation of cultural exchange associations, etc. And in several fields, theatrical, cinematographic, musical, Poles are today among the most important in the world. It was in maintaining its culture and causing it to flourish that Poland protected its identity during the periods of foreign occupation. The national sentiment is thus organized around an incontestable modernity, while remaining intimately bound to the idea of resistance, cultural resistance in particular.

One is less astonished at the sudden appearance of labor union leaders who were totally unknown several months ago, like the unarguable present leader of the Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS] in Gdansk, Lech Walesa, when one understands to what extent the great strength and potentialities of this country could be held in check until recent times.

The Church and the Intellectuals

It is easy to evoke the extraordinary presence of the [Catholic] Church in the Polish society, the 80 percent who are regular churchgoers, the too-small congregations every Sunday and finally the apotheosis of the election of John Paul II. It is perhaps more interesting, in the light of recent events, to emphasize the new recognition of the ecclesiastical apparatus as an element of anti-totalitarian resistance by lay intellectuals, by a long-silent liberal left or one that has been an accomplice in the attacks brought by the government against the Church.

*See L'ALTERNATIVE, No 2, Paris 1980.

Cultural identity, for the overwhelming majority of the population, stems from Catholicism, from the recently urbanized peasants, finding in the churches the only place where continuity--a cultural past--is affirmed, to the priests hearing confession in Gdansk in the occupied shipyards. Although intellectual production has not, in Poland any more than anywhere else, reconciled the articulation of the Christian message with the different characteristics of the 20th century, there prevails in the Polish churches a modernity that is attached both to the faithful, representatives of the population though it is impossible to detect the preponderance of any one age group or sex, and to the buildings themselves, which are often recently rebuilt and more engaging than the debatable architectural accomplishments of socialism.

The long resistance of the ecclesiastical apparatus, under the leadership of its head, the primate, Cardinal Wyszynski, has made the Church the principal structured opposition space, its efforts converging for the last ten years with those of lay personages and intellectuals. For the latter, who have not come together on explicitly lay positions, it has not been a matter of appreciating the validity of the religious message dispenses by the Church, but of recognizing that through vigorous and undoubtedly victorious defense of sometimes special interests, a requirement of freedom was being expressed. For a number of Christians:

"The problem is not that a fully mature world is threatening the Church, but that the most precious values of the world's maturity are--along with the Church--in mortal danger, and that the men who are defending them are at the same time defending the most fundamental values of Christianity*."

Thus, many of those who in the postwar period were shown to be not very sensitive to the attacks against the Church, but who themselves gradually became excluded, the revisionists--that is to say, the unorthodox of all tendencies--, the intellectuals critical of the regime, the antinationals of the 1968 anti-Semite campaigns, are to be found side by side, first because of personal ties and then in similar poorly-structured movements of reflection that are rapidly being dissolved or prosecuted by the regime: workers' commissions, the flying university, etc.

Let us not picture the Polish opposition as a vast movement structured in Western fashion, capable of offering an organized alternative to the regime, or even desiring one. Such talk would invite criticism from the official critics who seek--in vain thus far--to drive out an enemy of the regime, organized and paid by the clearly exposable /foreigner/ [in italics]. (Alas! There are not even any more Jews to accuse, they were chased out ten years ago).

The history of the "Znak" movement-publication is an example. Bringing together Catholic intellectuals, it publishes a weekly in Krakow, the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. Its circulation is limited by the regime to 40,000 copies; but those in charge assure us that it is capable of reaching 200,000 copies with no difficulty. It is a journal quite similar to the monthly ESPRIT that existed in France until 1970. ZNAK brings together Catholic intellectual circles in all of the large cities, including, in Warsaw, the one centered around the journal WIEZ (THE LINK). This network is a genuine force. Thus it was able to obtain, despite the constitutional limitations on eligibility, between five and 15 deputies in the Sejm [Parliament] (there are 450) and, moreover, to declare itself against the "religious-official" publications and propaganda group, Pax (somewhat comparable to the various versions of the

*Quoted by Adam Michnik, in "The Church and the Left, the Polish Dialog." Seuil.

Peace Movement of the 1950's), as a space for freedom of speech and incontrovertible resistance.

Also, the regime, after several resounding speeches by members of Znak in the Sejm (against the anti-Semite campaigns in 1968 and the constitutional change in 1975), sought to limit its audience. The opportunity arose in 1975, when the majority of the group declared itself against the new constitution, strengthening the workers' party's control over candidacies. Several members of Znak approved the text, representing less than 5 percent of the movement. But according to a thoroughly broken-in political mechanism, they were actively supported by the official apparatus, and today constitute a Neo-Znak group in the Sejm, the "true Znaks" not even running for election any more.

Such examples are significant. They explain why the representative institutions are being hit with total discredit. In a case of serious crisis, the normal political mechanisms, which exist in a totally formal way, are incapable of functioning and carrying out their official role. This analysis could perfectly apply to the trade unions and, in particular, to the "reform organizations," a kind of workers' control councils, granted by the authorities after the events of 1956 but gradually taken back, integrated into the official unions and thus completely useless and rejected by the workers. The mechanism is similar, but so is the popular awareness of the leaders' duplicity, the inanity of their promises. Today this social memory, this practical knowledge of the mechanisms of recovery might sometimes explain the intransigence and the refusal to compromise.

Today, Znak is an ally and a partner to most of the "opposing" intellectuals meeting in different groups, the most important of which is surely the KSS-KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense KOR], whose sign could be seen early in September decorating the walls of Warsaw, though it was quickly covered. A principal element was the organizers of the strike committees and solidarity committees formed during the weeks of the strike, which resulted for the most part in independent trade unions; they called and are now calling on these intellectuals as experts and advisers, an appeal that cannot give way to any attempt at recovery, since this "intellectual opposition" is so poorly structured, so numerically weak that no one of its groups could attempt to divert to its own advantage the whole of the movement, however much it might wish to do so. At the very most the idea might be supported that the majority of these adviser intellectuals preach a moderation, a calm that are urgently recommended by the Church. But no one, especially in the West, has any right to claim that any other strategy, "all-the-way" or violent, was possible without suicidal risks.

The number of "available" intellectuals throughout the whole country was considerable at that particular time, because the movement developed during the period of school and university vacations; but also, more broadly, because many of them, though they had not been subject to a repression as severe as that in Czechoslovakia, were more or less isolated, supported in the institutions without exercising any real responsibilities there.

We are therefore careful not to compare the "Polish opposition" with an organized pressure group in a pluralistic democracy. It is on the basis of personal contacts sometimes expanded to tolerated activities--independent courses, participation in training courses on reflection, religious retreats, signing petitions--that knowledge and respect are formed. Moreover, everyone has seen the inanity of the

official tactic, which consists of arresting and prosecuting the /leaders/ [in italics], thinking to decapitate it. Alas, the model of a regime resting on a few leaders does not apply to the current movement. The danger of dispersal is obvious. It is not by chance that the only accepted common reference is still the Polish nation, "We are all Poles."

But the advantage is attached to unseizability: what repression could clearly refer to a group as "nonworking?"

What is the Future?

Although the early movements in the spring and in July emerged from economic questions, no one doubts that such questions played only a detonating role. It is really the operating style of the Polish society that is being challenged. It was not a matter of overthrowing the political regime, which everyone knows would be suicide; nor was it a matter of challenging Poland's international alliances or its foreign policy. What good would it do to obtain a wage increase, a price freeze on certain products, if inflation, waste, and incompetence were to erode those advantages in a few months?

The calm and the maturity of the strikers has been emphasized many times, right up until the country is on the verge of a general strike, of protest and solidarity (to 29 August). No one wanted to go too far then, even though the forecasts of the optimists were exceeded every day.

The regime would not negotiate--and it was also part of the strikers' political and social maturity that they knew this--except with a knife at the throat. But if no one, despite the government's unbelievable debacle, was challenging it, on what then depends the novelty of the concessions obtained?

Those concessions are undoubtedly putting in place a social model that involves all sectors of public life. The process of separating the official from the independent, despite the cries of officials loudly demanding their "autonomy" while praising the virtues of unity, introduces a mechanism whose effects may be considerable.

Ideologic justifications, which are the way of operating and legitimizing government relations in the East, make of the constitutions concerned models of democracy, except that there is no question of enforcing them. If a power structure peacefully imposes enforcement of the written laws, it is the whole system of government that is in danger. And the social areas are many in which what has already been obtained might be enforced.

Many people congratulated themselves that the workers' movement did not take place during the school and university term. Several years ago, in fact, the government thought it would be a good idea to form a union between the students' "union" organization and the young socialists' political organization. How would the question of forming a new independent trade union have been raised after the October beginning of the school year?

In the state-owned agricultural enterprises misappropriation and corruption reign, this is obvious and admitted, for example for obtaining fertilizer and machines. One might think that the paid workers of these production units will introduce into the agricultural sector the same demands for protection of their professional interests, aspiring to a real control over management.

In Poland everyone knows that the Sejm is not representative. Of course, there is a 97-percent vote, and the elected representatives constitute a perfect sampling of the population in age, sex and profession. But the electoral system imposes control over candidacies by the party and is coupled with a list system that allows only the top names--chosen beforehand, of course--to get by. The social ineffectiveness of this pseudo-representation has just been proven. However, the constitution stipulates that representatives of professional unions are eligible. How will the government be able to prevent "independent" candidacies from being expressed?

Thus the internal extension of the model introduced by the recent events is inevitable. Since early September we have witnessed a flowering of demands by "independent" unions in all branches of economic life. Debates and demands proliferate. An extension that could be a major risk, inasmuch as the period before Edward Gierek's departure brought out a party without head or leadership, not knowing how to clearly delimit the tolerable. In that sense, replacing Edward Gierek with a man who outlines the limits of the possible is reassuring to the "members" at the grassroots of the party without directives or leaders, for the most part incapable of taking on any responsibility whatsoever. No one in Poland is hoping for the development of an "all-the-way" strategy, but the power vacancy constitutes the greatest danger of foreign intervention: the Soviet nature abhors a vacuum.

It was not the blows of a political opposition that overthrew the leaders, but the weakness of the official institutions, an inverse pyramid of power whose real base rests on a mere few persons. And the party members, like the 25,000 permanent members of the official unions, need to know how to think and, incidentally, who will guarantee their privileges in the current debacle.

The second danger of extension is external. It is clear that the success or the only test of a socialism that includes the seeds of pluralism can only be a source of anxiety for the brother countries, above all for the GDR. Caught between the FRG, which is liberal, and a more democratic Poland, it would have the greatest trouble preventing a contagion with consequences much more dangerous even than in Poland. But contacts are numerous and relatively simple between the two countries: daily border crossings number in the tens of thousands.

In fact the GDR is not just a socialist country like the others. An essential economic and technological reservoir, the location of a considerable deployment of Soviet forces (20 divisions on German territory, as opposed to 2 in Poland), East Germany is the real advance frontier of the Eastern bloc; Poland was never that frontier.

No doubt it is there, rather than in Hungary or in the sempiternal danger, Yugoslavia, that the greatest risks are to be seen. The risk of Soviet intervention suffered by Poland if there is internal destabilization; or intervention /from/ [in italics] Poland. In Czechoslovakia, the Soviet tanks of 1968 were accompanied by Polish and German colleagues from the East, let us not forget.

For many Poles, the European fear of intervention smacks of "feeble relief" and causes a certain amazement tinged with distrust. Perhaps European public opinion, sensitized by the debates on modernization of the Soviet arms systems and the intervention in Afghanistan, is especially receptive to all the risks and rumors of intervention. In Poland a better awareness of the real risks leads to a greater maturity in the movement's political conduct. Foreign alliances, the party's role or friendship with the USSR are never challenged.

Intervention is not a secondary hypothesis here. But it must not be forgotten that in that case the threshold would be much higher to jump over than it was, for example, in Czechoslovakia. The risks assumed by the USSR by intervening in Poland would be extremely high and would only be justified by the prospect of a stake ready to be lost.

In fact a genuine armed resistance may be foreseen. Tradition, historical experience, national character, join together to forbid the Polish leaders to agree to an intervention, however much they may desire one. In Czechoslovakia, anti-Soviet sentiment was not very pervasive before 1968, and the leaders did not believe in a possible intervention. Tito's special secretary recently published a memoir in which he tells how in the course of a three-day visit that Tito made to the Prague leaders at the time of the "Spring," he advised them to mobilize immediately, under the pretext of maintaining order, but in reality to make a Soviet intervention more difficult. The Czech leaders rejected the advice and Tito remained in Prague for only one day.

The Czechs, then, had the experience of just one betrayal: Munich. The Poles have had many; there is no need to go back to the 18th or 19th century to unearth examples of resistance. When on 19 October 1956 Kruschchev landed in Warsaw the city was threatened by four Soviet divisions. He finally yielded to Gomulka's arguments, but also to the pressure of fact: the Polish army's refusal to obey the orders of Soviet Marshal Mokossowski [should be Rokossousky].

So it is not a question of claiming that the Soviets would banish intervention in any hypothesis, or that they would fail to occupy the country, but the operation would have a high cost, not only within the socialist bloc, but also on the international level, in a period when Moscow is trying hard to erase the tensions caused by the change in Soviet weapons and their intervention outside their own soil.

The Soviets undoubtedly are counting much more on slowly recovering the movement, the game of the institutional mechanisms that were broken in long ago, to annihilate the opponents later on, when enthusiasm and hopes will have fallen again, than on a violent and massive intervention that would be hard to justify and would have incalculable consequences.

On the other side of the coin, one can only observe the West's eagerness to promote settlement of the Polish economic troubles, even while being careful not to intervene in political problems. Prudence or fear, the media like Radio Free Europe have authorized no statement likely to throw oil on the fire. Before they received dollars the Polish probably received much advice to exercise prudence and moderation, which no doubt contributed to preventing the denunciation of Polish officials of any foreign seizure of the movement. There is of course in the financial facilities granted to Poland, in the deferment of the debt that constitutes the granting of new loans, an eagerness to prevent any risk of destabilization in Europe. However, it may not be just a new American-European Marshall Plan that Poland needs.

But, though in 1920 the Treaty of Versailles was critized, it will still be a long time before Yalta is tampered with. Western Europeans today cannot hope, any more than the Poles can, to upset the zones of influence. Will they be content for long to "pay" for their security? The Baltic summer might, however, again take up this old Polish motto: "For our freedom and yours."

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YUGOSLAV ARTISTIC SOCIETY GROUP TOURS ALBANIA

[Editorial report] AU271943--Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 14 December on page 8 carries a 1,500-word report by Cvetan Stanoevski on his impressions on a 12-day visit to Albania with a group of the Besa Cultural Artistic Society of Gostivar. This December the group toured "almost all of south Albania," traveled "hundreds of kilometers" and visited "many towns" giving performances. This was a "privilege," for few tourists are admitted to Albania, and business visitors' travels end at the Dajti Hotel in Tirana or in the particular town where business talks are held, Stanoevski says.

He reports on the iron gate and barbed wire fence which marks the Albanian border above Lake Ohrid, and mentions "some 'discoveries' connected with the unexpected" in Albania: the labor needed to cultivate "every foot--exactly that every foot of land" and to drain the marshes along the sea coast, so that all the Albanians can be fed; the lengthening of life expectancy from 38 to 69 years and liquidation of unemployment. "What you see in the streets is not up to the European standard, but the former rags are only a memory of the old people."

Stanoevski observes that "Albania is surely the only country on our planet where no religious buildings exist" and where religion is banned, following the campaign in 1967. Albania "has no private automobiles, motorcycles or private horses." There is a professional theater in every town of any size, but neither on stage nor on screen do you ever see a kiss. Modern dancing has not gone beyond the tango and the waltz, and the radio rarely carries music that is not of Albanian origin.

The priority tasks of the country, according to Stanoevski, are to feed the people, to develop the industry and to defend the country. These and other tasks are displayed on numerous banners, "the costs of arranging and putting up of which are not negligible."

Stanoevski reports that the Albanian hosts accompanying the Gostivar group saw them off at the border with many kisses and some tears. In conclusion, he notes there was a picture of Stalin at the customs building, just as there were statues of Stalin in Tirana, Fier and Vlore, "but somehow it did not seem to be noticed."

CSO: 2800

AUERSPERG COMMENTS ON BERLIN IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 48, 26 Nov 80 pp 8, 9

[Article by Pavel Auersperg: "International Meeting of the Forces of World Progress"]

> [Text] The fate and future of mankind are inseparably linked with the actions, purposefulness and achievements of the anti-imperialist struggle led by the three principal movements in contemporary society, namely, the world socialist community, the forces of the national liberation struggle, and the revolutionary workers movement in the capitalist countries. These powerful revolutionary currents, born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, pursue identical goals: to ensure a lasting and just peace, to lead all the captive nations out of imperialist dependence, to win for them national and social liberation, and to create prerequisites for their entry on the road of independent and socially progressive development; and finally, in the capitalist countries, to help the working class break the rule of national, as well as multinational monopolies, and put an end once and for all to capitalist exploitation.

Strategists of contemporary imperialism are well aware of this historically inevitable reality and therefore do not spare any effort and means to create disruption, suspicion, and alienation among these principal forces in order to be in a better position to pursue in a more devious manner the expansive and exploitative interests of imperialism. The so-called Carter Doctrine and the Washington-Peking alliance placed all their bets this year on all possible and impossible means to reverse the results already achieved via a policy of international detente and the ensuing successes in the growth of the anti-imperialist national liberation movement, especially the results of the Afghani revolution, as well as the choice of about 20 African and Asian nations to pursue the road of socialist orientation.

These feverish attempts of North American imperialism unquestionably complicated and dangerously sharpened the international situation, and demonstrated that the forces of aggression, in the pursuit of their egotistical and disruptive goals, do not shy away even from blackmail by means of economic pressures and ideological diversion. However, the results confirm that the United States and its Peking cohorts are unable to reverse the inexorable logic of historical development, or to wrest initiative from the hands of the powerful forces of peaceful and social progress to which the future rightly belongs.

A graphic illustration of the potential and resources available to the world anti-imperialist movement was the recent theoretical conference on the theme of Joint Struggle of Workers and National Liberation Movements Against Imperialism and for Social Progress, held from 20 to 24 October 1980 in Berlin under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. It is difficult to review comprehensively all the wealth of thought, initiatives, insightful commentaries, analyses, and prognoses contained in the four principal appearances of representatives of the SED, CPSU, the Mozambique FRELIMO, and the French Communist Party, which were echoed in 195 discussion contributions by representatives of the anti-imperialist movements of all five continents.

The Historical Meaning of the Conference

The conference proper included representatives of 78 communist parties, and 38 revolutionary democratic parties and national liberation movements. Of this, 28 organizations participated for the first time in a meeting of this type organized by communists. These figures alone are self-explanatory and need no additional commentary.

The Berlin gathering was, in fact, the first of its kind in the history of the international revolutionary movement, and has no precedent in the past 60 years. On the platform of a scientific, theoretical conference, a common language was sought and found by communists and revolutionary democrats who, from common positions of solidarity, strove to define the unifying anti-imperialist interests, and exchanged experiences from the revolutionary struggle. Differences in world outlook notwithstanding, they clearly demonstrated their anti-imperialist will and unity of purpose of key contemporary problems. In the course of a broad discussion the first multifaceted contact was established, and it provided overwhelming testimony that the revolutionary forces of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle regard Marxism-Leninism in the socialist countries as a most natural ally in their continuing struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. They consider the effective solidarity of the Marxist-Leninists as the principal supporter in the building of a new, free life, and in the struggle for national democratic, and ultimately, socialist orientation in their countries. The chief CPSU delegate, Comrade B.N. Ponomarev, summarized in general terms the substance of current processes corresponding to the most vital interests of the young, liberated nations as follows: "These processes have an immense influence on the lives and fortunes of dozens of nations which together represent half of the population of our planet. It is a matter of defending statehood, national renaissance, and economic and cultural development--in other words, full resumption of national life with the use of all the valuable and individualized assets accumulated in the past which the colonizers tried to suppress and destroy. For centuries they have throttled and tortured the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, delayed their development for a long time and, in many cases, pushed their development far back." Consequently, Comrade Ponomarev continued, their struggle against imperialism now focuses "on progressive changes, on the strengthening of national statehood, on the formulation of a national economy and national culture."

The role of the theory and practical application of Marxism-Leninism in this struggle was convincingly defined by the assessment presented by a member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO in Mozambique, Comrade Viera, who in one of the principal addresses to the conference emphasized: "Marxism-Leninism is a large tree which grew during the period of suffering and national struggle, was irrigated

by the blood and sweat of the working masses, a tree which now produces the most beautiful fruit. Every ideological confrontation within FRELIMO forced us to find solutions, often new ones, since the problems were new, but solutions responsive to the struggle of workers of all classes and respectful of their experiences in the struggle. This fact clearly illustrates the universality of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, shows that Marxism-Leninism is a science continuously developing within the revolutionary struggle, and not a sclerotic, dogmatic catechism prescribing final solutions for all problems. Consequently, we must be vigilant and, from the start, reject chauvinistic deviations aimed at some sort of 'special socialism.' We declare that there cannot be any other kind of socialism than scientific socialism."

Tested Experiences of Socialism

The discussions at the Berlin conference brought forth a number of initiatives which intensify and define more precisely the theory and practical application of the socialist orientation and are of crucial importance for the strengthening of its roots in the progressive governments of the young liberated countries. This orientation needs to have at its head a party which, on the basis of scientific socialism, leads society toward strengthening from top to bottom the organs of democratic power, prepares and educates party and state cadres dedicated to the working masses and the cause of socialism, and strengthens the national armed forces capable of defending the peoples revolutionary achievements. At the same time it requires a constant expansion of contact between the party and state on the one hand, and the masses on the other, inclusion of the working people in the management and administration of public affairs, and implementation of correct economic and social policies. All this ensures the strenghthening of the country's independence, raises the quality of production and guarantees an improved living standard of the population. Finally, development of relations with the socialist countries, the most dependable and true friends of the independent, free-thinking states, is a major requirement.

Representatives of the liberation movements favorably assessed the experiences of the socialist states tested in practical application and their support through meaningful solidarity with the just struggle of the young liberated states as the best guarantee in their struggle for independence and progressive future of their nations. They also expressed their conviction that the international policies of socialism aimed at achieving international detente, a halt in the arms race, and providing effective assistance in the struggle against neocolonialism, represents the crucial foundation of the anti-imperialist struggle. They affirmed that this policy is trusted, has met with warm sympathy, and arouses a positive response among all consistently anti-imperialist forces within the national liberation movements, and that attempts to intimidate these new forces within the national liberation movements, and that attempts to intimidate these new forces by propagandistic warnings of some mysterious "expansion of international communism" or any other anti-Soviet and anticommunist inventions promise to bear no fruit whatever in the future.

Participants in the conference uncompromisingly rejected the ever more devious efforts of contemporary neocolonialism, exposed and denounced the exploitative maneuvers of the international monopolies, racism and apartheid, support of fascist trends in Latin America, as well as the aggressive intentions of North American imperialism in the Middle East, Africa, and South East Asia. In their

discussion contributions, spokesmen for the liberation movements clearly recognized and, without illusions, acknowledged the subversive policy of Peking and its nefarious role in the current aggressive course of American imperialism. They documented with facts their understanding that the Peking chieftains have long ago abandoned their pseudo revolutionary and pseudo-anticolonialist pose, and that today there is no area, country or region of the national liberation movement where the shameful pro-imperialist policy of Peking does not cause severe damage, acting both in coordination with imperialism and in China's own hegemonic aspirations.

Also significant in the Berlin conference was the fact that during its entire duration there was not the least trace of any defense of the contemporary recipes for reformism which, through catchy slogans of a so-called democratic socialism, provide a helping hand to modernized neocolonialism and serve as cover for less obvious but that much more dangerous methods of contemporary neocolonialist expansionism.

The Berlin conference expressed complete agreement with the assessment of M. Gremetz, representative of the French Communist Party, that "social democracy in its relations with the young liberated nations, tries in the name of solidarity to pave the way for class collaboration, both within individual countries and in the international context." In the same manner, its concepts for the restructuring of internaional economic relations, according to this French communist, "shrink into timid attempts to alter the existing international division of labor which would, however, continue to serve the profit strategy of the big industrial and financial monopolies."

The Dismal Failure of Imperialist Concepts

A significant portion of the Berlin conference agenda was taken up by the problems in the ideological sphere where the imperialist attempts to penetrate the national liberation movement and inoculate it with its own ideology, met with a sharp rebuff. In an uncompromising manner, the conference exposed imperialism's true antihumanitarian visage, as well as its maneuvers to provoke discord, abuse tribal prejudices, and incite conflicts and enmity among neighboring states. During an exchange of experiences gained in the internaional ideological struggle, the conference received with great interest the address of CPCZ Central Committee Secretary J. Fojtik, which reviewed in vivid terms the stand of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and our findings contained in the important document we call Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 12th Congress.

On the subject of confrontation with the political and ideological machinations of imperialism, individual contributions defined the tasks and interests of the nonaligned countries, delineated existing reserves in this movement, and unmasked the attempts of imperialist policy to disrupt its ranks or infect it with highly damaging postulates. This concerns, for example, the "theory" of maintaining equal distance from both blocs, the fraudulent thesis of two superpowers which totally ignores the class struggle, and other efforts to neutralize the anti-imperialist, antisocialist and antiracist substance of the movement of nonaligned states.

Despite understandable variations, the unity in approach which typified these contributions is shown by the fact that of 105 discussion contributions, only 4 contained partially dissonant tones which can be objectively characterized as opportunist adaptability to certain interpretations of bourgeois policy and ideology. This fact itself demonstrates the disproportion between the practical impact and weight of such tendencies and the blaring trumpeting accorded them by bourgeois propaganda.

The Berlin discussions, in indivisible unity, examined the political and economic aspects of the anti-imperialist struggle, the effect of the economic crisis of capitalism, exposed the rapacious behavior of the multinational monopolies, and approached from varying points of view the key problem of today: how to bring about a democratization of the international economic situation which is deformed by the expansionist pressures of imperialism and the multinational monopolies.

It was significant that opinions expressed in Berlin were overwhelmingly of an anti-imperialist character, without any illusions that the democratization goal can be reached through negotiations or compromise with imperialism. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of participants expressed the conviction that such a basic change can only emanate from a fierce internal and international anti-imperialist struggle.

We could speak of many other problems which attest to the utter failure of various imperialist concepts, for example, the noncommunist manifesto published in the mid-sixties by the well-known ideologue of American imperialism, W. Rostow, which offers a prescription for misguiding the young liberated nations into the role of satellite of the values of the so-called free world, concepts which soon evaporated into nothingness. In contrast, the Berlin conference represented creative laboratory research of thought in which truthful replies were sought and found to the most timely and most burning questions of national, anti-imperialist, and social progress of nations.

The spirit of the conference was set by Comrade Ponomarev's words in his introductory remarks: "In order to safeguard peace and social progress, there is a vital need for joint action and mutual understanding among the forces of socialism, the workers movement in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation forces. This unified effort must play a leading role in safeguarding the security of nations and in transforming the world on the basis of equality, democracy, and justice. The solidarity of these three basic currents of the contemporary revolutionary process will continue to represent the moving force behind global development."

After completing its deliberations, the Berlin conference did not adopt any closing resolution or political proclamation. Nevertheless, its work was fittingly summed up in the final toast proposed by the veteran of the international communist movement, R. Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay: "The discussions, the contributions by comrades, and the participation of so many forces and so many liberation movements, socialist countries, socialist parties, communist parties, and liberation fronts--all this represents the best possible resolution, one which emanates from living experience, a resolution of unity." This substantive assessment really provides a trustworthy and truthful summation of the success of the Berlin conference.

9496

CSO: 2400

TRADE UNION ROLE IN PREPARATION OF NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN EXPLAINED

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian No 11, 1980 pp 1-2

[Article by Dr Laszlo Pukta, head of the Economics Department of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]: "Participation of Trade Unions in the Social Debate on the Sixth Five-Year Plan"]

[Text] The social debate on the Sixth Five-Year Plan guidelines represents an important contribution to our democratic legislative process and to strengthening the foundations of the medium term plan. At the end of September the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions also discussed the guidelines of the Sixth Five-Year National Economic Plan. Based on the work program formulated by the SZOT Secretariat, trade unions took part in all of the most important phases of the preparatory work on the plan. In close cooperation with leading bodies within each sector, industry and geographical region, the position of trade unions has emerged using the experience gained in factories and enterprises. The opinions and comments of the trade unions on a number of questions have been presented at the early stages when ideas and particular details were being discussed. The working relationship with state planning organizations has become more regular and systematic than in the past.

Government authorities also have a definite need to find out about the position of trade unions on conceptual questions of great economic and political importance.

The formulation of the Sixth Five-Year National Economic Plan is still in progress. The planning legislation will be debated in the National Assembly in December. Therefore, this article cannot give an overall description of the Sixth Five-Year Plan or define the complex tasks faced by trade unions. But we need to talk about the main issues affecting the position of the trade union movement and a few related important tasks.

For the trade union movement it is of fundamental importance to ensure that, in line with the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the MSZMP, the opportunity of our economic development remains unbroken during the next five year plan period. Therefore, trade unions showed a great deal of political responsibility when they took part in the solution of movement tasks in connection with the preparatory phase of the plan. We consider the guidelines of the Sixth Five-Year Plan as an important document from the standpoint of our social policy and economic development goals.

The trade union movement continues to assume that our development is governed chiefly by the medium term plan, both on the national economic and the enterprise level. Enterprise collectives require that the main directions and framework of economic development be stated unequivocally so that enterprise operations and the creative, innovative activity of workers is not subject to interference resulting from annually changing directives, organizational changes, regulatory modifications, etc., each of which affects short term incentives.

Trade unions are in agreement with the ideas formulated in the guidelines for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and with the main goals and directions of our economic policy defined by the plan. Nevertheless, there exist some uncertainties and questions awaiting clarification in some particular areas which need to be answered in the forthcoming phase of planning work by continuing a realistic analysis of the situation.

One of the most important national economic policy goals, the equilibrium situation of the national economy and, in particular, a gradual improvement in the foreign trade balance, occupies the central position in the comments and opinions expressed by the trade unions. But debates are still continuing on the interpretation of this goal and the system of instruments to be used to accomplish it. The trade unions' position is that, in the interests of preserving and strengthening our accomplishments in the area of living standards, we must not put the emphasis on transitional, short range solutions. Among these are the increasing tendency to syphon off the resources produced and the slowdown of internal accumulation at a time of reduced growth rates which can only be effective over the short run. There exist economic resources to be syphoned off for redistribution but they are finite. More emphasis must be placed on a system of economic instruments which can provide a long term basis for equilibrium and the fulfilment of social policy goals. To this end, it is necessary to emphasize quality-related requirements. Our international competitiveness must be improved in the spirit of the 20 October 1977 Central Committee resolution. In other words, only by improving the productivity of work of the entire society can we lay the foundations for the accomplishment of our long range goals. The question is whether the Hungarian economy is capable of providing more for accumulation and consumption while improving our balance in line with the requirements posed by intensive economic development, relying on the resources generated by improved efficiency. In my opinion, the answer is yes.

The task of government bodies, enterprises and trade unions is substantially more complex than before. Successful work by trade unions in the interests of production and operations requires the mobilization of working masses from planning to execution. Active cooperation by workers is predicated upon their identification with the tasks and goals facing us. This is what gives content to socialist work movements. The production policy tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan demand higher quality of work within mass organizations. In my opinion, a thorough analysis is needed to find ways to improve the social usefulness of these movements and increase their attractiveness among the masses in the interest of the successful execution of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, by spreading and further enriching successful methods and experiences of the past and eliminating formalistic features that still exist. As long as there exists a sharp division between socialist work competition and pledges undertaken by the brigade movement on the one hand and economic targets set by the plan on the other, or between the innovation movement (or, more precisely, innovations already accepted) and the technological development section of the plan,

progress is bound to be very slow. In this connection, it is no accident that the trade unions' position emphasized the demand that economic, administrative and planning bodies and the economic leadership of enterprises regard work movements as important instruments of uncovering reserves and major factors in production. In this connection, workers are justified in asking for continuous supplies of materials and work. This is the basis for disciplines, high quality work. Trade unions demand this not only as part of their work in assisting operations and production but also in their role as guardians of the workers' interests.

The main goals set by the Sixth Five-Year Plan guidelines are the improvement of the equilibrium situation along with the preservation and strengthening of our achievements in the area of living standards. On this occasion we can discuss only one fundamentally important question, in place of a detailed analysis of all of the aspects of this goal. An important element of the policy guidelines on living standards specifies that 1980 earnings serve as the basis for setting average real wages of workers, employees and wage earners in agricultural cooperatives. This represents a manifold, complex task in view of the identical rise in consumer prices and nominal earnings. Not just because of the powerful pressure toward rising consumer prices tied to the modernization of our price system, although this factor is certainly not negligible. The fundamental issue under these conditions is how to ensure that wages and earnings act as incentives related to efficiency requirements while differentiation according to work performance is being strengthened. How does differentiation affect the distribution of real wages? To what extent can it ensure that increasing output leads to increasing wages? To give an answer, a declaration of principle may be found in the position which emphasizes that trade unions consider the relationship between consumer price trends and incomes to be a close one. Differentiation of wages and earnings according to performance must serve as an incentive instead of contributing to damaging tensions.

In our survey of the main goals and constituent elements of economic policy for 1981-85 we should discuss in detail the question of "how", i.e., the system of instruments to be used to accomplish those goals.

The success of our economic management system and the relationship between the macro and microeconomic levels has a decisive influence on the fulfilment of our goals. It closely interacts with economic policy, the actual fulfilment of social needs and it also includes some elements of the superstructure. Some of its elements may be developed in a number of ways, but the main requirement is that the changes must contribute to the emergence of a complex system of direction which is clearly appropriate for the fulfilment of the economic policy goals mentioned above.

The system of regulators cannot have a life of its own independent of our economic policy goals and planning structure; it cannot be separated from other components of direction. Misunderstandings may arise and a false orientation of enterprise operations may result when priority is given, in an arbitrary manner, to one aspect of direction among legal, economic and administrative measures or when social, economic, political and cultural factors affecting the running of the economy as a whole are not being taken consistently into account.

We need to separate objectively necessary measures within enterprises from subjective, ill-considered interventions. We must establish unity between the system of internal requirements of economic units and the social and economic conditions around them.

In my opinion, the success of economic direction must be measured just like other types of performance. There are a number of yardsticks available. The most important one is whether it is able to adequately communicate our goals and values to economic bodies and working collectives, i.e., whether the concrete system of requirements and the structure of instruments used to direct economic processes encourages (or, when appropriate, forces) the fulfilment of these goals.

Today it is especially important for the economic direction to operate a decision-making structure which ensures that personal responsibility is assigned unequivocally and manages to combine increased effectiveness of central direction with increased enterprise autonomy.

Direction at every level must take into account the fact that our internal conditions can be better utilized. The minimum requirement is that long range interests must not be sacrificed for momentary successes (or apparent successes). We must not set up internal obstacles arising from unjustified relaxation of productivity and efficiency requriements and later from uneconomic import substitution. Perhaps an example will serve to throw more light on the point I am making. Product structure transformation has played a major role in our economy since 1977. The question is whether we have done everything to ensure that this strategic goal is given priority on the enterprise level. The situation is involved and complex. For lack of space, we can summarily state that the system of regulators must provide more definite incentives toward continued modernization of products. This would require a weakening of present aspects emphasizing the syphoning-off of resources. It is necessary to create and operate internal conditions within enterprises and conditions of leadership which provide an adequate material and moral background for product structure policies within enterprises. They also consider transitional difficulties which arise from regrouping and new types of production and marketing requirements impacting enterprise resources in connection with product structure changes. It is necessary to eliminate the "brakes" on leadership that are still present. There should be no opportunities for protecting enterprise interests at the cost of other enterprises or consumers. We must not tolerate deficiencies of management and organization which conserve low quality of technical sophistication in production because these can magnify the size of our lag enormously. There is a need for strengthening the creativity manifested in the innovation movement. It is also necessary to resolve the contradiction existing between the scale of technological and product structure changes, measured in decades, and the annual evaluation of enterprise performance (management incentives) which has existed for a number of years.

The modernization of institutional and organizational structure deserves to be discussed separately. There are undoubtedly some contradictions within the system of direction which cannot be resolved without decisive measures. It is important to emphasize, however, that these meausres should not be an end in themselves. At the beginning of a five year plan period there may be serious dangers involved in possible unjustified organizational changes, or the invocation of such changes, resulting in relieving organizations and people of their responsibilities because of the failure to solve some serious problems.

There are a number of indications in trade union experience of views that consider modernization of the organizational structure as the fashion of the day and look for a solution through change at all cost. Our goals are clear and well-known. We need to find the most adequate organizational forms to achieve them. From the standpoint

of the trade unions it is especially important to ensure that these questions are decided on the basis of a wide ranging debate, on adequate foundations and with human factors taken into account.

In the coordinated system of goals and means it is also necessary to talk about the source of strength that arises from democratic procedure. In the opinion of the trade union movement, widening and enriching democracy at the workplace will continue as a basic instrument during the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Increasing the productive capacity of our economy and the difficult tasks associated with the fulfilment of our goals require the active cooperation and initiative of the entire society. We have achieved substantial results in developing socialist democracy in the recent past. The social debate of the Sixth Five-Year Plan demonstrates the reality and content of our democratic legislative process. It brings to the surface some proposals and comments which can have a favorable effect on the formulation and implementation of our economic development and social policy goals.

In the near future, assemblies of shop stewards within enterprises and economic units are going to discuss tasks on the enterprise level arising from the 1981 plan and later, in the second quarter of the next year, for the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. In the course of this process we must look for new ways of promoting democracy at the workplace, including participation in planning under frequently changing economic conditions, increasing responsibility of the economic leadership as well as the creation and strengthening of collective thinking in face of new economic requirements.

9164
CSO: 2500

AVOIDING REPETITION OF 1970 LABOR CRISIS URGED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Never Again"]

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the tragic December events should not be limited to paying homage to the victims of a tragedy the dimensions of which shocked the Polish people and plunged all of us into mourning. Nor should returning to those days in our minds and hearts be considered as "reminiscences." The point is not to reminisce but rather to draw conclusions from the past so that never again will social and economic conditions arise in our country in which there could occur the danger of repetition of the dramatic events of December.

There existed a brief period in the post-December policy of party and government in which a return was possible to the December events, in journalistic political commentary, for example, although then as well it was necessary to overcome the resistance of those who were in charge of the mass media. During that period there was also reference from time to time to these events in public statements by our leaders, and Edward Gierek in particular. There was developing slowly but inexorably, however, a process of forgetting about that great drama. On the first anniversary of those events, running commentary appeared in the press, commentary in which the main emphasis — such were the requirements — was placed on execution of current tasks, implementation of the program of action adopted at the 8th Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee (6-7 February 1971). There was considerably less running commentary on the second anniversary. The third anniversary passed unobserved. It was obviously not mere chance. Deliberate forgetting about the recent past was part of an indoctrination scheme which by no means dates from the 1970's. The basic principle of this scheme was that one should simply remain silent about that segment of contemporary history which does not make our policies and the people who created them look good. This scheme was fully applied to the December events. The public should primarily take an interest in what the "other Poland" would bring it rather than in the dramatic events of that week in December.

Such an approach to contemporary history also contained a healthy dose of garden-variety presumption, plus the arrogance of authority, and also possibly fear of individual responsibility. It is understandable that under those conditions just the thought of building a memorial or even placing a memorial plate on the walls of the shipyard to honor the memory of those who lost their lives appeared as tactless, and even a sign of activity directed against the party leadership. One cannot talk about the matter without a feeling of heartbrak and shame.

Deliberate forgetting about the December events throughout practically the entire past decade most assuredly had an influence on the attitude of the shipyard workers, and essentially on the inhabitatnts of the entire Polish Coast, and on their attitude toward post-December PZPR policy. The credibility of that policy was limited. Now and in the future our historians must comprehensively analyze the December events as well as the circumstances which led to them. This demand is by no means dictated by the desire to open up old wounds or to get the public agitated. A thorough analysis of the December events is needed in order to ensure that young Poles -- after all, at some time in the future some of them will be running this country -- are familiar with the history of their fathers, not only their noble deeds but also their painful and tragic experiences. This analysis is also necessary for those who are governing today, at all rungs of the government, social and party ladder. It is necessary because it alone can help gain an objective view of the complicated history of the last 35 years. Actually this demand should extend to all crisis situations which People's Poland has experienced. The year 1948/49, June-October 1956, March 1968, December 1970, June 1976 and, finally, the year 1980 -- these are the dates which historians should scrutinize, and politicians should hasten to their assistance in gaining access to documents which are presently preserved in archives and safes. The view that the fullest possible revelation of the course of events during these crises could be politically disadvantageous is both insipid and hopelessly narrow intellectually.

The history of mankind and of social and political systems has never evolved along a straight line. Dramatic events, sharp turns, and tragedies affecting individuals and entire groups as well as social classes constitute an integral part of the history of societies. Lowering a curtain of silence over the crises experienced by People's Poland has impoverished our knowledge about a historical necessity, the resultant of objectively functioning rights, independent of our will, and as a result of our weaknesses. In the final analysis a disinclination to look into a past marked by crises has weakened the carrying power of the ideology proclaimed by the party, and has deprived it of considerable capability to influence society with the aid of rational arguments, for after all, it is a fact, for example, that nobody wished for events to develop as they did on the Polish Coast in 1970. But the events did take place. For the second time in the history of People's Poland, arms were used against the workers. The thought of firing at their fathers and brothers was the farthest thing from the minds of the troops in the military units which entered the port cities. In spite of that, the workers and peasants army turned its weapons on striking and demonstrating shipyard workers. Up to the present day I do not know of the existence of a single scholarly study or literary work containing a description of the drama in which our officers and enlisted men were involved. The truth about the December crisis will be incomplete without convincing presentation of all the situations in which the participants in the tragic events found themselves. It is also necessary to answer the question of why there occur precisely in our country such frequent and highly dramatic conflicts. Is it only a matter of bad policy? Doctrinal weaknesses? Weaknesses of the leadership? Is it perhaps necessary to delve deep into history? To reflect on the consequences of the lack of existence of a Polish state over a period of more than 100 years? There are certainly more questions to be asked than those listed above. The sooner we find an answer to them, the more effective and rational government in Poland will be. And after all, that is the point. In the hubbub of daily affairs, not all political leaders have a sensitive ear to the various aspects of Polish crises. A lack of such responsiveness was one of the reasons why the people in charge of the ideological front were able to put under lock and key several important

sections of contemporary Polish history. Such responsiveness is more necessary today than ever before. Precisely this sensitivity and responsiveness should bring about an extremely essential analysis, and not only analysis, by the party of all crises, as demanded above.

Returning to the 10th anniversary of the December events, which was preceded by a mass protest by the worker class which has swept across Poland in recent months, one cannot help but take note of the unusually important fact that the use of force has been repudiated as a means of resolving the conflict which has arisen. This was the only correct decision, and those who were its ardent supporters will most certainly be given high marks by history, especially since one could also imagine another solution, irrespective of the consequences it would bring. History contains hundreds of such cases. Stanislaw Kania, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was also one of the resolute opponents of a so-called solution by force.

Carefully following the course of the debate presently taking place in this country, I have the impression that the historic significance of the political solution which has been evolving for several weeks -- a broad, mass strike movement -- has not been adequately appreciated. It should be, however, because it signifies, in the first place, victory not only for reason but also a sense of the responsibility lying on the PZPR and, in the second place, it opened up the way for adoption, in the face of all the consequences of this crisis, of a policy of negotiation and agreement. Even if this policy has been subjected to vacillations in these past months, which is understandable when one considers the unusual situation in which Poland found itself, its beneficial effects for the country are in evidence. This policy saved our people from bloodshed and helped strengthen the renewalist current within the party. Strengthening of this policy line effectively limits the desire for confrontation. If the policy of negotiation becomes stronger, the area for confrontation will become steadily narrower. This means that all political and social forces, all patriotically-thinking Poles must support and strengthen this policy. Not verbally, of course. A great many words have already been uttered, perhaps too many. At the present time we need nothing so much as active support of this policy. It can be supported only by vigorous actions aimed at emerging as rapidly as possible from the economic and political crisis, and by willingness to resolve existing or constantly newly arising conflicts in a spirit of reasonable compromise.

The policy of negotiation and compromise is favorable for Poland's further socialist development. A socialism such as is desired by the worker class, by the entire people. Perhaps these are big words, but the times are not ordinary either. For a great many of my fellow countrymen who are sick and tired of what in their opinion is chaos which has been reigning for too long, and of growing difficulties in the daily routine of life, this country's future seems gloomy, filled with questions to which they are unable to find an answer. While not minimizing present fears and concerns, it is necessary to hold firmly to solid ground. We still have a chance to make it, to show the world that we are able to manage Poland so that it does not become the sick man of Europe. I repeat: we still have a chance.

Serious reflection about the December events would be incomplete, even impoverished if it did not contain a warning directed toward all those decision-makers who tend to interpret every quieting down of the situation, such as an absence of strikes,

a lessening of public emotions, etc, as consent to slow down the pace of actions, which are frequently too slow already, in the area of rebuilding the structures which in the final analysis led to the December events, as well as to our present economic and political crisis. We must continue to hurry, and even more, to keep ahead of events. Sluggishness, half measures, putting up obstacles, and the famous Polish "Somehow things will work out" must be our enemy.

The memory of the victims of the December tragedy demands of us persistent and determined action aimed at building a system of exercise of government authority whereby crises, which comprise a not inconsequential part of the history of People's Poland, could never again be repeated.

3024
CSO: 2600

DISCUSSION OF LIBERAL TREND IN POLAND NOTED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Aug 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Bernard Margueritte: "Gierek Sacks His Prime Minister But Also the Party's 'Hardliners'--Liberal Turnaround in Poland--Reform of the Trade Unions Announced"]

[Text] The Polish workers have just carried off a great victory. Once again, their movement of discontent has brought about serious political upheavals.

The fourth plenum of the Central Committee, held yesterday, was marked by profound changes in the leadership of the party and of the government, going generaly in the direction of a strengthening of the most open and most liberal elements. Gierek, to be sure, striking at both the left and the right, as is his habit, has eliminated Mr Babiuch, the premier, who had declared in favor of reforms, but this is mainly a matter of a personal confrontation, the first secretary apparently not having forgiven his old faithful lieutenant for having openly criticized him in recent months. Babiuch is replaced as premier by Mr Pinkowski, a technocrat of 51, who, after studies in the economic college of Poznan, served as an officer in the Polish army from 1952 to 1956 before working on the Plan Commission and becoming, in February 1974, secretary of the Central Committee.

Also leaving the politburo are Mr Lukaszewicz, a "hardliner" responsible for ideology and propaganda; Mr Wrzaszczyk, until now in charge of planning, who has had a breakdown; and Mr Szydlak, responsible for trade unions, who disappeared in the turmoil of August. Changes in the government have also taken place with new ministers of foreign affairs (the former vice-minister, Mr Czyrek), finance, machine engineering industry, and in the office of statistics, as well as in the department of radio-television, where another "hardliner," Maciej Szczepanski (strongly detested by the party's liberals), has been eliminated.

At the same time, Mr Grabski becomes vice-premier. He was in the news last year, [illegible] openly the government's policy when he was first secretary of the vaivode of Konin. Subsequently, at the February congress, he lost his place on the Central Committee.

But in particular, one notes the great return to the foreground of Stefan Olszowski, who had been eliminated from the politburo last February at the party congress and ssent to East Berlin as ambassador, and for whom this is a striking evening of the score. Mr Olszowski can, even more than Mr Gierek, legitimately be considered the true conqueror of this plenum. Stefan Olszowski is a man of great openness of mind, but also an ardent socialist ideologist.

This had already come out in the speech delivered by Mr Gierek at the conclusion of the plenum. Making a kind of self-criticism, the first secretary announced a "new morality" and promised a complete overhaul of the trade unions, a very liberal overhaul since it provided in particular for free elections with secret ballots.

Everything therefore indicates that we are witnessing a new departure for a policy marked by openness, pragmatism, search for popular support, but also an effort to return to the lost ideals of socialism.

This, of course, could upset the Soviets tomorrow. Today, they will be solaced and satisfied to see the situation in Poland return to order. It is probable, indeed, that after these changes, an agreement could be reached in Gdansk soon between the government and the workers.

During this time, an imminent resumption of the negotiations finally initiated on Saturday between the government commission led by Mr Jagielski, vice-premier, and the joint strike committee was awaited. Jagielski came personally on Saturday evening to the shipyards, where he gave a speech to the strikers. The vice-premier promised in particular an overhaul of the existing trade unions. There is no doubt that Jagielski is a very competent personality to conduct this kind of negotiations. Hadn't he, in a speech a few years ago, declared himself in favor of development of workers' democracy and liberalization of the trade unions?

Before him, Mr Kolodziejski, vaivode (governor) of Gdansk, had gone to the shipyards for a preliminary talk with the workers. These first talks had subsequently been described as "very satisfactory" by Mr Walesa, chairman of the strike committee. Hope of a solution of the Gdansk conflict is therefore beginning to dawn on the horizon.

The decision by the authorities to finally go into negotiatiln with the joint strike committee is obviously a fortunate one. It is an important concession by the government and a very serious victory for the strikers.

The government had, in effect refused until now to engage in dialog with the joint strike committee, on the pretext that it was not representative, having been elected spontaneously by the workers, and because, on the other hand, there were supposed to have been "antisocialist elements" on it.

Yet one would have to be very naive and ignorant of the history of People's Poland to think that the mere fact of the government's having gone into negotiations with authentic delegates of the workers signals the beginning of a new era in the relations between the authorities and the workers. In 1956 and 1957, we had already seen very authentic workers' councils in Poland, and in January 1971, the government accepted dialog with the strike committees. In both cases, these successes had no sequel.

On the other hand, one notes a new activity by the Church in the crisis that the country is experiencing. Pope John Paul II himself has addressed a message to Cardinal Wyxzynski, primate of Poland, in which he writes in particular that he prays that "the Polish episcopate, with its primate at its head...can this time also lend its aid to this nation in its hard struggle for its daily bread, social justice and the inviolable right to its own life and its own development." According to a

spokesman for the episcopate, this is an invitation to the [Catholic] Church of Poland "if not to play a role as intermediary, at least to strive to exercise its moderating influence on both of the two parties involved."

This is apparently what M Kaczmarek, bishop of Gdansk, wanted to do yesterday, Sunday, by having a pastoral letter read in all the churches of the diocese, but also at the mass said in the shipyards for the strikers, in which he observes that "strikes do not do you any good; they do not do your families any good; they deepen the crisis and burden an atmosphere that is already very tense." This, it is indicated by the episcopate, is not an injunction to the strikers to go back to work but only signifies that prolongation of the strikes--through the fault of the authorities also--harms the countries.

The press continues, on the other hand, to give indications of what the new policy followed after resolution of the crisis could be. The first watchword is that of self-criticism. "We presently have," writes, for example, TRYBUNA LUDU, the party organ, "a state of affairs in which neither increase in production nor growth of national income nor progress in the profitability of labor go hand in hand with the aspirations and the growing needs of the workers."

Guarded Reactions

While the workers of Gdansk have been favorably impressed by the scope of the changes announced, their chiefs seemed, last night, to express more reserved evaluations. "We were expecting again," says one of them, "to be offered a quick-patch job." Another thinks it will be necessary to see, "right here in the yard, whether an understanding can be reached with the new premier."

11267
CSO: 3100

REASONS FOR SOCIAL, ECONOMIC CRISIS DISCUSSED

Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Aug 80 p 2

[Article by Bernard Margueritte: "The Seven Causes of the Polish Crisis--Economic Errors But Also New Political Arrangements"]

[Text] The reasons for the economic and social, but also political, crisis that Poland is experiencing have been systematically set out in our columns on many occasions in recent months. Nevertheless it is not useless, in the present circumstances, to attempt to give an overall view of them.

If it were necessary to draw up a list--which obviously would not be an exhaustive one--of the principal causes of these difficulties, it would doubtlessly be the following:

(1) a very low starting point for development; (2) too fast a leap toward industrial civilization; (3) an increasingly inappropriate system; (4) errors of economic strategy; (5) the difficulties of the general economic situation; (6) the demoralization of society; (7) the rise of aspirations.

There is a tendency to compare the standard of living in France and in Poland, which is very natural. One notes that the Polish monthly wage is barely equivalent to Fr 1,000, and that with this pay, a resident of Poland could buy, for example, about 10 pairs of shoes, or a suit and a half, or 350 liters of gasoline, or 40 kilos of sausage in a month. One thus arrives at the conclusion, obviously justified, that the Polish standard of living is much lower than that of our country, coming to barely half of it. This comparison is not suitable, though, because one cannot compare the incomparable.

One may not, in effect, ignore the fact that Poland before 1939 was a very largely agricultural country, and economically backward in many regards. Furthermore, the war brought the loss of 6 million citizens and 40 percent of the national patrimony. In addition, the movement of the borders westward and enormous population migrations disorganized the structures of the state for years.

At that time, the communist government concentrated on raising the country from its ruins as rapidly as possible, then on launching a forced industrialization program. This "singing tomorrows" policy was accompanied, in the immediate context, by the greatest austerity and Stalinist coercion. This rapid industrialization brought the formation of a first-generation proletariat, formed of people from various regions of the country, coming out of agriculture and having neither workers' cohesion nor

tradition. It was difficult, of course, to hope that this proletariat, having undergone a profound social shock, could draw best advantage from the increasingly complex machinery placed at its disposal. For example, the average Polish worker, without workers' tradition, obtains 30 to 40 percent maximum yield from the sophisticated Japanese equipment that he can use. The higher the technological level, the bigger the losses.

The Peasant Workers

Furthermore, this social shock has for a long time been expressed by feelings of alienation in these new workers, abruptly uprooted from their customary environment. The examples of workers putting coal in the bathtubs of the low-rent public-housing apartments that they have just occupied have become classic. In addition, Poland still has even now about 1.5 million "worker peasants," as they are called, who work in factories but continue to work a small farm. The result is obviously that they are neither good peasants nor good workers.

The rise of this proletariat, deeply imbued with rural tradition and very deeply religious, has led to a curious and increasingly marked confrontation between theoretical socialism, having state power and the aspiration to an idealistic socialism of a world of socialism in which a class consciousness has taken shape little by little. The crisis of Gdansk is the direct result of this confrontation between realities and fiction. One could say, without too much irony, that the regime's best success will have been to have created, despite everything, a remarkable working class which, it is true, is turning against it today.

Installing socialism in Poland was, of course, in the nature of a bet. It is only by virtue of a painful accident of history that this country, entirely oriented by its civilization and its culture toward the West, and with a 90-percent Catholic population, has found itself absorbed into the socialist bloc since the end of the war. It has been attempted to apply to it the Soviet-inspired system that could not suit Poland, whose democratic traditions are ancient and deep. There has been an attempt, to be sure, to find some accomodations that have produced the complex, often ambiguous and paradoxical, realities of present-day Poland, in which 75 percent of the land continues to belong to private peasants, in which private commerce and cottage industry persist, where the doctor has his private office along with his work in hospital or dispensary--but also where most of the films and theater presented are Western and where the churches are full every Sunday.

Incredible Waste

But in the main, the bureaucratized and centralized system of Soviet inspiration has been imposed on the country. This system has quickly become sclerotic and petrified, the structures inherited from the Stalinist era have remained in place, while the economic and social infrastructure developed rapidly. It would be unjust, of course, not to perceive today, amid the problems that the country is experiencing, the reality of the great leap forward by Mr Gierek's Poland (with a doubling of national income at 10 percent per year in the period 1969-1975); but this progress itself has only brought out more clearly the total failure of a system that is more and more unadapted to reality.

The damage it has done has been all the greater because, being bureaucratized and centralized, it has eliminated or atrophied the normal democratic processes. The

Parliament has become a fiction and the trade unions a chimera. The Pole, whose participation in decision-making has been reduced to an illusion, has felt less and less concerned and less and less responsible. The gap between governors and governed has only widened. This system is marked by incredible waste that is proving more and more costly as the economic level rises--waste by virtue of which, for example, for each $1,000 worth of production, Poland consumes three times as much energy and raw materials as France. But the most terrible waste is the human waste. Poland has many people of great talent, very brilliant and hard-working; but, reduced to the role of cogs in the big socialist machine, they use only some 30 percent of their capacities, as a Warsaw personality confided to me.

To aggravate things further, errors of economic strategy have been committed. The centralized planning--which is, moreover, often established on the basis of statistics falsified at all levels--has broken down, proving incapable, for example, of forecasting both the development of industry and development of the energy resources that have quickly proved insufficient for the functioning of the industries just built at great expense. During the favorable period of 1971-1975, it would have been possible to introduce without great social shock a modification of the price structure so as to bring it closer to economic reality and prepare for reforms of the system. It was preferred at that time to give in to euphoria, devoting up to 33 or 34 percent of national income to investments (more than the Japanese ever did).

Another fatal error has been the refusal to give priority to agriculture and favor the development of small private farming operations, which are nevertheless far more profitable, in terms of production and costs, than the enormous state farms. This error was due to the political obstinacy of the preceding premier, Jaroszewicz. On top of everything else, the economic crisis in the West has, of course, come at the worst possible time for Poland. It has, in effect, made it more difficult to export to the West. What is more, 4 years of poor harvests due to catastrophes of climate (but also to errors committed in the agricultural sector) have considerably increased the burden of imports of cereals and fodder.

At the same time, even though Poland was profiting from its exports of coal, the bill for its imports of Soviet oil got bigger and bigger. In these conditions, Poland finds itself today with an external debt of $20 billion, the necessity of exporting everything possible so as to meet its due dates, but at the same time, the pressure of a domestic market in which a population whose income has rapidly increased finds supply insufficient.

Clans and Factions

More profoundly, perhaps, 35 years of communism have demoralized society, and this is doubtlessly what it will be most difficult to rectify, no matter what the qualities of the leaders and the intelligence of the policy followed. A system in which cadres and leaders have not been chosen by the criterion of competence but by that of more or less sincere fidelity to ideological principles, in which the most highly appreciated qualities have not been work, seriousness or spirit of initiative but rather servility and blind obedience to directives from on high, has brought about a rapid demoralization of the population. Society has quickly been overrun by scourges such as favoritism, privilege, nepotism, the "buddy" policy, cliques, clans and factions, not to mention the ravaging growth of alcoholism, which have become a prime obstacle to its development and even to its normal functioning.

On the whole, the policy of detente, of opening to the West, for which credit must be given, to be sure, to Mr Gierek (the number of trips abroad, for example, multiplied by 10 during the last decade), has enabled the Poles to have new points of comparison that have nurtured ambitions. There is no longer any question, for the inhabitants of that country, of comparing their present realities with those of 20 or 30 years ago in Poland itself. They compare their standard of living with what they have been able to observe in Western Europe or the United States. In addition, their appetites for a new "socialist consumer society" have been sharpened by the very successes of the years 1971-1975. It matters little to them that economic realities lead a hard life and do not let themselves be changed rapidly, and their impatience is proportionate to their frustrations. The election of a Polish pope and his visit to the land of his ancestors has also played a great role. Thanks to John Paul II, this nation is being reborn of itself. Without any doubt, without John Paul II's trip to Poland the events of Gdansk would not have had the same character or the same depth.

Poland, once again in the course of its tragic history, is living a lamentable experience, but let us not have doubts about our Polish friends.

Let us be certain that this people will be capalbe, as they have always been, of finding at the very nadir of their difficulties the impetus for a revival whose contours are already taking shape.

11267
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RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL WRITES OPEN LETTER TO ZSMP MEMBERS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 Nov 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] JOINT SESSION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE MAIN ADMINISTRATION (ZG) OF THE SOCIALIST UNION OF POLISH YOUTH (ZSMP) AND PRESIDIUM OF THE RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL ZG ZSMP. - THE MOST VITAL PROBLEMS OF YOUNG FARMERS. - On 30 October a joint session was held in Warsaw of the Secretariat of the ZG ZSMP and of the Presidium of the Rural Youth Council ZGZSMP

During this meeting which was chaired by Andrzej Koltek, chairman of the Main Board of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth (FSZMP) and of the ZG ZSMP, the most vital problems of rural youth touched upon in the course of the session were presented by Kazimierz Dlugosz, chairman of the Rural Youth Council.

In the discussion, particular attention was devoted to the need of transformation of the program, style and methods of action of the union in the rural environment and the enhancement of its role in solving fundamental problems of the youth, relating to beginning careers, education and culture, and the role and place of the intellectuals in this environment.

A need was Also stressed was a need for special care for young rural families and for the elderly in the countryside and to restore the authority of rural circle, and the need for wide participation of the youth in the process of the regeneration of rural self-government.

The problems that were the subject of the meeting correspond with the main idea of the Open Letter of the Rural Youth Council ZG ZSMP, which is being published below.

OPEN LETTER OF RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL ZG ZSMP

To the Members of the ZSMP, to the Present and Former Youth Movement Workers, and to All Rural Youth

At the moment when in the country as a whole a general discussion is going on concerning ways to reform the republic, we, members of the Rural Youth Council, appeal to all young residents of the countryside, to members of the ZSMP, to former and present rural youth workers, and to all who care for the countryside problems, to express their opinion on the most important matters of the countryside, for the

development of agriculture and the feeding of the nation, and in the matter of programs, principle, and the model for action of youth organizations in the countryside.

We are deeply convinced that the young generation in the countryside has a particular role to play in social and political processes that are taking place in the entire country and in this environment. We call attention to the fact that the enormous creative, social and productive potential of the young farmers, workers in agriculture and its operating personnel, of young rural intellectuals and young peasant-workers, of studying youth, and of the entire young generation, has not as yet been utilized.

A widespread discussion is going on at present on the subject whether the ZSMP is fulfilling today the role of a real organizer of professional, political, and educational-cultural activities of the youth, whether it has adequate conditions for doing this, and how it is fulfilling its especially important function of being the spokesman for youth's most vital problems and ideals.

We consider that these expectations can be fulfilled by the youth organization, which is an ideological, political, moral and opinion-forming force, an organization that is capable to lead the youth and exert the influence on its attitudes, views and way of life.

In the midst of many anxieties, fears and irresolutions, quelled and muffled for years, and at present so vividly apparent to entire society, an important question arises concerning our young generation. What is at present the state of its ideological and patriotic awareness? What impression has been left on its psyche by dramatic events of the past months? What is its belief in socialist ideals? In a situation when a shadow is cast over these ideals by social and political practice of the last years one must restore the belief of youth in socialist values and authority. With what shall we fill in, with which concrete content, our score in the future of a socialist Poland?

In the youth-related discussion, the hitherto followed program of action of the ZSMP in the rural environment is also subjected to a critical appraisal.

Long is the list of problems that are not being solved in this environment. The hiatus between enormous needs of its youth and the undertaken and unsolved problems has become rather drastic in the latter period of time.

We need at present a patriotic unity of youth, a community of thought and ideas with the young working class, in close order with all those that not only critically appraise the reality but also wish to mend and change it. We must offset emotional, social and moral losses suffered by the young generation because of the ongoing moral confusion and double morality. We ought to restore the sense of dignity and trust that we can autonomically and responsibly decide on aims and methods of our personal and joint actions, and function efficiently among our friends, understanding one another in all youth environments, sharing experience, helping one another in a friendly manner: in discussion, programmatic initiatives and actions.

We want to be an organization that will efficiently educate youth in accordance with ideals of socialism, by participating creatively and autonomically in realization of the program of the Polish United Workers' Party and United Peasant Party, in the

activities of social organizations, and in the regeneration of public life in rural environment.

We are asking you, therefore, an open question: what kind of changes are needed in the program, in the form and style of action of the youth movement, and what guarantees are required for the autonomy of rural environment in the program and methods of action of the ZSMP. We believe that being conscious of responsibility for the future of the Polish countryside, you will answer this question, as well as other questions asked earlier in this letter, answer it at general meetings of the rural youth during discussions with one another, at meetings of circles and administrations of the ZSMP, and at sessions of Rural Youth Councils.

We expect that you will make known your feelings, opinions, and suggestions, both individual and collective, to the Rural Youth Council ZG ZSMP and to the units of the Union and Rural Youth Councils in individual provinces.

The columns of youth newspapers are open to you. Let us talk! This talk that no-one can have in our place, and no-one should have, is important for the whole rural youth and for the whole young generation of Poles: it is of great importance for our fatherland - the People's Poland.

Warsaw, October 1980 RURAL YOUTH COUNCIL ZG ZSMP

1015
CSO: 2600

RELATIONS BETWEEN ORTHODOX CHURCH, CATHOLIC CHURCH DISCUSSED

Bucharest BISERICA ORTODOXA ROMANA in Romanian No 3-4, Mar-Apr 80 pp 405-432

[Article by Dumitru Soare: "The Contribution of Patriarch Iustin to the Development of the Ecumenical Relations of the Romanian Orthodox Church"]

[Excerpts] The Catholic-Orthodox theological dialogue, recommended by the second Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes, has been the object of extensive studies on the part of our church leadership, especially as a result of the fact that this initiative coincided with the beginning of the Second Vatican Council which posed serious problems for Orthodoxy by the promulgation of the degrees on ecumenism and on the Eastern Catholic churches and the encyclical "Ecclesiam Suam."

In its work session of 29 October 1964, upon proposal of the church's foreign affairs commission, presided over by Metropolitan Iustin Moisescu of Moldavia and Suceava, the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church defined its position toward the problem of the theological dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, stating that this dialogue will not be possible before the renunciation by the Vatican of proselytism and Uniatism, as well as the adoption of a truly ecumenical attitude, reccomending, until then a collaboration in the field of practical Christianity between the two churches, within the World Council of Churches. Heading the delegation of the Romanian Orthodox Church to the Third Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes in 1964, our current patriarch firmly stressed the point of view, later adopted by the plenum of the conference, according to which it was deemed necessary that there be suitable preparation beforehand and the creation of practical conditions for the successful initiation of the proposed dialogue and until then, each autocephalous Orthodox church could initiate and maintain, on its own, relations with the Roman Catholic Church, carefully studying the question of the dialogue and communicating the results of its studies to the other sister Orthodox churches.

The Romanian Orthodox Church took note of the "dialogue of love," initiated between the Ecumenical Patriarch and Rome, but stressed that this does not commit all Orthodoxy. In its turn, it has established bilateral relations with various local Roman Catholic churches, such as that in Austria, in the FRG, in Belgium, etc, as well as with the Vatican's Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity. These contacts were for the purpose of better mutual knowledge, rapprochement, and collaboration between the churches and the development of a "dialogue of service" on the practical and social issues affecting contemporary mankind and they aimed at the preparation of a real dialogue.

The Romanian Orthodox Church has confirmed this attitude on various occasions such as inter-Orthodox or inter-Christian meetings, visits of church leaders, theological studies, etc.

On the occasion of a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1974, Metropolitan Iustin Moisescu, heading a delegation of the Romanian Orthodox Church, made it a point to clarify the position of all Orthodoxy in regard to the preparation of a dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, stating that this dialogue should be theological and as such it should be well prepared before it begins; it should be conceived and accepted only on the basis of equality, not as something from the "Church" to "separated brethren," or with pretentions for a "return to the stable"; an obstacle in the path of the dialogue is Uniatism, a typical example of proselytism, which Orthodoxy can never accept. The leader of the delegation of our church also endorsed the idea of the establishment of an inter-Orthodox theological technical commission for the preparation of the dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church.

By common agreement, the Orthodox churches established an inter-Orthodox technical commission which has met a number of times in the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarcate in Chambesy, Switzerland, working parallel with a similar Roman Catholic commission for the preparation of the Orthodox-Catholic theological dialogue. During these preparatory stages for the dialogue, Patriarch Iustin has shown special concern for the progress of the activity, giving suggestions and the necessary guidance, with a high sense of responsibility in regard to this important objective.

CSO: 2700

ROLE OF WORKING CLASS AS LEADING FORCE IN SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 5 Dec 80 pp 1-4

[Article by Dana Voinea: "The Working Class, the Ruling Class in Our Society"]

[Text] The dynamic picture of social transformations sketched in the more than three decades of socialist construction in our country permits one to make out the profound changes that have occurred in Romania's social structure and their implications for society as a whole and, at the same time, to discern the directions in which this structure is evolving under the action of the laws of the development of the new order.

What is discerned, as the most important process that has put its stamp on the whole social structure, decisively influencing Romania's progress, is the strong development--numerical and qualitative--of the working class, the ruling class of the whole populace. Against the background of the new social structure, of which the community of the basic interests and aspirations of the social classes and categories, the cohesion of society and the accentuation of social homogenization are characteristic, the size and percentage of the working class in the total population, especially in the total employed population, have grown, positive changes have occurred in the distribution of the workers according to branches of the national economy and within them, truly spectacular progress has been registered with regard to the qualifications of the workers, their political, technical and cultural level, and the conditions for the exercise by the working class of its leading role in society have been optimized by means of the new democratic structures created in recent years.

All these phenomena and processes find their most direct materialization in the decisive role that has gone and goes to the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, in the obtaining of the great achievements in a material and spiritual realm, in its firm involvement in attaining those objectives that will confer on Romania the traits of multilaterally developed socialism. These are realities that demonstrate the organizational power of the working class, its devotion to the cause of

socialism, its high consciousness and responsibility for the continual progress of our society.

One matter of great theoretical and practical significance in the socialist revolution and construction is that of the role that goes to the party, vanguard of the working class. Of course, the conditions existing in each country, the political, economic and social-historical characteristics, the degree of maturity of the social classes, of the working class in particular, have their say in the exercise of its role as a guiding political force of socialist construction and with regard to the concrete means of exercising this role.

In our country, as is known, the leading role of the Communist Party in the socialist revolution and construction is the natural result of the historical development of the Romanian people. The Romanian Communist Party was in the van of the struggle of the working masses to defeat the exploiting classes and turn to the forging of the new order, to gain national and social freedom, and today, by devising the strategy for development and carrying out the political, social, economic, organizational and ideological measures, the party is leading the whole populace in the creation of multilaterally developed socialism.

Naturally, the conducting of a work of such proportions has not been and is not without its difficulties, does not occur linearly, in ideal forms from the very beginning. Shortcomings caused by objective conditions, but also by subjective ones, had and have to be overcome, the solutions for dealing with many problems, with contradictions that appear in the process of forging a new social order, had and have to be thought-out and rethought-out. Moreover, the history of socialist construction, although young, shows that the failure to take into consideration the complexity of constructing the new order, to understand the contradictions and to resolve them in due time together with the working class, with the broad masses of people, in order to prevent any undesirable consequences, can lead to dysfunctionalities in the system and to the retardation of progress.

A result of historical evolution, the role of the Romanian Communist Party as a guiding force and the amplification of this role in proportion to the advance of socialism respond to a historical necessity, express in fact the capacity of the party as a vanguard of the class that has proved to be the main and most active bearer of social progress, as a political force that gives expression, through its program and activity, through what it initiates and achieves, to the interests of all the social classes and categories (workers, peasants, intellectuals, the other working people, regardless of nationality), to the vital interests of our socialist nation. At the same time, this role results objectively from the quality of the new order, radically different from the earlier ones, whose construction cannot be but the fruit of the conscious activity of the masses. This presupposes, above all, the creation of the democratic climate, of the institutions and laws capable of allowing the unhindered, responsible participation of all citizens in the devising and application of the decisions, in the whole process of social management. And the participation concerns, in particular, the working class, which, through the place that it occupies in the system of material production, through the degree of organization, through the level of political consciousness, has a decisive contribution to the development of the technical-material base of society, to the improvement of social relations, of sociopolitical and state life in general, is the steady bearer of the ideals of socialism and communism that it is establishing in Romania, in a lasting unity of interests and action with the country's other social forces.

Stressing the importance of the affirmation of the leading role of the working class in socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The working class, which overthrew the old order divided into antagonistic classes, which abolished the exploiting classes and assumed the responsibility of forging a classless society, must assume the role of acting directly to attain this objective. This is /the basic problem for socialist construction/ [in italics] (our italics). We cannot be content only with the thesis that the working class fulfills its role through those to whom it gives a mandate. It is good in this way too, but it is even better, even more necessary for the workers to participate directly in leadership."

Of course, the growth of the leading role of the working class does not mean at all to counterpose the workers to the other social classes and categories or to diminish in any way the significance of the participation of the peasantry, the intelligentsia, all citizens of the country in the process of social advance. On the contrary, the community of the basic interests, the unity of the goals and aspirations cause the affirmation of the leading role of the working class to lead to the closer and closer knitting of the alliance and collaboration between workers, peasants, intellectuals and other social categories, to their participation together, headed by the working class, in governing our society, under the leadership of the Communist Party. This view of our party with regard to the management of socialist construction has marked out and marks out the whole activity of organizing and improving the economic and social mechanism, with its main axis, the expansion of socialist democracy, which the party's program proclaims "an essential factor and an objective necessity in forging the multilaterally developed socialist society."

The facts attest that the expansion of socialist democracy, the continual improvement of the organizational and institutional framework for participation by the working class, by the masses in the management of economic and social life, constitutes a characteristic trait of the evolution of Romanian society. There exists today a united system of bodies, forms and means of action for the exercise of leadership by the working people, a system of which there is characteristic the harmonious combining of participation through representatives—elected and recallable—with direct, immediate participation in the forums for decisionmaking, execution and control along the whole hierarchical ladder. The dominant tendency consists of the growth of the direct participation in leadership, taking into account the changes occurring in the material base, in social relations, in the spiritual profile of the masses. In this regard there are distinguished the closeness of political, economic and administrative management to production and, in general, to concrete social activity; the expansion of the powers and autonomy of the enterprises, the organization and operation of them on the basis of the principle of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration; the more and more important place that the general assemblies and the councils of the working people, their commissions for fields, the commissions for worker control of economic and social activity, the trade unions and the other public organizations in the enterprises occupy in the management of the economic and social units; the improvement of the organizational structure, of the framework for operating the state apparatus and, in this context, the growth of the role of the people's councils; the growth of the activity of the mass and public organizations in the system of democracy in our society; the organization of national congresses and conferences according to fields and branches of activity; the development of the public forms of discussion of the main political and social problems, of the draft laws and decisions; the improvement of the functioning of the Front of Socialist Democracy and Unity, the widest and most

representative body of our democracy, the creation of the Organization of Socialist Democracy and Unity.

It is an essential reality that, along with the improvement of the organizational framework, the participation of the working class in the management of society has become more and more comprehensive, and the quality of the social and political management has constantly improved. Perhaps this fact appears the most visibly in the activity of the general assemblies, bodies in which worker self-management most directly asserts itself. The general assemblies of the working people that discussed and approved each unit's 1981 plan, and the unified program of measures that should provide for its implementation, offer a graphic example. The confronting of the opinions, the open and reasoned way in which the working people expressed their opinions in connection with the activity of the unit as a whole and their own activity, and the competence and responsibility with which the shortcomings were analyzed and proposals for increasing production by utilizing the internal resources in terms of greater efficiency were advanced represented a constant in these assemblies.

The concerns themselves of these bodies have acquired, to a large extent, a new quality, in the sense of their more and more decided orientation toward discussing and solving alike the main economic problems, as well as those that involve the work and life of the people. The way in which the social funds under the administration of the enterprises were used, in which the obligations put in the collective agreements by the two partners--the trade union and the enterprise--were fulfilled, was examined carefully during the many general assemblies. It thus appeared more clearly than ever that the expansion of the leadership of the working class over social services and sectors is becoming more and more an understood necessity, an everyday reality.

The measures and decisions adopted in regard to the concrete tasks that devolve upon each staff from the sole national plan must be pointed out in particular. Their ever better quality reflects with great expressiveness the fact that the working class and the working people understand more and more clearly the responsibility that devolves upon them as owners of the means of production for properly managing the part of national wealth that has been entrusted to them for administration, the direct relationship between the growth of this wealth and the well-being of each, the objective convergence between the basic interests of society, of the units in which they work and of their own.

But things are not going like this everywhere. As social practice shows, those cases in which the activity of the democratic bodies is void of its true content are not few. Formalism is still manifested in selecting the problems that must be discussed and solved. The agenda of the collective leadership bodies is often confined to minor aspects, in the jurisdiction of well-defined administrative sectors, to the detriment of the economic problems that must be solved promptly, as well as of those referring to the working and living conditions of the people. In some places, the constructive criticism of the workers is not heeded. In others, insufficient information causes the discussions to be formal. Remnants of the old style of management, visible especially in the exercise of true petty tutelage by some higher-ranking bodies, combined with the replacement of direct, live labor by circulars, instructions, true heaps of paper, still persist also. Such bureaucratic practices are of a nature to proliferate conformism, redtape, laziness in thinking, to nip any initiative, any creative idea in the bud.

Such phenomena are all so many manifestations of the contradiction that appears between the possibilities of participation in leadership by the working class, by all those who work, that the widely democratic institutionalized framework offers and the way in which these possibilities are materialized. The surmounting of this contradiction, the reconciliation of the possible with the real, represents, of course, a process in which are involved practically all the deliberative leadership bodies, from top to bottom, in fact the whole working class, all the working people, to whom, along with the right to participate in solving the problems that concern the present and future of our society, there goes, in relation to the division of labor, the responsibility for implementing the decisions adopted.

The trade unions, which contain in their ranks the working class in its entirety, all worker personnel, occupy a leading place in the democratic structures through which the workers exercise their leadership in our society. Through their composition, through the manner of organization, through the powers with which they have been invested, the trade unions can have a substantial contribution to improving worker self-management and self-administration, to increasing the participation of the working class in managing the enterprises and other state economic organizations, in solving the great problems that the advance of our society raises. This implies on the part of the trade unions steady actions that would provide for the faultless functioning of the institutionalized democratic forms in the economic and social units, as well as of their own organizational framework. At the same time, through the representatives in the bodies of state power, in the leadership of the ministries, central and local institutions, and enterprises, the trade unions, preserving their autonomy as a mass organization, have their say, on behalf of the working class, of the millions of members that they contain, about the problems under discussion, participate directly in devising and adopting the decisions referring to the economic and social development of the country, to the improvement of the working and living conditions of the citizens.

The concern that the trade unions act to make known steadily and consistently the way of thinking of the working class, so that the workers in production, the working people present in various collective leadership bodies can participate actively, are heard and have their say about all the problems that concern the development of our socialist homeland, is of great importance for the exercise by the trade unions of their role in the system of worker democracy in our country.

This reflects in fact the new social reality, the conditions for putting the man-man and man-society relations on a new basis, as an expression of the harmony between the basic interests of the social classes and categories. At the same time, there are social interests that do not always coincide, as contradictions appear between the short-term interests and the long-term ones, between the general interests of society and those of the subsystems that compose it, between the interests of a social class viewed as an entity and those of the individuals taken separately. Acting so that in all the democratic bodies the working class may express an authorized viewpoint, which would weigh heavily in adopting the decisions, the trade unions act in the direction of harmonizing all sorts of interests in the most useful way for the progress of society, so that the danger of the transformation of contradictions into social conflicts may be eliminated.

In this spirit, the theses of the Central Council of the UGSR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] for eliminating the shortcomings from the work of the trade

unions and improving their activity contain a whole series of duties and responsibilities. They involve the matter of fulfilling in an optimal way the tasks that devolve upon them as participants in the promotion of worker self-management and self-administration, the growth of their role in the mobilization of the working people to exemplarily fulfill the plans for economic and social development of the country and the program for continually raising the quality of life, in cultural, educational and athletic activity, in the implementation of the international policy of our party and state. Thus, the improvement of the activity of the trade unions means the creation of more favorable premises for the affirmation of the working class in its capacity of ruling class, for the stronger imparting of its fighting, militant, innovative spirit to the whole social organism.

Romania's development in the next five-year period and in the whole ninth decade will cause, of course, new changes of a quantitative and qualitative order within the working class, with repercussions on its position and leading role in our society. In correlation with the transformations in the economy's structure, with the wide promotion of the gains of the scientific and technical revolution, the number of workers and their percentage in the total employed population will increase further, which will mark the strengthening of the working-class social basis of state power.

The working class in our country is a relatively young class whose ranks have been expanded in the last three decades in particular by other social classes and categories, especially the peasantry. Of course, this phenomenon is positive in all respects, but it must be taken into consideration in social, political and educational activity, since the new workers coming from the villages have for a time mentalities and behavior characteristic of the milieu in which they lived and, in general, their professional and cultural level is lower. Likewise, it is necessary to take into account the fact that, along with the growing homogenization of Romanian society, with the rise in the population's level of culture through the generalization of mandatory education for 10 years and, in the not too remote future, for 12 years, such phenomena are decreasing in importance. But this cannot justify at all any undervaluing of cultural and educational work.

A contribution to strengthening the leading role of the working class will be made by improving its internal structure, in the sense of increasing the number of workers in the most dynamic sectors of industry, equipped with first-rate technology, concomitant with raising their professional level and increasing the percentage of brainwork in the activity that they perform. The promotion of new technology in the other sectors of the national economy will also operate to the same effect.

The examination of the changes that will occur in the working class and of their effects on its capacity for leadership cannot be separated from the deciphering of the concept of "worker." In contemporary Marxist thought, interesting arguments have been raised to support the necessity of revising the classic concept of "worker." Indeed, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, of the transformation of science into a direct production force, the concept of worker is becoming more comprehensive, including as well some categories of the technical intelligentsia. A greater and greater number of cooperative peasants in our country are practicing specifically working-class trades, thus coming closer to the professional profile of the workers. However, here the form of ownership and remuneration places them within the peasantry. The situation of a not at all negligible number

of persons from villages with a dual status--of peasants and workers--is more complicated. For the most part, the status of worker (at least with regard to practicing the profession), which is often transformed gradually into the only status, prevails in these cases.

In view of these realities, as well as others that appear in the complex process of changes that are occurring in the composition of the working class, in its level of culture, in its technical training, in general, in its way of life, the more careful and concrete delimitation of the concept of worker and its used in research in the field of the social sciences would offer a more faithful reflection of our society's class structure, of the place that the working class occupies within this structure, would offer the possibility of formulating better-substantiated options and strategies regarding the evolution of the workers in close correlation with social progress as a whole.

The active and effective participation of the working class in leadership and the affirmation of creativity as a leading value of the individual and the collectivity imply, of course, the further development of factors of a technical-material and organizational order. At present, as experience shows, this process depends above all on man, on his political and professional training, on his degree of culture, on his consciousness as a member of a society that, providing "human emancipation," creates those material and spiritual premises meant to grant increasingly to man the possibility of benefiting from the entire legacy of values gained by mankind in the course of history and, together with his fellow men, to assume deliberately the responsibility for rapid and constant social progress.

Socialist Romania's successes are the best proof of the growth of the capacity of the working class to manage the process of erecting the new order. However, the objective course of history is complicating more and more the activity of managing the economic and social processes. The dimensions of the national economy, of the economic, political and cultural activities, are increasing and, implicitly, the responsibility for performing them in an optimal way is increasing. Through the extremely rapid rate of the changes that it is causing in science and technology and hence in social life, the scientific and technical revolution, too, is raising enormously the complexity of the decisionmaking process, but it also offers possibilities for the adoption of correct and rapid decisions. This explains the overwhelming importance that, today more than yesterday and tomorrow more than today, is attached to the understanding of the laws of social development by the working class, by all members of society, their good professional, cultural, political and ideological training, the matter of being disposed to the new and creativity, the ability to combine in the most rational way the needs of the present with those of the future, to evaluate with all possible responsibility the different alternatives of progress in order to select the one that can provide for the attainment of the intended goal in the most efficient way. These are a few of the reasons that place in the forefront the necessity of continually raising the level of consciousness and knowledge of the working class, of the other social classes and categories.

It is true that through the elimination of the exploiting classes and the great economic and social inequalities, through the progress in a material and spiritual realm, our socialist society possesses real possibilities for the process of socialist education of the masses to occur at such a rate that the advance not only is not hindered but also is facilitated. But it is just as true that this process does not

occur spontaneously, automatically. Its scope, its area of inclusion depend for the most part, as social practice shows, on the Communist Party's capacity to fulfill its role as a guiding political force, to establish the means and forms of activity in its own ranks, as well as in the relations with the state bodies, with the other public organizations, with the broad masses of people, taking into consideration to a high degree the fact that socialism, by its nature, is an order created by the people, for the people, an order whose supreme goal is the material and spiritual well-being of all citizens.

Defining the role of our party, of its bodies and organizations, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the speech at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee in October 1980 that this role "...consists precisely of ensuring the union of the efforts of the masses of people, of discussing with them and of acting in close unity, as a unit, to forge socialism and communism in Romania." From this comes the fact that the party bodies and the communists do not and cannot have other rights or privileges than all those who work have. The rights are equal for all citizens of the homeland, regardless of their membership or nonmembership in the Romanian Communist Party, regardless of nationality, regardless of whether they are young or old, male or female. However, the communists have greater duties because they have willingly assumed the responsibility of fighting against social and national inequalities, for a new, better order, for a society of social equality and justice, in which the principles of socialist ethics and equity may have the widest field of affirmation.

Conceived in such a view, the political leadership by the party is exercised not through administrative methods, not from outside, but through the party's integration into social life, through the faultless, competent and responsible behavior of the communists at their workplace and in private life, through the closer and closer connection of the party bodies and organizations with the working people. A special importance is attached to the intensification of the political, ideological and cultural work for generally raising the socialist consciousness of the working people, so that the working class and eventually all citizens regard as an acute necessity their effective participation in solving the problems with which our society is confronted and possess the knowledge needed for deciding in the most efficient way, adopt the party's policy as their own policy and militate steadily to implement it precisely.

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TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCE BETHLEN HONORED ON 400TH BIRTHDAY

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[Article by C. Paul, doctor of history: "400 Years Since the Birth of Transylvanian Prince Gabriel Bethlen"]

[Text] This year, 4 centuries have passed since the birth of Gabriel Bethlen, one of the most famous princes of Transylvania. A brave fighter, an astute politician, a skilled diplomat, a wise administrator of the state's property and finances, a protector of the professions and commerce, a lover of the arts and culture, but especially, and above all, a stubborn fighter for the independence of the native land, Transylvania—at that time an autonomous principality, with mostly a Romanian population—and, militating for closeness between Romanians, Hungarians and Saxons, he merits respect from posterity.

Gabriel Bethlen was descended from the family of minor noble Farcas Bethlen, from the area of Timis in Banat, who distinguished himself in the defensive battles in the border cities against the Ottoman invaders. Spending his childhood in Ilia and then in Lazarea, he learned Romanian at an early age, displaying an understanding, which he did not forsake for his whole life, of Transylvania's Romanian population, deprived of all rights at that time and leading a wretched life. At the age of 14 years he was made an usher in the prince's court of Sigismund Bathory in Alba Iulia. In 1595, he accompanied the esteemed fighter Stefan Bocskay on a mission to Prague, to confirm Transylvania's adherence to the anti-Ottoman league initiated by Emperor Rudolph II. This alliance, expanded also by the inclusion of Moldavia and Wallachia, acquired its entire significance and effectiveness from the brilliant victories gained along the Danube by Michael the Brave, architect of the victories gained by the league over the Porte. In the fall of the same year, after the temporary withdrawal to Transylvania, Michael the Brave rebuilt his forces, with the armed support given by Prince Sigismund Bathory and by Stefan Rasvan of Moldavia, and began a ferocious counteroffensive for the liberation of Wallachia, succeeding in driving Sinan's invading hordes beyond the Danube. Within the Transylvanian contingent, along with Stefan Bocskay, the young Gabriel Bethlen also distinguished himself by his bravery, thus having the first direct contact with Wallachia, a principality with which he was to be linked later by a close alliance.

Bethlen distinguished himself in the anti-Ottoman theater of war at the end of the 16th century and the start of the next one, but he soon discovered bitterly that the Hapsburg Empire, far from being a loyal ally, supporting the liberation of the

Romanian countries from the authority of the Ottomans, intended to take the place of the Porte and invade these countries. This was why he basically changed his mind, offering his assistance to the anti-Hapsburg insurrectional forces, helping Stefan Bocskay to occupy the throne of Transylvania (1605) and to oust Basta.

The same reasons caused him to fight against the prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Bathory, attracted toward the end of his rule into the orbit of the Hapsburgs, who had not abandoned for an instant their old intentions of subjugating the province. Condemned to death and to confiscation of property for his attitude (1613), Bethlen saw no other solution than to overthrow Bathory and take the country's reins in hand. In this action he was helped by the Turks and by the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, respectively Radu Mihnea and Stefan Tomsa II, who each sent an armed contingent to his aid. On 23 October 1613, the Diet convened in Cluj selected Gabriel Bethlen as prince of Transylvania.

The political line by which Bethlen was guided during his rule was determined by the decision to keep peace with the Turks--but keeping them at a distance, so that they would not meddle overmuch in the principality's affairs--and, especially, to maintain the closest relations with Wallachia and Moldavia, with which Transylvania constituted an entity. In his time, Transylvania possessed autonomy, under the Porte's suzerainty, having a regime similar to those in the sister Romanian countries beyond the Carpathians.

On a domestic plane, Bethlen consolidated his rule by means of a series of measures meant to put an end to the state of anarchy and chaos inherited from his predecessors, to restrict the prerogatives of the nobles, who promoted their own political policy--often contrary to the country's interests--and benefited from many privileges of a nature to undermine the prince's authority. Bethlen proceeded to restrict the prerogatives of the Diet, dominated by the high nobles, and, at the same time, he took steps to limit their economic power, compelling them to return to the state many of the princely estates in Oradea, Gurghiu, Deva, Blaj, Gherla, Fagaras and so on. In ruling the country, the prince relied on the middle class of the small landowners and of the ennobled soldiers, recruited particularly from the Szeklers, on the production forces of society, on the cityfolk (artisans and merchants), on the Calvinist clergy. Through the measures against the nobiliary abuses, he also attracted, likewise, the collaboration of the wealthy Saxon strata.

Gabriel Bethlen consolidated the state's power by organising an efficient administration. The privileges of the nobles with regard to the exploitation of raw materials, especially salt, were canceled. Mining prospecting was intensified and the production of goods on the Transylvanian market was increased and diversified. On his orders, skilled Italian master glassblowers were brought from Venice to Porumbacu, in the region of Fagaras, to produce crystal. Brickmasons, carpenters, joiners, stonemasons, sculptors and tailors of velvet were brought from Italy, Germany and Poland. Foreign trade, too, was encouraged.

Transylvania's economic relations with Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as with the Ottoman Empire, Austria, Poland, Germany, Holland, England, France, Spain and Italy, were developed in this era, with the prince granting to companies (agents) of merchants the right to practice trade. Besides natives, foreigners were also allowed among the merchants, especially Levantines, Greeks, Armenians, Macedonian Romanians and Jews. Regarding the Jews, Gabriel Bethlen took a downright revolutionary step

for that era of intolerance and fanaticism that prevailed in the majority of the European countries. He allowed them to no longer wear distinctive clothing to distinguish them from the rest of the inhabitants and treated them with kindness, providing them with security of trade and goods and relieving them of the payment of excessive taxes. As a result of the prosperous financial situation, the prince carried out intense minting activity. Thus, in the mints in Cluj, Sibiu, Alba Iulia, Baia Mare and, occasionally, the cities ruled by him for a while in Slovakia and Silesia, large quantities of coins were issued. To discourage profiteering and dishonesty, Bethlen resorted to the so-called "limitations" (limitationes), a sort of "market pricelist" that regulated not only the prices of the goods but also the methods of selling them.

Gabriel Bethlen carried out intense construction activity, erecting or restoring palaces and cities. Three bastions in the city of Alba Iulia, the bastion that bears his name in Cluj, and the city of Oradea were erected during his reign. The old fortresses in Gherla, Deva, Gurghiu, Blaj and Fagaras were built up. Likewise, the prince also concerned himself with strengthening the army, having in mind the dangers from outside, on the part of the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires. He organized a strong army for his time, formed mostly of mercenaries, and when he needed larger forces, in some military campaigns that he undertook, the prince requested the direct support of the counties in the principality and of the friendly Romanian rulers.

Regarding Bethlen's policy in the field of education and culture, the most important achievement was the creation of the renowned academic college in Alba Iulia in 1622, where world-famous scholars taught. An extensive library and a princely printing house were also founded in Alba Iulia. The number of schools was increased and, by means of a special order in 1624, the Diet decided to penalize with a fine of 100 ducats the nobles who would have kept the sons of serfs from education. A great musiclover, the prince brought to Alba Iulia the best organists in Vienna and Germany, as well as other musicians. As chronicler Kraus declared admiringly, "Gabriel Bethlen earned undying fame for himself throughout the world by means of the above-mentioned things and by means of ingenious works of art, for which he incurred incalculable expenses."

The policy conducted by Bethlen with regard to the nationalities in Transylvania and especially, of course, the Romanians, who formed the majority of the principality's population, ought to be mentioned in particular. His attitude toward the latter is indicated to us by many sources of the time. Thus, on 31 July 1617, the prince ordered: "Do not force the poor in the Romanian villages in the region of Bistrita to pay, contrary to their old freedoms and customs, any sort of quitrent, do not dare to harm them in their person and property, but...keep them unharmed in all their freedoms." On 11 May 1625, learning that the Romanian serfs in Besinau had little land to till, Bethlen gave them, for a while, a piece of the fallow land of the serfs in the neighboring village, Berea, with the right to plow, to sow and to pay the proper quitrent for that place.

Observing all these things, it must be noted that the prince did not surpass in all respects the positions of his predecessors on the problem of nationalities. He based his policy on the union of the three nationalities—Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers--and did not restore to the Romanians their political rights that their situation as the majority people required. This so-called "holy understanding" of the three nationalities had a detrimental role for the majority of Transylvania's population, that is, for the Romanians.

The attitude of understanding displayed, in general, by Bethlen toward the Romanians in Transylvania can also be explained, in part, by his policy of closeness to the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia—Transylvania's natural allies--with which he constantly tried to maintain the closest ties. Right at his selection as prince in 1613, with the support of Romanian rulers Radu Mihnea and Stefan Tomsa II, Bethlen "shook hands with the two vaivodes," a source of the time declares, "and they swore that they would be brothers to one another and they would not forsake one another unto death." In times of tribulation for Wallachia, under the Ottoman Empire's relentless pressure, Moldavia and Transylvania represented reliable support. So, for instance, Bethlen supported the accession to power by Gavrilas Movila, at whose urging, on 8 July 1618 in Tirgoviste, the leading boyars on the prince's council, together with the metropolitan, the bishops, country squires and troopers in the military corps, swore to the Transylvanian prince "to all be friends" and, if enemies were to attack "the country of Transylvania," "to lend assistance and to side with the king (prince--our note) and with the whole country of Transylvania." This document of great political importance, pointing out the need that Transylvania felt to rely on Wallachia in defending against any attack from outside, was written in the Romanian language, with a Hungarian translation, thus constituting the first diplomatic document composed in our ancestral tongue. The good relations between Transylvania and Wallachia were also established formally by means of the treaty of alliance concluded in terms of perfect equality on 20 May 1619 in Alba Iulia.

Bethlen also maintained such good relations with Moldavia. Thus, on 26 September 1617, the Transylvanian prince and Prince Radu Mihnea concluded in Soroca a document by means of which they swore to help one another in case of need. Venetian traveler Polo Minio attested in 1620 that Bethlen "tried to obtain the good will of the rulers of Moldavia and Wallachia, his neighbors, treating with them through deputations of great integrity and especially with Prince Grasiani," to whom "he gave a loan of 5,000 sequins." We cannot but notice that Prince Bethlen continued to make use of the attempt made by Michael the Brave to unite the forces of the three Romanian countries in order to be able to handle with a greater chance of success the expansionist plans of the great powers of the time. Maintaining close relations with Wallachia and Moldavia, the Transylvania ruled by Bethlen was able to limit the Ottoman Porte's interference in its internal affairs and to obtain the suspension of tribute for years in succession.

Relying on the good relations that he maintained with the Turks, Bethlen sought his own political objectives, and especially to consolidate the situation of Transylvania, threatened by the velleities of the Hapsburgs in central Europe. Taking advantage of the insurrection of the Czechs in the summer of 1618, Bethlen sent to Prague his emissary, Romanian noble Marco, to conclude an alliance with them against the imperials. On this occasion, in order to attract him more to their cause, the rebels offered Bethlen the crown of Bohemia. He received the idea enthusiastically, hoping to unite Bohemia with the rest of his possessions in Transylvania and other areas. Although the plan failed, with Frederick V being proclaimed king, Prince Bethlen did not appear disappointed and maintained the alliance with rebel Bohemia in the common struggle against the House of Austria. The military successes of Prince Bethlen and his allies led, in turn, to the conquest of a large number of towns and cities in Hungary and Slovakia, with their troops even reaching the walls of Vienna in November 1619.

On the basis of the conquests made, Gabriel Bethlen also proclaimed himself "king of Hungary" on 25 August 1620. Ruling in fact only a small part of this country, he

sought more by means of the respective act to consolidate his prestige in the eyes of the allies. But the categorical defeat of the rebels in the battle of the White Mountain (8 November 1620) by the imperial armies caused the Transylvanian prince to conclude with the Hapsburgs the peace treaty of Mikulov (6 January 1622), by means of which he renounced the Hungarian crown, receiving in exchange possession of the conquered counties for life, two duchies in Silesia and subsidies for defending the border cities. In this way, the prestige and the political and military power of Transylvania--restored to the borders of 1541--grew considerably, placing the principality among the influential states in central Europe. With the Ottoman Porte's consent, he participated--in certain phases (1621, 1624, 1626)--in "the Thirty Years' War" with the Hapsburgs, gaining for the principality of Transylvania European recognition and great prestige among the peoples in the center and southeast of the continent.

Bethlen's last attempts to consolidate Transylvania's political and diplomatic position in the conflict with the Hapsburgs occurred after his remarriage, with Protestant Princess Catherine of Brandenburg (1625). This matrimonial alliance brought him closer to the powers in northwestern Europe--England, Denmark and Holland--which had even concluded an agreement at The Hague (9 December 1625) against the House of Austria. Bethlen requested the principality's admittance to the agreement and, to this end, even sent an emissary to the court of the king of England, Charles I Stuart. After long negotiations, the allies accepted Transylvania's inclusion in the agreement, this being the first diplomatic manifestation of vast proportions known by the small autonomous principality in central Europe. But, on this occasion too, luck proved unfavorable to Bethlen, who had to again make peace with the imperials (20 December 1626), by means of the agreement of Bratislava, which reconfirmed the earlier "status quo."

Bethlen's military and diplomatic actions were not limited just to involving Transylvania in the Thirty Years' War with the Hapsburgs. Toward the end of his reign, in 1627, trying to follow Stefan Bathory's example, he prepared to occupy the throne of Poland. In order to attain this goal, he showed himself disposed to conclude an alliance with the czar of Russia, relying at the same time on a group in Poland that was favorable to him. The prince's death, in 1629, put an end to this endeavor with a very small chance of success.

A special historical significance is attached to Gabriel Bethlen's ideas regarding the revival of the act of union of the three Romanian principalities--Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia--into a single state, a union achieved a few decades earlier, in 1600, by Michael the Brave, but, of course, under other historical conditions and starting from quite different premises. Bethlen's plan of achieving the greater Dacia was based, undoubtedly, on the understanding of the reality of the unity of descent, language and customs of the Romanians on the two sides of the Carpathians, of the strong and long economic, political, cultural and other ties existing between them, materialized, over the centuries, in many common actions in defense of freedom, ethnic being and independent development.

Counting on his close relations with Moldavia and Wallachia and relying on the support that the Romanians in Transylvania would be able, eventually, to offer him, Bethlen undertook in this regard a series of diplomatic probes, resulting, however, in total failure. According to the testimony of the contemporary sources, of which the most significant proves to be the account of Cardinal Petru Pazmany, from

December 1627, Bethlen approached the Ottoman Porte in order to obtain the union of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia into a "kingdom of Dacia" under his scepter. Firmly convinced that the support of the province's majority population, that is, of the Romanian was indispensable for the success of his plan, he tried to uplift them on a political and confessional plane, so that they would constitute the bond and the element for attracting their conational in Wallachia and Moldavia to such a state union. The prince tried, but without success, to convert the former to Calvinism, in the hope of founding a Protestant monarchy, guaranteed by the Reformed powers in Europe.

The importance accorded by Bethlen to the Romanian reality of the three principalities--Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania--and to the strong centripetal tendencies existing in this reality was connected with his anti-Catholic attitude and that hostile to the interests of the Hungarian magnates, which he displayed in many of the political actions undertaken during his reign. Thus, as Romanian historian Ioan Lupas observed, "There was founded during Bethlen's reign a Transylvanian sovereignty with a marked Protestant flavor and with an evident character hostile to 'the sacred Hungarian crown,' whose theory had been scraped together, in the opinion of Szekfu Gyula, over the centuries by the exclusive means of the Catholic Church."

Bethlen's plan of reviving a "kingdom of Dacia" did not enter, for easily understandable reasons, into the calculations of the Ottoman Porte, which--regardless of conditions--would have had nothing to gain from the repetition of the Union of 1600. Consequently, the probes undertaken by the representatives of the prince among the high officials of the sultan did not go beyond the phase of cautious feelers.

Despite the futile monarchical aspirations that brought only disappointment to Prince Bethlen, his rule--ceasing on 15 November 1629--ended in notable political results, since he succeeded in transforming Transylvania from a poor and war-torn country into a thriving principality with stable finances and a competent administration, with secure borders and with great political prestige on an international level.

Bethlen judged rightly that Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia constituted an entity and could only exist united, mobilizing all their available forces for the common prosperity. He realized that the Romanians, who represented the basic population of Transylvania, lived in the closest relations with their conationals beyond the Carpathians, constituting support only for those governors who conducted a policy of closeness between the three Romanian countries. Consequently, he also tried to always maintain the closest ties with Wallachia and Moldavia.

For his merits as a wise and progressive prince of Transylvania, who raised its power, culture and prestige to a European level, for his realistic attitude toward the Transylvanian Romanians and the concern for uniting the forces of the three sister Romanian principalities, the memory of Gabriel Bethlen, one of the illustrious figures of the homeland's history, possesses great reverence among our people.

Hundreds of years have passed since the recalled events. In this interval of time, marked by much and strong social and national unrest, Transylvania experienced trials of all sorts, continuing to play a leading role within the process of formation of the Romanian nation, of affirmation of the Romanian people's aspirations of freedom, unity and independence. The long, common traditions of economic, political and

spiritual life of the Romanians in Moldavia, Transylvania and Wallachia were constantly enriched with significant aspects of collaboration and unity on many planes, finding a brilliant finalization in the great union accomplished, through the decision of the whole Romanian populace, on 1 December 1918.

The whole evolution of our national history over the centuries demonstrates that the act of Alba Iulia constituted the result of the determined will and struggle of the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians, whose united actions made possible the fulfillment of their millennial aspirations.

Socialism has intensified the unified national-state framework of existence of the Romanian people with new, qualitative elements, among which the establishment of the political power of the working class, the institution of the whole populace's ownership of the means of production, and the providing of full equality in rights to all citizens--regardless of nationality--stand in the forefront. The new order has provided full equality in rights for all citizens of the country--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--has opened up wide horizons for manifestation of the creative energies of our people, for affirmation of their predisposition toward peace, independent development, in good understanding and collaboration with all peoples of the world. Closely united around the Romanian Communist Party, the working people in our country--regardless of nationality--are continually increasing their efforts to implement the decisions of the 12th congress, to forge the multilaterally developed socialist society and raise the homeland to new heights of civilization, progress and well-being.

12105
CSO: 2700

WORKERS DISCUSS TV DRAMA ON STRIKES

Zagreb SEDAM DANA (supplement to VJESNIK) in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Nino Pavic: "The Important Thing Is That We Be Allowed To Make Mistakes"]

> [Text] Work stoppages are mainly the subject matter of politicians, sociologists, psychologists or economists; least of all of those whom they most concern--the workers. We organized a discussion between the author and director of the TV drama "Stoppage in Strojna" with workers of the Steam Boiler Factory in Zagreb.

Though we write doctoral dissertations and serious analyses about our strikes or work stoppages, and the Federation of Trade Unions debates these incidents at short intervals, it still seems that the usual thing is to pretend that they actually do not exist. How otherwise can we explain the fact that TV, the radio and press do not carry reports on major work stoppages, nor reports from meetings of sociopolitical organizations when they are debating a particular stoppage? To be sure, in Slovenia it has become an established tradition for stoppages to be recorded in the newspapers among the brief news items, without comment, but that only confirms our considerable embarrassment about this topic.

That is precisely why the recent showing of the first Yugoslav TV drama about strikes was more a political event than a TV or "artistic" event. It probably would be difficult to find even one TV critic who failed to review "Stoppage in Strojna" by Lovric and Bosnjak. But very few were concerned with the directing or the acting. No one dealt with the obvious oversimplification of the characters or the uncomplicated nature of the heroes' conflicts in this drama. As though this had already become a general accepted achievement of a new genre--the "worker" drama. Attention was focused on the very fact of TV portrayal of a strike. This "game involving the truth" was particularly intensified after the question put as a delegate by Petar Sitvuk, manager of "3 maj" [Shipyard] in Rijeka and a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. The topic of "Stoppage in Strojna" moved from the reviewer's pages to the political

pages of the newspaper. Since Sitvuk's question "smacked" of a demand for a ban and still more rigorous caution toward similar projects in future, everyone recalled the intervention by the republic trade union which was followed by removal of Klaric's TV series "Full Steam Ahead" from the screen.

Sympathy for the broaching of still another "taboo topic" was mixed with fear of some new and unpopular ban or attempt to confine the right to speak about self-management and therefore strikes exclusively to politicians, sociologists, psychologists or economists, omitting those whom all this together most affects--the workers, especially those who are involved in work stoppages.

On Behalf of the Delegate Base?

Our office has received several letters from readers about "Stoppage in Strojna." Aside from gratification at the fact that TV [Zagreb] decided to show the drama, hardly anyone failed to say a few words about the delegate's question. Thus Baldo Brbora of 81 Ivo Vojnovic Street in Dubrovnik, writes: "I do not hold it against the comrade for having put this question in the [Croatian] Assembly. The more questions that are put to the chambers of the Assembly the better. But let him not be concerned about the party members and working people where he comes from, who are in a quandary according to what Comrade Sitvuk said in VJESNIK on 21 November. Party members and self-managers are in no quandary about this. We have been building self-management for 30 years now, and we must name names on the TV screen of those who are holding back the advance of self-management and who are betraying the confidence of the LCY. If there were no bureaucrats, technocrats and big spenders, there would be no need for TV dramas like this."

Antun Vrcek of 19 Skolska Street in Osijek is rather restrictive and does not believe in Delegate Sitvuk's good intentions:

"The important thing to know is in whose name he put the delegate's query. Then we would obtain information as to who is deliberately standing in the way of the truth and preventing it from becoming public on the pretext 'this does not portray the real condition of our self-managed society.' I would like to know if any delegate has ever been criticized or removed for taking a subjective point of view, or do we change them only when they do not respond to calls, but most frequently only because of the lack of a quorum. The delegate referred to ought out of self-criticism to give up his place to someone else who would put those queries which concern the base--problems of municipal transport, the supply of food or bribes and corruption. He and people like him must realize that people are actively demanding programs of this kind in which the truth is presented on their behalf. This is one of the ways in which the workers express what in meetings of the bodies of self-management they conceal behind silence."

That is Comrade Vrcek's opinion. It would be difficult to agree with all his assertions and demands, but this letter can be taken as a warning that there are reasons to deal more fundamentally with the issues raised by "Stoppage in Strojna." We wanted to go to the "3 maj" Shipyard, to the work force where Petar Sitvuk is employed, and to organize a discussion between the drama's authors and director with the workers in that collective. Where criticism of the drama had been made through their delegate.

Neither the authors nor the delegate in the Assembly liked the idea. Mirko Bosnjak and Jelena Lovric did not want a confrontation with the delegate, who, in their opinion, has every right to put the query in the Assembly. Comrade Petar Sitvuk, on the other hand, has been unhappy because of the publicity his query was given. After consultations with the trade union and party organizations at "3 maj," he suggested that we talk to the leaders of the League of Communists, the trade union and the Socialist Youth League. However, we wanted to talk with producers in the workplace.

We went to the "Tool and Machine Production" OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] of the Steam Boiler Factory in Zagreb. We talked with some 20 direct producers, most of them skilled and highly skilled workers, with their party and trade union leaders, and with their directors.... Along with the author Mirko Bosnjak, who is also a member of the Presidium of the Zagreb City SAWP Conference, and the director Berislav Makarovic, we wanted to hear their first impressions and second thoughts about "Stoppage ...," their reactions, and whether in the problems of the workers in "Strojna" they also recognize their own problems. Finally, we wanted to hear whether the workers in this OOUR felt a need for more television projects of this kind.

Conflicts Because of Opportunism

Josip Vrbanic: "There always have been and there always will be strikes, regardless of how they are called. In our OOUR there have not been any, but we know that the workers, especially the young ones, are having a hard time exercising their rights. In those difficult moments when problems arise, a man is in a state of revolt and cannot precisely judge what is good for him and what isn't. I feel that one should not undertake a work stoppage, since we all suffer from it. People do not work, income cannot be earned.... I think that we can always go through normal channels, but I know that there are places where that doesn't work."

Stjepan Mihinica: "Every enterprise can see at least one part of itself in the drama 'Stoppage in Strojna.' I think that everything is accurately portrayed, though, of course, it is not the same everywhere."

Boro Vodopijevec: "The important thing, you see, is that we know that we can make mistakes. We might elect as party secretary a man who does not deserve it, who does not follow the party line, but there are ways to correct that. The drama affected me deeply--because it takes place in a workplace similar to mine, and also because I experienced similar things in the

work organization where I worked before. We have often been on the edge of stoppages, and now I hear that they recently did actually strike. My experience is that conflicts occur because in normal meetings, when the atmosphere is calm, people do not want to openly come into conflict with the managers or with any of those who are making mistakes, and that suits them."

SEDAM DANA: "Do you think that even today the professional managers in the collective have an opportunity to take revenge on the workers who speak out frankly? After all, their powers are essentially smaller than they once were, and there is the League of Communists, the trade union...."

Boro Vodopijevec: "Listen, they do not have the actual capability, but many of the workers do not know that, and they are afraid. For example, suppose some director tried to take revenge on me, he would not succeed. Precisely because of the trade union. Whatever I say--I cannot be called to account. No one can be punished because of what he says in a meeting."

SEDAM DANA: "Do you think that TV, radio and the press ... should show only typical cases of self-management or also cases of irresponsibility?"

Drago Horvatic: "I think that they should portray true events. Take this drama which we watched, it not only showed what happened, but also how to prevent that from happening in the future. In my opinion, it is not a bad thing to present such things to the public. The author is not an enemy of this country who would take a malicious line of thought or just fabricate it all. These things really do happen and they should be shown on TV."

Stjepan Mihinica: "I wonder where that trade union leader from the opstina was before. He came to 'Strojna' when the stoppage had already begun...."

Someone in the room: "That's what the workers in the drama themselves said!"

Stjepan Mihinica: "... he should have been there long before and prevented the stoppage. I am not in favor of work stoppages and I have always worked against them, this is the last resort for problems. Here you can see how ineffective our trade union leadership can sometimes be. I will not extend this to cover opstina committees, but even that happens. The workers are not at fault for the stoppage as shown on television."

Luka Anic: "I think that the showing of this drama will encourage at least some people to speak more frankly in meetings about the problems of production, housing, pay and abuses."

Directors Are Not at Fault for Everything

Mirko Bosnjak: "I must admit that it was not easy to make this drama. There was the danger of getting off the track, of taking an approach that

was altogether negative. We did not want to ask the question of whether we should have strikes; it was more important to us to show that we should do everything so that they do not occur. It is no one's aim to resolve problems through stoppages, but the fact remains that there are such examples in our country. All this you have already said, better than I can. Our drama does not arouse people to strike, and that is the essential thing. Our conversation with you has been valuable to us, since in the drama we wanted to show how progress could be made and how self-management could be developed still further. Even this conversation of ours today is an act of self-management."

Drago Horvatic: "Things are not always simple, nor is the director at fault for everything. Take, for example, this economic situation of ours. You may operate your business in excellent fashion, you may earn a large remainder of income, but you can't divide it up. We are people, consumers, the cost of living has risen greatly, it is human to want higher personal incomes. Yet here no one can help, neither the director, nor the party, nor the trade union. A force majeure is involved. Were I the director, I would not be able to say: Now, this is the income which remains, let's divide it up. I would have to think of the future, of the entire factory, of the community...."

Marijan Mateljic: "So long as we are well-informed, we will have to put things in their right places. We will know how to divide up the income, to whom to award apartments. If we know everything that is happening and the consequences that will come from business decision, no one will be able to abuse his authority or infringe our self-management rights. As for linkage with opstina and city sociopolitical organizations, I can say that they have excellent information. Though we are doing quite well, they are informed in detail about our problems. They do not behave like firemen."

Silvester Sirocic: "I will give an example from our work organization. I think that in this case we did not act properly. The workers were presented with the argument that we should invest in capital investment projects. We wanted to divide up at least a portion for personal incomes. We had to consent to everything being invested, but there was a great deal of money and there still is. Our funds were up to the brim, and we thought that something should have been divided up."

Marijan Silovic: "That is right, we did have a meeting like that after the income statement for the first three quarters. There was a large remainder of income. We were told that all our obligations had not yet been met, and we came to the conclusion that we should wait a bit. I said at the time that we should not adjourn the meeting until every worker had become convinced that this was the best solution. We must immediately clear up matters which are in dispute and not have conversations in the corridors afterward. It is easy to divide up the money, but it is difficult to think about the future."

Stjepan Mihinica: "A man would have to be a graduate economist to understand everything that is said about business policy. For example, we had a party meeting in which the director said, for example, that 2 million should be put in some business fund. Perhaps that really is necessary, but it is hard for me to understand."

SEDAM DANA: "But you have an information service, worker caucuses, delegates...."

Stjepan Mihinica: "Yes, we know about those most delicate issues. The allocation of housing, for example, personal incomes and such matters cannot go through without all the workers. But on the other hand I have no idea how Workers' Control is operating. I would like to go to some meeting of that control commission, since I really do not know how they operate and what they do. Or, say, the trade union nominates a worker for a commission, and the director says: He won't do. Often we overlook such 'trifles,' but we shouldn't. It would be better for the workers to say: No, that comrade cannot be a member of the commission...."

We Pay Our Debts First

Silvester Sirocic: "I am interested whether there has ever been a work stoppage in a bank, in an economic chamber, in an SIZ [community of interest]. There has been a lot of dust raised by this drama, and I would like to see a drama about those organizations. What do they do in crisis situations? Certainly the people there have no reason for a work stoppage such as people might have in production."

Mirko Bosnjak: "You have answered this question yourselves. The specialized services of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions which has studied work stoppages have not recorded even one work stoppage outside of production. This datum in and of itself says quite a bit. They are outside the crisis situations. I personally know about what I would call a half-stoppage of work in the Croatian National Theater in Zagreb, but even there it was the production workers, the auxiliary workers who were striking."

Josip Katalenic: "I would like to bring up something which we have not mentioned today. Our biggest problem is that little is left to us out of the income we earn. All the debts are paid, the SIZ's and the government and the opstinas and the sociopolitical organizations, and we strain ourselves very hard to discharge all those obligations which we still cannot scrutinize. How is it possible that some of our SIZ's and USIZ's [association of communities of interest] have a surplus running into the billions which they have to return to the economy, while some work organizations which have been carefully paying their contributions are paying 80 percent of regular personal incomes? I think that things have to some extent been put the wrong way about. Instead of first paying those who create the income, and thereafter everyone else, we first pay the rest. That is why the conflict situations arise, and people do not know too much about that. I would say that that is the prelude to the drama we have been talking about."

Josip Levacic: "Take an example: 2 years ago the Bank of Zagreb promised us that if we agreed to receive our pay through the bank, we would get 3 dinars of credit for every dinar we invested in housing construction. Under those conditions we agreed. Day after day they came to persuade us. We did not want to stand in line in the bank, but when they raised the housing issue. Do you know what happened? A year later their promise fell through. They tricked us. Thus we had to increase appropriations for housing construction 9 percent. And what are we to do now to this bank? Do we have to be suspicious of everyone? Does absolutely everyone want to deceive us?"

Drago Horvatic: "When we manage to keep the income where it is created, then there will be fewer such dramas, and the delegates in the Assembly will not have to put a query about the justifiability of showing a drama about a strike."

Instead of drawing some "big" conclusion after the lengthy conversation in the OOUR "Tool and Machine Production," of which we are publishing only one-tenth because of lack of space, we prefer to point up what the worker Drago Horvatic said: "When problems arise, we are inclined to set up commissions and put off a solution. But we ought to react immediately, on the spot, in the base, directly and openly. If we behave that way, there will not be any 'Stoppage in Strojna,' nor in our factory either."

7045
CSO: 2800

VOJVODINA CONSTITUTIONAL COURT CHIEF JUSTICE INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1560, 23 Nov 80 pp 12-13

[Interview with Dr Nikola Balog, chief justice of the Vojvodina Constitutional Court, by Jug Grizelj: "It Is Practice Which Is Violating the Constitution, Not Enactments"]

[Text] The Vojvodina Constitutional Court, which is headed by Dr Nikola Balog, a prestigious legal expert, university professor and participant in authoring many of our constitutional changes, is also well known by our public for having reacted sharply on several occasions to various violations of the constitution, consistently taking the position that no one has the right either to restrict or to take away the freedoms and human rights guaranteed by the constitution.

[Question] It is in this connection that NIN, as part of its survey on consensus (zajednistvo) and on functional consensus at the federal level, was interested in ascertaining to what extent our constitutional courts have stood up for consensus, and above all the constitutional provisions concerning the unity of the Yugoslav market, in the face of obvious manifestations of its being closed off and partialized. Are there in Dr Balog's opinion federal or republic laws, and also opstina enactments which have favored partialization and autarky?

[Answer] Probably there are federal laws which we might say are "indifferent" to the partialization of the unified Yugoslav market. To be sure, guaranteeing the unity of the market is stated in every such law between the lines [sic]. That is, in these laws and enactments one can hardly descry an impediment to the unity of the market from the standpoint of constitutional law. I must concur in the judgment that the constitutional courts ought to be showing much more initiative concerning the obvious cases of confinement of the market; that this is the case is confirmed by the fact that soon all the constitutional courts of Yugoslavia will hold a meeting whose topic will be protection of the unity of the Yugoslav market. The problem, however, obviously lies in the fact that general enactments ordinarily do not threaten either the constitution or consensus. It is

threatened by practice, and that is above all a political issue, one which can be resolved only by delegate assemblies from the opstina to the Federation. The constitutional court is no substitute for politics. The constitutional court protects the constitution.

[Question] It is a fact, however, Comrade Chief Justice, that as a party member, a judge, a person active in public life and as an individual you frequently encounter specific cases when the unity of the market is being violated. What is the job of a judge of a constitutional court in such a case?

[Answer] You know, you obviously have a mistaken idea about the function of the constitutional courts. It is well known that the constitution affirms the responsibility of the executive councils of the Federation, the republics, the provinces and opstinas with respect to the condition of the economy and public services in their jurisdictions. When you see, say, two department stores on the border of two opstinas or two republics, and when you notice that the goods in them are altogether different, from different manufacturers, when you see that each department store is primarily selling the products "of its own area," you can be altogether certain that there is not a single general enactment, neither at the opstina nor republic level, which condones or encourages this. You can be certain that this practice of partialization and confinement of the market is a consequence of internal accords and agreements which are not in the spirit of either self-management or the constitution. However, since the constitutional courts, unless they are directly called upon and set into motion, are unable to even scrutinize these accords and agreements which are not made public, it is a logical assumption that this is a matter of practical politics, that responsibility for this situation lies in the field of politics.

[Question] As far as we know, there is not a single federal system in the world like that of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which sovereign republics and autonomous provinces render decisions on the principle of concurrence and consensus of all the sovereign partners in very important domains of domestic policy defined by the constitution. It is our feeling that this original feature of our constitutional arrangements for consensus is one of the characteristics which is not sufficiently familiar to the public.

[Answer] It is a fact that our constitutional principle of the sovereignty of the republics, which constitute government communities and which on issues of the economic system of common interest must enter into agreement and must obtain consensus at the level of the Federation, is a pioneering undertaking which has no precedent in the practice of federal systems in the world. However, at this level of development and with what we had learned there was a natural need for Yugoslavia to use the constitution to place even economic sovereignty in the republics.

Looking at the world around us and studying our own history, we should have understood that failure to respect the peculiar features of the nationalities and the rights of the nationalities actually constitutes an expropriation of those nationalities. Failure to recognize the sovereignty of the nationalities in a multinational community must result in irresponsible acts and even explosions. One can see this line of thinking even in many states in which there is only one nationality when they are reflecting about far-reaching political reforms toward granting broader rights to communities and regions at the lower level. This is an unusual thing, especially when we recall that a few decades ago we all believed that the all-inclusiveness of world economic events and the trends of civilization in general were gradually diminishing the importance of ethnic communities and nationalities.

It has been established, however, that the "trend" is quite contrary to those expectations. Opposite movements have been noted, it is true, but by gradually superseding the economic interests of nationalities, that is, on the basis of their own interests. Throughout the entire world, and indeed with us as well, it has become quite clear that true consensus can be obtained only by way of equality of nationalities. Of course, when it comes to practical solutions as to how from the standpoint of constitutional law the reconciliation is to be made effective both in time and content, there can and must be discussion. We have the State Presidency, which under the constitution has exceptional rights to take steps if consensus is not achieved (Article 319 of the constitution).

In this phase it would be difficult to do without the general premises of this kind, and only future development will show to what extent all the constitutional mechanisms of reconciliation--without jeopardizing the principle of sovereignty--are feasible and practical. Life "takes place" much faster than the constitutional imagination supposes, but this is a matter of time. It is true that we often forget that time is the most expensive thing in the world.

[Question] You mentioned that the constitution precisely regulates the rights of delegate bodies in the jurisdictions of executive bodies and offices. However, in interviews with all our previous participants in the survey on consensus, we have arrived at the "reconciled" and "joint" opinion that we are in a phase when executive bodies and offices are taking over many more rights than they are entitled to under the constitution and that delegate assemblies are in many cases not operating effectively enough. How do you see this from the standpoint of "defenders" of the constitution?

[Answer] You know, much is said about the delegates not being "effective" enough, about their being "passive," about their inadequate display of "interest," and so on. Certainly, this is one part of the problem, but it is by far the smaller and less important part. See here, whenever something doesn't work, the easiest thing is to say that it is human error. However,

there is also something called the intelligence of the system. I am personally persuaded that there are certain serious objective obstacles that keep the delegate system--through the existing mechanisms--from operating better.

[Question] If the delegate system needs to be improved, don't you feel that the need for public scrutiny of proceedings ought to be emphasized still more in constitutional terms?

[Answer] In that domain, public scrutiny of proceedings, I see no need at all for any sort of touching up. The constitution is sufficiently clear, and it simply does not permit proceedings in secret. It precisely states in what cases a conversation can take place or a decision be made in private. Exclusion of the public is something altogether exceptional as far as the constitution is concerned!

It is just a question of how public scrutiny of proceedings is seen; is it public scrutiny of proceedings when the public is informed of the results and of the decisions, or do you report the course of discussion and all the opinions expressed during the process of reconciliation? Here again there are many short circuits as to how the constitution is to be interpreted. It is like the old saying: In my house there is no question that I settle the big issues and my wife the little ones. But my wife decides what is a big issue and what is a little one. This is the same. Public scrutiny is set forth in the constitution as an obligation of all bodies, but, of course, it is the assembly or, still more frequently, some executive body or office who decides what public scrutiny is and how that public scrutiny is to be exercised. I am certain that here there is room for very serious discussions and criticism. Often, you know, when a man reads a newspaper article or sees a television report about all the things on which there is not consensus and about all the agreements which have not been reached, he has the feeling that this is an appeal for resentment. People say: The foreign exchange balance has not been adopted, there is no energy policy, and now I the citizen am standing and waiting, and no one has told me what the disputes are about, what the alternatives are, and consequently I do not have either the theoretical or the practical opportunity to influence the taking of decisions through my delegate base.

I am convinced that this kind of reporting and this kind of conception of public scrutiny only makes people more nervous, but does not arouse that activity on the part of the delegate base which the constitution and our system presuppose. You can't appeal to people constantly to be more active if that activity consists only of waiting or of throwing up their hands, without an exchange of opinions, without an opportunity exert an influence on the agreements.

We have brought the delegate base almost to the point where it must have confidence in its delegate assembly, since it neither knows its views, nor does it influence them. And this is not the delegate system: confidence

is the principle on which the representative system is based, but the delegate system presupposes that the base issues the working instructions and guidelines. Much the same is true of many relations, and thus we get a system which consists of laws which may be scoffed at, and there are no worse laws than those which at times are not respected.

[Question] Do you think that the constitutional courts are often the captives of disputes of secondary importance, such as, for example, the question of the constitutionality of the "odd-even" decision, or the "spider" and "handcuffs" [all related to recent motor vehicle regulations—translator's note], while many important trains are passing by?

[Answer] I must resolutely resist a division of subject matter of the constitutional courts into matters of first importance and second importance. I think that it is of essential importance to man's freedom, to his rights as guaranteed under the constitution, that he defend himself against usurpation of whatever kind. So, when a worker comes to the constitutional court because his right to an apartment or remuneration has been threatened, or the right to regulate traffic under the constitution and laws and his rights in that traffic, then I think that the constitutional court is truly the place where human freedoms will be defended.

Aside from that, the constitutional courts are concerned more and more with the key questions of the socioeconomic system, and there is obviously a misunderstanding because the public believes that it is the job of the constitutional court to be concerned with politics. No. The constitutional court cannot have an impact on the pooling of labor and capital, but it must intervene when labor and capital are pooled through manipulation, unlawfully, when lawful procedure is not respected. Finally, Comrade Editor, it really is too much to expect of an institution in the self-management system—since the constitutional court is only one of a number of institutions in that system—to bring into line all people involved in the conduct of economic activity concerning the most important issues of the self-management system; it is expecting too much of the constitutional court that it can ensure the free movement of manpower, the openness of the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] and of all others, that it can overcome the problem of excessive investments, that it can achieve abandonment of sacroegoism in associated labor, and so on.

It really is unrealistic to expect that the constitutional courts can do what the assemblies of sociopolitical communities with their influence and rights, as well as obligations, the Socialist Alliance, the Youth League, and even the League of Communists have been unable to do on their own. Only if all together, and each separately, does its part of the job and discharges its part of the responsibility, will the conditions be fulfilled for the constitutional court to do its job properly.

[Question] We have not heard of the constitutional courts dealing with the issues of the obvious overstepping of authority by various executive bodies and offices in our society.

[Answer] This is an area we have not yet reached, and it is presumably an issue of first importance. Of course, the constitutional courts can take the initiatives even on their own in obvious cases, but is it not symptomatic that neither the trade union nor the economic chambers have come before the court at some point to seek protection of the workers and of associated labor against the usurpation of executive bodies and offices? And this is not only their constitutional right, but indeed their constitutional obligation.

7045
CSO: 2800

SECONDARY SCHOOLERS STRIKE OVER DISMISSAL OF TEACHER

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1559, 16 Nov 80 pp 28-29

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Pedagogical Poem"]

[Text] From last Tuesday until this Monday, four working days, half of the students in Class IV2 [high school seniors--translator's note] in what used to be Academic High School 14 in Belgrade went on strike by boycotting classes. The other half continued to go to school. The immediate pretext was the decision of the school's disciplinary commission to discharge their homeroom teacher V. K., a sociology teacher, "for failure to discharge work duties."

V. K. is 35 years old, he is not married, he lives with his mother, and he has been teaching for some 10 years now. He is a coach in amateur sports. In the school he has in the past been president of the trade union, president of the faculty caucus, and chairman of the activ of the social sciences. Two years ago he received the May Award for his work in athletics, and the assembly of the opstina in which he lives nominated him for a decoration, which the school council supported.

To most of the students he taught he was "different from the others, an authentic new teacher." They say that he would never spring a test on them. He abided by the system: 2 weeks of lectures--1 week of tests. He regularly freshened up his lectures with the most recent events and data from the press and the literature. Last year he became the homeroom teacher of Class III2 [a junior class]. At the end of the school year in that class of 39 students (34 girls and 5 boys) there were 35 A's, 3 B's and only 1 C.

On the teacher's initiative they published three issues of their own class newspaper, which was received in the school as a case of "separatism," and the paper died out. Since there were no textbooks, the professor wrote a very good and interesting set of notes for his pupils. For years the school has not been awarding prizes to excellent students; this teacher bought books for his students himself and used them to reward them for success. This homeroom teacher knew the birthday of every student and on that

day the student would find a flower or small gift at his place. He took the entire class to participate in the POLITIKA cross-country race and to the book fair. Here and there in the city they regularly attended lectures in sociology, psychology and philosophy. He arranged the desks in their classroom in a horseshoe "so that people would look each other in the face and not at the back of each other's heads"--this also was short-lived, since the other teachers objected. He often talked with parents even about family problems, so that for him there were no secrets in his III2.

The Parents and the Teacher

Last year a well-known professor at Belgrade University, aroused by the questions of his daughter, whom V. K. teaches in a senior class of "The Constitution and Social System," became interested in the lectures of his younger colleague and--as he has now told NIN--he concluded that there were in his interpretations quite a few aspects of political ideology that were seriously unclear or mistaken. In a meeting with parents the university professor called the attention of his daughter's homeroom teacher to the possible consequences. He also repeated his opinion at the request of the principal before the school administration, before a group of parents in a meeting held in the headquarters of the Vracar Opstina Conference of the League of Communists, in whose jurisdiction the school is located, and before V. K. himself. Thus the discussions of the teacher's errors began back last year, but the real denouement occurred in September, when disciplinary proceedings were instituted against him.

On 17 October the disciplinary commission examined some 20 pupils and several witnesses who graduated the year before. The questions were as follows:

> Were there deviations in matters of political ideology in V. K.'s lectures; did he say that intellectuals should not live in the same buildings with workers and peasants, since "the former raise flowers on their balconies, and the latter chickens"; did he say that people whistle at soccer games out of protest against everything that is weighing them down, and "sometimes even against the system"; did he say that in Yugoslavia there were major economic and cultural differences among the republics and provinces, and did he maliciously interpret those differences; in mentioning the events in 1968--though they are not in the syllabus--did he say that there were "dead and wounded" among the students; in his lecture on the Cominform did he use extracurricular literature which is not allowed--a feature article published in NIN; did he analyze the handwriting of the students during class out of a passion for handwriting analysis; did he mention Goli Otok [concentration camp for supporters of the Cominform--translator's note]; did

he say that he would not go to see the films "Neretva" and "Sutjeska"...?

An affirmative answer to some of these questions would fall in the jurisdiction of the public prosecutor. However, even the students who in the previous meetings in the school had felt that "V. K. had erred," did not give direct answers of yes to these questions!

The "Office Rat"

Most of the witnesses felt that there were in his lectures certain words which could "be taken two ways," but they were not inclined to think that they amounted to deviations in political ideology. "As for the flowers and chickens on the balconies," they said that the teacher cited this as an example from his own neighborhood in New Belgrade. It was confirmed that he did speak about soccer spectators "venting their feelings," but in the opinion of the majority he did not emphasize that he was talking about Yugoslav soccer. They all agreed that he spoke about differences in level of development of the various regions of our country, and some added that he said: And so, that is also socialism. A majority even remember the "victims of 1968," but the teacher and other witnesses say that in the lecture he explicitly stated that "foreign sources maliciously wrote about supposed casualties." He did in fact mention Goli Otok, but, according to the statements, this was in response to a pupil's question: "What is Goli Otok, which is constantly mentioned in connection with the Cominform?"

One of the former pupils said: "I do not remember what he said about social differences, but he told me in a class that I would become an office rat, and I have never forgiven him for that."

In a meeting of the organization of the League of Communists, which discussed the "teacher's case," V. K., who attended the meeting though not a member of the League of Communists, did not choose to defend himself, but merely read a passage from Plato's "Apology."

Following the discussions came the conclusion of the sociopolitical organizations in the school that "the teacher V. K. is not suitable for the job." Then the disciplinary commission met seven times and stated that "the teacher V. K. has committed serious violations of nonperformance and negligent performance of work tasks and has pronounced the measure of termination of the employment relation."

Though throughout the entire proceeding the most serious criticism had to do with political ideology, all of a sudden nonperformance of work tasks turns up in the justification. Throughout the entire proceeding there was less evidence for this formulation than for anything else. Only his coming late to class was irrefutably established, which again is not a persuasive reason for firing him. By all appearances it seems the school regulations envisage penalties for teachers who fight on the job or come to work drunk,

but no provision is made for ideological deviation in instruction. And that is the origin of the formulation--nonperformance of work duties.

V. K. says that he is the victim of a "typical settlement of accounts within the faculty, since most of the witnesses for the prosecution come from a class whose homeroom teacher is his enemy." In that school, it seems, a war has been going on, and in that war the teachers have been using their own students as clubs.

The Other Side

On Wednesday the decision expelling the teacher from the school was read out to the students, but 20 students of his class had already left classes the day before, on Tuesday. Someone had told them about the decision of the disciplinary commission.

At precisely noon on Friday, the fourth day of the "work stoppage," the school even released the "strikebreakers" from classes in order to attend a meeting that was scheduled between the "strikers" and their homeroom teacher V. K. The meeting began in front of Hotel Jugoslavija, but because of the cold it moved into the large dining room of the hotel, where some 40 students, who ordered 4 teas and 3 coffees, debated for almost 2 hours. No agreement was reached: both sides said that they were right. But what was said cast a new light on the admired professor and the events in the school.

According to what was said on that occasion, V. K. publicly--in a parents' meeting--divided up the students in his class in four value categories and wrote their names on the board. Only the pupils in the first category were "independent and mature"; the pupils in the fourth category and their parents were not pleased. He had the practice of holding frequent two-person meetings lasting several hours with his pupils, "psychoseances" as the students called them, though in actuality they consisted of his monolog on the topic "How I See You and Your Behavior and What You Really Should Do About It." Since he said in one meeting with the parents that he learned quite a bit about the character of his children by means of handwriting analysis, one parent reminded him of a more traditional method of reading coffee grounds. He told the mother of one girl that his analysis of her daughter's personality and behavior unambiguously indicated that she was quite close to the point of suicide. He organized a poll on smoking, and regular consumers of nicotine lost points with him. He didn't like "his" pupils to fraternize with other students, since he said that his were "something special, the best class in the country." Some of his pupils openly said that he was involved in the removal and drafting of a petition against a teacher of the Serbo-Croatian language and that with his knowledge and to some extent at his suggestion half of the students boycotted this year's traditional senior trip.

Those who did not attend school for 4 days were mainly pupils who previously never or very rarely skipped classes. The students who continued to attend school charged that V. K. had recruited students for the strike who were devoted to him and whom he could influence. One of the girls who did not boycott classes said in a state of great excitement:

"Sir, here is my girl friend who sits next to me and who did not come to school, and now she won't look me in the eye, since supposedly I betrayed our cause. Why didn't you tell them: Attend class, help me in some other way? Why did you meet with them at a time when they should have been in school? No one in the class was against you, but I think you have abused our confidence. We are not your private pupils. Half of the parents do not even know that our fellow students are not going to school. Vesna even left home, because her parents ordered her to go to class."

Had a man who obviously loved his class and who in a way devoted his entire time "to teaching the children to look critically at things around them and at authorities" turned into a virtual monitor of the private and public life of his students, of their society, of their desires, intervening in impermissible ways, making measurements, making judgments in public...?

In concluding this painful tale it is not easy to judge whether we are dealing with a conflict between an enthusiastic modern teacher and a conventional or conservative school or a conflict between the normal and inevitable way a school is run and the arbitrary and very personal behavior on the part of a teacher, or again a case of political abuse of the classroom, which has been mentioned in this article--but which has not been altogether proven--or of a bit of everything.

7045
CSO: 2800

ATHLETIC FESTIVAL OF ARMAMENT INDUSTRY WORKERS DESCRIBED

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 751, 16 Oct 80 pp 16-17

[Article by Z. Simic: "Competition Yes, Rivalry No"]

[Text] ... "Strive, comrades, to continue bold progress in the future as well, strive to impart as much comradeship as possible to athletics, and try to achieve the best results you can in comradely competition"--Tito, July 1951.

Mindful of these words of Tito, uttered 4 years ago in Kragujevac, at a festival devoted to athletics, recreation and entertainment workers of the entire country's armament industry decided to call it the Comradeship Meets. The very next year the host city Cacak demonstrated that the meets would grow to become a major traditional festival of sports, brotherhood and unity and nourishment of the glorious traditions of Yugoslavia's revolution and socialist development. Workers of the community of Yugoslavia's industry of armament and military equipment (INVOJ) demonstrated last year in Novi Travnik that they are not forging only the weapons of nationwide defense and peace, but also the greatest virtues of our contemporary social development through athletic competitions and the accompanying events.

Gorazde, this year's host to the sportsmen from factory shops, was equal to this year's festival, the largest to date (32 work organizations from all over Yugoslavia) and proved itself to be a true comrade, friend and unselfish host. This picturesque little town on the bank of the Drina, its citizens and its workers employed in Pobjeda demonstrated with their wide open arms that Yugoslavia can be fitted even into a small place without losing any of its great revolutionary achievements--community spirit, brotherhood and unity, self-sacrifice, concord and the spirit of comradeship--all this was manifested through athletics and competition....

"Competition yes, rivalry no!"--was the motto of the festival. The results were secondary, but for the sake of physical education and athletics, we will mention how certain of the teams did. We stress that lively people whose minds are healthy and who are physically prepared for further

development and accomplishment of the conception of nationwide defense are working in the armament industry and that athletics is one of the forms of their readiness to defend the country.

Losing Is Not Important

The best results for the teams were achieved by the competitors from Sloboda. Secone was Rudi Cajavec, and third Zastava. The workers of Milan Blagojevic were proclaimed the fair play team.

Though the best marksman was Radovan Bozovic of Sloboda (179 bull's-eyes), the "invincible five" from Zastava--Milan Dimitrijevic, Milorad Vuckovic, Zivan Stepanovic, Milan Milanovic and Miroljub Simovic--demonstrated for the fourth time that they were the best rifle team at the festival. We must mention that they are also the best forgers of automatic infantry weapons in our country, weapons which are highly prized in the world as well....

Milan Lukovic brought Teleoptika the cup for the 2,000-meter run, and Prva Petoletka dominated the chess tournament. Sloboda's bowlers celebrated their first place with fish specialties which their colleagues from the factory prepared after winning the festival's first sport fishing contest on the Drina.

Krusik's volleyballers won another cup for the factory's display case, and Telekomunikacije was given that same satisfaction by the members of its team of the fairer sex....

There were other successes in all eight disciplines, but enumerations of details would be unnecessary, since at the Comradeship Meets athletics are only the pretext for people to come together. Here is a passage from the Rules of the Comradeship Meets Among Members of the Community INVOJ, one which unambiguously demonstrates the objectives of this fine festival:

"The Comradeship Meets are a traditional sports festival whose purpose is to bring together as many as possible of the workers employed in organizations of associated labor which are members of the Community of INVOJ to get to know one another and to come closer to one another, to nurture the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, to exchange opinions and experiences, and to develop physical education and recreation in order to improve health and work abilities, to raise labor productivity and to improve fitness for performance of work duties and combat readiness...."

Young people from all over Yugoslavia have altogether understood the purpose of this traditional event, which was put most simply by Raifa Hurem of the Slobodan Princip-Seljo Factory:

"It is the first time I have attended a festival like this, and I am enthusiastic. My team lost in its very first match, but that is not important. The most important thing is that I have made friends. The people from Gorazde have been very hospitable...."

"The oversights of the organizers are negligible compared to the way a man feels in this atmosphere," we were told by Janez Cevc of the electronic communications department of Iskra. "We came here to meet old acquaintances and to make new friends."

"This is the third time I have participated in the meets," said Radovan Bozovic of Sloboda. "It is an unforgettable event. It is surprising how many people there are. What do scores matter compared to so many new friends?"

Comradeship and Solidarity

Whether they lost or won in the athletic competition, the young people from all parts of Yugoslavia did not stop smiling in Gorazde. The cheerfulness typical of our young people (the older participants and guests will please not be angry if we do not mention them separately, since we included them among "our young people") proved to be the best recommendation for the hospitable people of Gorazde, who have always been partial to gaiety, jokes, songs and friendship. That is why Janez Cevc's enthusiasm is altogether comprehensible to the citizens of Gorazde:

"Our team was housed in a private home. We were all more than satisfied with the hospitality and kindness of our hosts. This was a unique occasion to get to know one another better, to see how people live. We felt as though we were at home...."

It is precisely impressions of this kind which Gen Lt Col Petar Babic had in mind when he said in his opening address at the festival:

"Dear competitors, I hope you achieve good scores and achieve the desires you came here with. Our greatest desire is that you always remember that you have a mission and a far broader task, and that is to nurture comradeship and solidarity, through a spirit of competition to develop new friendship and comradeship which will help all of us to carry out our principal task in equipping our armed forces with armament and military equipment.

"The Comradeship Meets should also make use of the experiences of our National Liberation Struggle, when under the most difficult conditions of the war, in this very vicinity, and on this very terrain the First Partisan Olympic Games were organized in Foca and through them brotherhood and unity was forged and the combat morale of our units and their relations with the people were improved...."

Gen Lt Col Petar Babic did not conceal his satisfaction during the festival, and his summary at the conclusion of this large and successful festival for bringing young people together from all regions of Yugoslavia will greatly ease this author's task in "summing up" this "amalgam of athletics, of love for people, of entertainment and of a nurturing of revolutionary traditions."

"To put it most briefly, the comradeship games in Gorazde have been entirely successful," were the words of Gen Lt Col Babic, a revolutionary who at the age of the competitors in the festival at Gorazde was participating in "games of a different kind."

"It is truly gratifying to me when I see that among the workers of our community there are so many athletes. At the same time we should not especially emphasize what this festival means to us. It is evident that it is good even down on the field. People are coming closer together, becoming friends, exchanging experiences.... And in general athletics and recreation keep a man fit, and make him better able to work. I see that all the participants are happy with both the hospitality and the kindness of the people of Gorazde. Here again our games have been highly esteemed and their existence has been confirmed. Certainly, this is an impetus for us to nurture them further. Modestly, within the limits of our capabilities, but sufficiently so that the objective will always be achieved: to develop a spirit of athletics in our collectives, so that we have young and healthy workers who are in very good physical condition. This is also a condition for our successful work in the future."

7045
CSO: 2800 END

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22 January 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1844

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22 January 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1844

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'DIE WELT' Comments on Polish Situation, Soviet Invasion of Poland
(DIE WELT, 21 Nov 80) 1

Briefs
Belgian Minister, NATO Session 3
Reaction to GDR Currency Rules 3

POLAND

Congratulatory Messages to Polish Premier Listed
(TRYBUNA LUDU, 10 Sep 80) 4

Austrian General Interviewed on Soviet Bloc Intervention in Poland
(Wilhelm Kuntner Interview; DIE WELT, 15 Dec 80) 5

Walesa Interviewed by FRG Tabloid
(Lech Walesa Interview; BILD, 3 Dec 80) 7

'TRYBUNA LUDU' Comments on Polands Place in World
(PAP, 15 Oct 80) 9

Zielona Gora Commentary on People's 'Collective Wisdom'
(Gora Domestic Service, 14 Oct 80) 10

British Editorial Notes Intervention Threat Exists
(Editorial; THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, 5 Jan 81) 11

Cardinal Faults Government Church Construction Policy
(Vatican City, 28 Nov 80) 12

Danish CP Officials Visit Medical Equipment Factory
(TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 Sep 80) 13

Briefs
'Solidarity's' No-Strike Plans Reported 14
Austrian Journalist Denied Entry 14

ROMANIA

Incompatibility of Religious Practices, Communism Reiterated
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Dec 80)..... 15

National, Universal Factors in Liberation Movements Discussed
(Mihnea Gheorghia; LUCEAFARUL, 13 Dec 80)..... 17

Amended Law on Organization, Operation of People's Councils
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 3 Nov 80)..... 20

Volume on Military History, Theory Reviewed
(Gelu Apostol; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Sep 80)..... 46

Silver Trafficking in Timis County Described
(Editorial Report)..... 52

Briefs
Criminals Posing as Refugees 54
Illegal Collaboration With Foreigners 54
Alleged Voitec Outburst 55
Presidential Appointments 55

YUGOSLAVIA

Case Against Dissidents Tudjman, Gotovac Discussed
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 29 Dec 80)..... 56

Ideological-Political Trends Discussed in Article Series
(Nandor Major; BORBA, various dates)..... 58

'DIE WELT' COMMENTS ON POLISH SITUATION, SOVIET INVASION OF POLAND

DW241001 Bonn DIE WELT in German 21 Nov 80 p 1

[Unattributed article: "CIA: Danger of Invasion of Poland by Russians Not Yet Past"]

[Text] D.W. Washington/Warsaw--The CIA has now drawn the attention of the National Security Council of the U.S. Government to the danger that the Soviet Union might intervene militarily after all in the event of further unrest in Poland. Secret reports which, in part, have become public also reveal that resistance cells in Poland are preparing in the underground for a potential intervention by Moscow.

Washington intelligence service quarters consider it probable that units of the Polish Army would offer resistance in the event of an attack by the Soviet Union. But apparently there is no coordinated planning to this end within the Polish Armed Forces and the defense ministry.

At a large-scale rally in Szczecin, leading representatives of the Independent Trade Union Association "Solidarity" came out against the criticism of their movement by the "GDR" and the CSSR and, on their part, criticiaed the restriction of tourist travel with Poland by these neighboring countries. Addressing about 15,000 people, the chairman of the Szczecin local organization, Marian Jurczyk, said that the 400,000 trade union members of this district have "conveyed their protest to the CSSR and the GDR."

Lech Walesa, the chairman of "Solidarity," said: "We are cleaning our own backyard, they should do the same with theirs. But should anybody disturb us in doing so, we will not remain indifferent." Walesa stressed that the independent trade union organization "cannot be halted." But it interprets itself to be the defender of the rights of the workers and neither wishes to govern nor to pursue politics.

Addressing the Sejm (the Parliament) which convened for a 2-day meeting yesterday, Agriculture Minister Leon Klonica drew a gloomy picture of the situation. Thus, this year's harvest amounts to 3.2 million tons of grain, 18 million tons of potatoes and 6.6 million tons of sugar beets less than planned.

To improve the supply situation the state leadership plans to grant higher producer prices to the Polish farmers. Thus, it is planned to pay 16 percent more for slaughter animals effective today. Since it is impossible to enforce the price

hike for meat in the stores, the increase in the producer prices is to be financed from the state budget, which already shows a deficit. The national income in 1981 will decrease because of the production decrease in coal, copper and other raw materials.

Gustav Husak, the Czechoslovak Party and State leader, unexpectedly visited the Ostrava coal mining area near the Polish border. He received a delegation of miners who brought up their difficult working conditions, the inadequate extraction facilities, and the overtime necessary as a result of the labor shortage.

In Brussels NATO Secretary General Luns stated in a speech to the North Atlantic assembly that NATO will not react with military means in the event of a Soviet invasion of Poland.

CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

BELGIAN MINISTER, NATO SESSION--Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, Belgian minister of foreign affairs, delivered the opening speech at the NATO session in Brussels. He stressed that NATO hopes the Soviet Union will respect diversity in the socialist countries. It is obvious that this was an allusion to the situation in Poland. The socialist countries, the minister said, with which we have no dispute whatsoever, each have their own personality. (?Let them) pursue in their own circumstances the development of their different societies in their own original way. Let us remind you that Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb has just returned from Poland. [Text] [LD111513 Brussels Domestic Service in French 1400 GMT 11 Dec 80]

REACTION TO GDR CURRENCY RULES--Warsaw, 15 Oct (PAP)--For the last 3 days, government circles, Christian Democratic opposition and mass circulation papers in the FRG have all been foreboding a return of the cold war in Europe, ZYCIE WARSZAWY Bonn correspondent said in his dispatch. Such nervous or even aggressive reactions followed the proposals and decisions made recently by the GDR, which raised the minimum amount of hard currency to be exchanged for GDR marks by Western visitors to that country, and reaffirmed the sovereignty of the GDR as the subject of international law. "In defence of the concept of reunification, some Bonn politicians started looking for 'a third culprit' and pointed to Poland, whose internal situation has allegedly sent shock waves across the 'Eastern Bloc' thus endangering detente," ZYCIE WARSZAWY observed further. "Meanwhile, the genuine problems determined by the need for consistent continuation by Bonn of its 'Ostpolitik' have so far been disregarded by politicians here," the daily stressed, pointing to such issues as acceptance, without reservations and juridical manoeuvering, of the European realities. [Text] [From Press Review] [LD150854 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 15 Oct 80]

CSO: 2020

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGES TO POLISH PREMIER LISTED

AU050925 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Sep 80 p 2

[PAP report: "Congratulatory Messages to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, is receiving congratulatory messages in connection with his appointment by the Sejm to the post.

Messages were sent by:

Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the government of the CSSR; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR; Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic; Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY; Pham Van Dong, premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic; Babrak Karmal, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; Jimmy Carter, president of the United States of America; Hua Guofeng, premier of the State Council of the PRC; Mohamed Ben Ahmed Abdelghani, prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria; Helmut Schmidt, federal chancellor of the FRG; Zenko Suzuki, prime minister of the Government of Japan; Odvar Nordli, prime minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Norway; 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, chairman of the presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the PDRY; Suleiman Demirel, prime minister of the Republic of Turkey; Mohamed Mzali, prime minister of the Republic of Tunisia; Gen Prem Tinsularon, prime minister of the Government of the Kingdom of Thailand; Ranasinghe Premadasa, prime minister of the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri-Lanka; Abdou Diouf, prime minister of the Republic of Senegal.

CSO: 2600

AUSTRIAN GENERAL INTERVIEWED ON SOVIET BLOC INTERVENTION IN POLAND

DW161347 Bonn DIE WELT in German 15 Dec 80 p 5

[Interview with Gen Wilhelm Kuntner, commander of the Defense Academy of the Austrian army, by Vienna correspondent Carl Gustaf Stroehm; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] WELT: News about Poland is contradictory. Some things indicate a kind of detente, others, such as the statement by the Soviet defense minister, seem rather alarming. Has the danger of a Soviet intervention in Poland been done away with?

Kuntner: I do not believe that the danger has been done away with. The contradictory reports can have various origins. First, we are not able to get at all the information. Second it could be skillful psychological warfare by the Soviets against the leadership groups of the Polish Party as well as the free trade unions.

WELT: What would be the purpose of such pressure?

Kuntner: The Soviets are continuing to try to get Poland under control through the Polish Communists. They realize that an intervention would create a completely new situation which would not be advantageous for Moscow with regard to the East-West dialogue, relations within the East Bloc, as well as vis-a-vis the Third World.

WELT: Would a Soviet intervention in Poland mean that the Moscow military machinery would have to move toward the West? That would have certain consequences for the West European countries as well.

Kuntner: The advance Soviet troops would be moved a few hundred kilometers ahead. It would certainly change the military landscape of Europe. The starting basis of the Vienna MBFR talks would also change. If a continuation of MBFR talks were possible at all after an invasion, completely new models and a new starting position would have to found. On the other hand, however, I can imagine that the Soviet Union, at present, is not involved in speculations going beyond its present empire--because the chunk the Russians would have to swallow would be too big for them.

WELT: How must the attitude of the Polish Army be assessed in case of an intervention?

Kuntner: Particularly with regard to Communist armies, the primacy of politics is uncontested. Soviet officers are located in all Warsaw Pact states in the various defense ministries and staffs. For that reason alone a uniform command from above cannot come with regard to common resistance against the Soviets. The Soviet advisors would stop it. An instrument such as the Polish Army, which is established on the principle of orders and obedience, would be completely insecure. Clear orders with regard to resistance are, therefore, not to be expected.

The Soviet Union must include the following in its considerations: local, substructural resistance could take place, however, as in Hungary, so that individual units or barracks could join the Polish workers and fight.

WELT: How do you assess the possibilities of partisan war or resistance in factories?

Kuntner: One must probably reckon with that. But we know that a power instrument such as the Soviet Army will exploit all opportunities to put out these sparks. The Soviet Union is facing a terrible decision. It is concerned by the possibility that the Polish movement could possibly spread on Soviet territory--such as the Baltic Republics or the Ukraine, where a certain susceptibility supposedly exists so the pressure is becoming stronger and stronger for the Soviets to do something.

WELT: What dates need to be considered when it comes to political, psychological, and military preparations?

Kuntner: Actually two time periods are taking shape. First, one could do it when the West is celebrating, sleeping and indulging in its hopes for peace--that is around the Christmas holidays. That would be analogous to Afghanistan. The second phase might be after Spring cultivation is over--that is, in April or May.

WELT: Will and can other East Bloc armies take part in an intervention in Poland?

Kuntner: Some elements, particularly of the neighboring [Warsaw] Pact states will probably have to be involved because it would correspond to the term "collective security" of the East Bloc, and because it then would not look so much like a Russian punitive expedition. But Polish units that would not resist the Soviets, might fight against GDR soldiers. As regards the Czechoslovak Army, only some security regiments could be used against Poland. As regards the GDR's Peoples' Army, also only special units are likely to be involved.

CSO: 2300

WALESA INTERVIEWED BY FRG TABLOID

DW031027 Hamburg BILD in German 3 Dec 80 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Poland's "Worker Hero" Lech Walesa by Herbert O. Glattauer in Gdansk]

[Text] Gdansk, 3 December--BILD: The free trade union "Solidarity" by now has as many as 7 million members...

Walesa: We have more than 10 million members, not even counting the farmers.

BILD: Alright. With the working people numbering 12 million this is a gigantic success. Did you reckon with this?

Walesa: No. And because more people joined us than we had expected, we are facing problems, you know: three Poles means three different opinions.

BILD: You mean to say that tensions exist within the "Solidarity?"

Walesa: Yes, and this is a good thing. This is true democracy: we can choose between the different views.

BILD: Are you affiliated with the "doves" or with the "hawks?"

Walesa: I am serving, neither. I am a servant of the people which elected me.

BILD: Have you tried in the meantime to obtain a passport for travel? Possibly for a visit to the Federal Republic?

Walesa: No, I do not have a passport, nor do I have any travel plans at this time. I have enough to do here right now, once the problems here have been solved I will do some traveling.

BILD: Do you have a DGB invitation?

Walesa: I do not know, I have received many invitations. But I am certain that I have one. And if not, I have enough friends to stay with in the Federal Republic.

BILD: Tensions between "Solidarity" and the Polish Government increase permanently...

Walesa: I do not think they increase; if at all, they do with regard to certain groupings in the government, but not with regard to the government as such.

BILD: Don't you think that some of your demands are very political, such as, for example, the demand for a trade union commission in the government?

Walesa: What does political mean? We want to have observers in the government and a certain influence. After all, we represent the majority of the working populace.

BILD: And if you will not prevail with your demand?

Walesa: We will apply all legal means. If the government has the right not to fulfill certain demands, that is all alright. If not, we will fight.

BILD: Up to now you have won every fight. But many people fear that you could go one step too far at some time, be it with regard to your demands, or be it because somebody might think you violate the interests of your alliance partners. What then?

Walesa: What then? We are capable of winning, as you have seen. And we will win in future. Our Queen is the Holy Mary of Czestochowa. We will not go too far because there exists no alternative. We have just one way and we will proceed on it: turning Poland into Poland again.

CSO: 2300

'TRYBUNA LUDU' COMMENTS ON POLANDS PLACE IN WORLD

LD150856 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 15 Oct 80

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Oct (PAP)--The alliance with the USSR, links with the entire socialist community have become some of the most essential traits in political thinking of contemporary Poland. They represent one of the most fundamental principles of the socialist Polish state--said TRYBUNA LUDU in an article on Poland's place in the world.

Characterizing the international standing of contemporary Poland, the daily listed these factors as its determinants: high level of national security, the role played both in the socialist community of nations and in the wider international community, and the universal recognition of Poland as a major factor of peaceful consolidation of European relations. "The international standing of Poland is without any doubt one of the greatest achievements of the Polish nation in the postwar period of its history," TRYBUNA LUDU opined.

The imperative of protecting this great, historic accomplishment is understood by all reasonable Poles, went on the daily. This boils down in practice to the cultivation of soil from which these achievements grew up. Poland can maintain and consolidate her international position as a socialist state, and one basing solutions to her domestic problems on socialist principles, as a country linked by unbreakable alliances with fraternal states and by bonds of solidarity with all forces of progress the world over, as a country actively involved in the realization of the concept of coexistence, detente, and disarmament in European and global scale.

CSO: 2020

ZIELONA GORA COMMENTARY ON PEOPLE'S 'COLLECTIVE WISDOM'

LD150839 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 14 Oct 80

[Correspondent Ryszard Olejniczak commentary]

[Excerpts] We are living at a time of swift changes. Problems which are of interest to all Poles are being discussed lively at home, at enterprises, in trams and in lines outside the butcher's shop.

All of us are joint masters of our country and we all want this country to be strong and prosperous and to ensure its citizens proper living conditions and the possibility of all-round development.

The collective wisdom of the people has contributed to the elimination of certain fossilized structures which were separated from life. I will mention as an example the old trade unions which failed to withstand severe confrontation with the social demand and failed to withstand the test of time. And when in this matter opinions are divided--some people are for the introduction of another model of work in the existing branch [industrial sector] trade unions and some people wish to join the new trade unions--then we sense the above-mentioned collective wisdom. In both cases it is a question of a mass movement. In both cases it is important that the country and all its citizens benefits from this. Therefore, we must view with appreciation the numerous examples of cooperation between the workers of old and new trade unions, as can be seen at such enterprises as Ursus, the thermal power station, or the district office of public highways in Gorzow. I would not be wrong if I said that the majority of the Poles believe that such an important trade union movement in the life of the people will be a healthy movement, irrespective of its name, that it will always have as its aim the general well-being, that it will successfully oppose various deformations arising from human weakness or the simple stupidity of individuals.

CSO: 2600

BRITISH EDITORIAL NOTES INTERVENTION THREAT EXISTS

LD051439 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 5 Jan 81 p 14

[Editorial: "Poland's Fragile Freedom"]

[Text] The threat of Russian intervention in Poland may have receded. It has not gone away. The Soviet news agency TASS has again accused "anti-socialist forces" of using the free trade union Solidarity as a cover to challenge the authority of the Government and the Communist Party and of trying to create economic chaos through more strikes. In a Moscow radio broadcast, Russia's helpfulness was contrasted with Western "hypocrisy." "Here in the Soviet Union we understand how important it is now for Poland to overcome the difficulties that arose in her development along the socialist party," it said. Russian supplies of essentials like oil, cotton, and food, combined with financial aid, were put at $1,300 million. This largesse was compared with still unfulfilled Western promises of economic assistance, dismissed as part of a "provocative campaign" hostile to the interests of the Polish people."

The old tune is being sounded just as Britain and other Western countries are reported to be considering massive financial aid in response to Warsaw's appeal. Britain and the other EEC countries are already sending Poland meat, sugar, butter, and grain at prices below world levels on the theory that to refuse would be to drive Poland into total reliance on Moscow. Presumably, it is in Western Europe's best interests to swallow the paradox that its aid will be shoring up a failed Communist economy. Clearly, Western aid cannot be tied to a renunciation of Marxist principles. But it surely ought to be made clear that it must not be used to suppress the new freedom. We can be certain that the Russians will not give any blank cheques. Why should we?

In Washington, a house of representatives report finds that "the real danger is just about to begin," rating the chances of a Russian invasion very high. It puts the likeliest time between now and March. Mr Lech Walesa, the free trade union leader, Poland's man of the year, disagrees. He thinks the Russians have no present intention of invading. But can the freedom he won develop, even survive, under the disapproving eye of the Kremlin? His followers will not easily give up achievements which, in a Communist regime, are pure heresay. The messages from Moscow make it quite clear: Poland is still in danger.

CSO: 2020

CARDINAL FAULTS GOVERNMENT CHURCH CONSTRUCTION POLICY

LD281644 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 28 Nov 80

[Excerpts] Krakow--In connection with the annual day of prayer for church building in Poland, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Metropolitan of Krakow, has addressed an appeal to believers which reads:

Our churches serve the community well. They are not a luxury, but a way to meet religious and spiritual needs which are no less fundamental and vital than many other things. It is not our wish to create small communities but we do take into account distances in urban areas as well as needs of inhabitants in towns and housing estates. In the meantime, [housing] estates continue to be built for which no provision is made for the construction of churches. And when finally, after many years, a building permit is obtained, the siting of the church becomes a real nightmare.

I repeat: The faithful ought not be saddled with the cost of faulty planning, and we shall not agree to having to build centers of religious life away from housing estates or urban districts. We must take into consideration the people and sociological rules which also have a great deal to tell us.

We must also be aware of the number of permits we receive. Our archdiocese covers the voivodships of Krakow as a whole and parts of the voivodships of Bielsko Biala, Nowy Sacz, Katowice, and Tarnow. By 1 October this year we had obtained one new church building permit for each of the voivodships of Krakow, Bielsko Biala, Katowice, and Nowy Sacz. In addition, permits were granted for the construction of three chapels, the repair of six churches and chapels, four schools of catechism and five vicarages.

To the question of whether we are getting enough permits, let me answer: 1 year ago, following requests from [church] parishes, we presented 106 applications; we have been given 21 permits. Many of these applications were made previously by the then Cardinal Wojtyla, more than 10 years ago, and the list is headed by applications dated 1957 and 1958.

CSO: 2600

DANISH CP OFFICIALS VISIT MEDICAL EQUIPMENT FACTORY

AU022110 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 80 p 2

[Text] PAP--Ib Noerlund, member of the Political Bureau of the Danish Communist Party, and Joern Christensen, secretary of the Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party, were in Poland.

During the meeting at the PZPR Central Committee, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, E. Wojtaszek, presented information on the current situation in Poland and the activity of the PZPR.

I. Noerlund and J. Christensen also held talks with the head of the PZPR Central Committee Socio-Professional Department, R. Bryk. At the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ), a meeting was held with its chairman, R. Jankowski.

The Danish Communists also visited the Warsaw FARUM Roentgen and Medical Apparatus Factory.

The talks and meetings were held in an atmosphere of friendship and solidarity which characterize the relations of the PZPR and the Danish Communist Party.

CSO: 2600

BRIEFS

'SOLIDARITY'S' NO-STRIKE PLANS REPORTED--Warsaw, 5 Dec (Tanjug)--The Polish Independent Trade Unions "Solidarity" this evening stated that there are no strikes or any protest actions in Poland underway and recalled the trade unions' decision adopted on December 26 to stop all strikes. "Solidarity" this evening also warned that it will publically disassociate itself from any strike actions not coordinated with the statute provisions of the trade union organization and appealed on the need for the feeling of responsibility for the welfare of Poland and the trade union organization. [Text] [LD052059 Belgrade Tanjug in English 1820 GMT 5 Dec 80]

AUSTRIAN JOURNALIST DENIED ENTRY--Sunday noon, Austrian journalist Michael Siegert, who is working for PROFIL magazine, was denied entry into Poland at Warsaw airport. He was compelled by the Polish border organs to return to Vienna by the same Austrian airlines plane on which he arrived. He was not given any reason for this measure. The Polish authorities merely declared that the measure was not directed against all journalists in general but only against Siegert personally. Siegert was refused permission to telephone the Austrian ambassador in Warsaw. The Austrian Radio and Television Service [ORF] learned upon inquiry that Polish border guards had on an earlier occasion seized materials carried by Siegert--when he left Poland on 21 November. It is assumed that the refusal of entry is connected with this affair. [Text] [AU161212 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 16 Dec 80 p 3]

CSO: 2300

INCOMPATIBILITY OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, COMMUNISM REITERATED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Dec 80 pp 85-86

[Article: "Management Cadre, Active Participant in Religious Rituals"]

[Text] A photograph received at the editorial staff's office shows Eng Gheorghe Huiazi, chief of the cheese factory in the city of Vatra Dornei, Suceava County, member of the bureau of the basic organization, participating as a sponsor, with candle in hand, in the execution of the entire ritual of a religious wedding ceremony. Moreover, this is not the first time that the head of this unit has been present at such manifestations of a religious nature. During the current year alone, he was a sponsor three times, each time taking part in the ceremony, including the ritual dance together with the priest of the church.

Of course, our state guarantees freedom of religion and respects the religious beliefs of citizens, but membership in the Communist Party assigns to a party member and, especially, a cadre entrusted with leadership functions, the obligation of being guided in everyday life and activity by revolutionary ideology, by the scientific outlook of dialectical and historical materialsm, affirming himself as an active propagandist of the programmatic principles of our party.

The members of the bureau of the basic organization and the other party members have known that Gheorghe Huizai has been paying a heavy tribute to mystical practices and that in his everyday life he does not appear to be a man with progressive views but an element still under the powerful influence of retrograde ideas. Nevertheless, in the course of individual discussions, the general meeting treating the conclusions of individual discussions or on no other occasion, has he been told that his attitude and behavior are in flagrant contradiction with the code of ethics of the communist and with the ideological principles of our party.

It is also regrettable that the Vatra Dornei city party committee did not make note of the fact that a leader of an economic unit was spending a good part of his free time in religious establishments.

The intervention of the secretariat of the Suceava County Party Committee was necessary for the bureau of the city party committee to discuss the actions of Gheorghe Huizai, to punish him with a "vote of censure" and to expel him from the bureau of the basic organization. Also, this case was taken up by the entire activ of the party and made known to all party memembers.

Numerous party members in Vatra Dornei ask if a person who participates frequently in religious rituals can still hold the position of head of a work collective since, as they say, the head of a unit is called upon to concern himself not only with the fulfillment of the production plan but also with the intellectual development of the cadres, with the formation and moulding of their political awareness, and with the communist education. It is hard to believe that a leader with such a mentality will be able to properly handle the educational tasks which are assigned to him.

CSO: 2700

NATIONAL, UNIVERSAL FACTORS IN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS DISCUSSED

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 13 Dec 80 pp 1, 6

[Article by Hihnea Gheorghia]

[Text] One of the most current theoretical problems of the modern social and national liberation revolutions has offered Romanian historical research a fertile ground for investigation in the recent studies and scientific sessions dedicated to the revolutionary movement in Transylvania led by Horia two centuries ago. The Romanian (majority) population then was reduced by foreign (minority) oppression of feudalism to an absurd and unjust state through the abusive change of its status as a nation with natural legal rights into a social category deprived of its legitimate rights, into a typical relationship determined by the exploiters-exploited relationship, from which inevitably, historically results the revolutionary situation. In the long history of the struggle for the Romanian people's right and liberty, this typical situation most times embraced the specific nature of the struggle against pillage and foreign invasion (with which the native exploiter often was in a position of complicity,which was anti-patriotic and anti-democratic), just as it appears four decades after Horia in the revolutionary proclamation of Tudor Vladimirescu and then in the documents of the Romanian 48'ers and in others, later, whose echoes reappear in the programs of the socialist movement in Romania.

The oppressed social classes and categories (primarily the proletariat from the cities and villages and in action) are the determining factor in the crucial social-political changes recorded by modern history; yet one may not maintain without a doubt the preeminence of the class on the nation without arriving at an express ignoring of the national phenomenon, as some dogmatic ideologists proceeded, seizing upon the fact that Marx did not give a precise definition to the nation, with his merely indicating, through synonyms, other social-political and economic realities as "country," "state," "leading class" or "society" itself.

In the same way we could determine that the appearance and historical development of national liberation movements in our century also changed the theoretical information of the national problem proving that national liberation is not necessarily the result of social liberation and that sometimes it is the very condition for it. The world history of the century also shows that in many of the well-known international conflicts (regardless of the social system in the countries concerned, sometimes even "socialist countries"), the awareness of national identity was demonstrated with a pronounced influence on class awareness. The theory of class struggle—worked out a century before during the incipient stage—must be studied thoroughly

and substantiated on the basis of the arguments offered by the new internal and international structures of modern society.

Does the worker have a country [patria]? The initial formula has been distorted. The imitators of uncreative Marxism too long have perpetrated another theory according to which, by still accepting nations as such, they categorize them according to the criterion of size and material power, pushing the biggest ones to integrate the other smaller or dispersed ones ("remnants of the big peoples"), considered incapable of liberating themselves by themselves, arriving at an apology for colonialism in the last century ("through the conquest of india , the English introduced the greatest social revolution which Asia had ever seen"). Similar evaluations also have been made for other European empires, which invaded terrotires of the smaller countries. Romanian socialists from all over the country saluted with justifiable patriotism the achievement of the united Romanian national state in 1918. The country of our workers thus was called Romania. In the interview he gave to L'UNITA several years ago, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, added: "It is true that we long have criticized some old theses—which the Comintern itself, when it existed, also criticized--according to which Romania was a multinational state. This thesis did not correspond to reality and did not take into account that establishment of the united Romanian national state was an objective need for Romania's development, a matter which Marx and then Lenin, even in 1914, spoke."

The Marxist theoretical inheritance regarding the relationship between the class and the national character also is the main departure point for developing the concept regarding national-international relationship. The absence of a finalized and universally valid Marxist concept in current politology still accentuates the complexity of the problem today, particularly where internationalism is conceptualized into ahistoric hermeneutics which contributes to deepening the complexity of the world framework.

A decisive role in approaching all these problems is played by the force and experience of the socialist and worker movement. For that reason internationalism must be achieved in a new way, that is, proceeding from a recognition of the diversities, accepting the possibility of trying different experiences, the right of each country to choose its fate by itself, because "internationalism" cannot be, of course, a simple mechanical adding of national interests but neither an abstract concept beyond the specific interests of the working class in each country and all countries, the converging interests in mutual respect for national sovereignty and in promoting collaboration and friendship among peoples.

Antagonistic contradictions do not exist in the odyssey of the idea for the person who truly believes in the destiny of peace and liberty for mankind between "national" and "universal." Basic contradictions have existed and do exist, such as the ones between serfs and feudal lords, between the exploited proletariat and the exploiting patrons, between monopolies and the entire nation or between the "multinational" trusts and workers from all the countries in which those trusts take action. In the last cases the national problem borrows other dimensions involved in the defining features of the modern advanced societies and we can decipher the prospects for their historical development at various levels: economic and technical-organizational,social-political, ideological and so forth.

In the so-called doctrine of convergence which mixes similar but also contradictory theories, from J. K. Galbraith to M. Duverger, in style today, as well as others caused, in particular, by the uncertainty of relations between the two systems within the new scientific-technical revolution, the energy crisis and so forth, the evolution of the relationship between national and international is not clarified but pushes toward new and serious confusion through the ambiguity and diversity of the solutions planned for the future society, threatened more and more clearly by aggravation of "global polarization" in several zones of supernational influence, by the danger of redividing the world according to criteria in which "the disappearance of the state and of the nation" does not even provide at least a theoretical guarantee for world peace in the texts of the classics of scientific socialism but precisely the contrary. If we were to reduce the sphere of all reasoning to the "freely agreed upon" fatalism of the blocs and the big protectorate, implicitly we would reach the solution of the problems by eliminating them, the move above basic social-historical realities with political-economic and even military roller, minorization of national cults (of course, of the "small nations"), isolation of the ideas (disturbing) of equality, liberty and humanity and spokesmen for them.

A continent where the worker movement, Marxist theory and the first socialist revolution appeared, Europe is concerned with this process of bipolarism, of alienation of the theory of world convergence, including the theory of the hierarchical relationship between national and international (which revolutionary practice during a revolutionary period had justified with a view to the "immediate world socialist revolution").

Proceeding from Marx' well-known premise that "only a free nation can fulfill its internationalist obligations," it becomes clear that a hierarchical system of relations does not consolidate the international in the system of the national-international relationship but, on the contrary, it favors and strengthens the nationalist and hegemonist trends and reintroduces us to some unrealistic and outdated conclusions or those headed for a sad future.

The working class' historical vocation of solidarity cannot be translated in terms of linear functions and directions and a mechanically directed relationship but it requires respect for the objective differences of interest between the countries and peoples and the internal and foreign contradictions founded on them; coordination of these interests with the class solidarity and awareness can only be achieved on the basis of the well-known principles of equality and independence because the disappearance of the nation also is an act of the disappearance of the class.

The interdependence of political history and the social-economic and cultural history of Europe and the world, the interpenetration of the history of one people with that of other peoples, the dialectical relationship between national and universal history are several of the ideas accepted today by the majority of historians and political scientists from all countries, just as the role of social class, popular masses, in determining the nations' historical destiny, has gained a sure priority in the historiography of the last decade. In this context , the fact that the RCP secretary general pointed out and stressed the role of the nation as "a powerful factor of progress and civilization in the modern world" is an extremely timely current theoretical contribution to the classic definition of the nation and to the concept at its center at this decisive point for understanding the ethnic universe which is expanding in some regions of the world and for the new internationalism and the struggle for peace in a world which is unprecedented in tension and change.

8071

CSO: 2700

AMENDED LAW ON ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 96, 3 Nov 80 pp 1-15

/Amendment* of Law No 57 of 1968 on Organization and Operation of the People's Councils/

/Text/ Section I: General Provisions

Article 1. The people's councils are local organs of the state power, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret ballot, through which the people exercise the state power in the counties, Bucharest municipality and its districts, and the other municipalities, cities and communes.

In carrying out the constitutional provisions, according to which the people's power is based upon the worker-peasant alliance, the people's councils provide for development and consolidation of the unity of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all workers regardless of nationality.

The people's councils whole activity is based upon worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration, and it serves the ends of consolidation of the socialist order, promotion of the principles of socialism in all communities of Romania, good management of material and manpower resources, development of the productive forces and diversification of local economies, further enhancement of the people's material and cultural welfare, freedom and dignity of the individual, all-around development of the personality, and consistent promotion of socialist ethics and justice.

The people's councils make an extensive effort to indoctrinate the masses in the spirit of devotion to the fatherland and the causes of socialism, socialist internationalism, and solidarity with workers everywhere.

Article 2. The people's councils conduct their activity under the leadership of the RCP, the leading political force of all society.

*Law No 57 of 1968, as modified and supplemented by Law No 5 of 1976, Law No 21 of 1979, and Law No 3 of 1980, is amended on the basis of Article 2 of Law No 3 of 17 October 1980, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 89, 22 October 1980, with new numbers of the sections and articles.

Article 3. The people's councils are organized and operate on the principle of democratic centralism, the basic principle on which all state activity in Romania is organized.

The people's councils promote the principle of collective labor and management on the local level in economic, social and state activity.

The people's councils solve local problems in accordance with the general interests of the nation. It is their basic duty to enforce the Constitution and the laws of the land, to withstand any tendencies to disregard the legal provisions, and to act on behalf of knowledge and observance of the laws, consolidation of socialist legality, and elimination of bureaucracy and superficiality.

The people's councils exercise control over all activities in the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected, in order to establish the spirit of labor discipline and responsibility, revolutionary militance, and prompt solicitude in resolving the citizens' requests and suggestions.

Article 4. The people's councils' activity is based on the principles of socialist democracy, providing for direct participation of all citizens regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion in local discussion of state and public affairs and in implementing the adopted decisions and measures.

The people's councils submit the main problems of socioeconomic development of communities to the citizens' assemblies for discussion and report to them periodically on the activity performed.

It is the duty of the people's councils to organize half-yearly citizens' assemblies at which the mayors of the communes, cities and municipalities as well as the chairmen of the executive committees of the county people's councils will report on the adopted decisions, prompt and proper performance of municipal services, provision for public supply, maintenance and management of the housing reserve, assignment of housing according to law, and resolution of suggestions, notices and complaints, informing public opinion of the implementation of the adopted decisions and measures.

Citizens' assemblies will be organized for communes, cities and municipalities or counties as follows:

a. General citizens' assemblies are organized in communes, and village assemblies are organized in the larger communes.

b. In cities and municipalities citizens' assemblies are organized for districts and are attended by the deputies, permanent commissions, citizens' committees, tenants' associations and representatives of workers in enterprises and other economic and social units.

c. In counties citizens' assemblies are attended by the deputies, permanent commissions, mayors of communes, cities and municipalities, and representatives of workers in enterprises and other economic and social units and citizens of municipalities, cities and communes within the county. The citizens' representatives are appointed by the citizens' committees and announced to the people's council at least 10 days before the date the assembly is held.

At the assemblies the citizens have the right to ask questions, request explanations of any problems, take part in discussions and make suggestions.

The committees and executive bureaus of the people's councils are required to notify the public at least 3 days in advance of the dates on which citizens' assemblies are held.

Article 5. The people's councils are required to keep the citizens informed, throught the press, notices, radio transmitters and other mass information media, of the activity performed and the decisions adopted concerning the socioeconomic development of the territorial-administrative units in which they are elected and concerning their other tasks for the good management and administration of the communities and for solution of the problems affecting the citizens' lives and activity.

Article 6. In the exercise of all their functions the people's councils apply the principles of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration and provide for the most effective use of the material and financial resources entrusted them, further development and good management of the communities, growth of their incomes, and self-financing of the communes, cities and counties on that basis, all in accordance with the provisions of the economic-financial mechanism.

Article 7. The people's councils consolidate and develop ties with the local organs of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front in order to encourage the workers in implementation of the plan tasks and programs for economic and social-cultural development of the territorial-administrative units and in the effort toward systematization and good management of the municipalities, cities and communes.

The people's councils consolidate ties with the mass and public organizations and help them perform their tasks.

Article 8. The people's councils implement the party's and state's national Marxist-Leninist policy on the local level, assuring all citizens of fully equal rights regardless of nationality in all economic, political, legal, social and cultural activities.

In territorial-administrative units inhabited by populations other than Romanian ones, workers of those nationalities are also elected to the local organs of the state power and those of the state administration. The local organs use the language of the respective nationality orally and in writing and hire personnel from its ranks or other citizens who know the local population's language and way of life.

Article 9. The people's councils have considerable autonomy in their exercise of state power on the local level. They conduct and are responsible for all local activity of the state and provide for the planned, all-around, economic, social-cultural and municipal development of the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected as well as the protection of socialist property.

The people's councils organize, direct and control all activity for planned socioeconomic development in the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected and are directly responsible for implementation of the local socioeconomic plan and the local budget. They check intensive use of production capacities, recruitment and proper assignment of the labor force, and scientific organization of production and labor. They act on behalf of complete fulfillment of plan tasks by all economic units regardless of their affiliation.

The people's councils organize implementation of the town-planning program in order to provide for development of the municipalities, cities and communes as complete territorial-administrative units.

The people's councils provide for protection of citizens' rights and maintenance of public order.

Article 10. The people's councils analyze local economic and social-cultural problems and those of national significance within the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected. They resolve them or make recommendations to the competent organs for their solution, as the case may be, and help in preparing the appropriate measures.

The State Council will be notified if the opinion of any central organ on the solution of any problems of national significance concerning state activity on the local level differs from that of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council.

Article 11. The people's councils jointly with the state organs, economic units and social-cultural institutions not under them examine and resolve all common problems concerning the all-around development of the counties, Bucharest municipality and its districts, municipalities, cities and communes.

Article 12. The people's councils are responsible for all activity on behalf of agricultural production, rational and efficient use of the land reserve, and growth of crop and livestock production. They control and support the activity of the state and cooperative agricultural units and that of the private farms in the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected and take appropriate measures.

The people's councils are responsible for the regular supply and good service of the public, to which end they provide control and uniform guidance of the entire state and cooperative network for services and sales of products.

Article 13. The people's councils make decisions in the exercise of their functions and according to law.

The people's councils' decisions are binding in the territorial administrative units wherein they are elected.

Article 14. Guidance and general control of the people's councils' activity are exercised by the Grand National Assembly.

Between sessions of the Grand National Assembly the activity of the people's councils is directed and controlled by the State Council.

The people's councils direct and control the activity of the subordinate people's councils.

In the exercise of control, the higher organs of the state power have the right to annul illegal acts of the organs under them.

Article 15. The county people's councils, those of Bucharest municipality and its districts, and the municipal ones elect executive committees while the city and communal people's councils elect executive bureaus from the ranks of their deputies.

Article 16. The executive committees or executive bureaus as the case may be are local organs of the state daministration with general competence in the territorial-administrative units wherein they operate. They are subordinate to the people's councils that elected them and to the higher people's councils and their executive committees or bureaus as the case may be.

Article 17. The activity of the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils is directed and controlled by the Council of Ministers.

The executive committees and bueaus of the people's councils direct, guide and control the activity of the lower executive committees and bureaus.

Section II: People's Councils' Role in Socioeconomic Development of Territorial-Administrative Units

Article 18. The people's councils coordinate all activity for socioeconomic development in counties, municipalities, cities and communes on the principle of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration. They provide for direct participation of all citizens, regardless of nationality and as owners, producers and beneficiaries, in the implementation of the party's and state's policy of harmonious, all-around development of all counties and communities.

Article 19. To accomplish their particular tasks in the economic, social-cultural and municipal development of the counties and communities, the people's councils must base their entire activity upon continuing consolidation of their contacts with the citizens, upon extensive consultation of them, and upon encouragement of the initiative and direct and responsible participation of every citizen in implementation of the general program for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism.

Article 20. According to the provisions of the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development, the people's councils are responsible for preparing and implementing the plans for regional socioeconomic development. They organize, direct and control fulfillment of plan tasks by all economic units regardless of their affiliation.

The people's councils take steps to develop industry, agriculture, transportation, services and the other economic sectors and to fully exploit local resources, helping to enhance the entire nation's economic potential and to further improve the quality of life of all Romanian citizens.

Article 21. The people's councils are required to take firm measures to reduce production costs, increase labor productivity, introduce a strict regime of economy, and use the material resources economically. To this end they take steps to reduce the inputs of materials, fuels and energy, to employ reusable and recoverable materials, and to intensify exploitation of all resources of local raw materials and materials.

Article 22. The people's councils are responsible according to law for direction and coordination of all activity of small-scale industry as an integral part of the socialist economy, for proper organization of the activity of the production and service units regardless of their affiliation, for efficient use of material resources and manpower, and for the best satisfaction of the public's demands for goods and services.

For purposes of developing small industry, the people's councils take steps to include the surplus labor force in production and service activity throughout the year.

The people's councils also take measures to collect and exploit in small industry all available local material resources, reusable raw materials and materials, parts and subassemblies resulting from dismantled fixed assets, worn consumer durables and personal articles, metal resources, chemical products, wood materials, textiles and leather goods, residual agricultural food substances resulting from processes of production or consumption, et al.

Article 23. The people's councils provide for uniform management of all agriculture in the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected in order to increase agricultural production and agriculture's contribution to national economic development and the public's living standard.

The people's councils take measures and are responsible for protection, preservation, improvement and complete and efficient use of the soil, the chief means of agricultural production, and for cultivation of all lands in the state and cooperative sector and private farms.

Article 24. The people's councils provide for development of animal husbandry to meet the public's heightened consumer demands and industry's raw material requirements. They take measures for good management of the entire area occupied by natural pastures, using the whole existing potential for further development of zootechnology.

Article 25. The people's councils are responsible for complete satisfaction of consumer requirements for fresh fruits, vegetable and potatoes for as long a period of the year as possible, for stockpiling reserves for fall and winter and supplying industry with preserved raw materials, and for creating surpluses for export.

Article 26. In order to enhance the private farms' contribution to greater crop and livestock production and to meet their own consumer needs with meat and other livestock products, the people's councils see that all rural and urban inhabitants holding agricultural lands cultivate them and raise livestock including poultry.

The communal, city and municipal people's councils will draft programs for raising livestock including poultry for every farm within their territorial-administrative jurisdictions. They will take measures for increased production on the areas designated for the fodder base and on natural pastures and hayfields, and for harvesting, storing and preserving the entire output of fodders, providing for its proper use so that every farm can meet its obligation to raise livestock including poultry.

The number of livestock including poultry that can be raised by each farm for its own needs, sale on the market, contracting or procurement is unlimited.

The communal, city and municipal people's councils will include specific tasks for each farm in the programs on the basis of extensive consultation of the citizens, specifying the number of livestock including poultry as well as the output and deliveries of livestock products to the state reserve in correlation with the tasks for socioeconomic development of the territorial-administrative unit. In the same way they will specify the tasks for cultivating all areas and planting fruit trees and fruit-bearing shrubs as well as the output to be obtained and the deliveries of vegetables, potatoes, fruits and other products to the state reserve.

Article 27. The people's councils are responsible, in accordance with the plan tasks, for securing the resources needed to form the state reserve of bread grains, vegetables, fruits, livestock, poultry, milk, eggs and the other crop and livestock food products, and for covering the public's own consumer requirements in their jurisdictions.

Article 28. The people's councils are responsible according to the legal provisions for the good management of the forests under local administration, for performance of the specified forest improvement operations (local nurseries, afforestation projects, restoration and protection, and care of the stands), for the safety of the forests, and for exploitation of the timber.

Article 29. The people's councils are responsible and provide for the regular supply of and good service to the public, development and diversification of the assortment of products and services, improvement of their quality, good organization and supply of the agricultural food markets, and expansion and modernization of the trade and public catering networks and the service units in both cities and villages, in close correlation with the public's demands.

The people's councils are required to organize and control trade and service activity, to provide for proper geographic distribution of the trade and service units and the stock in trade among communities and trade systems, and to control and support the activity of the restaurant-canteens and the establishment, according to law, of additional units for the proper exploitation of the resources and the adequate supply of the restaurant-canteens.

The people's councils are responsible for observance of the legal regulations for setting prices and rates for the products and services under their jurisdiction, and also for charging the maximum prices on the market price list, within the limits of which the producers sell their products on the farmers' market, and the maximum rates for services rendered to the public by artisans or other private tradesmen.

Article 30. For purposes of municipal development of urban and rural communities, the people's councils are responsible for the proper organization and operation of public transportation, maintenance of water-supply, sewerage and heating networks, modernization and maintenance of roads and streets, sanitation of the communities, and for other town-planning and municipal services.

The people's councils provide for complete implementation of the housing construction plan, with strict observance of town planning, construction of a suitable quality, and proper maintenance and administration of the housing reserve.

The people's councils take measures to enhance the citizens' contribution to the solution of problems of modernization, good management and embellishment of municipalities, cities and communes and to the implementation of projects for roads, straightening river beds, reinforcing banks of rivers, water supply and sewerage systems, improvements of parks, green spaces, childrens' playgrounds and simple sports centers and grounds, and other such projects.

Article 31. The people's councils take measures according to law for environmental protection, control the socialist units' implementation of the assigned measures, and use the investment funds allocated to protection and improvement of the environmental factors.

Article 32. The people's councils are responsible according to law for meeting the water requirements of the public and the economy, exploitation of new water sources, rational use of waters and their protection against exhaustion and pollution, and also for regulation and maintenance of local waters and their protection against floods.

Article 33. The people's councils are responsible according to law for regular use of the traffic arteries, for their modernization, maintenance and repair, for cleaning the streets, and for preservation and maintenance of technical-municipal and civic facilities, traffic signals and plantings, and they engage the community residents in these actions.

Article 34. The people's councils provide guidance of all political-educational and cultural activity conducted in the institutions of education and culture, schools, cultural clubs and other units and provide for good organization of the National Cintarea Romaniei Festival and other cultural-educational activities, for purposes of constant improvement of the citizens' socialist awareness and of the formation of the new man as the builder of socialist and communist society in Romania.

Article 35. The people's councils provide for guidance, control and coordination of education in the territorial-administrative units wherein they are elected, for purposes of the good organization and conduct of the educational-instructive process, development and proper use of the material base, and the teachers' greater responsibility for constant improvement of the young generation's preparation for life and work in keeping with society's requirements. They will also take steps for the manufacture of industrial products, especially consumer goods, in the course of the practical activity in schools and high schools.

Article 36. The people's councils are responsible for completion of their tasks on behalf of public health and social aid, for development and modernization of the health units and efficient use of the technical-material base, and for assignment and proper use of medical-health personnel, for purposes of preventing and curbing diseases and further improvement of the entire population's state of health.

Article 37. The people's councils are required to provide for knowledge and strict application of the party's decisions and the state's laws on the part of all citizens, consolidation of public order and discipline, and protection of public property and the citizens' peace and property.

The local militia organs and other organs with such duties will report periodically to the people's councils on the performance of their legal functions.

Article 38. For consistent application of the new economic-financial mechanism to local socioeconomic activity and to provide for the self-financing of the communes, cities, municipalities and counties, the people's councils are required to take measures for the good management and use of the material and financial resources entrusted them and the continuing growth of the local budget's own incomes through further development of small industry, services and social-cultural, communal civic and other economic activities and also through the citizens' participation in the formation of the communities' own incomes, according to the legal provisions and in the spirit of socialist ethics and justice.

It is the people's councils' responsibility to see that every economic unit operates profitably, to increase the profits and tighten the regime of economy in all productive and social-cultural units, and to develop all sources of increased incomes in their territories and make good use of them for complete implementation of the regional plan, the local budgets and the budgets of incomes and outlays of all subordinate units.

Article 39. The people's councils are required to exploit the energy, creative ability and initiative of all workers in the course of adopting and implementing decisions and to carefully and promptly resolve all questions raised by citizens so that their entire activity will be closely related to the public's real needs and accordingly reflect the workers' aspirations and interests in building the fully developed socialist society.

The people's councils are required to submit the regional plans, the budgets of incomes and outlays of the communities and all major problems of their development to the citizens' assemblies for discussion, and to present reports on the activity performed.

Article 40. The provisions of this section apply correspondingly to the activity of the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils.

Section III: The People's Councils

Part I: Functions

Article 41. The people's councils rule according to law on all state problems on the local level and perform the following main functions:

a. They ratify the regional plans for socioeconomic development on the basis of the tasks flowing from the Uniform National Plan.

b. They approve the local budget and the account at the close of the budgetary year. They set the local taxes and fees.

c. They rule on problems concerning the local socioeconomic plan and local budget and are responsible for their implementation. They check the implementation of the regional plan for socioeconomic development. They rule on problems of regional and community systematization, concentration of economic capacities, implementation of investment projects, development of small industry, growth of agricultural production, use of the land reserve, water management and operations to regulate the hydrographic basins, development of forestry, management of forests and communal pastures, communal management and housing administration, environmental protection, conduct of trade and services, development of educational, cultural, health and social aid activities, and implementation of national defense tasks.

d. They elect and recall the executive committees and bureaus or any of their members.

e. They determine the number of permanent commissions, elect and recall their members, and direct, guide and control their activity.

f. They examine the suggestions made at the citizens' assemblies and rule on the way they are to be resolved.

g. They rule according to law on the recall of deputies on the basis of the recommendations of the local councils of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front. Upon consultation of the latter, they approve upon request the termination of a deputy's mandate before the expiration of the people's council's mandate.

h. They found, according to law, economic units and institutions of education, socialist culture and education, and health, as well as those for local problems of labor and social welfare.

i. They organize the staff of the executive committee or bureau as well as the specialized local organs of the state administration, appointing and recalling their chiefs with the agreement of the higher specialized organs of the state administration. They appoint and recall the chiefs of the local militia organs with the agreement of their higher organs.

j. They direct, guide and control the activity of the executive committees or bureaus.

k. They organize and coordinate the whole effort to publicize the party's decisions and the laws of the state and to make them known and understood by the citizens so that they will act in accordance with their provisions. To this end they draft special programs and ensure the application and observance of the party's decisions, the laws and decrees, and their own decisions by their staffs and their subordinate organs and units, and they periodically analyze the way they are implemented.

l. They take steps to carry out the decisions of the congress, the Legislative Chamber and the conferences of the people's councils and the decisions of the higher people's councils.

m. They direct, guide and control the activity of the specialized local organs of the state administration and that of the subordinate economic units and social-cultural institutions. They examine their activity and determine measures to improve their work.

n. They perform any other functions provided by law.

Article 42. In addition to the functions specified in Article 41, the people's councils also have the following particular functions:

1. The county people's councils elect and recall the chairmen and judges of the county tribunal, the judges of the county courts, and the chief prosecutors of the county prosecutor's offices. The electing is done at the first session of the people's council after its constituent session, on the recommendation of the Ministry of Justice or the prosecutor general. Those elected serve until new elections of judges and chief prosecutors are held. Recalling is done on the recommendation of the Ministry of Justice or the prosecutor general as the case may be. The county people's councils hear reports by the chairmen of the county tribunals and the chief prosecutors of the county prosecutor's offices, and they elect and recall the people's assessors.

2. The municipal, city and communal people's councils:

a. Adopt decisions on the all-around development of the municipalities, cities and communes. The decisions of the municipal and city people's councils are binding within both the municipalities or cities as the case may be and the affiliated cities or suburban communes.

b. They elect one village delegate to the people's council for each village composing a commune, except the commune seat, and for each village belonging to a municipality or city.

c. They elect according to law the members of the trial commissions under their executive committees or bureaus and hear annual reports on their activity.

Part II: Composition and Formation of the People's Councils

Article 43. The people's councils are composed of deputies elected for the electoral districts, one deputy per district, from the citizens with the right to vote who have reached 23 years of age, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion.

Article 44. The term of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils is for 5 years, and that of the municipal, Bucharest district, city and communal people's councils is for 2½ years.

The mandate ceases on the date of the elections for the new people's council.

Article 45. The newly elected people's council is convened in its first session by by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council whose mandate has expired, within 30 days of the date the preceding people's council's mandate ceases.

Until a chairman is elected, the first session is chaired by the oldest deputy.

The senior chairman is assisted in the performance of his functions by two deputies elected by the people's council at his recommendation.

In its first session the people's council checks the legality of each deputy's election and validates or annuls it.

To check the legality of the deputies' elections, the people's council elects a validating commission of 3-9 members from the deputies for the duration of its mandate.

After the elections have been validated, the deputies take the oath of fidelity and loyalty to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

After the oath is taken, the people's council elects a presidium of 3-9 members from the deputies to conduct the proceedings of the session.

The people's council elects the executive committee or bureau as the case may be from the deputies. The election is according to functions.

After the election of the executive committee or bureau, its members take the oath of fidelity and loyalty to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The people's council determines the number and composition of the permanent commissions according to sectors and fields of activity and in keeping with the local characteristics and requirements, and it elects their members from the deputies.

Part III: Operation of the People's Councils

Article 46. The people's councils work in sessions. The session is the form in which the people's council exercises the state power democratically on the local level and the main way in which the deputies carry out the voters' mandate.

The people's councils sessions are held once every 3 months. They are convened by decisions of the executive committees or bureaus. Ordinary sessions are convened at least 10 days in advance of the date set for holding them.

The people's council can be convened in extraordinary sessions whenever necessary on the initiative of the executive committee or bureau or at the request of at least one-third of the number of deputies.

The people's councils' sessions are public except when the people's council decides otherwise.

Discussions in the sessions are in the Romanian language. In territorial-administrative units also inhabited by a nationality other than Romanian, use of that nationality's mother tongue is provided for.

Persons from the managements of ministries and other central organs, economic units, state institutions and public organizations can be invited to the people's councils' sessions, as well as other persons whose presence is considered helpful.

Article 47. The people's councils function in the presence of at least one-half plus one of the total number of deputies, and the proceedings of the session are conducted by a presidium of 3-9 members. The presidium elects from its members the chairman of the session of the people's council.

The people's council adopts decisions by open vote, unless the people's council decides the vote shall be secret. The decisions are adopted by majority vote of the deputies composing the people's council and are signed by the session chairman. Decisions adopted in case of Article 45 Paragraphs 4 and 5 are signed by the senior chairman.

Article 48. The draft agenda of the session is compiled by the executive bureau or committee of the people's council and approved by the people's council.

If a problem has been entered in the draft agenda at the request of one or more deputies, or at the suggestion of a permanent commission, the need of including it on the agenda will be explained by one of the deputies or the chairman of the permanent commission as the case may be. The problem can be presented after the agenda is approved either by those who suggest it or by a member of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council.

Article 49. The discussions are recorded in a record signed by the chairman of the session of the people's council.

Regulatory and other important decisions of the people's councils are made known to the citizens by publication, posting, or any other publicizing medium. In territorial-administrative units also inhabited by a nationality other than Romanian, the citizens are also notified of these decisions in that nationality's mother tongue.

Section IV: Executive Committees and Executive Bureaus of the People's Councils

Part I: Functions

Article 50. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils provide, in the territorial-administrative units, for execution of the party's decisions, the laws, decrees and decisions of the congress, Legislative Chamber and conferences of the people's councils, and the decisions of the Council of Ministers, as well as the regulatory acts of the ministries and other central organs approved by the Legislative Chamber, decisions of the higher people's councils and those of their executive committees or bureaus.

The executive committees and bureaus organize and provide for implementation of the decisions of the people's councils that elected them and of their own decisions.

They exercise the rights and fulfill the obligations that the county, municipality, Bucharest municipal district, city and commune have as juristic persons.

Article 51. Between the sessions of the people's councils, their executive committees or bureaus also perform the people's councils' functions, except those specified in Article 14 Paragraphs 3 and 4, Article 41 a, b, d, e, g and j, and Article 42 Paragraphs 1 and 2 b, and submit their decisions to the people's councils for ratification in their first session.

Article 52. In addition to the functions specified in Articles 50 and 51, the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils exercise according to law the following main functions and are responsible for their implementation:

a. They prepare the draft regional plans for socioeconomic development and the draft local budget, submitting them to the respective people's council for approval.

b. They assign the tasks of the regional plan for socioeconomic development approved by the people's council to the directly subordinate units. They determine the measures necessary to accomplish the assigned tasks and are responsible for their implementation and that of the local budget. They compile reports on fulfillment of the plan by the subordinate units. They draft the general account at the close of the budgetary year and approve according to law the transfers of budgetary credits.

c. They direct, guide and control the activity of the subordinate economic units. They take steps to develop small industry and expand cooperation with the enterprises of national significance. They organize exploitation of local resources. They provide for expansion of the assortments of goods and increases in consumer goods, improvement of products and services, and reduction of the costs and the greater profitability of the subordinate economic units. They take steps to make savings and eliminate any waste in consumption of electric power, fuels and other raw materials and materials and to support the program for collecting reusable material resources.

d. They control according to law the economic activity of the units of national significance and help their collective management organs determine the necessary measures for complete fulfillment of the plan tasks.

e. They use the sums collected during the year in excess of the budgetary provisions (including the above-plan profits resulting from internal effort) to cover economic outlays and implement social-cultural programs, according to the legal provisions.

f. They organize and direct the activity of taxing the taxpayers as well as that of collecting the taxes, fees, other budgetary and extrabudgetary incomes and the insurance premiums provided by law.

g. They direct and control the activity of their own staffs, of the specialized local organs of the state administration, and of the subordinate social-cultural institutions.

h. They provide for preparation of the systematization documentation and the technical-economic documentation essential to the construction projects in their own plan of investment projects and capital repairs, as well as the implementation of these projects, so that the new housing constructions will be located within compact units harmoniously integrated in the appearance of each community. They organize implementation of investment projects, municipal projects and those for maintenance and modernization of traffic arteries, electrification of villages, and construction of state-owned and privately owned housing. They provide for quality control and discipline in construction and issue the legally required authorizations.

i. They draft programs for the prompt and proper performance of agricultural operations by all holders of agricultural lands and are responsible for their completion. They provide for conservation and complete and efficient use of the land reserve, application of scientific zoning criteria to production and a rational crop structure, complete performance of afforestation operations and good management of the forests under their direct administration, maintenance of natural pastures and hayfields, and development of orchard and vineyard property.

j. They organize processing of agricultural food products and supply and service to the public in collaboration with the specialized central organs and the local cooperative ones and on the basis of programs. They control trade and service activity and observance of the rules of trade. They provide for proper distribution of the commodity reserve among communities and trade systems. They help the artisan and consumer cooperatives, authorize the operation of cooperative organizations' units, and authorize the artisans' activity.

k. They set prices and rates for products and services and control the application of the prices and rates within the territorial-administrative units, according to law.

l. In collaboration with the specialized central organs, they organize educational, cultural and instructive activity, medical aid to the public, tourism, and activity in connection with the labor force, social insurance and social aid. They act for constant improvement of working and living conditions and the public welfare. They take measures to protect the natural environment and organize maintenance and exploitation of the archival reserve.

m. They organize citizens' participation in local resolution of state and public problems. To this end they take steps to organize the citizens' assemblies and other forms of mass participation and report to the citizens' assemblies on the work of the people's council and the executive committee or bureau. They organize citizens' participation in competition among territorial-administrative units to fulfill the economic, municipal and social-cultural tasks, and they organize reception and resolution of requests, complaints, notices and suggestions of citizens as well as their reception in hearings.

n. They examine the suggestions presented by the permanent commissions and take steps to resolve them promptly but no later than 30 days, notifying the commission that made the suggestions of the measures taken.

o. They analyze, direct and control according to law the activity of the local militia organs and the activity to safeguard property and to prevent and extinguish fires.

p. They help the military organs recruit and enlist citizens subject to military service. They provide for preparations to mobilize the subordinate and local enterprises, civil defense, and implementation of their tasks in the plan to mobilize the national economy.

r. They help to develop physical education and sports. They provide for maintenance and management of the sports centers under their administration and control the maintenance and management of the other sports centers.

s. They perform any other functions provided by law as well as the assignments of the higher organs.

Article 53. Besides the functions specified in Articles 50-52, the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils also have the following particular functions:

1. The executive committees of the county people's councils:

a. Provide for harmonious development of the municipalities, cities and communes, their equipment with economic and social-cultural constructions and technical-municipal services, and improvement of public transportation.

b. Approve according to law the modification of the investments and construction-installation plan among capacities, within the total volume approved in the plan for socioeconomic development, without affecting the activation dates specified in the plan. They approve the technical-economic documentation for investment projects in their own plan, as well as the modification of the plan indicators and tasks due to transfer or acceptance of tasks specified in the Uniform National Plan.

c. Approve the centralized plans of incomes and outlays for self-financing of activities of units of local affiliation.

d. Use the budgetary reserve made available to them to finance new programs or tasks arising during the year.

e. Organize basic administrative control over the activities of subordinate economic units and social-cultural institutions, of the executive committees or bureaus of the municipal, city and communal people's councils, and of the tenants' associations.

f. Organize systematization and construction activity as well as preparation of the documentation for systematizing urban and rural communities.

g. Issue, after previous consultation of the executive committees or bureaus of the municipal, city and communal people's councils, the agreement for location and construction within the counties of the economic units and social-cultural institutions of national significance.

h. Provide for administration, maintenance and exploitation of the state-owned housing reserve.

i. Direct and control activity concerning legal status, guardianship and protection of minors as well as the actuarial work done according to law by the executive bureaus of the people's councils. They provide the material resources of the institutions for protection of minors and social aid under the local organs.

j. Approve for the subordinate units the plan for scientific research and introduction of technical progress, the plan of measures for scientific organization of production and labor, as well as the norms and regulations with technical-economic substantiation. They help prepare the state standards for local activities and organize research, design and introduction of information systems for managing the subordinate units. They organize, direct, guide and control the work of the technical-economic council.

k. They compose draft decrees and initiate draft decisions of the Council of Ministers that concern the county.

l. They publish the people's council's official bulletin.

2. The executive committees or bureaus of the municipal, city and communal people's councils:

a. Organize the communities' municipal-civic development. They provide for their sanitation, proper operation of public transportation, maintenance of the water, sewerage and heating networks, and improvement of parks, green spaces, tourist attractions, and places of recreation and amusement.

b. Provide for the good management of the state-owned housing reserve. The control, direct and support the activity of the tenants' associations.

c. Draft the long-range programs and annual plans for crops and animal husbandry on the private farms.

d. Organize and manage markets and cattle fairs, providing for their proper operation and supply as well as control over sales of goods.

e. Provide for proper operation of creches, kindergartens, schools, health units and cultural-artistic units.

f. Perform functions concerning legal status, guardianship and notary work as the case may be.

The executive committees and bureaus of the municipal, city and communal people's councils are required to consult the village delegates in all matters concerning the villages for which they were elected.

3. The executive bureaus of the communal people's councils:

a. Provide and are responsible for complete and intensive use of agricultural lands regardless of the holders according to the crop plans for each farm, use of all resources for increasing crop and livestock production on the state farms, agricultural cooperatives and private farms and for enhancing the commune's contribution to the formation of the state reserve of crop and livestock products. They support the efforts to combat pests and take steps to develop beekeeping, cultivation of silkworms and fish, and other productive activities.

b. Organize efforts to combat natural disasters, to consolidate and use sloping, eroded and deteriorated lands, to exploit swampy lands, and to develop irrigation with local resources.

c. Organize units for processing agricultural food products and local raw materials, for public catering and for services to the public.

d. Take steps to maintain and expand the electric networks and the sources of the drinking water supply and to secure the hygiene of dwellings. They organize and provide for the proper operation of the communal baths.

e. Organize and direct activity for public safety and to prevent and extinguish fires.

f. Provide for working and housing conditions for the specialists assigned to work in the commune.

Part II: Organization and Operation

Article 54. The executive committees or bureaus, as the case may be, of the people's councils are elected for the entire term of the people's councils. After the people's council's mandate expires, the executive committee or bureau continues to function until the new executive committee or bureau is elected.

Article 55. The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils are composed of a chairman, one or more vice chairmen one of whom can be a first vice chairman, and other members whose number is determined for each category of people's councils by decree of the State Council.

The executive committee or bureau, as the case may be, of the people's council has a secretary appointed by the people's council with the agreement of the organ of state administration above the executive committee or bureau.

Article 56. The chairmen of the executive committees and bureaus of the municipal, city and communal people's councils are also the mayors of the municipalities, cities and communes at the same time.

Article 57. The committee or executive bureau of the people's council operates on the principle of collective management.

The executive committee or bureau as a whole and each of its members are responsible to the people's council and also to the executive committee or bureau of the higher people's council and the Council of Ministers. Each member of the executive committee or bureau is responsible both for his own activity and for the entire activity of the executive committee or bureau to which he belongs.

Article 58. The executive committee or bureau meets whenever necessary and at least once a month, with a quorum of the majority of its members.

The executive committee or bureau is convened by the chairman at least 2 days before the date of the meeting.

Article 59. As a rule the meetings of the executive committees and bureaus are attended by representatives of the regional councils of trade unions, of the local councils of women, and of the local organization of the Union of Communist Youth, by the heads of the specialized local organs of the state administration, and by representatives of the county union of agricultural cooperatives or of the agricultural cooperatives as the case may be.

Decisions on assignment of housing to enterprises and other socialist units, supply of the public, and other social-cultural problems are made by common agreement of the executive committees or bureaus and the regional councils of trade unions.

Persons from the managements of the ministries, of the other central organs of the state administration, of the economic units and social-cultural institutions, and of the public organizations can also be invited to the meetings of the executive committees or bureaus, as well as other persons whose presence is considered helpful.

Article 60. The executive committees or bureaus hand down decisions, according to and in pursuance of the law, by majority vote of their members. The decisions are signed by the chairman and countersigned by the secretary of the executive committee or bureau.

Decisions of the executive committees or bureaus are binding in the territorial-administrative units wherein the people's councils are elected.

Illegal decisions of the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils are annulled by the organs above them.

Article 61. The permanent bureau of the executive committee is composed of the first vice chairman, the vice chairmen and some members of the executive committees of the county, Bucharest municipal, municipal and Bucharest district people's councils who are appointed by the executive committee.

The chairman of the permanent bureau of the executive committee is the first vice chairman of the executive committee of the people's council.

The permanent bureau decides on problems of the executive committee's current activity, and the executive committee is to be informed at its first meeting of the decisions adopted. The executive committee controls the permanent bureau's decisions

and orders their annulment if it finds that they are illegal or unsound.

The chairman and the other members of the executive committee of the people's council are responsible for strict observance of plan and financial discipline, good management and efficient use of all material and financial resources, and precise implementation of the party's decisions and the laws of the land in the people's council's activity.

In the execution of the budget, the chairman of the permanent bureau of the executive committee of the people's council functions as chief accountant of credits.

Article 62. The executive committee or bureau of the people's council determines the functions of the chairman, the first vice chairman, the vice chairmen and the secretary.

Some of the chairman's functions determined by the executive committee or bureau can be performed regularly and under the chairman's supervision by the first vice chairman or one of the vice chairmen as the case may be.

The chairman, first vice chairman, vice chairmen and secretary provide, on the terms set by decision of the executive committee or bureau, for coordination, guidance and control of the activity of the assigned sections and have the right to give orders for purposes of performing their functions.

The chairman of the executive bureau of the city or communal people's council is the chief accountant of credits.

The secretary of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council regularly attends the sessions of the council, the meetings of the executive committee or bureau, and the proceedings of the permanent bureau of the executive committee, with a consultative vote. The secretary is required to notify the executive committee or bureau if any draft resolutions or decisions do not conform to the legal provisions. If the resolution or decision was ratified illegally, the secretary is required to notify the higher organ.

Article 63. Regulatory decisions of the executive committees or bureaus are made known to the public by publication, posting or any other publicizing medium. In territorial-administrative units also inhabited by a nationality other than Romanian, the citizens are also notified of these decisions in the laguage of that nationality.

Section V: People's Councils' Permanent and Temporary Commissions. Citizens' Assemblies. The Village Delegate

Part I: People's Councils' Permanent and Temporary Commissions

Article 64. The people's councils elect from the deputies, in the first session and for their entire term, permanent commissions organized for the main sectors and fields of activity (industry, agriculture, construction, communal management, trade, services, education, culture, health etc. as the case may be) according to the local characteristics and requirements.

The deputies help to implement the people's councils' functions through the permanent commissions.

Every permanent commission elects its chairman and, as the case may be, a vice chairman and a secretary as well.

Article 65. The permanent commissions have the following tasks:

a. They study problems concerning fulfillment of the plan for developing the local economy and the local budget, as well as other problems concerning the territorial-administrative unit, on the basis of the people's council's decision, at the request of the executive committee or bureau, or on their own intiative and submit their recommendations.

b. They control implementation of the plan for developing the local economy, the activity of the specialized local organs of the state administration and the institutions and economic units under the people's council, and the way they apply the legal provisions, the resolutions of the people's council, and the decisions of the executive committee or bureau, making recommendations to the people's council or the executive committee or bureau.

c. They submit draft resolutions to the people's council on their own initiative and review the draft resolutions and decisions prepared by the executive committee or bureau that are to be submitted to the people's council for approval or ratification. They can present reports or joint reports on the problems subject to the people's council's discussion. They control the resolution of workers' letters and make recommendations to the people's council or the executive committee or bureau.

Article 66. The permanent commissions of the people's councils meet periodically and whenever necessary.

The permanent commissions enlist the aid of citizens who, by virtue of their specialized training and experience, can help them perform their tasks. They can form working collectives headed by a deputy.

Article 67. The permanent commissions are aided in their work by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, who create the conditions for fulfillment of their tasks.

The permanent commissions are responsible to the people's councils who elected them for their entire activity and report to them on their findings and on their entire activity.

Article 68. The chairman of the permanent commission attends the meetings of the executive committee or bureau, the citizens' assemblies, and the meetings of the citizens' committees whenever problems in the commission's sector or field of activity are under consideration.

Article 69. The people's council can elect from the deputies temporary commissions to examine problems, determining the tasks and methods of each of these commissions.

Part II: Citizens' Assemblies

Article 70. Citizens' assemblies are organized so that the citizens can take part in discussion of the main problems of the communities' socioeconomic development.

Article 71. The citizens' assemblies perform the following main tasks:

a. They discuss the draft plan for socioeconomic development of the territorial-administrative unit before it is submitted to the people's council for approval, as well as the planned measures to implement it. They also discuss the programs for prompt and efficient performance of agricultural operations, the long-range programs and annual plans for stock raising on private farms, the town-planning outlines and other matters concerning the communities' socioeconomic development, and the draft decisions of the people's council and other regulatory acts, and they make recommendations to the people's council or the executive committee or bureau as the case may be.

b. They hear and discuss reports on the activity of the people's council and the executive committee or bureau.

c. They hear and discuss the reports of the village delegates to the people's council on their activity and make recommendations on matters to be considered in the sessions of the people's council or in the meetings of the executive committee or bureau, and also on the organization and implementation of public projects.

d. They decide according to law on matters of implementation of public projects, preparation of the town-planning outlines for the communities, protection of property, and management of the forest reserve and communal pastures, and also on other matters legally within their competence.

e. They perform other tasks according to law.

Article 72. The citizens' assembly is convened half-yearly by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council jointly, when appropriate, with the local organs of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front. Its proceedings are conducted by a presidium which it elects.

Part III: The Village Delegate to the People's Council

Article 73. The village delegate is regularly elected from the people's council's deputies. In exceptional cases, he may be elected from other villagers who are not deputies on the recommendation of the citizens' assembly.

The village delegate to the people's council submits the village's particular socioeconomic problems and the suggestions made in the citizens' assemblies or any other suggestions to promote the village's interests to the communal, city or municipal people's council or its executive committee or bureau for discussion. Jointly with the deputies from the same village, he checks the implementation of the decisions of the people's council, the executive committee or bureau, and the citizens' assembly.

The village delegate attends the sessions of the communal, city or municipal people's council and the meetings of its executive committee or bureau when matters concerning the village are discussed.

Article 74. In the performance of his tasks, the village delegate to the people's council:

a. Takes steps to apprise the villagers of the laws, as well as the decisions of the people's council and the executive bureau or committee, and organizes their implementation jointly with the deputies.

b. Concerns himself with the efficiency of economic and social-cultural activity within the village as well as the proper organization and operation of public protection and maintenance of order in the village.

c. Recommends convening the citizens' assembly to discuss or solve problems within its jurisdiction when he deems it necessary. He helps with the organization and proper conduct of the citizens' assemblies and takes measures to carry out their decisions.

d. Checks the resolution, according to law, of the petitions, complaints and notices addressed to the people's council and the executive bureau or committee.

e. Presents reports at the citizens' assembly on the activity performed.

Section VI: Deputies' Rights and Obligations

Article 75. The deputies have the right and obligation to participate in the people's councils' entire activity, to take part in discussions and approve the decisions. They are to make a sustained effort to carry out their mandates and to encourage the masses of citizens to implement the party and state policy in the territorial-administrative units.

Article 76. The deputies to the people's councils are required to hold conferences with the citizens in the electoral districts wherein they are elected in order to consult them upon problems to be discussed in sessions and upon organization and implementation of public projects. They are also required to report at least quarterly on their activity and on that of the people's council to which they belong in assemblies of voters in the electoral district wherein they are elected.

Article 77. The deputies have the right to be elected to permanent and temporary commissions and to the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, as well as the right and obligation to participate in their activities.

Article 78. The deputies have the right and obligation:

a. To appeal to the executive committee or bureau of the people's council and to the specialized local organs of the state administration for help in solving problems of public concern in the electoral districts wherein they are elected.

b. To question and address comments to the executive committee or bureau, any member thereof, or the heads of the specialized local organs of the state administration and of the economic units and social-cultural institutions under the people's council concerning their activity. Those questioned or addressed are required to reply at the same session, and if they cannot do so they are required to reply by the next session of the people's council.

c. To request and obtain from the executive committee or bureau the information they need to participate in discussions and to prepare their comments.

d. To direct the activity of the citizens' committees in the electoral districts wherein they are elected.

e. To check the resolution of the citizens' requests, complaints, notices and suggestions and to notify them of how they are resolved.

Article 79. The deputies exercise their rights and perform their duties throughout the whole term of the people's council to which they are elected. They are responsible to the voters for both their own activity and that of the people's council. They are also responsible to the people's council for the performance of their assignments.

The deputy's mandate can cease before the expiration of the term of the people's council to which he is elected in case of recall, request, permanent change of residence or loss of electoral rights.

Article 80. In the exercise of his rights and in performance of his duties, the deputy enjoys the protection of the law just as the persons who perform functions involving exercise of the state authority.

Section VII: Specialized Local Organs of State Administration

Article 81. In addition to the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, specialized local organs of the state administration have been organized, according to the standards set by the State Council, for uniform implementation of party and state policy in the sectors or fields of finance, agriculture, waters, trade, tourism, education, socialist indoctrination and culture, health, labor and social welfare.

Specialized local organs can also be organized by law in other sectors or fields of activity. Some of them can function as local party and state organs.

Article 82. The specialized local organs of the state administration are subordinate to the people's councils and their executive committees or bureaus. They are also subordinate to the specialized local and central organs.

The specialized local organs of the state administration are managed, directed and controlled by the excutive committees or bureaus of the people's councils for purposes of implementing the decisions of the people's councils, the executive committees or bureaus, and the Legislative Chamber of the people's Councils.

The specialized local organs of the state administration help the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils under those to which they are attached to resolve special technical problems.

Article 83. The ministries and other central organs will lend the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils direct aid in solving major problems of development of small industry, communal management and activities of construction and systematization, services to the public, supply and sales. They will also lend them direct aid in developing science and education, public health, and socialist indoctrination and culture, in preparing studies on the harmonious economic and social-cultural development of the counties, municipalities, cities and communes, and in efficient exploitation of the material and human resources in the territorial--administrative units, for further enhancement of the people's material and cultural welfare.

The ministries and other central organs are required to help the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils to solve the special technical problems.

The Committee on People's Councils' Problems, a party and state organ, directs and controls the activities of the people's councils and their executive committees and bureaus according to the legal provisions.

Article 84. The ministries and other central state organs can send the specialized local organs technical and special directions in the sectors and fields they manage through the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils.

Instructions, orders, regulations an any other regulatory acts of the ministries and other central organs concerning local activity are sent to the local state organs only after their approval according to law by the Legislative Chamber of the people's councils.

Article 85. By agreement with the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils, the ministries and other central organs compile draft regulations governing the operation of the specialized local organs of the local state administration, which are subject to discussion and approval by the Legislative Chamber of the people's councils.

Article 86. In the performance of their functions, the specialized local organs of the state administration can issue orders. Illegal orders are annulled by the people's councils and their executive committees or bureaus. These orders can be suspended by ministers or the other managers of the specialized central organs, who are required to notify the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council of the suspension measure in advance. If there are differences between the executive committee of the county or Bucharest municipal people's council and the specialized central organ, these differences are resolved by the Council of Ministers.

The specialized local organs of the state administration can transfer chattels under their management between themselves and the units they coordinate and among these units.

They can also transfer chattels up to the value of 30,000 lei to other state units.

Section VIII: Bucharest Municipal and District People's Councils

Article 87. The Bucharest Municipal People's Council manages and is responsible for all local state activity in Bucharest municipality, providing for its all-around development in keeping with its importance as the capital of Romania and a major political, economic, social-cultural, artistic and scientific center.

Article 88. The decisions of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council and its executive committee are binding on both Bucharest municipality and its suburban communes.

Article 89. In the districts of Bucharest municipality people's councils operate through which the workers exercise the state power in these territorial-administrative units.

Article 90. The Bucharest Municipal People's Council coordinates, directs and controls the activities of the people's councils of the districts and suburban communes for purposes of constant improvement of the activities and enlistment of the citizens in the solution of state and public problems. It controls the decisions of the people's councils of the districts and the suburban communes.

Article 91. The executive committees of the Bucharest district people's councils and the executive bureaus of the people's councils of the suburban communes are subordinate to the people's councils that elected them and to the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council.

Decisions of the people's councils of the districts and suburban communes, as well as those of their executive committees or bureaus, are binding on the districts or suburban communes wherein the people's councils were elected.

Article 92. The provisions on organization and operation of the people's councils and their executive committees or bureaus apply respectively to the Bucharest municipal and district people's councils and their executive committees.

Article 93. The Bucharest Municipal People's Council accordingly performs the functions specified in the present law for all categories of people's councils.

Article 94. The Executive Committee of Bucharest Municipal People's Council accordingly performs the functions specified in the present law for the executive committees of all categories of people's councils.

The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council is also the mayor of the capital of Romania at the same time.

The chairmen of the executive committees of the Bucharest district people's councils are also chief magistrates of the districts at the same time.

Article 95. The Bucharest district people's councils accordingly perform the functions specified in Article 41 and Article 42 Paragraph 2 a and c.

Article 96. The executive committees of the Bucharest district people's councils accordingly perform the functions specified in Articles 50, 51, 52 and 53 Paragraph 2.

Section IX: Other Provisions

Article 97. If the offices of chairman, first vice chairman and vice chairmen of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council are vacant, these functions can be temporarily delegated in exceptional cases to persons who are not deputies.

The delegating is done until new elections to the respective people's council are held, by decree of the chairman in the case of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils or by decision of the executive committee of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils in the case of the executive committees and bureaus of the municipal, Bucharest district, city and communal people's councils.

Article 98. In performing the task of organizing citizens' participation in the local solution of state and public problems, the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils organize citizens' committees for municipal, Bucharest district,

city or communal electoral districts, attached to social-cultural institutions, and also for projects of public interest.

The citizens' committees are elected after the constituent sessions of the people's councils for the duration of the latter's term, and they are responsible for their activity to those who elected them.

Article 99. The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils hire, transfer, and cancel the work contracts of personnel with management functions and of technical, economic, administrative and other personnel on their own staffs.

Deputy directors of the specialized local organs of the state administration are hired, transferred, and their work contracts are cancelled, according to law, by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council under which they work.

According to their jurisdictions, the collective management organs or the director as the case may be hire, transfer and cancel the work contracts of the technical, economic, administrative and other personnel in the specialized local organs of the state administration.

The executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils can order their chairmen, first vice chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries, in the fields of activity they coordinate, to hire, transfer, discipline or cancel the work contracts of the personnel specified in paragraphs 1 and 2.

The permanent bureaus of the executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils resolve appeals against the measures taken according to the preceding paragraph, against disciplinary sanctions ordered by directors of the specialized local organs of the state administration and of the economic units and social-cultural institutions under the county, and against disciplinary sanctions ordered by the executive committees or bureaus of lower people's councils which, according to the Labor Code or other legal provisions, were not within the competence of the court or other organs.

Article 100. The executive committees of the county and Bucharest municipal people's councils will issue operational regulations for their own staffs and for those of the lower executive committees and bureaus.

5186
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VOLUME ON MILITARY HISTORY, THEORY REVIEWED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Sep 80 pp 1815-1819

/Review by Gelu Apostol of the book "Studies of Military History and Theory (Historical Reviews and Modern Analyses)" by scientific coordinator Col Dr Al. Gh. Savu, Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1980, 223 pp/

/Text/ The volume we are presenting goes with the other analytical writings, surveys and collections of documents that have treated various fields or periods of the military history of the Romanian people and constitutes another contribution before the appearance of the treatise on the military history of the Romanians. The extensive effort made by the military and civilian historians interested in this field of research has resulted in a number of volumes in recent years, most of them under the aegis of the Center for Studies and Research on Military History and Theory, and now representing a considerable advance in the investigation of the Romanian military phenomenon. Alongside these intensive scientific studies there is also a sensitizing of the readers to the problems in question. The rapid sale of titles of this kind evidences a growing appetite of history enthusiasts for works bringing out the military aspect of Romania's past.

Continuing and enhancing a field of research with traditions in Romanian historiography, illustrated by Nicolae Iorga himself with well-known writings, the contemporary historians approach the Romanians' military history from a more comprehensive perspective, subjecting new areas to scientific observation and analysis, as the handling of the dialectical materialist and historical method facilitates penetration into the depths of the historical processes and brings about critical reappraisal of many military periods, theories and personalities.

The flow of these publications also includes the present collection of studies that assemble the contributions of some esteemed specialists in chronological order.

The series begins with researcher Vasile Boroneant, who reconstitutes "The Oldest Armed Conflict Known on Romanian Territory." Outlining the results of the excavations in 1965-1971 in the suburb Schela Cladovei of Drobeta-Turnu Severin municipality, which revealed a veritable mesolithic cultural complex extending south of the Danube and now known by the name Schela Cladovei-Lepenski Vir, the author presents the economic conditions that caused the conflict between the members of two communities. The inventory of the excavations includes elements characteristic of a sedentary population of farmers and shepherds, such as the mattock with an opening for a

handle and the colter for working the soil made of stag's horn. A type of bone arrowhead was identified in the tombs that produced visible wounds in four skeletons. The anthropological study of them revealed that the people of those times can be considered decsendents of Cro-Magnon man of the eastern type adapted to the environmental conditions of the region. The armed conflict, attested by the traces of arrows on the bones of the skeletons and by the burial ritual, took place between the members of two communities, one coveting the other's harvest and tools.

Researcher Sergiu Iosipescu's study, "The Romanian View of the Crusade War (End of the 14th Century and Beginning of the 15th Century)," is an outline of medieval Romanian history written from the standpoint of the constant confrontation of the Romanians with foreign attempts at expansion.

In presenting the general external framework in which the Romanian lands evolved in the Middle Ages, Sergiu Iosipescu distinguishes within it a stage of resistance to the invasions of the migrants, another stage of leisure to found and develop the independent feudal states until the establishment of Ottoman rule, the third stage which restricted the natural course of medieval Romanian history, and finally the stage of the rise of Austrian and Russian expansionism, which disrupted the normal development of the Romanian states until the modern period. Against the background of this extensive and continuous effort of the Romanian people to maintain the continuity of their state and their independence against any aggressor, the author of the study concentrates his attention on the Romanian princes' attitude toward the idea of the crusade and sees in their actions and undertakings the distinctive and creative way in which Mircea the Old, Iancu de Hunedoara and Stefan the Great viewed and conceived the crusade, the interpretation of the role of their countries as direct defenders of Europe from the Ottoman peril. Iancu de Hunedoara's military actions are accordingly interpreted as "the last serious European effort to save Byzantium and the Balkan Peninsula," and when Stefan the Great called Moldavia "the gate of Christendom" he realized he was defending all Europe. The author concludes that in the political thought of those times the late crusade was the only common answer of the European peoples at the time to Turkish aggression, which answer however was most often given by the Romanian lands alone, without the cooperation so greatly desired by Stefan the Great.

In "Considerations on the Origin of Modern Romanian Military Thinking," Col Dr Al. Gh. Savu summarizes the most representative pages of medieval military theory. The author records the new elements, quantitative accumulations, characteristics and tradition and succeeds in producing a plastic, dynamic and specific picture of the sources of modern military thought and practice that created a new national army in the middle of the 19th century that would cover itself with glory in the battkes for the establishment of Romanian independence. Thus the author presents "Neagoe Basarab's Advice to His Son Theodosie," the works of the chroniclers, those of Dimitrie Cantemir, and finally analyzes Nicolae Balcescu's writings, a superior synthesis of the predecessor's creations but also an original work in which the ideas of arming the people, winning national freedom through their own struggle, and continuing the unity of the struggle through state unification spurred the masses to achievement of the great revolutionary ideals of 1848.

The political and military problems of World War I are included in this collection in two studies treating the attitudes and important movements to achieve the aim of Romania's state unity.

"The Position of the Socialist Movement During the War for Unification of the Romanian People" is analyzed by Dr Nicolae Copciu both in the context of Romanian public opinion as a whole and in that of the views of other socialist parties. This approach revealed to the author the patriotic and party motives for the Romanian socialists' attitude toward the World War, which was described in August 1914 as an imperialist war of conquest toward which the Romanian state should maintain the most strict neutrality.

Meanwhile the working class committed itself to fight against the aggressors who would have attacked neutral Romania. It is pointed out that the Romanian workers and their party did not identify the imperialist war between the Entente and the Central Powers with the Romanian people's right to complete their national state unity. This right was maintained by the Romanian socialists in their theoretical and practical activity. The author strengthens his conclusions by presenting the socialists' contribution to the act of 1 December 1918 and pointing to the national agreement on the correctness of Romania's attitude in the imperialist conflagration.

In the second study on the events of World War I Col Dr Vasile Alexandrescu and First Lt Vladimir Zodian set forth "The Campaign Plans of the Belligerents on the Romanian Front in the Summer of 1917." Restricted as to the number of pages, the material succeeds in creating an overall picture of the operations planned by the great combatants and the position the Romanian front occupied in the course of the military combinations of the allies and their adversaries. This clarifies the wish of the German command to take Romania out of the battle but also the Romanian army's firm resolve to resist at the Carpathians and to liberate the national territory occupied by the enemy in 1916.

The authors point out the Romanian army's morale, very favorable to the offensive, in comparison with the defections of the Entente on the other sectors of the front. In dwelling on the heroism of the Romanian troops at Marasesti and Oituz they bring out the military and moral-political importance of these battles not only to the defense of Moldavia but also to the maintenance of the eastern front under the Austro-German offensive and the final victory of the Entente.

"Problems of National Defense in the Theoretical Discussions in the Period Between the Wars" appear as echoes of World War I but also as necessities of the future as treated by Col Dr Traian Grozea, who succeeds in deciphering the major purport and the common factor of the variety of opinions expressed in the technical literature of the time. The achievement of the ideal of creating the united national state and the military experience of World War I, as well as other elements to reckon with (economic, geographic, demographic, technical and military) besides these two great factors, brought about a political-strategic conception of defense aimed at preservation of the political achievements and the territorial integrity of united Romania. Although they recognized the critical value of the offensive, in view of the broad front to defend and the inadequate technical equipment, the Romanian theorists concentrated their preparations especially upon a defensive as a form of combat. But the author notes with justified satisfaction that the defensive as planned by the Romanian specialists included many improvements and maneuvers that permitted it to be used successfully to defend the national territory from an enemy estimated as numerically superior and well provided with military equipment.

Capt Mihai E. Ionescu treats a subject of great political and military significance, "Romanian Diplomats' Predictions of the Evolution of the International Situation on

the Eve of the Outbreak of World War II," his study referring, in other respects of course, to the preceding one.

In summarizing the aims of Romanian foreign policy on the eve of World War II (resistance to expansionism and revisionism, the struggle to maintain the political and territorial status quo in order to preserve national independence and sovereignty) and pointing out the main rungs of the ladder toward the world conflagration, the author calls the readers' attention to the effect of three moments of international tension on Romanian foreign policy in order to verify, from the perspective of more than four decades, the correctness of the "responses" of Romanian diplomacy, according to the said events, and of the military predictions. The evolution of Romania's foreign policy is followed from the standpoint of the successive impacts of the Nazi occupation of the demilitarized zone of the Rhein, the Munich phase and the occupation of Czechoslovakia after Munich. The author points out the way these international events were received by the diplomatic and military corps of Romania and the validity of the forecast of Romania's foreign policy. Romania's hypotheses of military action were also correct, but the evolution of the war in the spring of 1940, the rapid invasion of France, and the existence of the Soviet-German pact caused a reorientation of Romanian foreign policy.

Another aspect of the Romanian military doctrine in the first half of this century is reflected in the study "Elements of Romanian Military Economic Thought in the 1900-1944 Period," signed by Col Bela Iani. In presenting the first Romanian considerations of military economics properly speaking and the effort to understand the fact that a country's armed power lies primarly in its economic strength and to proportion the relation between war and the economy, the author explains the emergence of the theory of the economics of war as a scientific discipline. He also discusses the process of definition of the subject and problem area of the economics of war by the military and civilian specialists, as well as that of defining the war potential. In calculating the war potential the Romanian military theorists pointed out the decisive role of the human factorand not of technology in itself, correctly determining the interdependence between the demographic and the technical-material factor, between man and technology. The Romanian economists and military supported creation of a national defense industry, mentioning the role of agriculture in providing the means of subsistence as well as that of financial resources, and proposed models of management of the war economy. Finally, Col Bela Iani points out the purpose of these intensive theoretical and practical efforts, namely that of defending the nation against the imperialist expansionism that was basic to the outbreak of both world wars.

The evolution of involvement of the civilian population in the war effort and the methods and legislative framework for organizing it in defense units are treated by Lt Col Gheorghe Creanga in the study "From Passive Defense to Civilian Defense." He summarizes the main phases of the organization effort, the creation of the Passive Defense in 1929, publication of "Regulations for Passive Defense Against Air Raids" in 1931, and the ratification in 1933 of the law for active and passive antiaircraft defense of the territory. The author considers the performance of the Passive Defense in the years of World War II satisfactory, despite the inadequate material and equipment for intervention, the cost of which was supported by the population because the state did not allocate funds. In the years of socialism the Local Antiaircraft Defense was included in the Ministry of National Defense, and in 1978 its name was changed to Civilian Defense, the nature of the activity and the functions being considerably developed.

The role of states of mind in military conflicts and their components are analyzed by Col Dr Victor Deaconu in the study "The Political-Moral Factor in Modern War." The author has singled out the ideological and psychological aspects as basic elements of an army's state of mind, the political-moral potential including the political and moral qualities, combat qualities and psychic qualities, all based upon the physical qualities. The study fully demonstrates the importance of the political-moral factor, alongside the other determinants, in the conduct of a war, explaining the emphasis placed upon indoctrinating troops in the spirit of love of country and party, defense of the people's revolutionary gains, and preservation of socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty intact.

The collection concludes with Col Iulian S. Cernat's study "National Defense As a General Function of the Romanian Socialist State," which demonstrates the necessity of strengthening and developing the socialist state in the present stage, pointing out the dialectical nature and complexity of the relationships of the defense function with the other functions of the state, the interdependence among them, and the capacity of the socialist state to coordinate economic, political and cultural activities for the benefit of national defense. The leading role of the state is based on its ability to determine and organize the economic and demographic resources and to plan the nations's development. The author then presents the legislative and organizational framework whereby the state performs its defense function, stressing the resolve and correctness with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the supreme commander of the army, declared that the national army can only be under the command of the party and state organs.

We feel the brief presentation of the studies included in this volume has convincingly demonstrated the wide range of the subjects treated, the originality of many of the contributions, the aspiration of the scientific coordinator to present as complete a picture as possible in the limited space of the nature of the Romanian military phenomenon, tradition and innovation in military doctrine, and the authors' efforts to bring out the originality and realism of Romanian military thinking. The incorporation of the military problems in the specific-historical context of the periods makes a good impression, as well as the recording and explanation of the effects of the domestic and foreign political and economic events upon the theory and practice of arms.

We note the differentiated treatment of the Romanian socialists' attitude toward war and the detailed analysis of the military plans on the Romanian front in 1917. The critical spirit in which military economic thought was approached has merit, as the respective study indicates that the older studies on the definition and composition of the war potential overlooked the role and nature of the relations between the social classes and the purpose of the wars because the bourgeois specialists determined the war potential by an arithmetical summation of the demographic and technical-material components presented on a certain level and not as a system of dynamic, interdependent relations and components. The importance and usefulness of the treatment of the role of the political-moral factor in modern warfare should also be appreciated as a subject of current interest, as well as the novelty of the interpretation of the Romanian diplomats' attitude toward the evolution of the international situation on the eve of World War II.

Illuminating and clear, the picture of the Romanian view of the crusade war merits further amplification in view of the nobility of the subject, as well as the picture of the origin of modern Romanian military thinking. As regards the theoretical discussions between the wars that enriched Romanian military thought, we think that

many tactical maneuvers as well as the value of the moral volitive factor have been successfully verified in practice, in the fire of the insurrections and the offensive against Hitler's and Horthy's troops to liberate Romania's territory from foreign occupation.

Appealing to the most diverse interests and specialties, which have however one point in common, namely interest in the field of military history, the volume is a notable publication calling the readers' attention to the results of the military and civilian researchers' investigations.

5186
CSO: 2700

SILVER TRAFFICKING IN TIMIS COUNTY DESCRIBED

[Editorial Report] An article by Victor Birladeanu and Cezar Ioana in Bucharest SCINTEIA of 20 November 1980, pages one and five, reports on the silver trafficking activity of foreign citizen M. P. and his Romanian accomplice, Dorin Luca: "One day in March, at the Nadlac border crossing point, a car with a foreign license plate appeared. Foreign citizen M. P. got out. He was anxious to cross the border as soon as possible so he would not be late for a business meeting in a Western capital. His haste aroused the curiosity of the customs officers. Under the back seat of the car they found a large quantity of silver, most of it industrial silver, in the form of discs, contacts, plates and wire. He took the investigators to the place where the transaction [of exchanging gold jewelry for the silver] had taken place, the garage of a building in Timisoara, on Dorobanti street. The garage was beautifully decorated. It was equipped with a scales for weighing the precious metal. The only thing missing was the partner in the 'transactions.' He was found by the police in 20 days. His name is Dorin Luca."

The article says that Luca was arrested on the same charge twice before, in 1973, and paid the fines of 70,000 and 60,000 lei respectively the next day. But in the current case, he has been sentenced to 8 years in jail and fined 1.8 million lei (the value of the 5 kg of gold jewelry received for the industrial silver--the jewelry has not been discovered yet).

The article discusses the "professional witnesses" who provided alibis for Luca justifying the fact that he accumulated wealth without working. These "friends" falsified hotel records and gave Luca false employment references. "We cannot dismiss the fact that such apparently unimportant gestures, on the part of people of 'good will' contribute to the appearance and proliferation of individuals like Dorin Luca. All of us, all citizens must come to the conclusion that it is not enough to become indignant and to express, sometimes violently and emphatically, our disapproval of these sociomoral phenomena, which are truly incompatible with the climate of our society. We must demonstrate our unrelenting vigilance under all circumstances. We must take an unambiguous stand against all attempts to amass wealth without work. Despite the fact that the silver was for industrial use, a raw material used only in some enterprises in the country, no unit has reported its loss (and it was not a matter of a few grams but of 140 kg) and, as a result no unit has been named as a civil party in the case. This role has been assigned to the National Bank which has taken

the entire quantity of silver into its custody. Where are the victims? Why are they not taking any steps to recover the silver? This is a question of a moral nature which touches, in essence, the attitude toward public property. A question which awaits a reply. A reply which, undoubtedly, the investigative organs, will discover so that the lack of responsibility (or, perhaps, much more) will receive due punishment."

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

CRIMINALS POSING AS REFUGEES--In the summer of 1977 Ceausescu signed a decree of amnesty, releasing from prison 25,000 common criminals--especially young people--who were serving sentences for theft, burglary, robbery, etc. From 1978 on, a good number of these people resumed their pursuits and were arrested again. But this time, in order to get rid of them they were sent to the passport offices in the localities in which they live and given the choice of applying for a passport to leave the country of shoveling manure for years. In this way, more than 1,200 such elements were dumped on the Western market. (See BIRE No 672 of 1 March 1978.) We reported at that time that about 400 of this lot arrived in France. For several months, the French jails, especially in Normandy, have been full of such "refugees." They organize into groups, engaging in multiple thefts, break-ins and robberies in many regions in France. The number of those arrested bearing the name of "refugees" has reached about 80 delinquents, all between the age of 23 and 30. It is interesting to note that the majority of those arrested have driving licenses, issued by Romania before their departure. Others have false identity documents issued by the Romanian authorities. [Excerpts] [Paris BULETINUL DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 24 Dec 80 p 3]

ILLEGAL COLLABORATION WITH FOREIGNERS--An article by Ilie Tanasache entitled "Sometimes, Guilt Begins at the Border Between Credulousness and Irresponsibility," published on page four of Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 November 1980 relates the story of Werner Adolf Goos, a researcher at the Institute for Energetics Research and Modernization [ICEMENERG] in Bucharest who became addicted to alcohol and "on his own, began to make contact with various foreign citizens, representatives of firms interested in selling on the Romanian market. On his own and violating the laws, he visited their hotel and accompanied them from restaurant to restaurant." They asked him to give favorable reports on products which their firm was interested in selling on the Romanian market. They asked him for the results of scientific research which would be licensed abroad. Goos and his "predatory companion drew up a strategy for removing from the country the results of research which were to be licensed. Everything was calculated up to the most minute details, including deposits in accounts in foreign banks. But, each of the three authors of the research who were contacted by Goos refused the proposal with indignation and his shameful intention to commit theft was revealed. [Editorial Report]

ALLEGED VOITEC OUTBURST--On the occasion of his 80th birthday and the awarding to him of the title "academician," Stefan Voitec gave a speech attacking Elena Ceausescu in a violent and coarse manner. He also attacked Nicolae Ceausescu, accusing him of "betraying Marxist socialism and betraying his socialist friends by aligning himself with the communist band which has destroyed Romania." Stefan Voitec was immediately taken away by the Securitate and transported to a psychiatric asylum. Later, activists reported that Stefan Voitec suffered a heart attack, the same diagnosis given in the case of Constantin Pirvulescu, and that he was hospitalized in Elias Hospital, which proved to be incorrect. It is not known whether or not he is still alive. [Excerpts] [Paris BULETINUL DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 25 Dec 80 p 3]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Ionescu is appointed deputy chairman of the National Council for Water Resources, Comrade Cecilia-Maria Draghici is appointed deputy chairman of the State Committee for Prices, and Comrade Emil Hatos is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Higher Court for Financial Control. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 106, 22 Dec 80 p 3]

CSO: 2700

CASE AGAINST DISSIDENTS TUDJMAN, GOTOVAC DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Dec 80 p 3

[Report by "V.M.": "'Carillo and Berlinguer Would Be in Prison in Yugoslavia'--Belgrade Proceeds With Political Trials of 'Dissidents'"]

[Text] Vienna, 28 December--The post-Tito Yugoslav leadership now apparently has definitely decided to proceed with political trials of so-called dissidents. In Zagreb formal charges have been lodged against the two Croatian intellectuals and authors Dr Frajo [Franjo] Tudjman and Vlado Gotovac. The trial, which no doubt is also apt to cause a sensation abroad, is expected to take place as soon as early January. Frajo [Franjo] Tudjman is a former partisan leader and general, who later became a historian and one of the leading representatives of the Croatian movement of 1970 and 1971. Gotovac is a writer who at that time was in charge of the journal HRVATSKI TJEDNIK. Both were sentenced to lengthy prison terms in 1972--Gotovac to 4 years, which he had to serve in the ill-famed Gradiska prison, and Tudjman to a lesser sentence. Tudjman protested the fact that the record discriminated against him by describing him as a pensioner.

The indictment charges that both Croats "with help from abroad" described Yugoslav "sociopolitical conditions in a malign and untruthful manner, thus violating the "principles of social order and security" in Yugoslavia by conducting "enemy propaganda" as per paragraph 133 of the penal code. It appears quite significant in this connection that Yugoslav intellectuals have recently demanded that so-called "verbal offenses" be struck from the Yugoslav penal code. To this, leading papers of the country reacted by stating that such prosecution was hardly occurring any more anyway. Now an indictment is being made against prominent dissidents precisely on the basis of the said paragraphs, Croatian and other Yuboslav intellectuals, including Gotovac and Tudjman, also recently, in a petition, demanded the release of all political prisoners in Yugoslavia. The circumstances surrounding the indictment lead one to assume that it is a question of a political decision based on systematic preliminary police work, including the arrest and expiusion of foreign journalists and confiscation of their material last summer.

A large part of the indictment against Gotovac and Tudjman is based on a Swedish television broadcast back in 1978 which for some strange reason the authorities in Zagreb have only now found to contain incriminating material. The indictment otherwise makes things easy for itself. Quoting utterances by the defendants vis-a-vis foreign journalists, it describes them universally as "false" and then from

this statement of its own, again without citing any reason, draws the conclusion that the mentioned criminal offenses have been proven. The defendants protested this procedure, particularly since, at least in one instance, in an interview with an Italian woman journalist, the statements by Tudjman and Gotovac evidently had been quoted inexactly and even wrongly. Further, the defendants stated, it was not their fault that Croatian exile publications had printed their utterances; they had never made any statements to them.

In the indictment the authorities, among other things, charge that defendant General Tudjman made the following "false" and "untrue" statements: "In my opinion, the key problem of the Yugoslav national question is the problem between Serbs and Croats. Let us make it possible for both Serbian and Croatian intelligent people, intellectuals as well as politicians, finally to sit down at a common table and say in common: Enough of the mutual misunderstandings, accusations, clashes and killing!" Or: "In Yugoslavia the national question has been solved ideally by the constitution, but theory and practice are not quite the same. This is also difficult elsewhere, but in Yugoslavia it has so far been one of the main problems."

Elsewhere Tudjman expresses the view that in today's Yugoslavia any open advocacy of Croatian interests is immediately received with distrust and dismissed as "separatism or conservatism." He states: "Croatian revolutionaries are connected with any kind of profascist elements--which makes no sense at all--instead of democratic solutions being sought within the socialist framework."

In Tudjman's opinion, today the leaders of the communist parties of West Europe are also seeking democratic and pluralistic solutions. "Recently a high party official in Yugoslavia stated that in Yugoslavia the leaders of Eurocommunism--that is, Carillo, Berlinguer and their following--would be described as counter-revolutionaries and put in prison, but a pluralist democracy--in other words, the ideas of Eurocommunism--runs counter to most deep seated Yugoslav conditions. What accords with these, however? Apparently the fact that here only a leadership is allowed to make decisions--or, to put it even more concretely, the top of this leadership." This statement, it appears, is being regarded by the prosecution as particularly "false" and "incorrect."

8790
CSO: 2300

IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL TRENDS DISCUSSED IN ARTICLE SERIES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13, 14, 16, 17 Dec 80

[Article by Nandor Major: "Current Political-Ideological Trends in Culture"]

[13 Dec 80, p 9]

[Text] Motivated by the obligation to create the best possible conditions for development of culture, on the eve of the 10th LCY Congress the League of Communists mobilized all the organized socialist forces to work out a new conception envisioning the development of culture which would be appropriate to the present phase of our revolution. As is well known, the essence of that conception lies in building relations in which the associated workers, those from the field of culture and those from the remainder of associated labor, would become the makers of culture and cultural policy in that intermediaries between them would be eliminated and they would enter into agreement on an equal footing concerning the needs, resources and tasks of culture. It was understood that the previous narrow conception of culture and its restriction to the operation of traditional cultural institutions and to artistic creativity, which had the characteristics of being exceptional and elevated, would be replaced by conception of culture as a way of life and work of working people, whose orientation would be toward its becoming an integral part of people's everyday life.

This vision of the development of culture and its achievements signify the best conditions for a flowering of cultural creativity and is therefore in the objective historic interest not only of the working class, but also of the intelligentsia and other working strata--that is to say, of virtually our entire society. But this does not mean that between the working class and the intelligentsia, and, of course, other categories of the working people as well, there are not individuals and groups whose interests at the moment are opposed to this or different. This is manifested in the differing ideological approaches to solving particular issues, in the formation of differing ideological platforms and in the currents between them.

The Longing for Legitimacy

It is extremely important to emphasize that there are ideological approaches which differ from the approaches of the League of Communists, say, in deciding the status of independent artists, the institutional development of the theater, the social status of books, and so on, yet they are still on the line of development of the relations of socialist self-management. Over the last decade the League of Communists has been honoring to an ever greater degree differences of this kind as an expression of the pluralism of interests in self-management and has been respecting specific solutions as an expression of the balance of power at a particular time and in a particular place, even in cases when those solutions diverged from what it had been advocating. To be sure, the LCY should show greater consistency in this and should therefore oppose organs and individuals within its own ranks which are holding back the realization of its policy along these lines.

We must at the same time emphasize that the system of socialist self-management democracy leaves no room for the operation of forces and elements which would develop society, including culture, in another and essentially nonself-management direction. In the period that has passed bourgeois-liberalistic, statist-bureaucratic, technomanagerial, New Leftist, nationalistic and other forces and elements, usually tied up with one another, have been the bearers of such aspirations. They have already been defeated several times, but they are still with us and will remain with us for a long time, or new ones will set themselves up, since they are not recruited solely from the ranks of the remnants of the old classes disenfranchised by the revolution, nor are these only bearers of ideological influences from abroad, but they also reproduce themselves as an expression of contradictory developments in our own society.

Here it is that the political-ideological battle begins against the elements opposed to self-management, that is, opposition elements. They are continuously striving for recognition as an integral part of our system and for the status of a legitimized opposition. Some of them have been arguing for years, and are continuing even today, that the dividing line is not drawn by answering the question of being for or against socialist self-management, but by the answer to the question of being for or against socialism, or for or against "left-wing forces," which would mean accepting the possibility of development in the direction of statist socialism and in the direction of social-democratic reformism accompanied by a possible restoration of small-scale capitalism, that is, the possibility of retrograde development. Would this not mean a newly governmentalized culture or education relying on the market of current ideas. Would we not be destroying the associated workers as principals in culture even before they had truly become that. At the same time it does not bother these "leftists" at all that they are advocating application of the bourgeois conception of democracy and freedom of creativity, that is, that they are joining with right-wing forces in the struggle against the working people, who are developing the relations of self-management.

In culture today, then, the basic dialectical, contradictory process whose outcome is the subject of a fierce ideological struggle is a process in which the associated workers are rising up to become the principals of culture, a process in which physical and intellectual production are beginning to be fused together in a specific way, which leads to overcoming the division of labor under conditions when the division of labor is inevitably reduced within society itself. Not only does this contradiction to some extent, through objective laws, hamper the social forces which are fighting for the associated workers to grow to become the principals in culture, but on that same basis it opens up room for the activity of forces whose positions are not in the spirit of self-management.

There Is No Principal, There Is the Educator

It is well known, that this process is taking culture out of the hands of the technocratic forces, who used it as a means of manipulation in the usurpation of power; that is why they portray the process as "passing the concern for culture onto the workers overburdened with the concerns of economic activity," why they distort the culture of the workplace, and why, using it as a screen, they push through programs aimed at making it easier to "sweat" the workers, and in that respect they gladly frame an alliance with the cultural bureaucracy. But often they find a common language with bourgeois-liberalistic elements as well in supporting the development of what is referred to as mass culture, in advocating the need for development of market relations in culture, and it is here that they have their greatest success thanks to the efforts of various cliques of cultural workers operating from group-ownership positions in the fields of popular music, filmmaking, and often television and the theater as well. (Only in recent months have major divergences in material and social relations in the filmmaking of Slovenia and Serbia come to light, but a few years ago they were evident in a similar form in the filmmaking of Bosnia-Hercegovina.)

The statist-bureaucratic forces are making every effort so that the decisive influence of government agencies, which supposedly are the only reliable agents of the interests of society as a whole and reliable implementers of party policy, is retained at least for the self-managed communities of interest. The New Leftists are blinded by the Messianic role of the intelligentsia; at this point they joined the bureaucratic forces in supporting a didactic cultural policy: the policy that culture should merely become broader and be made accessible to the workers, while at the same time nothing is said about the role of the principal in culture being intended for some unidentified educator.

We might say that even the certified forces opposed to self-management have not dared to directly oppose the class essence of our cultural policy, that is, that the associated workers are to become the principal in the field of culture. As we shall see, they prefer to enter into confrontation with us over certain peripheral and partial cultural issues. In this respect we have almost an exception in the theory which holds that in all past societies culture has been "possible" only as a counterculture: socialistic

under capitalism, nonculture in the societies of so-called "socialist realism," and finally, since in socialist self-management, in the context of pluralism of the interests of self-management, culture is supposedly becoming instituted as classless culture, it has become directly possible. There is an obvious attempt here to court a society which has "become mature" for culture, but at the price of accepting the concept of the "classless nature" of culture, which would be used as a screen for affirming the technocratic ideological conception of the supposed "twilight of ideology" in the field of culture and for elimination of the issue of who is to be the principal in the field of culture--whereas in actuality the principal would certainly not vanish.

[14 Dec 80, p 7]

[Text] Just as the League of Communists has not itself developed and imposed the vision of cultural level, but has enlisted all the creative forces in society for this task, so it has acted in the same way with respect to statement of that vision in concrete terms and initiation of action to realize it. In this activity there has also been room for spontaneous display of desires and for a creative thrust by a broad group of working people taking differing political-ideological approaches to resolving the various issues along the line of developing the relations of socialist self-management. But there have also been strivings opposed to self-management.

The activity began with great fervor, though from the outset it was a drawback that the organized socialist forces had neither in the overall nor in the various quarters worked out sufficiently clear schedules of their goals and tasks. The illusion apparently existed that a set of solutions to that question would also be found through spontaneous action. The activity conducted over the entire breadth of the front usually was undertaken as though all goals were equally accessible, and for that reason unrealistic tasks were also emphasized as though the time had come for their performance.

On this basis demands were made here and there for amateurism to be given absolute priority, while professional work would only be tolerated until it was abolished, though in practice there were tendencies toward a covert professionalization of amateurism. Likewise, while here and there some people ignored any sort of separate role for the intelligentsia, saying that this was the issue of the day, others expected of the intelligentsia that it would replace the working class in the future revolutionary development of the entire society.

Programmed Color Blindness

If one were to set forth most succinctly and therefore very incompletely certain results achieved in cultural creativity, we would mention the improved conditions for the equal development of the culture of our nationalities and ethnic minorities and for their participation in interrepublic

cooperation and would refer to the upsurge of graphic, film and even musical art, to accompany the previous upsurge of literature in Kosovo, we would refer to the large-scale researches into the common cultural heritage of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We would certainly also emphasize the flourishing of what is called workplace culture in numerous sizable economic organizations all over the country and the amateur activity of the working people in local communities, especially in Slovenia and Croatia, and also in connection with programming the activities of cultural centers in Vojvodina. We would dwell with satisfaction on the upsurge of artistic creativity: all over the country we have entered into a mature period of artistic prose, dramatic literature has experienced a true flowering, the theater has been given a new impetus because the domestic drama has enlivened the repertoire and the public has come back, the domestic film is finding its way to the domestic public thanks to the appearance of new schools of the film and a broadening of genres, and it is taking an important step in finding its own identity, various directions and centers in the graphic arts are multiplying all over the country, and so on.

Certain opposition forces, however, take exactly the opposite view of this: namely, that beginning in 1972 the social climate has not been sufficiently favorable for artistic and scientific creativity. Exemplars of what is called the "black wave," which might better be referred to as a programmed color blindness in Yugoslav filmmaking, assert even today that the path of development of the first-rate creators was interrupted at that time and that nothing has happened with the domestic film since that time. We even hear it said in the artistic world that beginning at that time we have had a kind of "cultural revolution," a term that is certainly not meant as a compliment. The same thing is asserted in connection with the development of science. For years we have heard from the ranks of the former members of the PRAXIS group that since the teaching of Marxism was introduced and the teaching of sociology discontinued in secondary schools the attitude displayed toward sociology as an independent science has been similar to the attitude taken in the time of Stalinism and that therefore the social conditions for this science's development have been unfavorable over the last decade. They say much the same about the development of philosophy. In recent months there have been those who said that this also applies to the economic sciences. And the year that is given is always 1972--the year when the letter of Comrade Tito and the Executive Bureau appeared.

If the present situation is to be represented according to the example of the free exchange of labor, in spite of the departure from the budget-statist method of financing culture and the relations created on that basis, we would say that we still have not essentially cut the umbilical cord that ties us to those relations, but at the same time the present relations are imbued with a high degree of democratization as compared to the previous situation.

There Is No Independent Battle

It is well known that when a majority of the OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] are not capable of planning their income, they are still less capable of planning their own cultural needs. Only one-third of the OOUR's have any data on their cultural needs, and these are mainly those which they will meet through their own activity or by purchasing programs from certain cultural institutions. Plans of cultural needs which are fulfilled in the SIZ [self-managed community of interests] do not grow out of the plans of OOUR's, but are drafted within the SIZ's, with the cultural institutions exerting the decisive influence. They are ratified by votes in OOUR's, which are mainly formal, and on that basis delegate assemblies assess the contribution, and executive bodies approve payments to cultural institutions out of the revenues collected on the basis of criteria which have been specifically established. This breaks the chain in the exchange of labor between those rendering services and those to whom they are rendered, and the SIZ figures as an intermediary similar to the government. Moreover, the funds are paid out on the basis of assumed work, with no check on quality and quantity; that is, the elements of the budget financing of institutions in this field have been retained. Nevertheless, never have so many people had an opportunity to influence the shaping of cultural quality, the satisfaction of cultural needs and the use of funds intended for culture, nor is there a country with a similar degree of democratization of relations in culture. So, though we do not yet have true exchange of labor, this is a result we can be proud of.

But even in connection with the free exchange of labor there have been differing ideological conceptions, but two basic tendencies are the most pronounced: the first and at present predominant one is that the free exchange of labor is "free of the government and of the market," that is, socialist commodity production is either not recognized, or it is restricted to relations in physical production, and this gives rise to the supposition of dualism in socioeconomic relations within associated labor. However, in the absence of objectified criteria, values of this "free" exchange are essentially subjectified, and they thereby open up the breach to voluntarism.

According to the other tendency, the key issue in the free exchange of labor is evaluation of the most widely differing intellectual works in order to guarantee equivalent exchange, which is the only way of guaranteeing the equal social status of participants in the exchange. But the standards of measurement, and it is objective standards which are sought, can be derived only from the market of intellectual services in the context of socialist commodity production. In this case, however, we are threatened by the danger that the free exchange of labor will be used only as a screen for an attempt to reestablish market relations even in those fields of intellectual effort in which even bourgeois society did not succeed in establishing commodity production (to be sure, capitalistic) without running the risk of destroying the essence of that work (for example, in artistic creativity). A suspicion therefore arises that the free exchange of labor will not in this case differ essentially from a market exchange of labor.

In spite of the results achieved, we note that workers in material production have encountered increasing difficulties in mastering income in the latter half of the seventies; the technobureaucratic forces have been seizing power more and more, even over income that has not yet been earned. The efforts of the workers in the process of becoming the principal in the field of culture have slackened and died down. But even the creative initiative of the intellectuals has had less and less thrust. It has been borne out in practice that in the process in which they are to become the principals in the field of culture, workers in physical production and workers in intellectual production can go forward only together, and cultural workers cannot through some independent battle win that position only for themselves, leaving the workers in physical production to do this when they become able. At this point we come to those social roots of a greater linkage than ever before between ideological developments in culture and ideological developments in physical production.

[16 Dec 80, p 9]

[Text] After Djilas' failure last fall to publish a journal called CASOVNIK [TIMEPIECE] for opposition elements--that is the first opposition effort in recent years with a clearly stated aim--this fall an appeal has been made by Tadic and Cosic with a letter and platform on behalf of a nine-member initiating group not only to "opponents of the regime" or "dissidents," as they are referred to in the foreign press, but also to intellectuals who do not share their political convictions, seeking cooperation in a future "critical" journal, and then applying to the competent authorities for a permit to issue the journal. Actually the purpose is the same: to organize an opposition though this is unconstitutional and to obtain de facto sanction.

Abroad the initiative was used in propaganda against Yugoslavia and to exert psychological and political pressure on our country along the lines of "the inevitability of changes after Tito" is being felt in Yugoslavia, "de-Titoization" has already begun, and supposedly to reinforce this, they write about "dissidents in Yugoslavia" who "are seeking greater rights and freedoms," and they say that "the oppositionists obviously feel that this is the end of the cease fire."

Proper judgments of the character and "importance" of the initiative of Tadic and Cosic have been given in the communication of the Presidium of the City Conference of the Socialist Alliance and in commentary published in newspapers.

Similar initiatives taken to start up journals in Ljubljana and Skopje do not have the weight and "importance" of Tadic's initiative, either in their purpose or in their manner of execution. Though the sponsors of the latter initiative even furnished untruthful evaluations of the situation in culture and certain of their views smack of oppositionism, they nevertheless want to resolve the problems within the Socialist Alliance, in a publishing

enterprise in the socialized sector, they want to collaborate on this, but they themselves are not looking for collaborators.

But beginning with last fall we note some six or seven other lines of petty-critical and opposition activity whose particularly prominent goals are spotted rather easily.

Behind the Masks of Awards

The fierce campaign for reevaluation of the positions of the League of Communists concerning the films of what is called the "black wave" of Yugoslav filmmaking--to the effect that they are dehumanized and have an anticommunist intonation--began first in certain Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana newspapers. A lengthy list of directors was drawn up, and titles of films which are supposedly all in a vault were strung out, and a call was issued for those--the institutions and individuals were named--who are responsible for preventing the Yugoslav public from seeing what supposedly are works of supreme artistic value. The directors of current films on subjects drawn from the National Liberation Struggle--in which, to be sure, there is something to be criticized--are pejoratively referred to as experts at pyrotechnics, and their films are called the "red wave." The reevaluation did not occur, but an attempt was made at that time to at least achieve the parallel affirmation and existence of the two opposing views with the public. It is here that Zika Pavlovic, Aleksandar Petrovic, and others made themselves heard.

At midyear another goal became evident: that public awards and recognition was being provided for the new works of certain "oppositionists"--and for those who at one time were in conflict with the League of Communists--and that pressure was being exerted in this way for reaffirmation of their works which previously had been questioned. At the same time this creates the impression that "society" is awarding real talents, while the League of Communists sooner or later comes into conflict with them. They had quite a bit of success in making awards to these directors. I do not wish to mention names, most people in the field of culture recall them anyway. In most cases the attention of the public was specifically drawn to the fact that the previous works of these directors had been questioned.

A great campaign was waged and pressure was put for Zika Pavlovic to win the award at the Pula Festival for his film "So Long Until the Next War," and when this did not happen, a fierce campaign was waged against all those who did not accept and esteem the author's message that the revolution should be lowered to the level of any ordinary war.

It is rather symptomatic that this year's "Seven SKOJ [Yugoslav Communist Youth Federation] Secretaries" for creativity in music, which is awarded by the youth organization of Zagreb, was won by the Ljubljana rock group "Pankrti," whose lyrics were described last year in Ljubljana as destructive, and their record was classified as popular music for tax purposes.

It is obvious that we again confront the problems of personnel policy in the makeup of various juries. Some juries have even included people who have signed various "opposition" petitions.

Only when we look at the directors and the films which in recent years have won awards does it become clear that the representatives of the "black wave" in filmmaking are demanding a reassessment and redistribution of their films, encouraged by the fact that in another field, in literature, certain books questioned in the early seventies have again been published, and it seems to them that the previous views have also by that fact been revised in recent years. For example, in 1978 the disputed books of Bora Cosic were again published, and that same year he won the Nolit Award for a new book. The judgments have not been revised--there is no need--but this does not mean that some of these books and works should not continue to be accessible to the public.

Freedom Available

This marks the beginning of the third line of action of certain "opposition" elements: certain earlier events considered to have been initiated by the League of Communists are condemned; actions carried out by individuals and on which the League of Communists has not issued a judgment have been attributed to the League of Communists; attempts are still being made to portray certain people as though they were in conflict with the League of Communists in spite of their new books which have a progressive intonation, and the fault for the conflict is laid to the League of Communists; the League of Communists is called upon to answer a whole number of "incomprehensible" questions, and in essence a demand is being issued for it to be made accountable.

The question is raised, for example, as to how the "case with Kovac and the Milovan Glisic Award" could have occurred,* how is that some books have not been available for 7 or 8 years and entire generations have graduated from school without seeing them; how is it that the names of some, Kocbek for instance, have allegedly for years been heard only in a pejorative sense; it is said that since 1972 we have had a "mild form of a cultural revolution," allegedly of the regressive type, since in the actions at that time voluntarism pure and simple prevailed instead of an adherence to principle. Finally, it is asserted that all this is now over. Bora Cosic says that historical justice has been achieved faster than one would have thought, since "such a turnabout has been accomplished in less than 10 years"!

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* In 1972 Mirko Kovac was awarded the Milovan Glisic Award in Valjevo for his book "Rane Luke Mesterevica" [The Wounds of Luka Mesterevic], and then it was taken away from him after the book was severely criticized, and the award itself was discontinued. This year the same book has been published in revised form, it now includes a new short story for which Mirko Kovac was awarded this year's Andric Award. The gossip mill has made attempts to use his name in manipulations, but he has resolutely opposed this.

No one is providing answers to all these questions at present. Indeed, none of these questions can be taken up, that is, it is superfluous to provide a response, but they cannot be passed over in silence. As is evident, there are "oppositionists" who are not only announcing the need for a "change of direction," for "reform," just as certain scientists are already asserting, much like those abroad, that a change of course has already been accomplished.

We should bear in mind that certain of them are already using what is referred to abroad as the "Polish experience." This is a tactic whereby verbal acceptance of the "social system" is the ticket which must be paid for to the authorities and the public if the policy of the League of Communists is to be attacked in connection with endless new issues as they arise. Even Bora Cosic, aside from the assertion that since 1972 we have had a so-called "cultural revolution," and aside from attempts to turn the young generation of filmmakers, whom he refers to as "well-mannered" and "suitable in the extreme," against the policy of the League of Communists and this society, repeating hackneyed arguments to the effect that the artist must be improper, since art consists of "exposing a number of questionable manifestations," has issued the following favorable judgment: "I can say that I have published absolutely everything I have written, everything that can be regarded as complete, and I have had no problems whatsoever in this respect. It seems to me that a man has as much freedom as he is willing to take." We could not have wished for a more glowing statement.

[17 Dec 80, p 5]

[Text] Not all of these activities of petty criticism and opposition have been on a large scale, nor have all been consciously planned and accepted by all participants; some of them have sprung up spontaneously, some people support one particular action or another, sometimes not even detecting its true nature. So, all those who have participated in these opposition activities are not themselves oppositionists, nor are all the lines of activity consciously chosen in advance. Sometimes the "oppositionists" hitch a ride even on the well-intentioned critical initiative of some individual when they conclude that by distorting the initiative or giving it a particular emphasis they can draw some benefit from it. The organized socialist forces should in turn neutralize all the actions of the "oppositionists" as rapidly as possible. After all, the important thing here is not the number of participants, but the character of the phenomenon.

In Favor of Dialog

It must be borne in mind that there are people in science and culture who are not basically on the positions of the League of Communists, but who do not want to belong to the opposition either. Some nevertheless support the policy of the League of Communists, and there are even those who have become members of our organization. They are making their contribution to the construction of socialism and socialist culture, but sometimes they take up positions opposed to the League of Communists.

Party members and all the working people who take the positions of self-management should be encouraged to always take a principled and critical stance when the people we are referring to are on the opposite side, to establish dialog with them, to create an atmosphere in which criticism does not mean a lasting conflict, nor disqualification. One should recall Kardelj's instruction that the League of Communists neither engage in sectarianism, nor strive toward an ideological monopoly. Alongside the set of ideas sponsored by the League of Communists, there is also room for another set of ideas within the front of the organized socialist forces, but not for an opposition. People change and develop, and our attitude toward them must be adapted to that fact. While adhering to the broad ideological foundation of the front of the organized socialist forces as the framework of editorial policy, it is indispensable within that framework to ensure the ongoing presence of clear ideological commitments of the League of Communists on individual cultural issues. There has up to now been success in this, and we are persuaded that there will also be success in the future. It is our old rule that in science and culture creators who are party members ensure through their work the lasting presence of the policy of the League of Communists and its dominance, and that this is not achieved by imposing a narrow-minded editorial policy. Nevertheless, the flood of writings burdened with opposition conceptions in our reviews cannot be justified or corrected by appeals to informed communists to be writing responses all the time. This would thrust us into a position of constantly defending ourselves, of allowing others to dictate to us the topics, of our not being engaged on our real business. It can hardly be said that a majority of our scientists or cultural workers hold Marxist positions--we have never demanded this--though the enormous majority do support the policy of the League of Communists. The non-Marxist approach, however, often leads them into positions which demand and deserve answers. At certain times and in certain places inquiries of this kind are even artificially hastened. Thus we should always have reasons for writing responses.

For all these reasons it should be understood that the obligations of the League of Communists as an organization cannot always be identified with the obligations of the individual creator who is a member of the party. Conditions for implementing the programmatic views of the League of Communists to the effect that no single school or current in art and science establish its monopoly and that none of them appropriate the role of an arbiter for itself when the League of Communists has renounced such a role cannot be achieved solely through the efforts of party members as individuals, but rather the League of Communists is responsible as an organization for the development of society as a whole, and that means also for the development of all sectors, with the support of the Socialist Alliance. The League of Communists has not yet been so organized that it can guarantee this. This is one of our priority tasks.

I would remind you that Kardelj wrote "Beleske o nasoj drustvenoj kritici" [Notes on Our Social Criticism] back in 1966, and subsequent events have borne him out. No one has continued his work; we lack an overview of the

various tendencies in our social criticism today. But we do not even have a theoretical treatment of the role of social criticism under the conditions, as Kardelj said, of the pluralism of self-management interests. However, in the ranks of the activists there are substantial differences even in the conception of that pluralism, and this is creating quite a bit of confusion. But unless it deals with that issue the League of Communists cannot in the present phase of development take the lead as it should in the revolutionary criticism of society and in its alteration.

Criticism of Social Criticism

As always, we must emphasize even now: the "oppositionists" are most effectively displaced by achieving those social relations which we advocate. Thus their opportunities do not lie in their own strength, but in our weakness or in our inability to carry out our own conceptions. We need social criticism precisely so that we can become fit for further action. At present we often encounter dual errors: a recoiling from any sort of criticism and an apology for all criticism. However, our errors are sacred to us: those who blindly defend all current solutions in society are pushing us into a futile dogmatic defensive posture, and those who are rushing into an unsparing criticism of the present situation, without taking into account the positions on which they base their criticism, are opening up our ranks to the oppositionists. And when the cards are shuffled, our ability to act drops off sharply, the "oppositionists" attempt to take the initiative and to impose on us those issues which they themselves have chosen.

That is why not only social criticism, but also criticism of social criticism should become a part of our everyday practice. Kardelj rightly said: "Accordingly, just as qualified social criticism is a condition for the progress of our socialist society, so a continuous critical clarification of the issue of the particular social role and specific effect of this or that criticism is a condition for development of competent and truly scientific social criticism."

But here again we make errors. Both we and the "oppositionists" assert, for example, that our science is full of normativism and apologetics. However, the "oppositionists" regard as nonapologetic only those works whose points of departure are outside that vision of social development which we set forth in the early seventies, and they do not include those which critically examine our present practice and seek creative solutions without departing from that same line. We do not regard even these latter as apologetic. We also forget that apologetics are possible not only with respect to society, but also with respect to works and ideas of overrated geniuses and that there is also dogmatism in bourgeois liberalism and anarcholiberalism and not just in vulgar Marxism.

That is why we should not allow confusion over the question of the position from which something is being criticized. We need a line of demarcation. In the recent past there have been quite a few cases of evasion from

clearly defining our critical position; it has been said that we need a responsible criticism, and honest criticism, an open criticism, a consistent criticism, and an authentic criticism--all that is so, but behind that there is a fluid content, everyone is implying something different, and for that reason this cannot be a substitute for the fact that the League of Communists advocates social criticism from the positions of the working class in its struggle for a society in which there is sufficient room for criticism regardless of the position on which it is based, which certainly includes positions which are non-Marxist, if it is basically on the line of development of the relations of socialist self-management, that is, within the framework of the platform of the front of organized socialist forces. We should always emphasize these two elements of our struggle.

There Is No Room for Apologetics

From the strategic standpoint party members will in developing and nurturing social criticism adhere to the well-known position in the bylaws that nothing is so sacred that it cannot be changed. Certainly the historical approach will be taken even in this: some things are discontinued, some are superseded, and still others developed. Self-management, the federal principle and nonalignment are revolutionary achievements which cannot be contested in any way in our society, at the present level of development. But the tactical line of demarcation between the organized socialist forces and those who take positions opposed to them is plotted by the principles of our system of self-management relations as set forth in the documents of the 10th and 11th LCY congresses and the constitution, and the solutions contained in all other laws, that is, in other documents, even though they may be referred to as laws embodying the system, constitute the mechanism of the system and are subject to constant reassessment and amendment as soon as they fail to achieve the purpose for which they were designed or fail to go in the direction which the principles outline. But even they cannot be contested from just any position.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize: one of the basic prerequisites of the development of qualified social criticism is development of Marxist criticism. It is well known that Marxist criticism of culture has not been developed. The organized socialist forces have a particular interest in its development, since its characteristic method is one which facilitates the revolutionary alteration of the situation; conversely, they have no interest in applying a method which is neglectful of exactly that. The advantage of Marxism is also manifested in the fact that it does not reject the results of any method, but clearly and constantly criticizes the limitation of every direction, of every method, even its own, and on that basis builds up its own self-regulating system. Marxism has a fundamental advantage, but this certainly does not mean that this advantage will be found in every individual book written with Marxist intentions. For that reason there is no room for engaging in apologetics either toward Marxism or toward Marxists. The organized socialist forces will respect as human freedom and the freedom of creativity the commitment of any scientist and

workingman to any school of science, be it structuralism, functionalism, positivism or whatever that is a basically progressive view of everything, and it will utilize and esteem every individual scientific work or human knowledge depending on whether it offers relevant knowledge of reality because in a particular way it has overcome the limitations which are otherwise inherent in the school, in the method, or in the view of the world to which they are related.

I believe that the organized socialist forces, seizing upon these things that have been learned, will be able to give a new thrust to the struggle to build new relations in culture and to the development of cultural, scientific and artistic creativity and ultimately to the development of the human personality.

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CSO: 2800

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28 July 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1902

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28 July 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1902

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Foreign Military Information
(ARMEYSKI PREGLED, No 6, 1981)..... 1

Briefs
Grigorov Return 4
Todorov Activities 4
Interelectro Participation 4
Leaders at Celebration 4
Bozhinov in Burgas 5
Filipov in Razgrad 5
Mongolian Ambassador's Reception 5
Indian Minister Arrives 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Trade Union Organizes Summer Camps 6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG Purchase of GDR Political Prisoners' Freedom Reported
(DIE WELT, 16 Jun 81) 7

POLAND

Dobrosielski's Article on Poland, Madrid Meeting Noted
(Marian Dobrosielski; SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, Jan 81) 8

Adjustment of Young Naval Officers to Initial Assignments
(Jozef Reka; PRZEGLAD MORSKI, Jul-Aug 80) 17

ROMANIA

Party History, 'National-International' Relationship Reviewed
(Mihnea Gheorghiu; VIITORUL SOCIAL, Mar-Apr 81) 21

Roundtable Discussion on Preventing, Combatting Crime
(Ioan Ceterchi; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Jun 81) 33

YUGOSLAVIA

Kosovo Ethnic, Population Data From 1981 Census
(Rr. Rugova; RILINDJA, 14 May 81) 49

Briefs
Hostile Slogans in Split 52
Slovenian Youth in Church 52
Prison for Hostile Propaganda 52
Vigilance in Border Area 53
Dragosavac, Deva in Gnjilane 53
Pec Hospital Disputes 53
New Socialist Book 54

FOREIGN MILITARY INFORMATION

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 6, 1981 pp 127-128

[Article: Title as above; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The land forces of the European member countries of the NATO bloc (excluding France) have about 12,500 medium tanks and more than 18,000 armored carriers./[1]

It is anticipated that in 1981 an additional 710 tanks and armored carriers, 150 artillery guns, 840 PU PTUR [antitank guided missile launchers], 4300 grenade launchers, about 390 combat aircraft and helicopters, 75 PU ZUR [antiaircraft guided missile launchers] and 13 ships will be put into service. The decision has been made to modernize more than 400 tanks, more than 450 combat aircraft and other types of weapons.

/The American telescopic night sight AN/TVS-5 mounted on a 12.7mm/ M2HB machine gun makes it possible to detect by moonlight a motor vehicle up to 1200 m away. The instrument makes use of an electron-optical image intensifier. The sight's visual field is 9°, its magnification 3X, its weight 3 kg. It is powered by two 2.5-volt batteries whose capacity provides continuous operation for 12 hours. The AN/TVS-5 night sight is being put into service in the land forces of the United States.

/The West German combat reconnaissance vehicle "Lux"/ has a four-man crew; combat weight 19.5 tons; armament--20mm automatic gun and 7.62mm antiaircraft machine gun; horsepower of the diesel engine 390; maximum speed on the highway 90 km/hr, afloat 10 km/hr; range per charging 800 km. It has been in service in the reconnaissance battalions of the divisions of the land forces of the FRG (408 vehicles) since 1975.[2]

The first three F-104G fighter-bombers, which had previously been in service in the naval air arm of the FRG, were put into service /in the Turkish Air Force/ in December 1980. Delivery of these aircraft will continue while the West German Air Force is rearmed with new Tornado multipurpose tactical fighters. In addition, about 40 F-104 aircraft are coming from the Netherlands as the Netherlands Air Force rearms with F-16 fighters.

/At the flight test center of the/ Messerschmitt, Bolkow and Blohm /Company/ (in the city of Manching, FRG), 10 pilots and six instructor navigators have

completed their training. They have been sent to a special training unit activated at (Cotesmoor) airfield (Great Britain), where in May 1981 they will begin to teach air force flight personnel of the FRG, Great Britain and Italy to fly the new Tornado multipurpose tactical fighter.

/MLRS Volley Fire Rocket System/

In 1980 more than 32 MLRS-type rocket-launching artillery combat vehicles came into service in the U.S. Army. In the next two years the total number thereof is supposed to reach 173.

The MLRS combat vehicle is a new Xm-2 track-laying infantry combat vehicle on which is mounted a package of projectors (two six-tube sections with armor protection). Fire is delivered with 227mm rocket projectiles at a range of 70 km not only with single rounds but also in volleys. A volley lasts for one minute.

The system is intended for the destruction of personnel and light armored equipment, for counterbattery fire, for firing with smoke, illuminating and chemical ammuniction, with electronic weapons, and with volumetric-explosion [s obemen vzriv] ammunition.

Every combat vehicle is supplied with an automated control system consisting of a device for making computed firing corrections with allowance for the velocity and direction of trailer wind [pritsepniya vyatur; possibly error for pritselniya vyatur, "wind at target," or prizemniya vyatur, "ground wind"] and for air and charge temperature, as well as with an automatic target homing device.

Two minutes are required for preparation.[3]

In the United States preparations are being completed for the series production of missiles for the Hellfire helicopter antitank system developed by the Rockwell International Company. It is expected that about 43,000 PTUR [antitank guided missiles] will be produced for the ground forces. The first 2760 units will be bought in fiscal year 1982.

Within the ground forces of the FRG there are 420 35mm Gepard [Hunting Leopard] twin barreled antiaircraft mounts, which are in service in the antiaircraft regiments of the divisions.

In the European countries of NATO there are 54 launchers for the Lance guided missile, including 26 in the FRG, 6 in Italy, 5 in Belgium, 6 in Holland, and the rest in Great Britain.[4]

/Troop-Carrier Helicopter of the British Marines/

At the end of 1979 the British Navy planned to begin the replacement of obsolete Wessex Mk5 helicopters with the new Sea King NS Mk4, which is a modification of the multipurpose Commando Mk2 helicopter and is intended for the transportation of weapons for the marines (105mm guns, B-202 armored carriers) and other combat equipment, as well as for the debarking of landing forces, including paratroopers.

Originally the Navy command ordered 15 helicopters, the first four of which were scheduled to be delivered in 1979-1980 and the rest in 1981. It was anticipated that the new machines would replace all the Wessex Mk5 helicopters in about the middle of the 1980's.

The maximum flying weight of the Sea King NS Mk4 is 9525 kg; empty weight 5543 kg; maximum length with rotor 22.15 m; rotor diameter 18.9 m; height 5.13 m; cruising speed 208 km/hr; climbing speed 10.2 m/sec; static ceiling with allowance for influence of the ground 1525 m; flight range 445 km (with suspended tanks 1500 km). The cargo compartment can accommodate 28 servicemen with their weapons or 2700 kg of cargo. In addition, 3400 kg can be suspended on a steel cable. The helicopter is equipped with two 1600-horsepower N. 1400-1 Guillaume engines from the Rolls-Royce Company.

FOOTNOTES

1. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye" [Foreign Military Review], No. 3, 1981.

2. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye," No. 2, 1981.

3. The magazine "Tekhnika i Vooruzheniye" [Equipment and Armament], No. 4, 1981.

4. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye," No. 4, 1981.

5. The magazine "Zarubezhnoye Voyennoye Obozreniye," No. 1, 1981.

6474
CSO: 2200/116

BRIEFS

GRIGOROV RETURN--Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, returned from the Philippines today, where he attended the inauguration ceremonies for President Marcos. Mitko Grigorov presented a greeting message on behalf of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, to President Marcos, during his stay in the Philippines. [AU121631 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 6 Jul 81 AU]

TODOROV ACTIVITIES--Sofia, 7 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, met Mr Knut Andersen, chairman of the Danish Parliament, who is on an inofficial visit to Bulgaria. Mr Stanko Todovor made the Danish guest familiar with the structure and activity of the National Assembly--the supreme state power body. In reply to the interest shown, the chairman of the National Assembly also dwelt on the democratic nature of the election system in Bulgaria, on the activity of the permanent commissions and on Bulgaria's successes in the field of the economy and agriculture. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 7 Jul 81 AU]

INTERELECTRO PARTICIPATION--Sofia, 8 Jul (BTA)--Within the framework of the Interelectro international organization, Bulgaria specializes chiefly in the manufacture of automatic circuit breakers, voltage regulators, complete distributor devices and micro-engines for tape-recording equipment. The country will also produce some kinds of complete electric driving parts for metal-cutting machines with digical program control. She will manufacture jointly with other socialist countries the "polyfoil" multilayer insulation for the modern electric machines. Bulgaria participates in 15 out of all the 20 agreements regulating the multilateral techno-scientific cooperation work within the framework of Interelectro. She also takes an active part in the "Interelectrotest international organization of the high-power and voltage testing laboratories. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0823 GMT 8 Jul 81 AU]

LEADERS AT CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian People's Revolution was held in Sofia today. Grisha Filipov, Petur Dyulgerov, leaders of public, political and mass organizations attended the celebration which was chaired by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council. Comrade Peko Takov read a report on this glorious date in the history of fraternal Mongolia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

BOZHINOV IN BURGAS--Todor Bozhinov has arrived in Burgas. He visited the petrochemical combine and the new expansion of the sugar plant near Kamenovo village. At a meeting with the leaderships of the construction-assembly organizations and of the "Neftokhim" economic combine, Todor Bozhinov focused attention on the need for timely completing and commissioning the priority projects. He later also visited the Docho Ivanov wood-felling plant, where he spoke about the intensification of the production capacities. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

FILIPOV IN RAZGRAD--A plenum of the Razgrad okrug party committee is being held in Razgrad. Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the plenum. Anastasiy Bonchev, first secretary of the okrug party committee, read a report on further perfecting the socialist organization of labor and on widely implementing the brigade organization in agriculture. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 11 Jul 81 AU]

MONGOLIAN AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION--Mongolian Ambassador to Bulgaria Bayaryn Jadambaa gave a reception at the embassy on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution. Comrades Grisha Filipov, Peko Takov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Milko Balev; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and others attended the reception. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 10 Jul 81 AU]

INDIAN MINISTER ARRIVES--At the invitation of the Committee on Culture, on 12 July an Indian delegation led by (Khobut Manishanker Chudshi), minister of state for information and broadcasting, arrived in Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Boyan Traykov, general director of the Bulgarian radio. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Jul 81 AU]

CSO: 2200/122

BRIEFS

TRADE UNION ORGANIZES SUMMER CAMPS--Over 436,000 children will spend their 1981 summer vacations in over 1,750 Pioneer summer camps organized by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). This summer, ROH will be able to provide summer recreational facilities for 22.5 percent of school-age children, a leader among 17 organizations providing this activity. Together with the Socialist Youth Union, the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association, the Czechoslovak Red Cross and other organizations summer camps are provided for one third of Czechoslovak schoolchildren. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 15 Jul 81 p 4]

CSO: 2400/266

FRG PURCHASE OF GDR POLITICAL PRISONERS' FREEDOM REPORTED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 16 Jun 81 p 4

['hrk' report from Berlin: "Prisoners' Freedom Ransomed for Two Billion Marks. There Are 4,500 Political Prisoners in the GDR."]

[Text] Since 1964 the FRG government has spent two billion marks to buy the freedom of GDR political prisoners. This figure has been calculated by the Working Group "13 August." Reportedly, up to 1,200 prisoners annually have been deported to the FRG to date. During the past two months 300 GDR prisoners have arrived in the West.

The Working Group has noticed a sharp rise in sentences for alleged "anti-state agitation." Western experts view this trend as being linked to the events in Poland.

Rainer Hildebrandt, a spokesman for the Working Group, said yesterday [15 June 1981] that at present about 4,500 political prisoners are being held in the GDR jails, at times under inhuman detention and work conditions. "The total number of prisoners in the GDR has now reached the highest figure to date, 55,000. Concurrently there has been a remarkable increase in the number of those punished for petty crimes."

The East Berlin regime has "on numerous occasions" indicated that it would be ready to make even "greater concessions" in the case of an amnesty for Guenter Guillaume, the chancellor spy. Hildebrandt pointed out that lately sentences for alleged intelligence activity for the FRG have been unusually severe; "this is obviously being done with a view toward increasing the exchange value of Guillaume."

On the eve of the anniversary of the 17 June 1953 uprising, former GDR prisoners now living in the West appealed to the FRG regime to show stronger concern for the lot of the political prisoners in the GDR. "Up to now," the appeal said, "even the most flagrant violations of human rights in the GDR have been ignored. No systematic investigation of such violations has been conducted, nor have there been any efforts to expose them in international forums."

The Working Group also criticized the permissive attitude in the West in connection with attempts by certain companies to recruit help, by means of newspaper ads, among naive people, who subsequently get harsh sentences in the GDR.

CSO: 2300/253

DOBROSIELSKI'S ARTICLE ON POLAND, MADRID MEETING NOTED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 1 Jan 81 pp 7-14

[Article by Marian Dobrosielski: "Poland During Madrid"]

I

[Text] On 11 November 1980 a meeting of the representatives of the 35 states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe began in Madrid. In accord with the resolutions of the Final Act in Helsinki, this was to be one of the steps within the framework of the "continuation of the process of strengthening security and the development of cooperation in Europe" in the multilateral process, and was to achieve an "in-depth exchange of views, both in respect to putting the resolutions of the Final Act into force and in implementing the tasks specified by the Conference, and also with respect to improving their mutual relations, strengthening security and the development of cooperation in Europe, and developing the process of detente in the future, within the context of the problems discussed at the Conference."[1] This interesting and intricate formulation of the Final Act completely specifies the tasks of meetings of the Belgrade or Madrid type, and that is why I have quoted it in its entirety.

For greater clarity it is also worth recalling that among the "tasks specified by the Conference, are, among others: the common goal of the participating states "to overcome confrontation," to "spread and deepen

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* Article is based on those by the author published in TRYBUNA LUDU of 11-12 October and 8-9 November 1980.

[1] For the text of the Final Act of the CSCE, see SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1975, No. 10.

the process of detente and to give it a constant and lasting nature," the aim of seeking "with full consideration of differences and variety in positions and attitudes, possibilities for uniting efforts for the purpose of overcoming suspicion and increasing trust, to solve the problems which cause them and to develop cooperation in the interests of the people." Thus the meeting in Madrid should have been one of the concrete steps in implementing these long-term constructive goals.

The preparatory meeting, begun in Madrid on 9 September 1980, was to make decisions on specifications of the agenda, and the length and schedule of the work of the basic meeting. Apparently the meeting did not deal with exclusively technical and organizational matters. In essence argumentation not only touched on the forms and methods of the work of the conference itself, but also on the proper interpretation of the fragments of the Final Act quoted above.

With some simplification this refers to the fact that the United States and some other Western states are attempting to give the meeting a basic character of confrontation, to transform it into a tribune of indictments against socialist countries and to use it for purposes of anticommunistic propaganda by placing the major emphasis on the matter of a review of the implementation of the Final Act.

It is obvious that the socialist states do not fear confrontation. They are in possession of a sufficient number of arguments to demonstrate that it was precisely the NATO military bloc which acted contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act by making an attempt to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the states of the Warsaw Pact, and attempts to return to the "position of power" policy. The NATO decisions of May 1978 and of December 1979, military doctrines, and particularly the doctrine on the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe are evidence of these goals. All of these things contribute to exacerbating the international situation, especially by unleashing and intensifying the arms race under the most varied pretexts. But the CSCE does not deal with this in the Final Act or in the entire initiating process. It does not involve confrontation, but cooperation, not an arms race but curbing it, not an increase in tension but detente in the political, military and every other field. This is how the socialist states have consistently approached and do approach implementation of the tasks of the Final Act.

This attitude has been clearly reflected in the Declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states-sides of 15 May 1980, and recently in the communication of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the states of this Pact.[2]

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[2] See TRYBUNA LUDU of 16 May and 21 October 1980.

In this communique all of the Warsaw Pact states unanimously expressed support for a continuation of the CSCE process, for implementation of the real current of this process in accord with the spirit and letter of the Final Act. They all support its proposals, contained in the abovementioned Declaration as well as elsewhere, aimed at relieving stresses, continuing and deepening the policy of detente, strengthening security, disarmament, respect for the independence of nations, and respect for relations between states. They have testified to the fact that there are no problems which could not be solved via negotiations, and that there are no types of weapons which could not be the object of understandings with respect to their limitation and reduction.

In the current international situation the socialist states attribute particular importance to the Madrid Meeting. They declare themselves in favor of conducting it in a constructive, not a confrontational, atmosphere, and express their political will to attain understanding in all of the major fields of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe. They are paying special attention to the adoption of a decision in Madrid on calling a conference on the matter of military detente and disarmament in Europe. They also express their support for understanding relating to cooperation in the fields of economy, science and technology, protection of the environment, culture, education, information and contact. Thus the attitude of the socialist states to "Madrid 80" is an attitude which is in principle in conformity with the CSCE Final Act, unanimously favoring continuation of the process of political and military detente, and flexibly approaching all constructive proposals regardless of which side originates them.

This attitude was developed jointly by all of the Warsaw Pact states. Without any false modesty it should be stated that Poland made more than a trifling contribution to its development. We expect a similar approach from all participants in the Madrid Meeting. The situation in Europe is too complex, and the socioeconomic and other problems facing all of us are too difficult, requiring the joining of all existing intellectual and material resources to solve them via cooperation, for us to be able to permit ourselves the "luxury" of confrontation, fruitless arguments, acceleration of the arms race, and the waste of opportunities provided by the policy of detente and cooperation in dealing with the magnitude of the difficulties piling up before us.

The Madrid Meeting is taking place at a time when the international situation is worsening. This increases our responsibility for the course and results of this meeting. An atmosphere of detente alone without essential results is not sufficient but, on the other hand, an atmosphere of hostility and confrontation forms a fundamental obstacle to the achievement of essential results. We must proceed in a way which not only does not complicate such an intricate situation, but we should also make every effort to maintain the course outlined in Helsinki.

We rely on the fact that common sense will prevail in Madrid and that the Meeting will contribute to establishing new incentives, more necessary now than ever, to animate and intensify the policy of political and military detente, to strengthen security in Europe by political means, and to expand mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields. The socialist states expect this from Madrid and will work in this direction. Will this be achieved? It does not depend on us alone.

II

What special contribution can and should Poland make to guaranteeing the success of the Madrid Meeting, and to improving the international situation in Europe?

Poland is faithful to the goals and principles which have defined our foreign policy without change for 36 years. We have bound our independent existence, our sovereignty, our security and development up with socialism, with confidence in our alliance. Since the time of World War II a fundamental assumption of our foreign policy has been and remains a close connection between the security of Poland and the security of entire Europe, and energetic activity in favor of overcoming the division of Europe into opposing military blocs. The results of the Conference in Helsinki were and are treated in Poland as the end of the cold war period. They are a definitive acceptance and universal recognition of the territorial and political realities in Europe, as a result of World War II and post-war development. We have stated more than once that the CSCE results fully meet the vital interests of our country. After all, only under conditions of complete external security, and thus of territorial and political stability in Europe, under conditions of detente, of curbing the arms race, and of cooperation in economy and in other fields with all of the CSCE states, do we have a chance of solving our difficult and painful domestic problems by political means. We should all be aware of this.

However, perhaps not everyone is aware of the fact that the means, rate and results of solving our domestic problems have an impact on the economic position of Poland and the possibility of it playing an active and constructive role in the international arena, and have an impact on the formation of the system in Europe and the formation of East-West relations.

In nationwide debate the fundamental assumption of our foreign policy and our alliances are not questioned by any social group nor by any class. This is very good and very proper. The experience of 36 years of the Polish People's Republic has unanimously shown their propriety and expedience. However, in my opinion, we have too little realization of the feedback of foreign conditioning on the development of our domestic situation and the feedback of our domestic behavior--or lack of some behavior--on foreign conditioning in what we say at present (and we decidedly say too much) and what we do (and we decidedly do too little).

With respect to foreign conditioning, I consider completely pointless the occasional analogies emerging between our current situation and the state at the end of the 18th century. Poland today is not an object of bidding by powers, played with damage to Poland and against her. Today for the first time in centuries Poland has assured foreign security, and borders guaranteed thanks to her alliance with all of her neighbors and thanks to belonging to a joint alliance with them. This is a fact of basic significance which permits Poland to be, not the subject, but the object of international relations. This fact is a fundamental and decisive factor enabling our difficult affairs to be solved without interference from any foreign government in our internal affairs. I am writing specifically about governments, since attempts at such interference have been and are being undertaken in the West on the part of various political groupings, labor organizations, mass media and so on. Not only Western, but also Polish public opinion is convinced that there is a real danger of USSR military intervention in Poland. Various provocations and insinuations are fabricated, and facts are changed for the purpose of creating a new myth of Soviet threat, not only against Western Europe, but also against Poland.

And still everyone should and does know perfectly well the attitude of the leadership of the USSR, which has stated clearly and unambiguously that it considers the development of events in Poland as an internal Polish affair. It has also expressed its confidence that the party, the working class and the Polish nation will solve these problems successfully by political means for the good of socialist Poland. It is primarily due to this attitude that we have escaped attempts at direct interference on the part of other governments. We should be clearly aware of this fact and realize that this was and is a factor of unusually important significance, making it possible for our difficulties to be solved by political means. This presents us with a great opportunity to escape from the most serious crisis in the history of People's Poland, an opportunity which we must not squander. We must be aware of the fact that the major causes of the crisis were our own, Polish errors, not imposed from without by anyone, and that they must be corrected by us without any interference from without. As much as I consider analogies between our current foreign situation and the end of the 18th century as wrong, examining the development of domestic events I must acknowledge that such analogies do unfortunately come to the fore. We are in a critical socioeconomic and moral-political situation, and we should realize it.

If the current state of affairs lasts too long it would have to have a negative effect on our position in Europe, and would lead to making Poland again, as has happened many times in history, a pawn in international relations, and would lead to a radical worsening of East-West relations, destruction of the fruits of the policy of detente, to a complete return to confrontation and to the cold war.

I do not think that this train of thought has to be developed for any soberly thinking person. It is not difficult to imagine what such a development of the foreign and international situation would mean for our national existence, for the development of Poland.

A basic motive in our thought and activity must be the conviction that only the socialist system, that only our socialist alliances, that only our work, domestic stabilization and harmonious development of all fields of our life did, do and can guarantee Poland peace, the security of its borders and independence.

The possibility of conducting an active foreign policy is affected by a whole series of objective and subjective factors, such as system, economic and military position, geographic location, size and shape of the area of the state, historical experiences, traditions, culture, the traits of thought and the character of leading statesmen and so on.

Today it is universally known that the role and position of a given state in the modern world does not depend on its political initiatives or proposals, but primarily on its economic, technical, cultural and intellectual potentials, on its methods and ways of managing and administering, on its methods and ways of solving domestic problems, on the way in which the mind, will and work of the entire nation are organized, and on their qualitative and quantitative effects.

III

The events in Poland have been followed with tremendous interest throughout the world, particularly by the CSCE states-participants. Unfortunately for a long time Poland did not leave the first pages of the daily newspapers, magazines, and radio and television news broadcasts and commentaries. In addition this interest was quite varied, and was sometimes accompanied by interpretation, speculation, actual sensation and attempts to exploit it for the most varied purposes hostile to Poland and socialism. For example, attempts were made in the West to present the events in Poland as directed against socialism and to exploit them to discredit socialism.

However, the decided majority of the Western governments officially recognized them as an internal affair of Poland and declared that they did not intend to interfere in our domestic affairs. This was undoubtedly a positive factor facilitating solution by political means of the conflicts which had arisen. In different kinds of analyses opinions were expressed that the strikes in Poland could not only lead to economic, political and social destabilization, to confrontation, to the use of force and to catastrophe in Poland, but could also lead to destabilization in Europe, to a radical worsening of East-West relations, to a breakup of the Madrid Meeting, to destruction of the fruits of the policy of detente and the CSCE process, to a complete return to confrontation and the cold war, and to intensification of the arms race.

The great feeling of responsibility of party leadership for the fate of the country and the positive development of the situation in Europe, deliberation, patience and determination in striving to solve the conflicts by exclusively political means, and the political maturity and awareness of the workers saved the country from the worst. This is very important, but only the beginning, the opening of the path toward solving the most serious economic, social and politico-moral crisis in the history of the Polish People's Republic.

However, it cannot be and is not a reason for despair and wringing of hands. Crises only threaten catastrophe when we react to them by anticipation, by prejudices from the past, when we try to solve them by old anachronistic methods and attempt to return a situation which has arisen to its point of departure, or when in an obstinate and thoughtless way we try to solve them by the same methods which led to them. No one intends to do this in the current crisis. The proper means and methods of solving it have been pointed out by the Sixth Plenary Congress of the PZPR Central Committee.

This approach of the party and government, and of the workers, toward a solution to the conflict also has serious and positive implications for our foreign policy, and I believe for the further development of the international situation in Europe. Why?

It is a well-known fact that for years we have tried to establish international relations on principles of peaceful coexistence actively and constructively with our socialist allies, that we have opposed every attempt in the international arena to solve any kind of problem through the use of force or threats to use it, that we have spoken out against confrontation and for the peaceful settlement of disputes via consultation and negotiation, and that we have claimed that there are no problems so difficult and complex that, with good will on the part of the interested parties, patience and persistence, they could not be solved by means of dialogue, negotiations and political means. We have made our appearance in the international arena in conformity with these principles.

Well, we have now shown distinctly and clearly that the principles, declarations and words in our policy are not merely for export, but that we have used them completely and consistently and are using them to solve conflicting domestic problems.

Both our domestic socialist policy and our foreign policy have profited from reliability. This permits us to continue to conduct our previous foreign policy in an active and constructive way, but I believe it must be done on a lower level and more rationally without exaggerating the importance of this activity in our propaganda.

At this point it may also be necessary to recall the truism that the position and role of Poland in Europe and in the world are directly dependent on the role and position of Poland in the community of socialist states. For this reason a strengthening of unity, cooperation and power in the states of the socialist community serves the vital interests of Poland, and strengthening internal stabilization and multilateral development of Poland serve the interests of the entire community. It is obvious that this mutually related process does not develop in a mechanical way. Necessary for a positive and harmonious development of this process is a proper connection between the general principles of building socialism and the concrete specific nature of each country.

Today Poland and the Poles face a great opportunity to perform the work of renewal of our political, social and economic life by our own strength. This can demonstrate to us and to the world that we are able to arrange our common house, Poland, by ourselves so that all Poles can live in it safely and comfortably, in freedom and with genuine social justice.

We are burdened by the tremendous responsibility, not only for the fate of our nation and our country, but also for the further positive development of the situation on our continent. We have little time and limited opportunities to make use of this great opportunity and meet this responsibility. And we cannot reject the substance of this great responsibility to the nation, to domestic and foreign peace and to socialism. I am convinced that we will take advantage of this opportunity.

The problems we face can be solved. To a great extent they were created by the people, and can and must be solved by the people. As rapidly as possible we must elaborate and implement a concrete program to form the politico-social, economic and psychologic structures within the framework of our system to permanently eliminate the sources and causes of our repetitive crises. We have all the data on how to do this. In the current situation we must concentrate on what is most essential to unite all healthy forces in the nation and party to escape from the crisis. In our domestic policy we must completely use what we support in our foreign policy. In domestic controversies and conflicts the problems must be solved by means of rational dialogue and negotiations, and we must concentrate on what unites us, what we have in common, our permanent national interest, and not on what separates and divides us. Today there is a need for us to unite in a genuine front of national unity to jointly find ways and methods of escaping the crisis situation in Poland.

Taking the path, the general direction of which was pointed out by the Sixth Plenary Council of the PZPR Central Committee, in an organized, decisive and disciplined way will not only lead us out of the crisis situation, but will also have a positive impact on the development of the situation in Europe, on the continuation of the CSCE process, on the success of the Madrid Meeting, and also on the strengthening and intensification of security and cooperation in Europe.

We have all the data to secure, for the present and future generations of Poles, our basic values and vital national interests, the conditions for the peaceful development of Poland in independence and social justice. However, for this purpose it is necessary for us to unite and organize our thoughts, our wills and our work. After all, as Norwid wrote: "Through the organization of sacrifice and patriotism, the fruit of our efforts will be raised to the tenth power in results. (...) The fatherland is a moral union."

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We hope that the proper conclusions and other points will be drawn from the course of events in Poland. I believe that our partners in the West will be convinced that many joint efforts are still necessary for dialogue and negotiation to lead to complete stabilization of the situation in Europe.

I am confident that all of us, in the East and West, the North and South, will come to the conclusion that Europe is our common house in which we are condemned to live together, whether we like it or not, and that all European states will concentrate primarily on what will strengthen the foundations of security for this house by political means, to strengthen, preserve and spread the process of detente, to consistently and effectively aim at curbing the arms race and at disarmament, with concentration on cooperation and not on confrontation, on everything which unites us and which does not separate us. We have a good instrument for fulfilling this goal in the declaration of principles and other resolutions of the Final Act in Helsinki.

We Poles are currently more convinced than ever before, both in the light of our historical experience and in our modern experience, of the fact that the people have no alternative for the policy of peaceful coexistence, detente, disarmament and cooperation.

The Madrid Meeting is a good occasion for the joint efforts of all participating states to add to the authentic stream of the process initiated by CSCE by means of strong new incentives, so very necessary at present.

6806
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ADJUSTMENT OF YOUNG NAVAL OFFICERS TO INITIAL ASSIGNMENTS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 80 pp 21-24

[Article by LCDR Jozef Reka]

[Text] Every year graduates of Westerplatte Heroes Memorial Naval Academy [MSMW] arrive at their ships and begin a new chapter of their lives. Watching the service of several years of young officers I wish to share some remarks and observations concerning the process on the first service post. It appears from the experience that the young officer's success in service is dependent upon a few essential factors related to each other. One should include among others: the degree of mastered knowledge at the university, the psychological attitude toward performing their service duties, the capacity to adjust to new life conditions, and service in a collective and on ships, help and kindness in relation to supervisors and older mates, personal characteristics (strong will, energy, capacity to coexit with people) and also civil and family status.

A hierarchy of these factors is not essential, because all of them have a definite influence in achieving positive results in service work. However, independent of circumstances being more or less favorable, success depends in the first place on thorough work, perseverance internal discipline and on the attitude of the naval officer alone.

The MSMW gives its pupils wide knowledge in leadership, education and training. At the university there are no conditions to achieve practical experience in this field. Acquiring military knowledge is not tantamount to the ability to utilize it in practice--practical work is much more difficult. For this reason, it is necessary to give help to a young officer right from the moment of his arrival at the unit. It is also in the interest of the leadership alone. Guarding the young naval officer, knowledgeably accustoming him to work and to life on the ship, allows the young navy officer a quick mastering of leadership technique, training and education, and to leaders--the realization of tasks awaiting the ship and the crew. But the most effective help of supervisors will not do one bit of good unless the naval officer demonstrates a defined will and personal engagement in striving for good results and proper performance of new duties.

Confrontation of Theory and Practice

A young navy officer beginning his service on a ship confronts his image of the work environment and service demands with his own capabilities. There is no need to prove that a graduate's faith and conviction about rightness of our goals and conditions is

an important factor from the general social point of view. This fact finds confirmation in satisfaction received, from concrete work and service, and also from respect of the military environment.

The adaptation process of a young naval officer during the first month of work and service is dependent upon many conditions, both organizational and social. Among others, the problem is concerned with atmosphere, the relationship with a naval officer as reflected by naval society as a whole, through their elders and experienced fellows and supervisors. In their daily behavior they may enrich all the positive features and aspirations of youth. It is up to them whether they overtake the best models of service and perform fair and effective work up to their best capabilities and highest professional ambitions.

The adaptation problem of graduates of the MSMW on ships arrives on the agenda each year at the moment when professional service begins. Experience shows that socio-professional adaptation of youth cannot be a short-lived action in the organizational character. It must be one of the basic rules of cadre activities on a ship and one of the most important fields of politicoeducational work.

We remember our own experience on our arrival for the first time at the new service place, crews or ships and reporting to the commander, the first meeting with ship's company--this leaves in the memory an indelible impression for many years. This is why proper organization in the reception of newly arrived officers is strongly emphasized in our units. It has already become a tradition that on officers' arrival day, the leadership of the tactical union meets them. Also taking part in this meeting are the leaders of the ship's company and flag specialist-officers. During casual conversation, officers become acquainted with the peculiarities of service, the history of the unit, it achievements, current problems and tasks. They are also informed about the conditions of the service, its demands and the difficulties which they may encounter. Officers, on their part, present their family situations, housing and other related problems. Similar meetings are conducted by the leadership of a crew and a ship.

Continued conversation, its atmosphere and tone are to convince a young officer that the leader will treat him as an equal partner in the officers' collective with whom from the first moment he can share worries and joys and from whom he can expect real help in the general endeavor. Such a conversation mobilizes a young officer and introduces him into the convenient working environment in the unit.

It is necessary, however, to make some essential stipulations here. The atmosphere in which the introductory conversation is conducted should not and ought not under any circumstances give the impression to a young officer that he will be helped in everything. The conversation should convince him that from the very first day of service he has to reveal independence, initiative, fortitude, the right ideological attitude; be demanding of subordinates, disciplined and tactful to both superiors and subordinates.

A very essential problem pervading our unit leaders has for many years been a concern for housing young officers. Even the warmest words of reception will not bring results unless they are supported by action. The officer will not be helped in arranging his normal lifestyle.

Many officers contract marriages during the first months of their service and sometimes they even do it during the university period. There are those who maintain that marriage contracted at that time stabilizes the life of a young officer. Experience shows, however, that early marriages are often disadvantageous for an officer from the viewpoint of his start in the unit; it also disadvantageously influences stabilization of marriage, because along with the numerous responsibilities in service, family problems also occur. These start frequently with a long period of waiting for housing, while the life of a young couple in separation and accumulation of other problems may lead to unforeseen complications in service and family life.

Many officers are absorbed in managing and arranging their houses, looking for jobs for their wives, the birth of a child, etc. In that situation conflicts occur, particularly when the proportion between private and professional engagement is disturbed.

Help and the Best Experience of Youth

Before taking up his first post, the officer is required to pass a number of exams during his assistanceship period. Then he has to acquire concrete instructions and documents, become precisely acquainted with armament and technical equipment, possibilities of its usage, master many problems directly related to the first official post. Then the officer approaches the final exam for independently performing a navy watch. After he receives positive results he is sent to an independent service post. The time for achieving the right to perform official duties independently depends on the diligence and work of the officer. The acquisition of independent rights is quite an important event for an officer. It gives him a feeling of security and value among collective mates, increases energy to work, and at the same time gives better results.

During the first period of practical activity a young officer encounters many difficulties. The commander of the ship has to help the officer in a thoughtful and planned manner in overcoming them. First of all he has to be helped to feel reassured, and in overcoming nervousness, which is typical for everyone.

Granting help to an officer, a commander should not relieve him, nor do the job for him. It happens sometimes that the supervisor, becoming impatient over the young officer's failures or mistakes, begins on his own to perform his tasks. This is a dangerous practice. Under such conditions, a young officer will never acquire the traits of a good commander: assertiveness, initiative, imagination, and he will not take proper care of equipment, armament and his subordinates. He will become resourceless. One ought to avoid such "help" which kills many initiative, creates apathy, and undermines the officer's faith in his own abilities. Rightly understood help should consist of creating proper working conditions for a young officer.

In daily practice, one may encounter an opposite phenomenon, dangerous to the initiation process of young officers in service. It takes place in the situation when the supervisor believes that knowledge and skills acquired at the university automatically predestine an officer to be a good commander of a fighting division, and leave a young officer alone. Such an approach is inadmissable. Both overprotection and passivity in relation to a young officer are equally damaging. The role of an experienced ship commander relies exactly on forcing a young officer in a tactful way to perform independent work by creating proper conditions and simultaneously helping him to command.

A young officer ought to look very realistically at the duties awaiting him. He has to be conscious of the many difficulties awaiting him. Help, care, advice, direction--are very essential elements in educating young officers, but it is a secondary task. The most essential here is the effort of the young officers, their diligence, discipline, endurance and will to overcome difficulties and constant improvement of political and military knowledge. Young officers have to remember that their education did not end with the moment of receiving the first officer's degree, only one stage of learning in which theory prevailed has been accomplished and another stage begun in which practice will prevail.

Unity of theory and practice creates perspectives of good and effective work, systematically preserving and expanding mastered knowledge. Professional service of an officer carried also a creative postulate. One cannot stop individual development on leaving the university campus. A young officer has to feel responsibility and the need to pay back what he has already received, because only by becoming an officer he is already utilizing, in part, the opportunity which our motherland has created for him.

9818
CSO: 2600/218

PARTY HISTORY, 'NATIONAL-INTERNATIONAL' RELATIONSHIP REVIEWED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Mar-Apr 81 pp 181-191

[Article by Mihnea Gheorghiu]

[Text] The known documents pertaining to early sociopolitical thought and working-class and socialist movement in our country take us back more than 150 years of history. Only 60 years have passed since, in the spring of 1921, "in May, when roses bloom" -- in the words of a poet in those days-- the history of the working-class and socialist movement in Romania marked a new stage of organization and political awareness, through the memorable Congress of socialists that certified the birth of the "Communist Party of Romania." In that spring, of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Romania, the nation was just celebrating the 100th anniversary of the 1821 social and national revolution, headed by Tudor Vladimirescu, the people's leader who knew that "Homeland is the people, not the clique of plunderers!"

The last decade saw the publication of a vast series of such documents (the five volumes issued by the Institute of Historical and Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP and other volumes), which reviewed, with many historical arguments, the periods between 1821 and 1893 (the year when the Social-Democratic Party of Workers in Romania was set up), then the following periods 1893-1900, 1900-1909, 1910-1915 and 1916-1921. They reflect the multilateral activity of our working-class movement, the growth and tremendous development of the revolutionary impetus of working masses displayed in the great class battles in whose crucible the Romanian Communist Party took shape; they survey the process of political and ideological clarification in the working class in our country, a process which was embodied in the triumph of the revolutionary current and the transformation of the socialist party into the communist party. It is known that within the framework of this process, a keen struggle of opinions, a strong political and ideological confrontation developed.

In an overall, simpler and more comprehensive historical division, the development of Romanian sociopolitical thought may be covered in three somewhat distinct periods: Romanian pre-Marxist socialism, modern scientific socialism and contemporary, this last mentioned period covering the last decade and a half, the most fertile stage in the country's history, that

marked a genuine turning point in tackling the problems of the socioeconomic development of this country in a new spirit, establishing a creative and dynamic outlook, alien to any dogmatic isolation and ensuring broad access to the requirements of life, to domestic and international realities, that are characteristic of Romania along the path of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

One of the engrossing and debated issues of the periodization of the history of the international communist and working-class movement involves its continuity or discontinuity, depending on the seniority of parties in various countries, specific input, originality and diversity of the stages covered by each of them, before and after the Comintern took over international leadership, and, in the end, after the abolition of this body, more exactly after the conclusion of the (Stalinist) monocentrist period.

As far as we are concerned, RCP ideology did not and does not make account of discontinuity, of a "break" in the historical thread, this stand contradicting not only the facts, but also the materialistic-historical and dialectical concept on the progress of social structures and social awareness.

The dialectical continuity which we have in mind consists in surveying the correct course of our party's history, intertwining the general laws with the characteristics of growth under the specific conditions in the history of the Romanian people, in an uninterrupted and inseparable direction: people-party-people, just as today, on 23 August, working people in our country parade under the twin flags: the red banner and the tricolor. Clearly defining the relation between theory and practice, the ideology of our party unequivocally speaks up, in the RCP Program, for a creative scientific socialism applied to Romania's sociopolitical and economic realities.

As for its international relations, our party, not even 60 years ago, did it accept a status of subordination and barracking, at the order of "headquarters" alien to the actual interests of the Romanian people (as it erroneously occurred for a while, until there was a return to a better situation) and today "consistently works for the development of friendship and solidarity relations with all communist and workers parties, for the reinforcement of their unity and cooperation based on equality and mutual respect, the right of each party to independently shape its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics. Moreover, we promote broad cooperation with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other democratic parties, with national liberation movements, with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, maintaining that the solidarity of all these forces is of outstanding importance in achieving detente and peace." [1]

The huge array of revolutionary battles for freedom and democracy closely blends with the organic web of mankind's history, even if modern politologists did not theoretically agree on the exact sphere and contents of the notions of "revolution" and "democracy" and of "freedom." Therefore it was possible to state that, in their behalf, heroes and martyrs, admirable deeds, but also reprehensible crimes piled up. The glorious history of communist and workers

parties could not be detached from all this, because it was not separated from the rest of modern and contemporary history. Ideas emerge and grow, some vanish into oblivion, others reappear and develop on a different path, fraught with the experience accumulated by the ensuing generations. Personalities neglected, or eliminated, in their time, are reconsidered and brought up to date.

About this checkered history, whose effects and consequences are integral parts of international actuality, both socialist and capitalist, there were written and there appear many books and reviews, which, of course, contain surveys and information about us as well. Inherently, incomplete analyses, errors or calumnies are spread. For instance: "The Romanian Communist Party was set up on 8 May 1921. During most of the interwar period RCP was outlawed. Factioned and controlled by the communist International dominated by the Soviets, the party had too little popular support." [2] Many bourgeois publishing houses issue Marxist-inspired literature, at readers' request, usually pseudo-Marxist surveys, in which often impassioned "interpretations" border on ignorance. A major industry of anticommunist literature, but also of "objective" information on socialist parties and countries is now developing in the United States. Such surveys even have an attracive publishing appeal, especially as they are printed with the cooperation of major American universities.

Therefore any clarifications and real judgements of value are welcome, to supplement existing ones.

The deep, moral and political roots of our party exist in the progressive movement of the profound strata of Romanian society, of the people's masses, who rose, within the framework of successive uprisings and revolutions, against exploitation and oppression, for freedom and social justice, for the progress of our nation, preparing the new society of today, of our socialist, independent and thriving homeland. In this revolutionary process, in this profound progressive change, for a long time a major role was played by the peasantry, as was pointed out on many occasions by party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu. This fundamental statement was also sounded by some of the old RCP leaders at times when -- under the influence of some theories adopted indiscriminately -- there was the tendency to neglect an historical truth: "the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its transformation into socialist revolution is tied in Romania -- more than in Western Europe -- to the struggle to enlist the peasantry." [3]

The secular progress of democratic and socialist ideas in Romania originates in program documents and acts, dating from the same time as do their counterparts in Europe, because even utopian socialism had penetrated the Romanian Principalities, had won supporters among progressive intellectuals and materialized in unique forms, such as the Scaieni-Prahova phalanstery, created in 1835 on the initiative of Teodor Diamant. Then, the 1848 revolution and its contacts with the revolutionary movement in the West facilitated early acquaintance with the program of the International founded by Marx and Engels. All these factors are interrelated. They exerted a specific

influence on the progress of the revolutionary struggle, the appearance of the first forms of worker organization in Romania, in the second half of last century, up to the direct link with the creators of scientific socialism.

The development of big industry and finance, in interested cooperation with the big landed estates, together with the intensive penetration of foreign capital into the key sectors of the national economy, promoted the objective and subjective conditions of class struggles -- of diverse intensity and reaching different levels of political power -- in which the working class found itself on the same side of the barricade with the exploited peasantry and the socialist intelligentzia, headed by the revolutionary proletariat. This intrinsic sociopolitical coalition is another characteristic of the working-class movement in Romania, during its extensive period when it was understood that "the proletariat is a special social category, closely tied to other social categories, which characterize a particular society, a form of community life. The technology and degree of productivity reached by society determine a specific form of production, the capitalist form, determine particular relations among people, the differentiation of society in specific classes, and the struggle between them. All these -- the proletariat, big industry, the degree of technical development. labor productivity, specific classes, specific struggle between classes, and so forth -- precisely are those objective conditions that are needed for the transformation of society, just as the degree of development of the proletariat, its revolutionary culture and other factors are the subjective conditions needed for the transformation of society." [4]

The assessments of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu on the creation and the historic role of the Romanian Communist Party from the outset highlighted the continuity and overall scale of the revolutionary process, pointing out that from the writings of Marx and Engels it follows that they sympathetically viewed the heroic struggle conducted by the Romanian people for national and social emancipation, for unification into one national state, for wresting off the yoke of foreign oppression and dominance, at a time when there also was an intensification of the relations between Romanian socialists on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains and closer and closer ties were created among the proletariats in Vallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. The workers' stronger and stronger actions of struggle and organization and the peasant uprisings in the last 20 years of the last century generated and were generated by the economic, sociopolitical and ideological evolution of Romanian society, in the context when "the socialist movement in Romania had become, after various hesitations, purely Marxist, both in terms of theory and practice" (Constantin Mille), resulting in the foundation of a political, workers' party, united and strong on a national scale.

Here is how Nicolae Ceausescu describes and characterizes the creation of the political party of the working class in Romania, in a page that asserts itself today in our historical literature and therefore we make a point of providing it in full [5]:

"The proceedings of the congress, that was held in Bucharest, from 31 March-3 April 1893, hailed enthusiastically and followed with profound interest by the working class from all over the country, stated the foundation of the Marxist political party of the working class -- the Social-Democratic Party of Workers in Romania. This event has gone down in our history as an episode of outstanding importance for the destiny of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and working masses, as the point which marks the achievement of the political organization of the working class on a national scale. The party of the working class in Romania, founded in 1893, on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of the class theory of Marx and Engels, from the first moment took upon itself the historical mission of heading the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of political power by the proletariat and the other working masses in town and country, for the socialist transformation of Romanian society. The year 1893 is the year of the birth of the revolutionary, vanguard detachment of the working class in Romania. That is why we can rightfully state that the actual beginnings of the Romanian Communist Party -- that furthers the noblest fighting traditions of the people and is deeply rooted in the working-class, socialist movement in the second half of the last century -- coincide with the beginning of the activity of the workers' party guided by the Marxist revolutionary theory, created 80 years ago."

The subsequent course of the organizational and political-ideological development of the party resulted, after some previsible meanders, in the following decade, in a better cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class, the 1910 Socialist Congress stating the foundation of the Social-Democratic Party of Romania, that solemnly proclaims itself "offspring of the old socialist root, which nothing could destroy," the natural continuer of the Party created in 1893.

We do not plan to rewrite the prewar history of the party of Romanian socialists, who, in the spring of 1921, numbered about 150,000 members and sympathizers from all the territory of the reunified homeland, a fact which required the restructuring of the party for the purpose of the confrontation with the bourgeoisie, for political power. From the huge volume of documents that could furnish to the researcher of our party's history a number of very useful data, in order to understand the exact situation of the following political stage, some are missing from the archive files and were not yet recovered.

Hence, we further quote the explanatory, respective passage from the speech given by the leader of our party, on the 80th anniversary of the creation of the political party of the working class, concerning that period: "During this period, the prominent Romanian socialists maintain close contacts with representatives of the Third International, with Vladimir Ilyich Lenin himself, with whom they hold discussions on the conditions under which the affiliation of the party to the Communist International was supposed to take place. Voicing from the outset their support for the Leninist principles of a new type of party, they also formulated a number of objections in regard to the

Comintern's interference in establishing the makeup of the party executive organs -- rightfully considering that this is a legitimate right of each party -- and in regard to a number of erroneous analyses and assessments made by the Comintern on the situation in Romania. The correctness of these standpoints of Romanian socialists clearly stand out in light of the historic experience of the working-class movement in the last half of century.

Responding to the objective requirements of our country's social development, the representatives of Romanian socialists decide at the May 1921 Congress, by unanimous vote, on the transformation of the Socialist party into the Romanian Communist Party. This helps to elevate to a higher stage the activity of the vanguard, revolutionary party of the working class in Romania. The communist party, the direct continuer of the socialist, revolutionary movement of the party of the working class founded in 1893, carried further and enhanced, in the new context of Romania's development, the fight for social and national emancipation. Precisely therefore we assess this point as a crossroad in the development of new Romania."

The chief, unique and memorable trait in the creation of this great party, 60 years ago, involves its strength and cohesion on a national scale, this being the first political party in Romania that presented itself united and representative territorially, organizationally and nationally, after the proclamation of the Romanian national and unified state. Moreover, it was the only democratic party, representing all the categories of working people in town and country and all the working class in Romania because the half million trade-unionized workers constituted the declared source of cadres of the socialist-communist party and it seemed natural for the chairman of trade unions, worker G. Cristescu deputy to the Parliament, to be the first secretary general of the RCP.

The subsequent events could confirm, or invalidate, some of the assessments of the executives of the young Communist Party of Romania, which after only 3 years of activity went underground, a decision also insufficiently supported by the documents from that period in our possession. Also unfortunately a part of the former party did not follow the decision adopted at the 1921 Congress, and formed a separate social-democratic party, and this increased the political split among the working class in Romania.

Forced by the repressive forces of the bourgeois-landlord state to heroic survival and using the most diversified forms of struggle, the Communist Party of Romania continued to consistently possess the ability of being the organizer and leader of the working class, in the harsh battles that followed. This ability increased as the party leadership was held by the direct representatives of the working class, by the sons of the working class who lived and were active in Romania. The big antifascist demonstration, the people's march on 1 May 1939 conducted under the keynote of the unity of communists and socialists was a telling proof of unity with the people, a sine qua non of the victories of communists in any country. The restoration of the organizational and political unity of the working class thus stood out as a necessary and decisive goal in the victorious fight for seizure of political power and construction of socialism in Romania.

It is known that it was not until the end of the 18th century that capitalist relations of production began to appear in the Romanian Principalities. One of the msot topical theoretical questions of modern revolutions for social and national liberation provided Romanian historical research with a fertile ground of investigation within the framework of the recent scientific studies and sessions devoted to the revolutionary movement in Transylvania headed by Horia, 200 years ago. The (majority) Romanian population in those days was reduced by the oppression of the (minority) foreign feudalism to an unjust and preposterous state, through the abusive modification of its status as a nation with natural legal rights, into a social category deprived of its legitimate rights, in a typical relationhip triggered by the relation: exploiters-exploited, which inevitably generates historically the revolutionary situation. In the long history of the Romanian people's struggle for justice and freedom this typical situation most often had the specific character of struggle against foreign plunder and invasion (with which the native exploiter often was in a position of complicity, antipatriotic and antidemocratic), as it appears, 40 years after Horia, in Tudor Vladimirescu's revolutionary proclamation, later in the documents of Romanian 1848 revolutionary fighters and in other subsequent documents, whose reverberations reappear in the programs of the socialist movement in Romania.

The oppressed social classes and categories (and in the first place the proletariat in town and country, in action) constitute the determining factor in the crucial sociopolitical changes in modern and contemporary history; however, one cannot unequivocally maintain the primacy of the class over the nation and so much the less go as far as expressly ignore the national phenomenon, as did some dogmatic ideologues taking advantage of the fact that Marx did not give a specific definition to the nation and only indicated, synonymously, other sociopolitical and economic realities, such as: "country," "state," "leading class or "society" itself.

Hence, one could notice that the emergence and historical development of national liberation movements in our century have also changed the theoretical data of the national problem, proving that national liberation is not necessarily the result of social liberation and that sometimes is its very condition. World history of the century also demonstrates that in many of the known international conflicts (regardless of the social system of the countries involved, sometimes even "socialist countries"), national identity awareness markedly prevailed over class consciousness. The theory of class struggle -- formulated more than a century ago in an incipient stage -- must be studied thoroughly and substantiated on the basis of the arguments provided by the new, internal and international, structures of contenporary society.

Does the worker have a homeland? The initial formula was distorted. The epigones of noncreative Marxism perpetuated too long also another theory, according to which, while accepting the nations as such, they categorize them on the criterion of size and material strength, qualifying the bigger nations to integrate the others, smaller or dispersed ("remnants of large nations"), regarded as incapable of liberating themselves. They go as far as to glorify

last century's colonialism ("by conquering India, the British introduced there the greatest social revolution Asia has ever known"). Similar assessments were also made with regard to other European empires, invaders of territories from the bodies of smaller countries. The Romanian socialists from all over the country with justified patriotism hailed the achievement of the Romanian unified national state in 1918. The homeland of our workers was called and is called Romania. In his interview granted to the journal L'UNITA, a few years ago, Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, stated: "True, we have, already a long time ago, been criticizing some old theses -- which, moreover, at the time of its existence, the Comintern, itself, abandoned -- according to which Romania was a multinational state. This thesis did not correspond to the facts, it did not take into consideration the fact that the establishment of the Romanian unified national state was an objective requirement of Romania's development -- a fact about which in their days Marx and later Lenin, as early as 1914, spoke."

The Marxist theoretical legacy on the relation between the class character and the national character also constitutes the starting point for the development of the concept on the national-international relationship. The absence of a finalized and universally valid Marxist concept, in current politology, however, enhances the complexity of the matter in our time, specifically where internationalism is conceptualized in an ahistorical hermeneutics which is instrumental in deepening the complexity of the world context.

In tackling all these issues, the strength and experience of the socialist and working-class movement are decisive factors. Therefore, internationalism must be achieved in a new practical manner, namely it should proceed from recognition of diversities, accepting the possibility of testing different experiences, the right of each people to choose their own destiny, because "internationalism," of course, cannot be the mechanical sum-total of national interests, but, also, it cannot be an abstarct concept, beyond the specific interests of the working class in each country and in all countries, interests converging in mutual respect of national sovereignty, in promotion of cooperation and amity among peoples.

In the odyssey of the idea, for he who really believes in mankind's destiny of peace and freedom, there are no antagonistic contradictions between "national" and "universal". There were and continue to be fundamental contradictions between serfs and feudal lords, between exploited proletarians and exploiter employers, between monopolies and the whole nation, or between "multinational trusts" and working people in all the lands where these trusts operate. In the last cases, the national question takes on different dimensions, involved in the defining traits of present-day advanced societies and we can decipher the prospects of their historical development at various levels: economic and technical-organizational, sociopolitical and ideological, and so forth.

In the so-called convergence doctrine, in which similar but also contradictory theories mix, from J. K. Galbraith to M. Duverger, fashionable today, and others -- especially generated by the incertitude on the relations between the two systems, in the context of the new technical-scientific revolution,

the energy crisis, and so forth -- the evolution of the national-international relationship is not clarified but triggers new and serious confusions, because of the ambiguity and diversity of the solutions advocated for the future society, more and more evidently threatened by the greater "global polarization" in a few zones of supranational influence, by the danger of the redivision of the world upon criteria in which the "disappearance of the state and of the nation" no longer presents even the theoretical guarantee of world peace from the texts of the classics of scientific socialism, but quite the opposite. If we were to reduce the sphere of all reasonings to the "freely consented" fatalism of blocs and great protectorate, one would implicitly ome to the resolution of problems by their elimination, to the politicoeconomic and even military flattening out of basic sociohistorical realities, to minorization of national cultures (of "small nations" of course), to isolation of (disturbing) ideas of equality, freedom, and humanity and of their spokesmen.

Europe -- the continent where the working-class movement, the Marxist theory and the first Socialist Revolution appeared -- is concerned with the so-called process of bipolarism, of alienation of the theory of convergences on a world scale, including the theory on the hierarchical relation between national and international (which revolutionary practice from a past period had justified in view of the "immediate world socialist revolution").

Proceeding from the well-known premise of Marx that "only a free nation can meet its internationalist obligations," it appears clearly that a hierarchical system of relations does not strengthen the international in the system of the national-international relationship, but, conversely, it encourages and solidifies the nationalist and hegemonistic trends and brings us back into the world of unrealistic and obsolete conclusions or conclusions doomed to a sad future.

The historical vocation of solidarity of the working class cannot be translated into the terms of linear functions and directions, of a controlled mechanical relation, but requires respect for the objective differences of interests among countries and peoples and for the domestic and foreign contradictions founded on them, and the coordination of these interests in the spirit of solidarity and class consciousness can be achieved only on the basis of the recognized principles of equality and independence, because the disappearance of the nation also is an act of disappearance of the class.

The interaction of the European and world political and socioeconomic and cultural history, the interpenetration of the history of one people with the histories of other peoples, the dialectical relation between national history and world history, these are a few of the ideas accepted today by most historians and politologists in all lands, just as the role of social classes, of the people's masses, in deciding the historic destinies of nations has won doubtless priority in the historiography of the last decade. The highlighting, in this context, by the RCP secretary general and the emphasizing of the role of the nation as "a powerful factor of progress and civilization in the modern world" represent a current theoretical and extremely relevant input into the classic definition of the nation and into

the concept which lies in its center at this moment which is decisive for understanding the expanding ethnical world in some regions of this planet, for the new internationalism and the fight for peace, in a world without precedent in tension and revolutionary transformation.

Theoretically, the notion of Revolution expresses "a radical and sudden change of a political system or of a social structure, with the active support of a large part of the population." The political revolution is a basic component of the social revolution which dynamizes and achieves the transition of state power from the hands of the class which is obsolete historically into the hands of the progressive class.

These theories, which we would call "classic," do not belong only to our century, or only to the classics of scientific socialism who formulated the concept of the socialist revolution, but come from an older period, from that of the preparation and completion of the great democratic revolutions in Europe and other continents, started on the basis of progressive slogans and ideas of "liberty, equality and fraternity," of "human and civil rights," of the "sovereignty of the people" and the right of nations to be masters in their country and decide their own destiny on this soil. All the national liberation movements were revolutionary political acts, of a smaller or greater historical importance. In light of the social and socioeconomic character inherent in every revolution known in history, the political sciences set for revolutionary phenomena some common parameters or "objective laws," from which the specific processes of each individual revolution would result; there also existed the tendency involving some mandatory "patterns."

In light of the fact that fascism emerged only after World War I and imperialism is no older than one century, the modern and contemporary era offers us more and more examples of more markedly antifascist or anti-imperialist national liberation movements and revolutions.

The national liberation movement implicitly expresses a policy of national sovereignty. As far as our country is concerned -- having the tragic experience of the 1939/1940 events and of the consequences of the Vienna fascist and imperialist Diktat -- the victorious act on 23 August 1944 also represented the first major assertion of Romania, of the independent and unanimous will of the Romanian people for an end to the policy of domination, of strength, and "diktat," in order to ensure the free and independent development of all nations, a primary condition for establishing a climate of justice and peace in the world. In this manner, the antifascist and anti-imperialist nature of our Revolution for National and Social Liberation at the end of the last world war appears as a premise and a permanence of the very subsequent political program of the party and state, of socialist, sovereign and independent Romania.

In his writings, Nicolae Ceausescu -- dwelling on the 23 August 1944 political act -- made a profound analysis of the revolutionary situation and of the organizational, strategical and tactical principles, which, in the context of a revolutionary political crisis, on a national level -- hence, containing

the experienc of all social categories -- prompted our party to take the initiative and then the leadership at that decisive historical point, expressed by: national armed insurrection, overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship and further the War against the Hitler and Horty occupants for liberation of the country, alongside the anti-Hitlerite coalition, alongside the Soviet army.

In other countries, the overthrow of the former regime involved civil war or parliamentary and extraparliamentary battles, palace revolutions, or coups d'etat, some even with a counterrevolutionary and antinational character.

The most favorable form of carrying out our political revolution, under those specific conditions, was determined by our party on the basis of knowledge of the characteristic conditions and particularities in our country. The national and popular character of the Romanian liberation revolution stems from the longer revolutionary process that involves the historical struggle for national and social liberation, which in our country began in 1784, in Transylvania, with Horia's revolution, continued in Oltenia and Walachia, with Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, matured and expanded in all Romanian Principalities, Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, in 1848 and the same whole process resulted, at the cost of heavy sacrifice, in winning of Independence and creation of the unified national State. The appearance of the organized proletariat, the creation of the Party of the Working Class of Romania in 1893, left a deep imprint in the history of the Romanian people: the working class, the Party, the communists manifesting themselves in modern Romania as the most revolutionary force of society, proclaiming on their fighting banner the elimination of any form of exploitation of the Romanian people and of coinhabiting nationalities. In Romania, the liberation fight, concomitantly and progressively, focused on the country's emancipation from foreign economic and political domination, from under the exploitation of typically imperialist countries, including German imperialism.

Our party, its theorists, the coryphaei of sociopolitical thought in Romania have emphasized the structural unity of the national revolution with the social revolution under the conditions of capitalism and imperialism, then under the conditions of the emergence and establishment of fascism in several countries (Italy, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, and others) -- because the Romanian people did not put up with the fascist "yoke" and any kind of yoke and also, freedom was not granted to them by others. Our program and plan of action, of our antifascist resistance took on both the political and social tasks, in accordance with the exact situation of bourgeois-democratic Romania, which, 41 years ago, was surrounded by dangers on all borders and lacked any international support.

The exact historical-political understanding of the catastrophe into which the entire nation was pushed by the antipopular regime and of the disasters of the following war mobilized the clearest minds of the people, in all social strata, the entire Romanian army and its commandants, including the monarchy.

In this battle, not a drop of Romanian blood was shed in fratricide fights, there was no need for a civil war, because it occurred in a national consensus. The wise policy of broad political alliances of the Romanian Communist Party (an exemplary policy, if we judge soundly, even for the revolutionary situation today, in other countries) facilitated the conducting of the revolutionalization process, the insurrectional stage and the preparation of the consecutive political act: the liberating war against the foreign, fascist and imperialist invaders.

The lessons of history present themselves today as a mobilizing incentive to action for ensuring peace and international understanding and cooperation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by Nicolae Ceausescu at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in SCINTEIA of 25 February 1981.

2. Richard F. Staar (publisher) 1980, "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs," Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1980, p 59.

3. Lucretiu Patrascanu, "Studii Economice si Social-Politice 1925-1945" [Economic and Sociopolitical Studies 1925-1945], Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1978, p 204.

4. Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Opere Complete" [Complete Works], Vol 5, Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1978, p 306.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" [Romania Along the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol VIII, Bucharest, Editura Politica, 1972, pp 262-263.

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ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON PREVENTING, COMBATTING CRIME

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 81 pp 24-30, 52

[Roundtable discussion led by Ioan Ceterchi, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and minister of justice,]

[Text] The Academy of Social and Political Sciences, together with ERA SOCIALISTA, organized a discussion on the subject "The Concept and Practice of Preventing and Combatting Crime." The discussion, led by Comrade Ioan Ceterchi, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, offered a broad exchange of opinions on improving the legal framework for normalizing social relations and the way in which measures are applied in reeducation and the social reintegration of those who have committed crimes and in preventing any violations of the country's laws.

Taking part in the discussions were Prof Ioan Ceterchi, minister of justice; George Basiliade, scientific researcher at the Center for Research in Youth Problems; Dr Constantin Bulai; Dr Nicolae Dan, head of the Central Laboratory for Criminal Examination; Ioan Filip, secretary of the party committee at Bucharest's Electroaparataj Enterprise; Nicoleta Iliescu, legal consultant in the Ministry of Justice; Dr Simion Ionescu, prosecutor; Constantin Nuta, head of the Militia General Inspectorate and deputy minister of the interior; Dr Nicolae Ion Olaru, psychologist; Dr Iulian Poenaru, adviser to the Legislative Council; Dr Teofil Pop, director in the Ministry of Justice; Nicolae Popovici, the country's general prosecutor; Georgeta Dan-Spinoiu, psychologist; Simona Petrovici, legal consultant in the Ministry of Justice; Ioan Salajan, president of the Supreme Court. We publish a shorthand report of the discussion in shortened form.

Ioan Ceterchi: Our discussion is taking place in a context favorable to direct, very open, scientific discussions which utilize the good results obtained in this area of social-economic life and, at the same time, analyze the shortcomings, the errors-some inherent--and in outlining the way and means for improving the activity of social leadership, of which, undoubtedly, the implementation of justice also is a part. The problem of educating the masses in the spirit of socialist awareness and respect for the party's decisions and the country's laws holds an important place in the party's program, as an integral part of the policy of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society and the struggle to form the new man and to achieve the multilateral development of his personality.

As we know, the overwhelming majority of citizens respect the country's laws and standards of social behavior out of conviction. At the same time, not for one moment should we ignore that some laws are still being disregarded, that certain particularly serious criminal acts still are being committed--acts of violence, robberry and so forth--and that some people are disregarding the standards of behavior. Proceeding from these facts, our party's strategy of combatting antisocial acts and action against those who violate the laws of the state and the standards of socialist ethics and equity are founded on a scientific concept of the world and life and on application of the general laws of socialist construction to Romanian realities. Also resulting from this is its original policy on the ways for preventing and combatting crimes and other violations of the laws and standards of socialist ethics and equity.

As an introduction to our discussion I would like to emphasize the features or principle, if you will, which are at the base of this policy, this strategy of struggle against the phenomenon of crime and ones which were included in the basic documents of our party in the decisions of the December 1977 National Conference. The first of these features would be combining conviction with restraint, proceeding from the consideration that primarily we should seek to convince, to develop the masses' socialist awareness and develop the level of culture and knowledge--factors which contribute decisively to the regression of antisocial phenomenon--and then, despite all the measures taken, if certain people still disregard the values protected by the soci list society as proclaimed by law, resort to obligation, to coercive measures. A second principle is to combine prevention with the coercive act, a principle which also proceeds from the concept that first we must prevent the production of the antisocial acts and violation of laws. However, this means a complex and multilateral activity which, of course, is not reduced only to legal factors but which involve economic, cultural factors and the involvement of a broad ensemble of social and public organs. If the activity of prevention still does not have satisfactory results for certain people and if they violate the country's laws, of course penalizing measures follow, ones which in turn have a preventive end and, at the same time, the social reinsertion of those who have committed these acts.

A third principle is the organic combining of humanism and firmness, by this understanding that in our criminal policy we are placing the concern for man, even the one who has made a mistake, in the center of our concern and also concern for the collective, for the multilateral development of man and the society in which he lives. Firmness in our criminal concept is part of the features of socialist humanism. Combining humanism with firmness seeks that nobody remain unpunished if he is guilty and that nobody be punished unjustly.

A fourth principle is combining the activity of the state organs with the participation of the masses and public organization in the struggle to prevent and penalize antisocial acts. Truly, our criminal policy is carried out not only and not exclusively by the state organs or coercive organs, but it is based in its implementation on the actual participation of the masses, the workers collectives and the public organizations in the prevention, penalization and reeducation of those who have committed antisocial acts.

And, finally, a fifth principle I feel should be stressed is combining democratism with the scientific nature of this policy and legislation. By this I wish to stress that our criminal policy as well as criminal legislation are based on democratic principles of state activity and on respect for the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens, on one hand, and on a well-based analysis of the realities of our

society on the other. Such a combining means that criminal policy and legislation should not be established by chance or depending on the circumstances, torn from the demands of social-economic life, but should be substantiated on science and, primarily, on a knowledge of the realities of our society and the conclusions resulting from investigation of this reality.

Nicolae Popovici: I wish to approach several aspects of preventing crime and to make some considerations and proposals on this important area of our activity.

Of course, special attention must be given to the activity of legal propaganda and popularizing legislation for the purpose of preventing criminal acts or other deviations from the standards of social life. In this regard, there is special importance in the tasks resulting from the Political Executive Committee Decision of 28 January 1981 on intensifying the political work of educating workers in the spirit of civilized behavior and respect for the standards of behavior and life of society. In order to fulfill these important tasks it is necessary for us to take energetic action in the direction of increasing the effectiveness of legal propaganda, of extending the area it covers, of diversifying the forms and methods used and of improving the quality of the actions.

The preparation of actions to explain the laws and prevent antisocial demonstrations always involves well-based knowledge of the status of legality in locations, sectors of activity and socialist units as well as the nature of these demonstrations. The good preparation of actions also means planning them with regard to subject and territory, establishing the facts with responsibility in this area, insuring coordination of the particular actions. At the same time, the fact that these propaganda actions take place in different sociovocational environments with different characteristics requires adapting them to the specific nature of the particular unit or collective. Unfortunately, it has been found that sometimes the work of prevention is carried out with an auditorium generally composed of people with correct behavior, people who respect the laws or who have no touch with the subjects treated so that the particular actions, although addressed to the broad public, actually cannot always achieve the ends proposed. On the other hand, I feel it is not enough for the action of legal propaganda to be limited to presenting legal provisions. I think that the emphasis should be placed to a greater extent on a practical explanation of the social-political reasons for the regulations and the ends sought. A theoretical explanation, however, is not enough. Practice has shown the effectiveness of giving the most specific possible presentation of the subjects, with appropriate examples, capable of leading to a correct understanding of a legal provision or to correcting the behavior of those who have violated the laws.

I would like to point out that in the work of legal propaganda we appeal often enough to forms which are not attractive, to speeches which do not hold the interest of the audience and cannot bring firm attitudes of public opinion. In achieving a differentiated prevention with increased effectiveness, we should use the most varied methods. It would be possible to organize actions with smaller groups, taking into account the vocation, age, antecedents, behavior and so forth.

Nicolae Ion Olaru: I completely share the viewpoint of Comrade Nicolae Popovici that legal propaganda could be individualized for smaller groups or even specific cases--the person "predisposed" to commit deviations from criminal standards. In order to increase the quality and effectiveness of this activity, it would be necessary for those with tasks in this area to be trained solidly in order to prevent criminal acts from being committed, to search for any conditions which could cause crime.

At the same time the prospects should be kept in mind for preventive work, that is, anticipating the environments and places where the activity of criminal elements could be shown, on the basis of substantiated studies. Timely knowledge of them may speed the prevention of violations of legal provisions. Viewing this action or "social assistance," if one may call it this, from an interdisciplinary viewpoint (pedagogical, sociological, psychological, legal), aided by other responsible cadres in different areas of activity and parents' committees in the schools and the committees of tenant associations, we will be able to do a job of effective prevention.

Actually I see psychosocial assistance as free discussions continually taking place with a person who has committed violations, some socially not dangerous or, on the contrary, those who "wear" the form of a crime of certain contraventions which are in a critical situation (family misunderstanding, sociovocational nonintegration, failure in vocational orientation, emotional deceptions and so forth) which often require "advice" by chance from people without specialized training. The move of young people to the city and other less known and familiar environments has "brought about" some of them being contacted by corrupt, vitiated elements, so-called "witches," "fortune tellers," "wizards," speculators, social parasites and so forth, who hurry to explain their failures to them in a mystical way or who draw them into committing crimes. Psychologists and qualified persons of good faith could successfully replace these charlatans and could contribute to helping many young people who, due to certain circumstances and conditions, could be drawn into committing socially dangerous acts.

Ioan Salajan: Truly, our judicial bodies have resolved such cases. On these occassions it has been shown that the antisocial phenomenon could be reduced a lot if more effective preventive work were done, less dispersed work, work to which teachers, sociologists and psychologists, along with judges, could be drawn. I also feel that under the conditions of the current regulation of the criminal process there has not been enough preventive use of all the data furnished by the judicial procedure in its development through various stages and in strengthening the citizens' conviction that our justice consistently promotes the principle that no innocent party can be held responsible but neither can a guilty person escape responsibility. Carrying out effective prevention is favored very much, in my opinion, by the promptness with which the justice act is implemented and by the concern of all the organs involved in carrying out the judicial act in finding out the truth, in promoting a proportional punishment in strict accordance with the degree of social danger of the act penalized and, implicitly, promoting a solution which reflects the ideas of socialist humanism and ethics and, at the same time, creates a climate of security and safety for the citizens.

I feel that the problem of the effectiveness and quality of legal propaganda is very current. Special results can be obtained by a judiciously done propaganda, done wisely. I want to clarify several aspects. Legal propaganda does not seek for the intended party, the one benefitting from the legal knowledge in the end, to become a specialist in the matter. This would not even be possible. The purpose of propaganda work must be, in my opinion, perceiving the essence of a law, the intention of the lawmaker, the outlining of the ways to apply it and prevent violation of it.

Explanation of those texts from the law which would contribute to preventing antisocial acts is not always sought in popularizing certain normative acts but, rather, the dispositions are dwelled upon which penalize a behavior as such, that is, a criminal act, instead of seeking to prevent it. For example, Law No 22/1969 on

Employment of Managers contains provisions which offer certain important levers with a pronouncedly preventive nature. It is a matter of the possibility and legal obligation of drawing into the criminal process those people who, by failing to carry out their job obligations or by carrying them out defectively, have created conditions which favor having other persons commit crimes. But these provisions are not being applied appropriately and are sometimes even ignored, although the law has been in effect since 1969. Consistently promoting the provisions of a law would contribute to better management of the public wealth and appropriate protection of it.

A rather important preventive role is played by the quality of the motivations for judicial decisions. Although our courts show concern in this regard, however, there still are found situations where the incriminating acts and lessons are related concisely in the motivation for the decisions, giving few considerations in connection with the criteria kept in mind for correct individualization of the penalties. In a decision on penalizing a criminal act, a consistent motivation has powerful reverberations. Public opinion shows a lot of interest in the way in which the judge's decisions are argued. If I were to have more concern with dwelling on the conditions and causes which brought on committing of the acts and on their social danger in these decisions, I think that implicitly I would give better propaganda for the criminal law and solutions of the courts.

Ioan Filip: Since the role of the labor collectives to insure the reeducation of some of the sentenced people and their integration into society follows the role of the court in penalizing a criminal act, I would like to share several aspects from the experience of workers' collectives in a big enterprise in Bucharest in this area of social activity.

The workers council and its executive bureau, aided by the trade union, youth, women's organizations and organizations of socialist democracy and unity and all educational factors in the unit, organized many actions to popularize the laws and other important normative acts for our social-economic life and took appropriate action to reeducate the persons sentenced to correctional labor and entrusted to the supervision of workers collectives in our unit.

Some 42 convicts were sent to us for reeducation, among which only 18 had worked previously in the Electroaparataj Enterprise. The workers collective in the unit, headed by the communists, gave itself an honorable name, giving life to the humanist concept of our party with regard to reeducation through work, without loss of freedom, for those who committed crimes which did not have a high degree of social danger. From the time each was sent to us, there was a discussion with each one separately, solving his personal problems to the extent possible and, at the same time, he was entrusted to a supervisory collective established to guide his behavior. In order to give an incentive to the convicts and insure their cooperation in the reeducation action, they were sent into work formations, giving them the opportunity to obtain incomes as close as possible to those of the other workers with the same training. When the ones in the case had good behavior and gave solid proof of correction and discipline andperseverance in solving the tasks entrusted to them, the workers council requested that the court pronounce a halt to the actual penalty. Some 35 people benefitted from this measure. The measures taken in the unit as well as the concern of the supervisory collectives meant that of the 42 convicts, on our request,

Once again the results showed the positive effect which the workers collectives can have in correcting and reintegrating into society those who have committed crimes.

Teofil Pop: Really, experience has confirmed the correctness of the decision regarding to which the process for reeducating the persons committing violations or crimes which do not have a high degree of social danger should generally take place withoutdeprival of freedom , under the supervision of the labor collectives in the socialist units by providing a useful activity. The practice of the reeducation process through work has shown that this method of executing a penalty has proven its effectiveness, when it has been applied correctly, with the convicts becoming integrated into social life after it has been executed, with some remaining in the collective to which they were assigned following payment of the penalty.

As Comrade Ioan Filip pointed out before, the best results have been obtained in particular in the units where powerful collective and a climate of order and discipline exist.

Of course, some difficulties and shortcomings have occurred in practice and mistakes have been made in the supervision and guidance of the convicts. In some situations there has been a lack of the necessary tact, concern for the success of social reintegration. Some collectives have not been prepared enough for this purpose, and the negative results did not delay in appearing. However, it should not be lost from view that, overall, good results have been obtained and the majority of whose who paid their punishment in the socialist units have gone straight and been reintegrated in the collective.

The failures in the process of the social reinsertion of those who have committed crimes explain some deficiencies in application of the law and they are due either to a mistake in individualization of the punishment and defects in communicating the sentencing solution or to the absence of a proper condition in the unit to which the convict was assigned.

Iulian Poenaru: Really, the collectives which have received tasks for the penalization and social reintegration of persons who have violated the law generally have proven their educational effectiveness. With regard to extending the area of the factors and organs involved in carrying out the act of crtiminal justice--penalty and education--I feel that account should be taken of certain facts which prove, first, that in all areas of activity, also in the area of legal science and practice, a continual, natural and necessary specialization takes place, that crimes are the most serious acts by which certain important social values as well as the legal rights and interests of the citizens are reached, that in legal activity, regardless of the nature and complexity of the criminal acts committed, the triumph of truth must be sought in accordance with normative principles and provisions with a certain specific nature, which must be correctly understood, strictly respected and applied. From all these angles, I feel it is necessary for the move of certain judgment duties of the judicial organs into the competence of some public organs--judiciary councils which would have the competence to judge criminal acts with small social danger, and to criminally penalize the persons guilty of committing them--to take place gradually, starting with giving restricted competence to a limited group of infractions, some of the simplest ones, so that implementation of the justice act takes place under optimum conditions. As we know, the members of these public organs do not have specialized legal training and have more difficulty in mastering the judicial procedure of administration of the investigations and in finding out the truth and individualizing the punishment and, as such, they could commit some judicial mistakes.

Nicoleta Iliescu: In connection with compiling new criminal legislation and the participation of the masses and workers in the implementation of justice, I also should

refer to the establishment of new workers judiciary councils in the socialist units and at the people's councils, which are to be a part of the system of judiciary organs in the future. Integration of the future judiciary councils into the system of judicial organs, I think, makes it necessary to rethink the classic concept of the system of judicial organs. So, we must reconsider the two elements established until now as definitive for the system of judicial organs, that is, its operation as a subsystem within the system of state organs and achieving state power in a specific form of implementing justice through these state organs. Clarification of these problems and concepts has importance not only for the theory of law but with regard directly to regulating the system of judicial organs and the future judiciary councils.

In the new concept, the system of judicial organs will be of a mixed composition, with not only state organs--the courts--but also the social-public organs--the judiciary councils--to be part of it, while some of the state's duties in exercising its power in implementing justice will move to these organs. The system of judicial organs, thus, will have to be defined not only with regard to the system of organization of the state, with the system of state organs but also with regard to the system of political organization of our society, with the particular features it has in the current stage, in which state activity is joined with the activity of the social-public organs and organizations and with the forms of direct participation of the masses.

Another important guideline for the new judicial councils is broadening their competence which, in my opinion, should be viewed as a stage and carried out gradually in accordance with the general process of increasing the masses' direct participation in social-economic activity. With regard to having the new judicial councils also judge certain crimes,I maintain the viewpoint expressed by Comrade Iulian Poenaru on limiting the competence of the future judicial councils to certain categories of crimes for the start. On one hand this means that the results recorded by the present judicial commissions in attempting to satisfy both sides in certain crimes must be utilized in the sense of giving competence to the future judicial councils primarily for judging crimes for which it is possible to attempt to satisfy the sides. On the other hand, some shortcomings found in judging certain more complex cases, caused by the lack of legal knowledge of the judicial commissions' members--needed to resolve these cases--require that at least in the present stage they be given the competence to judge some of the more simple crimes which do not create difficulties in carrying out the judgment act (of procedure, judicial technique, individualization of the punishment, administration of investigations and so forth), as was stated in our discussion.

Constantin Bulai: As has come out in the previous discussions, criminal policy (of social defense) of our party and state, on one hand, has in mind preventing antisocial acts (in this case it is carried out through a series of educational activities within a system of institutions, state organs, mass and public organizations) and, on the other, combatting antisocial acts (crimes) committed. In this case it is carried out by applying criminal punishments for the persons who have committed the socially dangerous acts. The methods used are different, with the prevention being carried out mainly by convincing, as Comrade Ioan Ceterchi said, by educating the members of society to respect the law, while combatting them by an anticrime action by restraint with the aid of punishment. The use of restraint is required by the reality of the crime phenomenon and by the need for social defense.

However, what characterizes our criminal policy in the current stage is the fact that, despite the difference existing between the two methods used, they also have some common features caused by their deeply humanist and democratic nature. I would like to refer to two of these common features. First I mention the stress being placed more and more insistently on the educational aspect of preventive measures as well as the penalties applied to those committing crimes as well as to involving society and the workers collectives to a greater and greater extent in implementing criminal policy by preventing and combatting the crime phenomenon. Our socialist society seeks to carry out that type of prevention which is based on understanding the need to respect standards of conduct, including standards of criminal law, not due to the fear of restraint which is involved in applying a criminal penalty but out of conviction and the understanding of the need that respect for these standards is done in one's own interest.

Constantin Nuta: The way in which the problem is posed of the intervention of state organs, public organizations and all citiziens in hindering a person from violating the law and, at the same time, firmly penalizing those who commit crimes with exactingness and social justice is directly connected with the broad duties belonging to the collectives in combatting antisocial acts and in strengthening socialist legality.

The apparatus in the Militia General Inspectorate is concerned with knowing in time the circumstances which cause, facilitate or favor the committing of antisocial acts and the elements tempted to violate the country's laws, feeling that only in this way can effective action be taken to prevent criminal acts and sometimes unrecoverable moral and material damage. Proceeding from the effective utilization of the conclusions resulting from an analysis of the evolution and trends of the crime status, a special emphasis has been placed on the need to know all the aspects which could cause a crime to be committed, through specific means. Since prevention is a basic aspect of the militia's duties and competence, we take action so that the activity to prevent antisocial acts is marked by the permanent, multilateral and offense nature of the actions carried out. Proceeding from the truth that sometimes placing future victims of crime "on guard" is enough, we take action to warn those who through the lack of attention they give proof of or through their way of behavior can become victims of criminal elements; we advise them about the ways they can defend themselves or avoid becoming the "passive subject" of a crime. Unfortunately there still are some people who crave "bargains" or "easy occasions, who rapidly fall into the "net" of speculators and crooks, with their becoming victims of wicked offenders, however also favoring the broadening of the crime climate and social parasitism. On a broader plane, such an action means anticrime training for the population. By this we seek on the basis of the conclusions resulting from investigation of criminal cases and criminological study to adopt specific measures which lead to eliminating the danger of certain persons becoming victims of crime. Of course, the militia places a special emphasis on collaborating with other state organs, particularly those of the prosecutor's office and justice, with the leaders of socialist units and public organizations. The joint actions carried out have had a positive effect, being carried out by identifying certain persons who do not carry out an activity useful to society, being exposed and "tempted" to commit antisocial acts.

Nicolae Popovici: The democratic specific nature of our legal institutions reflects a new concept of the role of the law and the way in which the law should be understood and applied and the direct role which the collective may have in preventing the violation of standards of law and in reeducating and the social reintegration of those who have committed crimes, who have disregarded the rules of social life. In this context, I think that democratism as well as the humanism of our legal system--

from the content of legal standards up to the process of implementing justice--not only does not exclude but, on the contrary, means firmness and intransigence in the correct penalty for all those who disregard the laws of our state. It is necessary to take firm action whenever criminal law is violated. To be humane does not mean to be lenient with violators who damage the values of society and with those whoinjure the citizens' rights and interests. On the contrary, socialist humanism means to defend these values. Of course, bringing someone to criminal responsibility is done on the basis of and within the limits of the law, showing special concern for applying firm but just punishments as well as for taking adequate educational measures for the purpose of the social reintegration and correction of those who have violated the law.

Ioan Salajan: I return to one aspect which I feel is basic. In fulfilling the tasks to exercise general control over the judicial activity of the courts and judge's offices, the Supreme Court has sought through the decisions pronounced and through the guidelines it has given to provide for the correct and united application of laws, correct orientation in evaluating the significance of certain actions in the area of social-economic relations as well as acts of an antisocial nature. In the forefront of the state's concern is care that in all phases of the criminal process action be taken for finding out the full truth about the circumstances in which the crime was committed and at the same time with regard to the perpetrator. On this basis, the court has been able to provide the basic requirement that no innocent persons should be brought to criminal responsibility while perpetrators should be punished in proportion to the gravity of the acts committed. For this it is very important to proceed from the causes and conditions which have facilitated certain criminal acts being committed.

The result of studying the causes of crimes against the public wealth, for example, and the circumstances making them easy is that the committing of these kinds of criminal acts is due mainly to people holding jobs connected with management wanting to get rich. In this regard, there still are some defects in selecting some of the persons employed in these positions, particularly in the units of public food service and in the sector of trade with big consumer goods, persons who, by associating with each other, sometimes succeed in committing fraud over a long period of time and causing particularly big damage.

The courts have resolved various cases of bribery by some persons entrusted with exercising administrative control, persons who have allowed themselves to be taken in by embezzlers. They were "aided" in exchange for sometimes small material advantages in covering the fraud they were committing over a long period of time. The professional incompetence and negligence of certain people with administrative control duties also have led to a failure in discovering the gaps in the management during repeated periodic inventories, while the damage grew year after year. Sometimes accounting inspectors are not capable of discovering the irregularities in management activity in time.

An alarming phenomenon has been found: the appearance of groups, "associations" of offenders who "operate" sometimes unhindered in some units. The ease of their criminal activity through lack of demanding control carried out systematically by persons entrusted with this ends in big withdrawals from the public wealth.

Another aspect. Murders are committed most times as a result of the excessive consumption of alcohol, with the majority of these kinds of crimes as well as other acts of violence being committed in a drunken state. The cases of chronic alcoholism, often associated with mental disturbances, although often known, are not the subject

of sufficient concern from the state organs, which should take action at a medical level by applying treatment and, in certain cases, they should even take the measure of isolating the patient. Other categories of crimes--without high social danger--could be restricted through sustained and organized educational activity. Unfortunately, the propaganda and educational activity carried out in some youth organizations in various socialist units and schools is not always oriented appropriately to prevent antisocial demonstrations and often is formal, with a precise purpose and superficial. We see from the practice of the Lawyers Association that sometimes the educational activity of prevention is purely formal, with the legal propaganda being intended for the honorable people. I think that good coordination is not being handled by the concerned factors and those involved in the success of the preventive action. The work is still disconnected, the organization sometimes is formal and they are seeking to achieve (and report) a certain number of actions, without keeping in mind the effectiveness and quality of the actions.

Simion Ionescu: As has been pointed out in our discussion, some grave criminal acts still are being committed against the public wealth. As has resulted from the research made on these crimes, the majority of cases of embezzlement of large economic values have complex causes. It is a question of demonstrating certain negative personality traits by certain categories of personnel with leadership jobs, with responsible jobs, managers, economic-financial control organs, with duties to administer and defend the public wealth but also grave defects in the organization and control of the activity taking place in the enterprises and organizations where these crimes are committed.

Also, the corruption found in certain units by judiciary organs, caused by deficiencies in civic education and by adopting a way of life which exceeds the possibilities for making a legal income and the desire to get rich without working more and more frequently are a cause for particularly grave embezzlement.

In this context, the "disinterest" appears of certain leaders of socialist units in the organization of management activity and management of material and monetary resources, according to legal provisions, and in strengthening the spirit of discipline and responsibility in the circulation of goods and public values. This same reason brings a number of shortcomings in the process of selecting management personnel as well as with regard to educating them in the spirit of respect for the laws and the principles of socialist ethics and equity. Traffickers, immoral and vicious elements still are being employed in management jobs, in many cases even those with criminal records and held by the desire to make money. Making withdrawals from the public wealth is favored or even facilitated by the failure to respect legal provisions on drawing up and recording the documents for the technical-operational and accounting records and for administration and management of the material and monetary values in the particular units.

As we have seen from our research and checks, in many units the managers' records are not kept correctly and the entry and withdrawal operations for material values are not recorded daily in the warehouse books and there is not a regular check on the way in which these records are made. The consequences of this kind of negligence are damaging, since it favors committing a broad spectrum of acts which damage the particular units.

In many cases the administrative and financial checks are not carried out during fixed periods and the inventory commissions are not set up legally, with even the managers or accountants who keep records of the particular administration or persons without the necessary professional training being named as members of them in some cases.

In other situations, the inventory commissions' activity is purely formal, with the inventorying of goods and values being done only in writing by putting the figures from the administrative records in the inventory lists without a precise identification and check of the actual stocks.

Eliminating the causes and conditions which bring on or facilitate crimes being committed, crimes which produce large losses to the public wealth, means, in my opinion, guiding the activity to prevent these crimes in several priority directions: strengthening the responsibility of the leaders of enterprise of the control organs and personnel with administrative duties for the good management of the material and monetary values, intensifying control by the collective leadership organs and continually improving the activity of the apparatus for administrative and financial control and of the guard formations in the socialist units.

George Basiliade: There is special importance in scientific research on the causes for crimes being committed and for deviant criminal behavior as a human demonstration, research which would contribute to improving the methods and forms which comprise the system for prevention of violations of the law. In other words, the gnoseological measures of the researchers include both the etiology of the crimes as well as prevention of them. Thus, an option is outlined for explanations of the cause which seek to answer these questions: Why is a social act committed? Why does the committing of crime exist as a social phenomenon? How can the prevention of such antisocial demonstrations be achieved under certain social-historical conditions? Undoubtedly, these problems also include interrogations on the type of criminal acts, their scope and rise depending on criteria of time, place, social organization and certain particular features of the person committing them and the way in which that personality is formed. Thus, one can discover the major connected guidelines which result from a scientific research of criminal deviance: the study of causes for the criminal behavior, the study of causes for the crime as a social phenomenon and evaluation and improvement of the prevention system. So we must investigate the relationship between the action of mental structures and processes and of the individual consciousness in committing the antisocial act. Second, it is natural to analyze the causes and conditions which have brought on antisocial formation of certain personality features. In other words, we must analyze the breakdowns in the process of socialization of the personality, which consist of the transmittal of models, standards and values of society by various formative-educational factors (the family, school, group of friends, public organizations, work collective, cultural-educational institutions) and their change into guidelines of individual and collective behavior. In the end, third, research must bring out the causes and conditions which bring on or are conditions for breakdowns in the formative-educational action of certain socialization factors of the personality.

Iulian Poenaru: Proceeding from the conditions set forth in the opening speech of the discussion, I think that another idea should be stressed and it refers to the need to keep in mind that in the system of criminal punishment a shift takes place from the punishment of the prison to the punishments not depriving the person of freedom, which are carried out through work in the socialist units, and that the sphere of the organs involved is extended in carrying out the criminal justice act, from the legal ones as state organs (prosecutor, militia, court) to the public organs, without legal specialization (judicial commission, work collectives).

These humanist openings of criminal policy seek to give a chance for the faster reform of the ones who have committed crimes which are not too serious. However, in

order to be effective, the punishments which do not deprive them of freedom should be outlined in criminal law so that they also provide the restraint aspect, along with their predominantly preventive-educational aspect. Also, in order to avoid repetition of the committing of a crime penalized only with these types of punishments as well as the failure to carry out the punishments applied as such, out of bad faith, in my opinion it would be necessary for future legislation to provide for acts punishable in this way, as a more severe alternative, to be punishable with loss of freedom. In this way we avoid the devalorization of the concept of criminal punishment for acts without serious social danger but which are repeated or the removal of some persons from such a punishment.

As we know, for serious criminal acts, the law is to be applied in all firmness, according punishment by imprisonment. In this context, I bring into discussion the problem of whether it would be advised for minors to have the law provide as an alternative to the educational measure of internment in special schools for work and reeducation a punishment depriving them of freedom, of course, more reduced than for major crimes in cases where minors commit very serious crimes of violence such as, for example, murders. In these kinds of cases, the measure of internment, now being applied, does not correspond enough to the serious social danger of some of the crimes committed by some of the minors (many of them nearly 18), while the punishment depriving them of freedom would have a greater preventive effect, would be in agreement with the profound disapproval which such acts create among public opinion and, at the same time, would provide an appropriate punishment.

In the absence of such an alternative, we could record cases when minors--instigated and guided by the offending adults--commit serious acts which are not punished with the necessary harshness, since the maximum term for internment of the minors in special work and reeducation institutions is 5 years, while the criminal code provides imprisonment for a longer period for such acts. I feel that a good criminal law, which organically combines humanism with firmness, cannot permit these kinds of possibilities to be left open.

George Basiliade: I do not agree with the proposal made by Comrade Iulian Poenaru to provide the criminal punishment of imprisonment for minors in future legislation, even as an alternative. Even if such a measure were taken, actually it would not be effective, since, under conditions of criminal law, it would boil down to reducing it in half for reasons of age, in the end, in many situations, reaching the maximum length of the period now being provided--5 years of internment in a special work and reeducation school.

An older investigation by the Research Center for Youth Problems brought out the fact that of 3,000 minors were sent toprison for various criminal acts, 73-77 percent repeated the criminal acts after they were let out. By this I want to say that in the closed environment of detention places for those who violate criminal law, elimination of the poisonous influence which adult convicts can have on minors does not succeed, although they are separated. Minor criminals, at an age where the temptation toward "adventure, toward the extraordinary, the desire to "escape from" the environment which does not agree with him, the attitude and behavior of rejecting social and legal standards can easily be reversed, of course with the aid of appropriate social-educational assistance, can easily be reeducated and reintegrated into the community if they did not have contact with the prison inmate, where they cannot continue their school training or obtain a vocational qualification.

In light of what has been said, is there interest for the minor to send him to prison? I do not think so. Also, the special work and reeducation schools are institutions in a closed, not an open, environment. Here the minors have all the conditions to reeducate themselves and, in addition, they have the opportunity to get a vocational qualification and continue their school training. From this viewpoint the social effect, in my opinion, is better.

Teofil Pop: I completely share Comrade Iulian Poenaru's viewpoint in connection the possibility--in future criminal legislation--for applying punishment depriving them of freedom, of course, within reduced limits compared with adults in the case where they have committed particularly serious crimes, particularly by violence. I support this proposal since some cases have appeared in social life where the experienced recidivists use minors for their criminal activity, knowing that only the educational measure of internment in a special work and reeducation school can be applied to them for a maximum period of 5 years. In this way, the evil offending adults evade a more serious punishment, elude the law by instigating, preparing and giving "technical information" to minors who commit crimes in their place and, most often, in the interest of the persons who have instigated them.

By minors committing such serious acts, there is a profound disturbance in the order of the law and public opinion, which rightfully demands severe criminal punishment, is indignant. The courts often have been confronted with such cases in which offenders 17-18 years old commit particularly serious acts, knowing that they are "risking" at most 5 years of internment in a special school. For that reason I feel that the possibility of applying prison--of course, as an alternative from one case to another--for minors could contribute to a general prevention, since they would know that punishment awaits them for particularly serious acts.

Simona Petrovici: The system of criminal punishments--radically changed by establishing punishments not depriving the person of freedom and carried out through work--is of social-ethical importance. At the same time, however, a certain balance should be achieved between the punishments which deprive of freedom and those carried out in the midst of the community. In my opinion, in making the most judicious establishment of the sphere of application of punishments which do not deprive of freedom compared with those which do, attention is turned to making a configuration of their content as well as the concrete cases for application. As pointed out in Comrade Iulian Poenaru's discussion, with regard to punishments depriving of freedom, besides reevaluating the punishments by imprisonment, a problem to which attention should be given is establishment of a method of punishment by depriving of freedom within limits which correspond to the seriousness of the act for persons nearing 18 years of age who have committed particularly serious violent acts, punishable by the criminal code with imprisonment for a long period or even death, acts which seriously disturb the order of the law and produce profound indignation of public opinion. We all know that minors guilty of antisocial acts with great danger for society now are being interned in special schools (but only this) for a maximum of 5 years. For that reason I do not share the opinion supported by George Basiliade that including the punishment of imprisonment--as an alternative punishment--in future criminal legislation would be inopportune or lacking in effectiveness. On the contrary, in such a situation the minor would be subject to a differentiated, more severe system of execution than in the special school, at the same time insuring the opportunity for him to obtain a vocational training and continue his school studies. So, for particularly serious acts, the offending minor would have to be punished criminally for a period which exceeds the limit up to which he can be punished currently. I feel that this legal "possibility" could "disarm" many minor youths with antisocial behavior. Of course, such a punishment could only be applicable in cases where taking educational measures would not be effective.

Nicolae Ion Olaru: Any criminal act appears as an expression of a specific interaction between the overall personality of the subject and the overall exterior situations. We know that the offender has a bigger or smaller period of crystalization and development of the criminal behavior and preparation of his antisocial behavior. For that reason, in investigating the perpetrator of a criminal act, the act dangerous for society as such, from many viewpoints, we must take into consideration not only the psychophysiological state of the subject at the moment he commits the crime but also the "history" of his personality development.Observation, investigation and strict psychological analysis must be links in the legal process and social punishment as well as reinsertion into the community.

For the practice of preventive work, I feel that investigation and knowledge of the offending personality should take place from two converging directions, that is, discovering the lacking mental structures which predispose him to commit antisocial acts and finding out the adaptational, reserve background, on which basis action may be taken to correct or reeducate, combining in a specific form the measures of restraint with those which influence and correct the behavior. As a psychologist, I have some experience in observing the social reinsertion of some people and I have been confronted with many such cases and I could realize the effectiveness of the aid given by society to reeducating the youth.

The investigations I have made, particularly on recidivists(analyzing 172 variables), have brought out personality disorders which equal lack of organization of basic mental activity, emotional instability, hypoaffectiveness, intellectual disorders, unfavorable environment during the pre- and adolescent period, being indicators which are grouped into a main cause for lack of social adaptation. The timely knowledge and study of these indicators can contribute to adopting ways to prevent antisocial acts later.

Georgeta Dan-Spinoiu: In investigating the deeper reasons for the criminal phenomenon and the antisocial behavior of certain persons, I think one must proceed from the education the guilty party received while in the family. The study of the microsocial environment in which a person is formed often may give the answer to certain key questions in order to have knowledge of the criminal process.

I am inclined to believe that the problem of organizing an educational action with the family is of particular importance, since the family is the first framework for socialization of the person and, thus, the first responsible factor for the behaviorial features which can degenerate into a future breakdown in adaptation. In turn, this may favor the committing of an antisocial act (not necessarily a serious crime). The study of these features may shape the directions of action in the pathology of crime and in preventing future disturbance in social behavior.

In my opinion, the key period in the breakdown of a child's adaptation is preadolescence, because then the transition is made from the obligation toward the rules imposed by the parents toward a spirit of independence and a junction appears: the situation of youth attempting an independence based on values imposed by the community and situation of those who are guided toward an independence they understand mistakenly: "I do what I want, I am independent, I can guide myself." This is a formula, a variation, a signal of a later breakdown in adaptation.

Nicolae Dan: I would like to present to you several conclusions from a criminological study of several of the causes for violent crimes, a theoretical and practical measu

in which socialogists, psychologists, legal physicians participated, along with criminologists and crime experts. The study's conclusions represent a criminological synthesis of the available biopsychosocial data and relevant data for some of the problems put into discussion here.

Investigations on the causes for violent crime under the conditions of our society proceeded from the conclusions on the general causes for the phenomenon which in the great majority bring out the existence of backward mentalities and of the social awareness remaining behind social existence in the case of certain individuals. This conclusion, however, is too general and, as a result, cannot offer an acceptable explanation for various particular cases. For that reason I feel that an etiological investigation cannot avoid an analysis of those contradictions which at a given moment may contribute to maintaining backward awareness, such as the contradiction between petty, sometimes egotistical, individual interests and public interests and the appearance of certain forms of failure to adapt and social nonintegration of certain categories of individuals coming from the villages to the urban environment, where they do not find the standards of behavior in which they were educated and the "control of the village" of their civic behavior and so forth. For example, in the massive process of migration from village to city, some young people abandon the traditional environment, getting jobs in industrial-urban work and thus changing their sociovocational status but not adapting to the urban standards of behavior.

Against the backdrop of these facts, shortcomings and mistakes have appeared, ones which contribute to creation of that climate which is favorable to committing antisocial demonstrations, without the family, the school, mass means of communication and public opinion always taking prompt and effective action. Examination of the conditions in which the family fulfills its social function at the macrosocial level, for example, can point out some objective reasons causing reduction in the socializing role of the family.

In the area of the school's role, we feel that the main defect lies in the fact that the efforts are concentrated in particular on the transmittal of knowledge, sometimes neglecting its role to transmit moral values. A process takes place of replacing education with the "schooling" process, which often has negative consequences on the formation of the young personality. As resulted from the study I did with a collective of specialists, 58 percent of the subjects investigated showed a minimum level of preparation (four grades), with many having interrupted their schooling. The failure to integrate into the school collective created an aversion to work in these individuals.

Differing from other categories of crime, a state of drunkeness has been found in the violent crimes in the majority of cases, which shows that the consumption of alcohol favors antisocial demonstrations being committed, particularly acts of violence.

The above findings,howeveronly point out the possible background in which delinquent behavior may appear. In o der to examine the causes for a certain crime's being committed, we must move from the area of the general to the area of the particulars.

Ioan Ceterchi: I have reason to state that our discussion is of special interest because of the fact that it brought out very important and current problems, both theoretical and practical ones, and it has had the merit of being an interdisciplinary symposium because it has made an important contribution to explaining the subjects put into discussion through the speeches made by attorneys, psychologists and sociologistts.

I would like to mention that the discussion of these problems is not due to the fact that it is a question of a rise or a new,particular problem in criminality in Romania but, as has been shown in the discussions, the evolution of our society along all its coordinates is recording a rising development and rise in the level of culture and civilization. Of course, in this context, wanting to achieve greater and greater successes and a superior quality of life, we cannot be satisfied with the antisocial phenomena which still persist and which have the causes we are investigating, thus contributing to measures being adopted which limit and reduce the phenomenon of crime.

We are pleased that, due to the successes achieved in the organization of our society, we do not have demonstrations ofcriminality which are particularly dangerous and which have taken the acute forms in a number of developed countries in the west, demonstrations which have created in these particular societies a state of insecurity of the citizens in their professional and personal lives.

In our discussion we talked a lot about the problem of the criminal punishment of minors; we cannot consider it closed, we truly must think, and there also are other solutions which should be taken into consideration which are met in other legislations. Also, the problem of defining criminal punishment, punishments depriving one of freedom, from the ones which are done in an closed environment, the concern with simplifying the criminal code, including the problem of not proliferating these punishments and reducing their number in order to distinguish them more clearly merit special attention.

Another conclusion needed is that we must fight actively and consciously against the phenomenon of crime. It will not disappear and not be reduced simply and automatically as a result of economic, social and cultural development of our society but must have a permanent and firm activity organized against it and for its prevention. In the framework of this context, we have in mind outlining the future legislation--a job of special responsibility which rests on the shoulders of those working it out--which must answer the guidelines given by the 1977 National Conference and the 12th party congress.

For that reason I feel that the speeches made here must be continued with new discussions in connection with the legislative solutions which must be taken into consideration for the criminal code, the procedural code and other laws which comprise the entire set of normative acts intended to place in a legislative framework our party's concept to prevent and combat the phenomenon of crime, education of the new man, the conscious and active creator of socialist society.

8071
CSO: 2700/300

KOSOVO ETHNIC, POPULATION DATA FROM 1981 CENSUS

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 14 May 81 p 8

[Article on 1981 Census by Rr. Rugova: "In 10 Years There Were 341,000 More People"]

> [Text] Based on the preliminary results of the 1981 (population, household units and dwellings) census, of household 1981, Kosovo KSA has a population of 1,584,558 permanent residents. Since 1971, its population increased by 341,000 residents, or 27 percent. The nationality distribution of the population is as follows: 1,227,424 Albanians (77.5 percent); 209,792 Serbians (13.2 percent); 26,875 Montenegrins (1.7 percent); 12,578 Turks (0.8 percent); 58,948 Moslems (3.7 percent); and 48,941 other (3.1 percent).

/The Provincial Statistical Office at yesterday's press conference organized by the Provincial Secretariat of Information published the preliminary results of the census for the year 1981 in the KSA of Kosovo. According to these results the KSA of Kosovo had 1,584,558 permanent residents in 1981; compared to the 1971 census, the population of the province increased by 341,000 residents, or 27 percent./ [in boldface]

There was an increase in the number of residents in all the communes of the province except Leposaviq Commune which registered 1,103 fewer residents than in 1971. The most relative increases of the population were recorded in the following communes: Pristina, Prizren and Gllogocv (38 percent); Ferizaj (34 percent); and Rahovec, Decan, Dragash and Kacanik (30 percent).

The commune of Pristina recorded the largest absolute increase of population with 211,156 residents, or 58,412 more residents than in the previous census. In regard to the largest absolute increase of the population, the following line-up: Prizren, Ferizaj, Peja, Mitrovica. In the KSA of Kosovo there were: Albanians, 1,227,424 or 77.5 percent; Serbians, 209,792 or 13.2 percent; Montenegrins, 26,875 or 1.7 percent; Turks, 12,578 or 0.8 percent; Moslems, 58,948 or 3.7 percent; and the column "others" numbers 48,941 or 3.1 percent. Because these are the first results of the census of the population, the column "others" includes the nations, nationalities and ethnic groups which are not

First Results of the Census of the Population According to Respective Nationalities in 1981

(1) komuna	(2) gjith.	(3) shqiptarë	(4) serbë	(5) malazezë	(6) turq	(7) myslimanë	(8) të tjerë
KOSOVA	1584558	1227424	209792	26875	12578	58948	48941
Vitia	47112	35234	7576	169	–	72	4061
Vushtrria	65671	57496	6158	406	85	115	1411
Gllogovci	48522	48443	35	5	1	26	12
Gjilani	84196	59602	19339	176	1179	120	3580
Deçani	40661	39195	247	914	–	18	87
Dragashi	34894	18582	88	26	165	15991	148
Gjakova	92891	87448	1936	1953	8	289	457
Istoku	50811	35886	7728	1875	8	3599	995
Kaçanika	31075	30393	310	15	8	75	274
Fushë	54449	45418	6878	971	–	298	884
Kamenica	48216	32352	14759	62	2	78	963
Mitrovica	105897	66618	25867	1972	806	4473	5361
Leposaviqi	16941	853	15835	81	8	686	278
Lipjani	46894	43110	10297	355	118	754	5460
Obiliqi	61048	56288	4839	212	–	155	459
Peja	111867	79793	8837	9810	38	8774	4615
Podujeva	75320	72889	2226	683	–	50	352
Prizreni	134689	93982	11671	517	8884	16938	3577
Prishtina	211156	149907	44227	6276	3020	4484	13242
Shtërpca	45907	45467	1116	136	–	46	142
Sharreka	59486	55663	3581	30	12	43	77
Ferizaji	113935	96645	18642	317	36	1764	2531

The final results will be more detailed.

	Population			Household Units			Persons Temporarily Working Abroad		
	1971	1981	Index 1971 = 100	1971	1981	Index 1971 = 100	1971	1981	Index 1971 = 100
KOSOVA	1243693	1584558	127	188107	229672	122	24361	26612	109
Vitia	39780	47112	118	5818	6799	117	1437	1288	90
Vushtrria	50724	65671	129	7677	9233	120	518	333	64
Gllogovci	35329	48522	138	3395	4131	122	394	307	78
Gjilani	67893	84196	124	10463	13388	128	2689	2775	103
Deçani	31335	40661	130	3795	4847	128	900	1109	123
Dragashi	26850	34894	130	3811	4605	121	787	1022	130
Gjakova	71374	92891	129	10020	12169	121	2100	2635	125
Istoku	41099	50811	122	5636	6586	117	1230	1395	113
Kaçanika	23978	31075	130	3400	4110	121	487	443	91
Fushë	42351	54449	129	5119	6850	134	700	1030	132
Kamenica	46585	48216	104	6939	7717	111	1681	1888	112
Mitrovica	90968	105897	116	16890	19083	113	757	678	90
Leposaviqi	18044	16941	94	3761	4088	109	86	86	100
Lipjani	49365	60894	123	7526	8705	116	701	803	115
Bakovci	46788	61048	130	5431	6534	120	962	1020	106
Peja	90124	111867	123	14231	16991	120	1987	2026	102
Podujeva	68349	75320	125	8659	9400	109	655	757	116
Prizreni	97714	134689	138	14381	19076	133	2157	2637	122
Prishtina	157144	211156	138	28083	36254	129	901	837	93
Shtërpca	36660	45907	128	4555	5536	122	342	515	151
Sharreka	45316	59486	131	5219	6430	123	1193	1235	104
Ferizaji	84493	113935	134	13340	17061	128	1617	1793	111

The data for 1981 represents preliminary results.

Key:
(1) Communes
(2) Total
(3) Albanians
(4) Serbs
(5) Montenegrins
(6) Turks
(7) Moslems
(8) Others

specified by name, but their participation in the total number of the population will be noted separately in the final results of the census. It is known that the final results will be announced periodically and definitively in 1982, in accordance with the law on the population census.

The number of persons living outside the country, on a temporary basis, without families, is 26,612. This is an increase of 9 percent compared to 1971. These workers in foreign countries also have 9,510 family members. From the Kosovo communes, those communes which have more people working outside are: Gilan, 2,775; Prizren; 2,637; Gjakovo, 2,635; Peja, 2,026. Those which have less are: Leposaviq, 86; Gllogovci, 307; Vuciterna, 333.

The number of household units in the province has increased by about 41,500, compared to 1971. The number of household units registered in the 1981 census was 229,672. On the basis of these results, it is calculated that each household unit (family) has an average of 6.9 members. The total number of dwellings in the province is 238,000; out of this number, 232,000 dwellings are used on a permanent basis. This means that in the KSA of Kosovo there are 6,000 dwellings which are not utilized as permanent residences.

All the specific data is subject to change when more detailed information is obtained from all the results of the 1981 census. This applies to all categories of the census and to different levels of the sociopolitical communities of the province and to the entire province and, also, to each locality separately.

9150
CSO: 2100/76

BRIEFS

HOSTILE SLOGANS IN SPLIT--In Split two boys from the "Cirilo Gamulin" School were found to be authors of a number of hostile slogans found on the walls of the school, city buildings and historical monuments in the local communities of Spinut and Blatine, as well as in the center of the city. The slogans are of an explicitly nationalist and Nazi character and have anarchistic symbols. The youths drew swastikas, copied off various battle cries, anarchistic signs and nationalist messages. Of course, curses will not fall on the young people of Split because of two pretentious teen-agers. And young people will not permit two or three school students to paint over their values and political commitments. Nevertheless, one must ask what the youth organization, pedagogic service, the school and the school committee for nationwide defense and social self-protection are doing. Does one want to continue to cover up excesses or has the time come for a comprehensive analysis of the activity of the youth organization in the city, in the schools and in other places? The youth organization has not yet discussed any of the situations involving excesses, or who the young culprits are, and what their platform is.... All the circumstances should be established before disciplinary measures are taken. It is very simple to expel them from school which [would] only indicate that the teachers are washing their hands of a situation which casts a negative light on their work. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jun 81 p 2]

SLOVENIAN YOUTH IN CHURCH--At a 25 June meeting of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia Ivanka Vrhovcak, executive secretary of the Presidium, said we must open up more democratic discussion and dialogue. Why do young people, especially from the ranks of students, but joined also by some young workers, go to the Ljubljana Franciscan church, to St Jacob's bishopric, and other similar centers? They are going in order to reveal their ideological problems, troubles, to seek "their own philosophy of life" because there theologians, philosophers, psychologists discuss this with them (not only lectures are held). I am convinced that most of the youth are not drawn there out of religious feelings. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 81 p 3]

PRISON FOR HOSTILE PROPAGANDA--After an investigation, the district court in Titograd, Bozidar Barovic presiding, sentenced Djon Djoljaj (38) to 2 years in prison for hostile propaganda. Djoljaj was born in Krsevo near Tuzi. He is a machine technician employed at the OOUR (basic organization of associated labor) "Machine and Equipment Maintenance" at the Aluminum Combine in Titograd. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 81 p 4]

VIGILANCE IN BORDER AREA--The political-security situation in the border community of Vladimir in Ulcinj Opstina, inhabited exclusively by Albanians, is good, but one must react fast to any possible occurrence and prevent any possible enemy action, said Muho Ceka, secretary of the local SAWP Conference. He said constant vigilance is needed especially during the tourist season. He said a large number of students from this area returned home as soon as enemy activity broke out in Kosovo, which confirms their [correct] commitment. Hasan Djoni, secretary of the basic LC organization in Vladimir, said a member had recently been expelled from the party but not for nationalism or irredentism, but "because of two mistakes and because he was involved in discussions unsuitable for him as an LC member." [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 81 p 2]

DRAGOSAVAC, DEVA IN GNJILANE--Yesterday an expanded meeting of the LC Opstina Committee in Gnjilane was held, attended by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, secretary of the LCY CC Presidium, and Veli Deva, president of the Kosovo Provincial LC Committee. The greatest problem in this opstina is unemployment; of the 84,000 inhabitants, only 10,150 are employed, while 3,500 are working abroad. About 5,000 are seeking work and every year this number is increased by 900. [In regard to the situation in Kosovo] Veli Deva said, "We must not deceive ourselves regarding the fact that there were no demonstrations [in Gnjilane]. Nationalism has appeared here. It was reported a year or a year-and-a-half ago that a worker at the textile combine fired at an inspector. Even then nationalism began to stir up the people. Therefore, I fear for these areas where there have not been demonstrations such as Orahovac, Djakovica, Pec and Dragas. If there have not been demonstrations, communists must not relax, because this does not mean that there is less work for them." Attempts were made to organize demonstrations here and pamphlets and disinformation have been distributed. In the process of ideological-political differentiation, eight members of the LC have been expelled, including three teachers, three university-level students, one secondary school student and one worker. Three teachers were suspended for engaging in subversive propaganda. Also, 16 student stipends and 12 student loans have been cancelled. Dragosavac said... "We must fight for our youth and lead them on the right road and this means that we must change also the school structure." In regard to language, he said we must not have any kind of state language, but you communists from Kosovo must develop the awareness among children and their parents of the need to know both languages." [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 81 p 2]

PEC HOSPITAL DISPUTES--Instead of open discussion, the meeting of the basic LC organization at the general hospital in Pec centered on mutual recrimination, and the shifting of responsibility. There was much criticism of inaction of the party organization. Mention was made of the hostile conduct of a laboratory worker, but no action was taken.... Also noted was the euphoric behavior of certain hospital employees at the time of the visit by professors from Tirana. Hasan Meta, pharmacologist and head of the laboratory, tried to divert the discussion to tangential issues, noting that it was being rumored that Dr Bulatovic said he was pressured to such a degree that his normal work at the hospital was made impossible. The doctor denied this story, calling it disinformation aimed at making him move out. Ljutci Pacarada, laboratory worker, "suggested" that journalists, especially colleagues from TANJUG, should learn

Albanian because this is the language which most people speak in Kosovo. Like, Meta, he then said problems in this collective had been building up for years. There was ethnic division in the workers council which was reflected in employment policy. Hospital director, Radoslav Popovic, said that there had, in fact, been no ideological-political differentiation in this collective yet. One meeting had been held in 3 months and almost no Albanian employees had attended. He pointed to unfair employment practices related to nationality and said the laboratory was a source of hostile elements, mentioning an incident at the time of the visit of professors from Albania. He said, the situation in the LC organization is unhealthy, inter-personal relations at the hospital have broken down.... Afterwards there was a verbal duel between him and Hasan Meta with the latter saying that Popovic was exhibiting "Rankovic-like conduct!" [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 81 p 3]

NEW SOCIALIST BOOK--On Wednesday Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY CC Presidium, was in Rijeka at the Center for Ideological-Theoretical Work of the Opstina Conference of the LC of Croatia to discuss his latest book, "The Modern World and Socialism." He said, "In this book I wanted to show the modern world and the tendencies of its laws which have remained the same or acquired a new quality, that is, [laws] which were unknown to classic Marxism. He stressed that the socialist world is gradually pluralizing its doctrinaire foundations. The world, at present is on a high level of contradiction but at the same time on a high level of inter-dependence, things are in a stationary position.... Everyone acts as if he were waiting for history to find solutions to the contradictions, while all forces are guarding or occupying their historical place.... Grlickov said that Marxism should defend itself from a dogmatic concept; the political divisions in the development of socialism must be revealed. Thus, today 52 countries liberated in the anticolonial revolution, which proclaimed themselves to be socialist, do not recognize Marxism. Does this interfere with socialism as a world process [today] and tomorrow as a world system? Grlickov stressed, "If capitalism has existed with 413 religions and sects, why would socialism have to hold exclusively to Marxism when we already have countries which have resolved to be socialist but which do not recognize Marxism. On the basis of general universal laws, he said, socialism can become a world system and remain diverse and he included in the socialist forces also those of differing doctrine, as well as all those which disagree with capitalism but at present do not know fully what they want. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 81 p 4]

END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1909

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Soviet Use of Warsaw Pact Specialists in Afghanistan Reported
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 23 Jul 81) 1

BULGARIA

Cultural Life in Sofia Receives Negative Evaluation
(Kalin Todorov, Panayot Denev; SOFIA, No 5, 1981) 2

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Career Data Provided on Rocket Troop, Artillery Commanders
(AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Jun 81) 7

HUNGARY

Official Defends Special Coaching for Workers' Children
(MAGYAR HIRLAP, 24 Jul 81) 10

POLAND

Problem of Republic of Both World Outlooks Discussed
(Andrzej Polkowski; ZYCIE I MYSL, Apr 81) 12

Complaints Against Police Answered
(Jozef Oleksy Interview; TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, 21 Apr 81) 25

Importance of Career Military Personnel Stressed
(ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 1 Mar 81) 30

Imigration of Serbs From Kosovo Province Researched
(Stevan Zec; ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 19 May 81) 34

'Differentiation' Session of Kosovo Party Unit Described
(Jovan Antonijevic; ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 9 Jun 81) 40

SOVIET USE OF WARSAW PACT SPECIALISTS IN AFGHANISTAN REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jul 81 p 3

["fy" report, datelined Bonn, 22 July: "GDR Specialists Also in Afghanistan"]

[Text] The GDR, Czechoslovakia, as well as Cuba and Bulgaria, are taking part in the Soviet Union's military occupation of Afghanistan. According to reliable sources from Bonn, at present there are slightly over 80,000 troops of the Soviet invasion force in Afghanistan. The Soviet troops are supported by small GDR, CSSR, Cuban and Bulgarian contingents which, their size notwithstanding, are performing important functions. This is especially true with the GDR contingent.

The 200 Cuban specialists in guerrilla warfare operate in the remote Central Asian highlands as advisers and instructors of troops combating the Afghan freedom fighters. The 30 technicians representing the Czech army perform maintenance work for the Soviet tanks, while the Bulgarian soldiers, whose number is not known, are mainly used as drivers of military vehicles.

The GDR's involvement, on the other hand, is much more diverse. The GDR has provided field hospitals and other mobile medical units in Afghanistan, and has sent there experts--the number is not known exactly--who are working alongside Soviet specialists in setting up the Afghan intelligence and security services. GDR advisers and instructors are also engaged in developing the Afghan police. The Soviets' choice of the Warsaw Pact countries participating in the occupation of Afghanistan is regarded in Bonn as an indication of the Soviets' assessment of their allies' reliability and of the discrepancies currently existing in the solidarity to Moscow among the East bloc countries. According to available information, neither Poland nor Hungary nor Romania are participating in the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The same holds true for Vietnam and North Korea.

CSO: 2300/269

CULTURAL LIFE IN SOFIA RECEIVES NEGATIVE EVALUATION

Sofia SOFIA in Bulgarian No 5, 1981 pp 13-15

[Cultural Evaluation by Kalin Todorov and Panayot Denev: "What Do You Prefer--Motion Picture, Theater, Concert, Exhibition?"]

> [Text] Culture and the big city. The topic is not as old as the world but it is at least as old as the big city. We were unable to find any special sociological analyses concerning the cultural life of the residents and guests of the capital. Our study did not have the ambitious purpose of analyzing in depth their cultural preferences. We chose at random about 50 people of different ages and professions, visited different cultural institutes and tried to sketch an approximate picture of the cultural life in the city.

A general impression: the resident of the big city, regardless of profession and social activities, has difficulty in organizing his leisure time, as to relaxation, sports, social gatherings, information and cultural life. It is obvious that the life-style of the Sofia residents is still not free of some everyday burdens (transportation, services, trades...), which stop him from fully utilizing his leisure time.

But this is not all. The present-day Sofia resident is inclined to a maybe traditional inaction when organizing the use of his leisure time. He often does not realize that after tiring official, social and personal duties during the day, he would relax better (and more sensibly) in the concert hall, theater or at the movies, instead of being glued to the television.

This problem could be interpreted in another way as well. Some residents of the capital have reached the conclusion quite superficially (by presumptuously generalizing their limited private experience of life) that the cultural entertainment the city offers them in the evening does not help them relax, since it requires an additional intellectual exertion. Such are the cases where we hear objections like: "The play is too heavy, the film is too difficult to understand, the music is too complicated...."

This reaction is well known; it has been created by the already established tendency of the so-called "average viewer" toward a shallow and indifferent attitude to art. This problem, which is becoming universal, is the subject of planned and coordinated

work on the part of the cultural institutes. It is not something that will change in a year or two, because it is a problem of the cultural revolution as a whole.

And so, what do the Sofia residents prefer?

All people polled (a worker, employee, physician, lawyer, officer, interpreter, scientist, retired employee, housewife, engineer, student, architect, movie director, musician, librarian, dentist, journalist and so on) preferred the movies. According to the official statistical manual (1979) the 50 movie theaters in Sofia are attended by 13,614,000 viewers annually. What is the meaning of 50 movie theaters for 1,140,000 residents?

The people polled were almost unanimous in their opinion that the motion picture selection in Sofia was quite limited. It was obvious that everybody had his own taste in mind but this gave us the opportunity to obtain a relatively full picture of their preferences.

The worker: "There are very few films that deal with the real problems of the workers. We need more films like "Premium." Our movie directors seem more interested in their own problems than in ours. I have in mind films like "The Understudy," "The Truck," "Ions." Invented stuff, nothing to do with real life. So I prefer comedies, detective stories and musicals."

The sportsman said much the same, namely that there were very few films about sports, and the militiaman said there were few about detectives. A 30-year-old architect criticized the poor advertising, saying that he could not judge the quality of the films by the reviews because of the difficult style of the critics and that unclear description of the esthetic qualities of the films, usually without mentioning anything about the contents.

The lawyer said regretfully that quite often excellent films pass through empty theaters (particularly in the studio halls) because no efforts are made to clarify their topics in advance and to advertise them.

He, as well as many others, thought that justice is not done to Soviet films by indiscriminately importing films that have already been rated poorly by the Soviet viewers and Soviet critics alike. Similar mistakes are also made with films imported from other socialist countries.

Here are some other opinions: the movie-goers have the feeling that motion pictures from the West are selected for their topic and not for their artistic qualities; that there are very few motion pictures by young producers in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the selection of comedies, musicals, and detective and adventure films is extremely limited (categorical opinion of all persons polled).

The above opinion does not mean that the Sofia viewers consciously avoid problematic and highly artistic films. It is obvious, however, that the selection should be balanced and diversified. Supporting this opinion is the fact that the movie theater where movies are run continuously and the selection is in conformity with educational functions and with the taste of a wide range of viewers who prefer pure entertainment and spectaculars, is the only theater in the city that has a full supply of films and highly overfulfilled financial plan.

The activity of "Dissemination of Films" has undergone some changes in the last few years which have not remained unnoticed by the viewers, although they are hardly aware of the difficulties involving movie imports. Efforts are constantly being made to diversify and enlarge their selection. At present about 180 films are imported annually (compared to 150 three years ago), but we are still far behind the other socialist countries, each of which imports about 250 motion pictures. We recently saw movies on the Sofia screen soon after their first showing in the West ("Apocalypse Now," "Orchestra Rehearsal," "Several Days in the Life of I. I. Oblomov," etc.), which gave the Sofia residents the good feeling that they were not lagging behind by 5-10 years in seeing the international movie spectaculars.

Besides film selection, our poll involved other questions just as important: movie theaters, cold in the winter, stuffy in the summer; appallingly poor quality of projection in most of the movie theaters; prices for some of the films unrealistically high (a student said: I would rather have two lunches than one movie ticket).

Sofia residents like to go to the theater. But they seldom manage to do so. Most of the people polled admitted that they see at most one or two plays per season. We did not find a single person (theater fans excluded) who systematically followed the program of the Sofia theaters.

Sofia has 11 theaters with 8,139 seats. Prague has 26 theaters with over 20,000 seats. Warsaw, with a population of 1.5 million, has 18 theaters with 12,000 seats.

In the middle of the season Sofia theaters, with the exception of the People's Theater for Youth, the National Academic Theater for Opera and Ballet, the "Tears and Laughter" Theater and the Sofia Theater, were sold out for all performances 10 days in advance.

Cases like that were mentioned by all people polled when answering whether they could plan a month in advance how to use their leisure time in the dynamics of contemporary life. Therefore, two-thirds of the people polled go to the theater only when offered tickets. Furthermore, they find it suspicious when they are offered tickets.

A chemical engineer: "I always think, who knows what the play is if they are offering us tickets. But I cannot find tickets any other way. I have no time or nerves to go from one box-office to another and wait in line. And I find it hard to find out in advance what is worth seeing and what is not."

As was the case with the movies, the preferences for theater plays were quite diversified. The predominant impression among the people polled was that the selection of plays in the Sofia theaters was constantly improving. There is a constant interest in Bulgarian plays (one cannot say the same thing for motion picture films). Quoted were mainly Bulgarian plays which were preferred to others mainly because of their topical socio-moral problems: "Jacket of Velour," "Roman Bath," "Race" by Statislav Stratiev in the Satire Theater, "Criminal Song" by Iv. Radoev in the Theater of the People's Army, "Flight" by Mikhail Velichkov in Theater 199, "The Woman Cannibal" by Iv. Radoev in the Sofia Theater. Those who had already seen "Flight Test" by Yordan Radichkov in the Ivan Vasov National Academic Theater

and "Easter Wine" by Konstantin Iliev in Sofia Theater were elated and many were sorry that they had been unable to get hold of tickets for those shows as they were convinced they would like them.

Best liked plays by foreign playrights were "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" and "Miss Julia" in the Tears and Laughter Theater, "Cruel Games," "Delicate Balance" and "Appetite for Cherries" in the Sofia, and "Equus" in the People's Theater for the Youth.

Theatergoers expect a better classic selection. Why have the Sofia theaters not ventured for over 15 years to produce "Hamlet," "Romeo and Juliet," "Otello," "Don Juan," etc.

A dentist (28 years old): "Hamlet" was played in Sofia 17 years ago for the last time. Does this mean that my generation is not going to see on the stage Shakespeare's most important masterpieces?"

The people polled rarely referred to the quality of the plays. Few of them felt knowledgeable and well informed enough to praise or criticize. And yet the main impression was: most of the actors have poor diction and pay no attention to the words.

Now something about music. We should agree in advance that we should not use for concert music the same criteria and requirements we used for theater and movies. The concert audience is completely different. Music requires a better prepared audience and has one definite difference: those who attend popular music concerts do not attend symphony concerts and vice versa. There are some people who like both types of music and you will meet them in the "Bulgaria" and in the "Universiada," provided they know in advance the quality of the performers. In general, however, concert-goers do not take risks and, so the music halls are usually full of professionals, colleagues of the performers and their relatives and friends.

Until recently the musicians of "serious" music used to talk with envy about the good attendance of popular music concerts. We might make them feel better by telling them that even at popular music concerts in Sofia attendance is poor. It is difficult to have a good audience for either type of music when the quality is poor and with the present-day information media, and the arrival in Sofia of someone like Ray Charles, many people are starting to express critical opinions about our own musicians. If the audience of popular music concerts started to decrease after the visit of Ray Charles, why not remind ourselves that the audience of the symphony concerts decreased after the visits of Rozhdestvenskiy, Markevitch, and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

The veteran ticket clerks at the Sofia concert bureau were puzzled by our question: for which recent concerts have all tickets usually sold out? The answer was: for the series of organ music by Neva Krusteva, some of the concerts by the "Simfonieta" orchestra, and for the so-called "First of April Symphony Concert."

We are of the opinion that this concert deserves particular attention. As is known Sofia lacks a high-quality entertainment show like a music hall or literary nightclub. The concert of the operatic-symphony orchestra of the Bulgarian radio with

actors N. Binev, I. Fintsi, T. Kolev and R. Mladenov was repeated 18 times and the "Bulgaria" Hall was packed every single time. Some people went three and four times and the high prices did not stop anybody. In a way divorced from any tradition, this concert combined vivid, humorous improvisation, parody and most diversified entertainment with the highest level of esthetics and excellence.

A few words about exhibitions. Our polling was a real fiasco. From our conversations with 50 people only two remembered visiting some exhibitions during the past six months. And our tour of exhibition halls (eight in the city excluding the National Gallery and the City Gallery) showed that nobody kept score of the number of visitors. We could not understand why. Are the artists not interested in the number of visitors seeing their pictures and who they are, is no institute interested in such data?

The first impression when visiting exhibition halls is their emptiness; but is this not the traditional idea of an exhibition, the pictures hanging on the walls and two or three visitors contemplating them? It is a fact that professionals and connoisseurs usually attend the opening but it is also a fact that those who really want to see an exhibition also go back another day. The average exhibition lasts 20-25 days and offers such a possibility. Here is the opinion of a worker in an exhibition hall: "It looks as if all interest is exhausted at the opening. People come later, of course, but very few. It's mainly young people and students who come. I think that there are more visitors at general art exhibitions, at exhibitions of applied art. There is considerable interest in illustrations and book layouts, in exhibits of architectural plans and urban planning, in artistic photography. In principle, exhibitions by foreign artists are better attended."

What is the conclusion of our polling? The preferences are as many as the people but the possibilities are limited. If we could trace any tendency, we could say that it is toward a merging of those two lines. This most likely means that cultural life is becoming richer and the taste and needs of the people are developing parallel with it.

1010
CSO: 2200/114

CAREER DATA PROVIDED ON ROCKET TROOP, ARTILLERY COMMANDERS

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 30 Mar 81 pp 38-39

['AR Information' feature article: "Commanders of Rocket Troop and Artillery Units"]

> [Text] We repeatedly receive reader's letters asking questions about military professions. Today we can answer the inquiries of Klaus-Dieter Schramm from Senftenberg, J. Brueckner from Stralsund, Werner Haensel from Berlin, Gerd Mirsch from Zeitz, Arno Eckert from Weimar and Jens Karbowski from Fuerstenwalde, on the careers of commanders of rocket troop and artillery units by providing a slightly condensed excerpt from the career training catalog (Officers).

The rocket troops and artillery are a branch of the ground combat forces.

The rocket troops are the main firepower of the ground forces; they can conduct rocket barrages quickly, very accurately, surprisingly, in any terrain, season or time of day or night. They are composed of operative-tactical and tactical rockets on mobile launchers having the necessary technical facilities, as well as units of the meteorological service and survey units with their radio ranging stations and automatic survey equipment.

The artillery is the most powerful means of fire to provide direct support of motorized infantry and armored troop units in all types of engagements. It can fire under any conditions, quickly, by surprise and with great effect. The fire units of the artillery are equipped with cannon, artillery pieces and mortars, as well as guided AT rockets; their combat actions are secured by units of artillery reconnaissance, the artillery survey service and the artillery meteorological service.

Activities

The commander of a rocket or artillery unit is the superior to all members of his unit. As the sole military commander, he is responsible for the unit's political and military guidance. He also bears responsibility for political and combat training of his subordinates, for their training in higher military discipline

and order. He has to guarantee the constant readiness of arms and tactics, as well as the combat readiness of his unit.

If a young lieutenant is employed as platoon commander after graduation from the officer candidate school, then he must perform the following tasks: Political training of the soldiers and NCOs of his platoon and, as squad training director, conduct the political indoctrination of the soldiers; perform combat training or direct squad and gun commanders in combat training (tactics of rocket troops and artillery, general tactics, fire discipline in handling and operation of the rocket systems and equipment or training in actions for operation of guns, structure, use and maintenance of rocket systems, structure of guns, equipment and munitions, rocket or artillery fire training, survey training, meteorology, engineer training, training in protection against weapons of mass destruction, physical training); implement rigid military discipline and order; care and maintenance of armament and equipment. In battle, the platoon commander must generate combat readiness of his unit quickly and meet the fire missions in the interest of other armed units and in the interest of cooperation.

Specific Requirements

The commander of a rocket or artillery unit in combat performs tasks of support of other armed forces. He must perform the following specific tasks: He is responsible for indoctrination of socialist soldiers and for their military perfection. He must master the equipment and armament of his unit. A high degree of accuracy, thoroughness and cleanliness is needed for drawings. He must have a good memory and training in fast, accurate calculating and in handling mathematical tables. Fundamental knowledge of electronics and electrical circuitry and control equipment is needed. In his activity as commander, decisiveness, quick reactions, discretion and initiative in actions are required.

An advantage of this command career is graduation as a survey technician, technician for data processing, BMSR-technology or for production equipment, electro-mechanic, maintenance mechanic, precision mechanic, machine and systems assembler or machinist. A prerequisite is that the officer candidate earn the badge "For Premilitary and Technical Knowledge", Step II, of a particular career.

Objective and Content of Training

The Officer Training School has the goal of training a socialist officer who is capable of leading a rocket or artillery unit in combat and to combine the army members subordinate to him into a socialist combat collective.

The special training comprises tactics of rocket troops or artillery, general tactics, rocket or artillery fire training, technical training (structure, handling and maintenance of various rocket and artillery systems, optic equipment, radio survey equipment, automatic survey instruments and electronic computers), fire training (handling and operation of rocket systems or guns, mortars and projectile launchers), engineer and information training and training in protection against weapons of mass destruction.

The course of study at the Ernst Thaelmann officer training school of the ground forces in Loebau includes the exchange of information for the command of a launcher

or artillery battery, and instruction in the tasks and employment of a rocket or artillery detachment. Several weeks' practical training is a part of this.

Assignment and Advancement Potentials

After successful completion of study at the Officer Training School, the officer will be assigned, in accord with his specific area of study, to a rocket or artillery unit as fire commander or platoon commander, to a reconnaissance, survey or artillery instrument recon unit as platoon commander, to a technical platoon in a rocket unit as platoon commander, or as officer for guidance and propulsion systems in a rocket launcher battery.

If the young lieutenant has gained suitable experience and perfected his knowledge in troop duty at the first officer duty post, then he can be assigned--usually after 2 to 4 years--to a detachment staff as battery chief or to an equivalent position. In the further course of the career, study at a military academy and assumption of a higher position are possible.

9280
CSO: 2300/255

OFFICIAL DEFENDS SPECIAL COACHING FOR WORKERS' CHILDREN

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Jul 81 p 5

[Text] A number of investigations and scientific studies indicate that the scholastic progress of children of working class parents in elementary school is inferior to that of children of intellectuals. This affects selection of secondary schools and their entire life's vocation. Even as graduates, workers' children become part only of less prestigious intellectual groups, and few of them attain leading positions. The fact must also be faced that those lacking opportunity for mobility make less effort and are less able to get their children into better schools. Mobility has been affected by a recent decline in job openings in the intellectual field.

The ongoing debates about social mobility, development of the school system, the status of the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged, the growing role of the intellectuals and about incomes all reveal again more pointedly that there is political uncertainty about decisions concerning aid for education and continuing education for children of manual workers.

According to Ferenc Ipolyi, department head of the Ministry of Culture, this is a long-term political task:

"In the late 60's and even sometimes today, overcoming cultural disadvantages has been regarded as simply something to be achieved through education. Others have regarded it as an exclusively social task whereas actually everyone has a part to play.

"The confusion is caused by the fact that to speak of a disadvantaged situation is to take a sociological approach whereas support of those of worker origin is actually a political task. Views have arisen according to which special aid for children of worker parents is no longer justified. Many in many places fail to understand that support for education of such children derives from the leading role of the working class. At present, this problem has become completely merged with the problems of the offspring of the disadvantaged and multiply disadvantaged. This is why the State Youth Committee discussed this matter among other issues recently."

[Question] Who are considered children of manual workers?

[Answer] Those having one parent who is a worker or peasant or is directly involved in directing production. However, there is debate about these classifications.

[Question] Isn't this sort of classification embarrassing?

[Answer] We don't classify anyone. We try to provide aid in such a way that no hurtful discrimination will be felt. Most of the disadvantaged are children of manual workers. This is why differentiation between the two concepts is desirable, since they remain disadvantaged on a long-term basis. Education is considered an asset even among those families of intellectuals whose earnings are lowest.

[Question] If worker families are left to seek aid for their children, aren't you afraid that pride or vanity will keep them from acting?

[Answer] This can indeed happen. Yet, the benefits of pre-university coaching have been proved. The committees which prepare students for university admission came into being 10 years ago. Since then they have been operating in agricultural, liberal arts, public health, legal, technical and economic institutions. Student teachers, those enrolled in or teaching at institutions of higher education, coach 16 and 17-year olds to prepare them for taking entrance examinations. The coaching is conducted through correspondence courses, day classes and special camps. This year nearly 28,000 youngsters of worker origin were involved in such coaching. Results are illustrated by the fact that last year 58 percent were admitted [to universities], 6 percent were transferred, and only 36 percent failed to qualify.

[Question] Do you consider it realistic to believe that family background can be compensated for in this way?

[Answer] Not entirely. It is a question of giving a needed boost in taking entrance examinations. Ideally, it would be best if such measures were unnecessary.

[Question] Isn't there some contradiction in deeming selection of a trade less valuable than electing to go to college? Doesn't this attitude reduce the prestige of manual work?

[Answer] Such is not our intention, but it must be evident that for a talented youngster not to continue his studies at a high school is a detour for him. In any event, it is by no means certain that we would discover who is talented in time. I emphasize that I consider even a single step toward mobility important. It seems that public opinion fails to appreciate this properly. The percentage of workers' children in the eighth grade of elementary school is still about 80 percent. Scarcely fewer of them apply for admission to secondary school. Most apply to vocational training schools. Worker families send their children to schools at which they can acquire special training quickly and thus achieve independent earnings in a short time. Sixty-four percent of the children of worker parentage attend vocational training schools; one-fourth go to vocational secondary school, and only 13 percent to high school. At the same time, 70 percent of first-year college students are high school graduates. In other words, the possibility of becoming a highly qualified specialist is determined as early as completion of elementary school through selection of the type of secondary school to be attended.

PROBLEM OF REPUBLIC OF BOTH WORLD OUTLOOKS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE I MYSL in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 13-24

[Article by Andrzej Polkowski: "A Republic of Two World Views"]

I

[Text] A nationwide debate on how to improve our republic has been going on for more than half a year now. Persons from all social strata are speaking their minds, including those who in the recent past had not been in a position to voice their opinions in public. Returning openly and publicly to the pages of the secular, party and Catholic press are topics that were unwelcome in the past because raising them tended to upset the predetermined image of an ideal, conflict-free "moral-ideological" unity of the nation. Among these are topics that have always been of utmost importance for Poles because they involved fundamental values: the Polish imponderables whose living presence at all times in our history sets it apart so clearly from the histories of other nations.

The fact that the latest and most severe crisis centered not only on bread-and-butter issues, bureaucratic absurdities or even the generally evident breakdown of the entire economy was well known from the very first days of the government commission's talks at the Gdansk Shipyard. For the most part, the proposals addressed specific issues of daily living, but they also reflected an awareness of the most profound problems: human dignity, unconditional respect for truth and a humanistic sense of work and justice; in brief, an awareness of world outlook problems.

It was beyond doubt that those problems had to be raised in an overt and rational manner in a theoretical debate on the form of Poland's renewal. The religious symbols, practices and experiences widely manifested in the workers' and peasants' centers of protest, had drawn the attention of some intellectuals and activists in the right direction, focusing on the problem of "pluralism in world outlooks and secularity of the state," as stated in the initial communique from the deliberations of the reinstituted Church-State Joint Commission.

Initially, the raising of such problems was not self-evident for all, however. The PAX Association's press publications were the first to do this. In early September, they published PAX Chairman Ryszard Reiff's report from the first PAX

Association Board session to follow the signing of the Szczecin and Gdansk accords, held on 4 September 1980, and, subsequently, a complete text of his Sejm address.[1] PAX's leading the way came as a matter of course. The significance of world-outlook problems, postulated plurality in world outlooks and the inspirational role generated by world outlooks are central to PAX's ideology, formulated and advocated from its inception. The board chairman, by recalling those issues in the context of the dramatic events of the summer of 1980, had raised them to the rank of a diagnostic assessment of certain vital causes of the crisis and an urgent call for renewal. "The strikes indeed revealed the nation's desire to attain ampler opportunities for the expression of attitudes as well as religious and outlook-related needs. At the same time they reaffirmed the vigorous and close relationship between catholic beliefs and patriotic attitudes with a commitment to the improvement of our situation. Accordingly, it is indispensable for such an important bastion of social and moral power as Polish Catholicism to create conditions under which it will be able more fully to support the well-being of the nation and the state. This will become possible only at a time when the pluralism which actually exists in our society's outlooks is given expression in a pluralistic outlook of a socialist Polish state."[2]

These pronouncements were followed by a 3-month lag, and only then did outlook problems become a topic for discussion in the secular press. This debate was sparked by Stefan Bratkowski's bold article "Five Polish Peculiarities--Where Are We Headed," in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 1 December 1980. The new chairman of the Polish Journalists' Association [SDP] regarded the role of Polish Catholicism in the life of the nation as the first of these idiosyncrasies: "In a country with a catholic majority in which two-thirds of the party membership believe in God, a political line cannot be founded on the party's coexistence with catholic circles but on cooperation and their mutual interpenetration in society's life. In practical terms, this means that a person's membership in the political party guided by the doctrine of scientific socialism should be measured by that person's acceptance of the party's political program, based on Marxist thinking, rather than on acceptance of a Marxist world outlook.... A party member who believes in God does not have to conceal his religious sentiments; he must hold all of the active and passive electoral rights available in the party, while equally sharing with all other members in the custody over the party's secularity and each member's right to protect his own world outlook."

Bratkowski's drastic and public raising of a problem always regarded as a most sensitive one caused a vigorous discussion as a matter of course. It was not an exclusively theoretical debate. Bratkowski took a realistic position on the foundation of evident facts about which everybody had known, but nobody discussed, because those facts did not fit the patterns seen as inviolable until recently. Seeking more effective methods to destroy the causes rather than the symptoms of the disease, Bratkowski ventured to attack the patterns, in fact, without stubbornly insisting on his contentions, but proposing to have them discussed "at least as a start, so that we know what we want to be headed for--other than restoration of trust and economic reconstruction--so that we know where we are heading."

The debate was not limited to the original problem of "believers within the party," though this problem aroused the most animation (which is understandable).

Inevitably, those participating in the debate had to reach down deeper, to the problem of plurality of outlooks and secularity of the socialist state. The manner in which this problem was addressed may seem rather simplistic to a PAX activist. It should not be forgotten, however, that, while at PAX this problem had been widely reflected upon for years, broader segments of the populace, including the intellectuals and activists, on the whole had no opportunities or conditions for such reflection. For several years even the very term "plurality of outlooks" could hardly appear in our publications and any discussions about socialist pluralism were generally seen as unwelcome.[3] Slogans about "ideological and moral unity" and "believers and nonbelievers jointly building a new Poland" had to suffice. World outlook problems were raised by specialists in pure theory and in propaganda based on it in a fashion so remote from real life with its surge of conflicts that they at best provoked a shrug, not to mention a sizable share of the kind of writing that filled bookstore shelves with volumes nobody wanted to buy. Lying in front of me, for example, are three items from the "World Outlooks" series published by the "Ksiazka i Wiedza" [KiW] Publishing House, ostensibly focused directly on the problem that recently provoked such animated debate. "Controversies About World Outlooks" by J.F. Godlewski, "Some Problems in the Division of Church and State" by E. Grzelak and "Marxism and Religiousness" by S. Opara were all issued in January 1980, 50,000 copies each. It follows from these publications that world outlook problems have been resolved in our country in an ideal and exemplary fashion; everyone is content, nothing can or should be changed in this area from now on. Everything has been logically reasoned and programmed to its ultimate conclusion. The church is separated from the state. Religion is a private matter, the materialist outlook, on the other hand, is the outlook of the working class, as a consequence, the state representing its interests, programmitically supports and fosters this outlook. The problem of believers is taken care of by the statement that they can--and actually do--participate in the building of socialism thanks to the state's reasoned policy on religious beliefs. One cannot help wondering why, all of a sudden, and less than a year after these books were published, mass is celebrated in factories at the workers' request, and the party's press periodicals carry on an argument that the "working class wants to entrust to the church the resolving of the riddle of human existence."[4]

In years past, Catholic journalists' attempts at a totally different--one resulting from an assessment of realities of Polish society's life--presentation of these problems either could not appear in print,[5] or, washed down to hints and understatement, encountered a routine response in the form of those theoretical theses about the privacy of religion, freedom of conscience, equal rights and tolerance for all citizens. The lives of particular, anonymous individuals and society's life were fictitiously subdivided into neatly separated spheres: the sphere of religion here, the sphere of socialist commitment over there; moral values here, their motivations elsewhere; "scientific world outlook" on the one hand, mere faith on the other; shared strenuous labor here, and an inspiration that gives sense to it elsewhere. Actually, in that pragmatic and technocratic period, the role of world outlooks in society's life was not appreciated at all, along with a tendency to isolate such problems in the study rooms of specialized theoretical scholars. An alarming signal could have been provided by assessments of the course of John

Paul II's visit to Poland. In practice, however, the only response to this fact was reinvigoration of an otherwise commendable outreach policy toward the institutional church, or the hierarchy. The ongoing processes in society's consciousness continued to be neglected.

This self-delusion of our "prominent leaders" and a large number of professional activists in the lay movement who brandished the above slogans could be measured by their unpleasant surprise at the fact that the hierarchy, while demonstrating a great deal of restraint and good will on a number of issues of importance for the state, stubbornly and uncompromisingly criticized the methods, goals and effects of what is termed "laicization." The term is used here in quotes because it has acquired a particular significance in our country, going far beyond that which is understood to be meant by "secularism" elsewhere in the world and which is not controversial within the Universal church as well, at least since the time of the council. Dwelling on this subject would expand the scope of this article; at this point I wish only to point out a characteristic paradox. The church, while accepting the legitimate "state secularity" (as can be seen, for example, in the Joint Commission's report, mentioned above), opposes "laicization." An analysis of the motives of this opposition, contained in the Episcopate's successive letters, clearly demonstrates that these are not purely doctrinal motives but overall social motives as well, oriented toward internal peace and the nation's welfare. "It is increasingly frequently claimed these days," the Polish bishops state in the pastoral letter of 22 March 1968, "that a modern state should not grant a privileged position to any philosophical system, ideology or cultural or artistic trend. Thus, as is the case with imposed laicization, when state authorities commit themselves to a materialist world outlook, using the administrative apparatus and state installations for its dissemination, we are forced to voice our protest. The common good and the principles of social justice require people of different world views to coexist, benefiting from various rights in every field, without the secular authorities' resorting to discrimination and administrative pressures toward believers."[6] In subsequent passages of the pastoral letter, the Polish bishops warn against artificial divisions of human life into mutually independent spheres and against separating the sphere of motivation from actions and their goals.

This realistic look on the significance of world-view problems nationwide was even more pointedly expressed by the Polish Primate in his celebrated Jasna Gora sermon in August of 1980: "It appeared to us that the period we were living through in a way 'shifted the world off its course.' This shift was integral, total. While pruning overgrown limbs that people did not like, however, the very trunk of the tree was weakened at times. This happened especially because of the promoted atheization that undermined the millenium nation's bonds and cultural force. This was neither needed nor useful, nor was it connected with the doctrine in the name of which the socioeconomic system was being reconstructed. Yet by turning children and youth to atheism in the schools and even in social and public life, a crisis of confidence was occasioned in people who may have even meant well, but failed to understand that certain values, upon which the nation is founded and whose force lets it live, cannot be infringed upon."[7]

Between this resolute and permanent opposition of the Polish bishops and the fully complacent but unrealistic theory of the "policy on denominations," there

was a vast expanse of human drama of conscience, erosion of trust and mounting protest. One thing is certain: the Polish bishops undoubtedly displayed far more familiarity with world-view-related aspects of the processes occurring within society's actual consciousness than did lay journalists and scholars specializing in world-view problems. However, the bishops' caveats were regarded for years as a sign of churchly expansionism, while PAX's postulate for plurality of world views was considered a totally artificial cerebral construct of a small group of odd fanatics. It was in August of 1980 that we learned what large segments of the nation, especially the working class, were thinking about that.

II

Without doubt, S. Braktowski's point of departure for his article was also realistic, based on relating two undeniable facts: the majority of citizens' acknowledging their Catholicism and actual presence of believers in the party membership. His proposal as well as subsequent discussions were weakened by a total lack of consensus as to the basic terms being used: world outlook, ideology, philosophy, and belief and cult. Those participating in the discussion were essentially divided into two groups: those who persisted in maintaining the present theory and practices in this regard unchanged (except at the most, improving the quality of party indoctrination) and those who had noticed the problem but were unable to go beyond their perception of its detrimental or at least ambiguous aspects.[8] In that, however, they were substantially helped by W. Loranc who, in his polemic with Bratkowski, proposed a position that would be downright cynical if accepted officially. "A believer," Loranc affirms, "can belong to the party but he cannot question its ideology or accept only a part of the party's world view. One can join the party accepting at first only its political goals, recognizing other goals, but not being yet prepared for their honest, or practical, affirmation."[9] Among Loranc's opponents, W. Gielzynski correctly remarks that "it is hard to understand much from these grammatically convoluted sentences, but the point seems to be that a believer can become a party member only if he consciously assumes his gradual loss of religiousness. However, such a man is obviously not a believer; he is simply two-faced. As an adherent to a secular world view, I voice my protest here against Loranc's proposal: I would not like to be in the party together with cynics without ideology."[10]

Is it, however, only a proposal of Loranc's or a description of actual current condition? "Until now," other discussants admit, "the party's position on religious beliefs and practices was practically as follows: party functionaries, propagandists and intellectuals were required to be consistent in their world views and to take an areligious attitude, while such consistency as a rule, was not exacted from rank-and-file party membership because of the assumed gradual departure from religious beliefs and practices during the process of philosophical and ideological development, that is to say, a gradual laicization of attitudes."[11]

This, also, is admitted by W. Myslek who sees a simple solution to the problem in reinforcing party indoctrination, especially that of candidates.[12]

It is not up to me to propose intraparty solutions. As a believer who—according to current practices and opinions of many discussants--could be faced with the theoretical problems of becoming a party member, I must respond, paraphrasing Gielzynski, in the following manner: I would not like to and I could not become a member of a party that assumes it will free me by degrees from the "illusion" of my world view or regards me as nothing but an item in its enrollment statistics. This is so obvious that it is a matter of wonder how much the lay journalists need to discuss this topic. Some of them, however, correctly remark that "over the years not only did many misunderstandings accumulate over these issues but, "worse than that," there evolved in the colloquial consciousness a phenomenon of dual morality, generating hypocrisy, falsity, spiritual ambivalence and family conflicts which, on the one hand, vent the believers' distrust toward the party ideology and, on the other hand, reflect the uncertainty of party members about world-view issues."[13]

Would these conflicts and this hypocrisy automatically disappear if the party statutorily and practically renounced dailectical materialism as its compulsory single view of reality? This seems to be the notion of S. Braktowski and some of Loranc's opponents. As a matter of fact, R. Wojna refers to precedents, primarily the position of the Italian Communist Party.[14] Its statute proclaims that "the Italian Communist Party can be joined by citizens over 18 years of age who--irrespective of race, religious creed and philosophical persuasion--accept the party's political program and pledge to act toward its implementation, compliance with the statute and work in one of the party organizations." As is known, Catholics were on the Italian Communist Party candidate list in the Italian elections of 1977. This initiated revealing correspondence between Bishop Betazzi, ordinary of Ivrea, and Italian Communist Party Secretary E. Berlinguer. R. Wojna mentions these letters but he does not refer—which is rather essential--to the reason why Bishop Betazzi first sent his letter. That reason was the fear that regardless of the party statute, public opinion might become convinced that Marxism in its entirety could be reconciled with Catholic doctrine, which would, of course, be an erroneous conclusion, harmful to both sides. In his response, Berlinguer explains that the Italian Communist Party renounced the advocacy of atheism, retaining Marxist analysis for the evaluation of the historical process and for constructing political strategy. "Within the Italian Communist Party, there exists and acts a will not only to construct and maintain here, in Italy, a secular and democratic party; as such neither theistic, atheistic nor antitheistic, but also to create, as a direct consequence, a secular and democratic state which would be neither theistic, atheistic nor antitheistic as well."[15]

Unfortunately, neither Berlinguer nor the Polish journalists taking part in the discussion in question offer a closer explanation of how to separate dialectical materialism from Marxist analysis of history or political economy, nor do they probe the possibilities for bringing all the theses and instruments of that analysis into consensus with Christian anthropology and the church's social science. Indisputably, many points of convergence exist and, for the most part, these focus the attention of the advocates of dialogue and collaboration, and justly so. It is not enough, however, to enumerate such points when evaluating the possibilities of a Catholic's joining the Marxist party; it is necessary to

examine all program theses and their philosophical background in this case. To take the first example that comes to mind, a Christian can accept the notion of class struggle as a key for understanding, a description of the historical process, but can he accept class struggle as a postulate, as a method by which to reach an equitable system?

The principal fault of all the proposals intended to enable Catholics to join the Marxist party is in regarding their membership in the church as a certain narrow, deeply concealed private sphere, involving only a fragment of the human personality. So conceived, Catholicism is simply a belief in the supernatural, an eschatology and cult, a particular religious experience. Insofar as the church as an institution is severing its alliance with the class exploitation system (rendering obsolete the so-called historical argument), its members' ontological, anthropological and sociomoral convictions become almost irrelevant for those who are referred to as "open Marxists." It is difficult not to have the impression that this de facto conceals plain neglect accorded those convictions and, furthermore, an unfortunate tendency (more or less conscious) to treat the holders of these convictions as mere instruments. This is accompanied by cartoon simplifications of the vision of Catholicism, quite frequent in many Marxists, which is demonstrated in particular in their emphasizing what Marxism is in contradistinction to Catholicism. Once science, humanism, rationalism, Prometheism, democratism, disalientation and demystification are all placed on one side, while Catholicism is on the other, it becomes clear that the latter can pertain only to some secret, private sphere of human personality. Except that this has nothing in common with the consciousness of living flesh and blood Catholics for whom the positions, listed above as contradictory, are their own. It is not accidental that in the discussion references are made to the problem of "believers within the party" and not "catholics within the party." As a matter of fact, we are not concerned about conscious members of the church but indifferent ones who are maintaining for various reasons their sentiments about some religious practices (baptism, first communion for children, Catholic weddings and funerals, celebrations of religious holidays, and attachment to symbols in the form of the cross, medals or religious pictures). It is difficult to be certain whether we are dealing with world outlooks in this case at all. It is not possible to try a solution of the problem of pluralistic world views by focusing maximum attention on the periphery of the church because this will only lead to misunderstandings, illusions and further conflicts.

In his statement made in connection with the polemic of Braktowski and Loranc, K. Jakubowski perceived the danger of apparent solutions to the problem it posed in this manner.[16] Namely, he asked an essential question: "What are the reasons for the presence of a huge proportion of believers in the party?" The answer finally leads us in the right direction, to the problem of pluralism in world outlooks under socialism. "In my opinion," Jakubowski states, "the causes must be sought in the party's policy, clearly not the one that is declared and written into programs, but that which is actually implemented. (Let us remember that the PZPR had, and still holds, a monopoly on authority). It is no secret that the gaining and even retaining of certain positions (in the economic, cultural and, even more so, political life) was dependent, until now, on membership in the party and frequently was the only criterion for the selection of people."

III

A. Micewski, in his brief comment on the article by A. Werblan who also postulated the abolition of so-called world view requirements in personnel policy, correctly reminds us of the old PAX theses which say that the point is not only "to create new dignitaries, loudly proclaiming their Catholicism and less well known for their substantive competence. A certain Catholic politician who had died 2 years earlier called this a phenomenon of dramatization of political life."[17] The typewriter which Micewski uses is constructed so that it is impossible to write on it the name of that politician, Boleslaw Piasecki. This name is, however, essential in this context because the above quote leads us to the entire PAX theory of pluralism in world outlooks as a comprehensive solution to the problem of rightful participation of Christians in the building of socialism in Poland.

This is not the place for a detailed survey of that theory whose construction, dissemination and implementation have been the vital substance of the entire history of the PAX association. It is worth noting in the context of the matters under discussion that an important part of this theory is the inspirational idea of the world view. It proclaims that a Catholic can (though he does not need to) engage himself in the building of the social system not only as a more or less active co-implementor of the program worked out from beginning to end by the Marxist party but as a rightful co-creator of that program who draws the motivation for his choice from his world view. The idea of world-view inspiration is radically opposed to the separation of man into different spheres of activity; it aims at guarding the integrity of the human person; it demands constant deepening of the world view and continued confrontation of the directions for action with the value system and it calls for consistency.

The theory of inspiration is clearly opposed to all forms of integrationism, or to directly relating the world view to a particular system or political direction as well as political clericalism. A lay Catholic makes the choice of political commitment on his own account. He does not fall back on the authority of the church whose religious, moral and apostolic mission has an extrasystemic and apolitical character. In his choice and in further action, a Catholic takes advantage of the inspiration flowing from his world view and from his own assessment of reality. Reality itself, and its assessment, are variable and depend on many factors. It is essential, however, to emphasize in this context the aspect of world view which intensifies human life and actions. Marxists put heavy emphasis on this aspect when dealing with their own world outlook. Unfortunately, when they pass on to an assessment of Catholicism, in their up till now broad understanding, the world view with its cognitive, political and practical functions[18] is abruptly reduced to eschatology, cult and religion. One should agree with Stanislaw Rainko when he writes: "The concept of world outlook, while remaining semantically close to the concepts of ideology, philosophy and science, is not, however, reducible to them. It pertains to the most comprehensive positions and orientations, that is, those beyond which no other, more

more comprehensive, positions and orientations can exist, correlated at the same time in a certain manner with human existential and social attitudes and capable of codetermining those attitudes."[19] The concept of world-view inspiration is connected precisely with that correlation. But this concerns all world outlooks, not only the Marxist one.

The pluralism of world views within the socialist commitment means therefore recognition of the possibility of Catholics opting for socialism without isolating their world view into a private sphere or culture (it would be a virtual denial of the role of a world view in the Marxist sense to Catholicism). Pluralism in world view in the Marxist sense to Catholicism). Pluralism in world views is the recognition of that possibility in theory and the drawing of all the consequences in practice. In this understanding, a Catholic can accept the principle of privacy of religion, but he cannot agree to the principle of privacy of the world view, even when it can be labeled with the adjective "religious." "A world view is only a form of social awareness but also one of the basic instruments of our actions."[20] We agree with this, but this applies to all world views, not only the Marxist one. Nonacceptance of this can be treated today as nothing but an anachronism or deliberate mystification. We are all aware that we will not accomplish an improvement of the republic resorting to anachronistic schemes or by continuing to apply tactical feints or silence.

In an exceptionally pointed way, Ryszard Reiff recorded those anachronistic patterns in the treatment of believers in his report delivered on 6 November 1980 at a session of the board of the PAX Association. Among the seven patterns he mentioned, the third and fourth are directly related to our reflections:

"The third pattern finds its expression in the belief that religion is confined to cultural affairs and does not at all generate a world outlook with social values. Such an approach does not perceive, or negates, the existence of Promethean Christian humanism which is so lucidly expressed by the contemporary social science of the church. According to this way of thinking, if the social, world-view-related and normative function of religion is not reactionary and backward, then it does not exist at all outside of the phenomena of faith.

"The fourth pattern is actually a consequence of the third. If one fails to see the role of church teachings and the Christian world view in various interpersonal relations, beginning with the family and ending with social attitudes toward work, when one ascribes to the church nothing but appeals to the concern for individual spiritual development, detached from life in its social complexity and development, then one also fails to see the needs and values of autonomy for Catholic laymen. At that point, their affairs are treated within a reduced dimension of their right to a cult and efforts are made to deal exclusively with the religious-pastoral authority--the hierarchy of the church. This pattern says: cult-yes, apostolate--no, clergy--yes, lay faith within the confines of a temple--yes, a religious world view within the confines of society--no."[21]

The application of such patterns in practice, the narrowing down of the problem of believers in a socialist state to what is termed denominational policy, lead--as

shown by realities of August 1980--to consequences perhaps least expected by the party: to the politicizing of the church in the consciousness of the broad masses. It is totally evident today that the church itself renounced any and all political functions, and the imposition of this role on the church can be nothing but the result of glaring errors in the relations between the political centers and the nation. A. Kolakowski and J. Migasinski even refer in this context to "a political gap, created by our own actions, which turn the church into a social and political pole to which are gravitating all those whom we rejected, who cannot find a place among us, nor see a place in society's life in the broad sense."[22] Agreeing with the general to specify what character this "gravitation" has. The point is not, after all, as W. Myslek suggested without presenting concrete sources of his speculations, "in the retreat of many working people from materialism toward religion, which is being manifested as a result of profound doubt about the values of socialist practices."[23] First of all, it must be noticed that the long-lasting nonrecognition of the inspiration of the Christian world view in social and public life and the limiting of Catholic problems to the sphere of cult has brought about, paradoxically, (maliciously, one might say) the transfer of the sphere of cult to sociopolitical life in a climate of collective protest and emergence of independent labor unions. The second consequence of the functioning of the above-mentioned patterns was the virtual turning of the newly-established labor unions to the church and its social teachings, although by its nature that movement cannot be and should not be a religious movement, which, in fact, is confirmed by numerous declarations of its leaders.

IV

Let us here return once again to the problem of believers within the party. In the above-quoted article, K. Jakubowski formulated a thought which seems to be right on target concerning this problem: "If genuine equality of status and advancement for all citizens existed in the PRL, if membership in the party gave no definite advantages, there would be no one but authentic communists in the PZPR, people for whom Marxism is the substance of their lives." I agree with this statement and I would feel an even greater respect for such a party. However, where would the Catholics be then?

The abolition of so-called "world-view requirements" and so-called "nomenklatura" as criteria for promotion to all positions and their replacement by the criterion of professionalism in undoubtedly the first fundamental postulate for pluralism is undoubtedly the first fundamental postulate for pluralism in world views under socialism that has stated to be implemented all over Poland. Resting the matter here, however, would be an equivalent of reverting to an instrumental treatment of persons openly holding a Catholic world view and underestimating the role of that world view's inspiration in sociopolitical life.

Religious denomination parties or groupings are already anachronistic today, if they are regarded as political formations that claim to express the political opinions of all Catholics and engage the hierarchy's prestige, operating out of its mandate. Religious-denomination trade unions are a similar anachronism now as well. This does not mean, however, in keeping with this article's entire

line of reasoning, that Marxists alone sense the necessity and have the right to associate into unions of people who are related by a joint, constantly deepened, world-view inspiration and a joint assessment of reality and development of a program of action. Recognizing the Marxist party's historical right, based on realities of our contemporary sociopolitical situation, to perform the leading role in the socialist state, Catholics who are consciously committed to socialism must have the right to create ideopolitical formations (associations, unions, parties or groups) within which they would be able to deepen their world-view inspiration together, along with a joint assessment of reality, subsequently molded into a program of action. Such formations exist in Poland, the point is to enable them to become--in keeping with their opportunities and ambitions--partners of the party and genuine power sources for society's energy, measured not only by their range of impact, but also by the number and quality of their candidates to representative bodies and leadership positions. Renunciation of the anachronistic model of a religious-denomination party leads to the recognition of pluralism of such formations, whereas the shared world view inspiration and political realism dictate the formulation of a postulate for establishing mechanisms for mutual understanding. Loyalty to the general guidelines contained in the church's social teachings can be a platform for such understanding.

However, consistent fulfillment of these postulates will be impossible if a third postulate is passed over in silence: instituting genuine secularity of the socialist state. Genuine--therefore, signifying theoretical and practical neutrality of the state and all of its institutions toward world views. I am convinced that this subject is currently becoming central to the debate over the most enduring and most creative solutions to the problem of world outlooks in Poland.

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Reiff, "Sila socjalizmu--wiez z narodem: Polska to calosc" [The Strength of Socialism Is its Bond with the Nation], Sejm addresses. These addresses were reprinted in ZYCIE I MYSL No 11, 1980.

2. R. Reiff, op. cit.

3. S. Ehrlich's "Oblicza pluralizmow" [Profiles of Pluralism] a pioneering analysis in our country, has a chapter titled "Marxism versus Pluralism" and another "On Certain Pluralistic Trends in the Socialist Reconstruction of Society." It was published in 1980 in 2,000 copies and was virtually inaccessible for free sale. This monograph is based on the lectures its author gave, lamentably, only outside of Poland.

4. The quote is from K. Klopotowski's article "Gdzie bija zrodla wartosci?" [Where Are the Sources of Values?], LITERATURA No 9, 1981.

5. For example, our "Open Letter to the Chairman of the Main Board of TKKS [Society for Fostering Secular Culture], Prof Tadeusz Jaroszewski, Ph. D., of December, 1976, which we were able to publish no sooner than exactly 4 years later, in December 1980. (ZYCIE I MYSL, No 12, 1980, pp 110-117).

6. Author's emphasis--A.P.

7. ZYCIE I MYSL, No 11, 1980, p 25.

8. I restrict myself here to reporting the comments of journalists from outside the PAX press. In PAX's publications, the world-view-related context of the August crisis and the conclusions drawn from it were raised in numerous articles. Besides the above-listed R. Reiff addresses, his report to a meeting of the [PAX] Board "Polish Democracy" should be mentioned here (SLOWO POWSZECHNE 15-16 November 1980), See also A. Borowska, "Prymat wartosci moralnych" [Primacy of Moral Values] ZYCIE I MYSL No 11, 1980; J. Wolkowski, "Chczescijanstwo a "ustroj pracy" w Polsce "80'" [Christianty and the "Labor System" in Poland] in the 1980's] ZYCIE IMYSL No 12, 1980; "Chrzescijanstwo a socjalizm" [Christianity and Socialism] (PAX activists' discussion) printed in KIERUNKI No 40, 1980; J. Wagner, "W oparciu o swiatopoglad czy ponad swiatopogladem" [Based on a World View or Beyond a World View], WTK, No 50, 1980; J. Wagner, B"Wierzacy w Partii" [Believers Within the Party] WTK No 9, 1981.

9. W. Loranc, "O probach zaglaskania socjalizmu" [About the Attempts to Pet Socialism to Death] ZYCIE LITERACKIE No 2, 11 January 1981.

10. W. Gielzynski, "Schlastac glaszczacych!" [Slash Those Whc Pet!] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 February 1981.

11. A. Kolakowski, J. Migasinski, "Iluzoryczne tesknoty" [Illusory Yearnings] LITERATURA 26 February 1981.

12. W. Myslek, "WIELOSWIatopogladowosc" [Pluralism in World Views] ARGUMETNY No 10, 1981.

13. A. Kolakowski, J. Migasinski, op. cit.

14. R. Wojan, "O wiarygodnosc dialogu" [To Make Dialogue Credible] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 February 1981.

15. The texts of both letters are in "Chrzescijanin w swiecie" [Christians in the World] 1978 No 2 (February).

16. K. Jakubowski, "Czy wierzacy moga nalezec do partii?" [Can Believers Belong to the Party?] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 2 February 1981.

17. A. Micewski, "Kilka slow o rownouprawnieniu" [A Few Words About Equal Rights] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 5, 1981. A. Werblan's article in question is "Dawne kryzysy i dzisiejsze problemy" [Past Crises and Current Problems] ZYCIE WARSZAWY 13 January 1981.

18. See the recent article by W. Roszewski, "Dialogi owocne i bezowocne" [Fruitful and Barren Dialogues] ARGUMENTY No 5 1981.

19. S. Rainko, "SWIADOMOSC I historia" [Consciousness and History] Czytelnik Publishing House, Warsaw, 1978, p 47.

20. W. Roszewski, op. cit.

21. R. Reiff, "Demokracja polska" [Polish Democracy] ZYCIE I MYSL No 2 1981 pp 58-59.

22. W. Myslek, op. cit.

23. W. Myslek, op. cit.

8795
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COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE ANSWERED

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21 Apr 81 p 3

[Interview with Col Jozef Oleksy, Deputy Commander of Opole Voivodship Mo, for Militia Service Affairs, by Andrzej Mach]; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] A militia--or police (the name matters little)--has to exist in any political system. On the other hand, the services of public order enjoy no great affection by the society anywhere in the world. This manifests itself especially during periods of tension. Such a situation exists at present in Poland. Our interview should therefore elucidate many matters due to which the atmosphere surrounding the militia has become rather heavy.

[Answer] We have nothing to hide, although--for obvious reasons--every government service of this type has its professional secrets. However, in my opinion, we cannot proceed here mathematically and reduce the whole militia to a common denominator. It is being commonly said: "militia--this," "militia--that." After all, behind each fact stand definite persons. Meanwhile, it is not being said that the error in the militia craft was committed by Sergeant Jaworski, Lieutenant Kowalski, or Colonel Oleksy. It is generalized, blaming the entire militia, in which--as in a factory--bad workers happen to occur, but the majority consists, after all, of honest people who straightforwardly perform their duties.

[Question] The comparison of factory and militia seems to me awkward in that if a factory has produced a defective product we are faced with a material loss. In your case, man suffers, and every society is extremely sensitive to this sort of phenomenon. Recently there were several such events in our voivodship, for example, in Baborow.

[Answer] This case will be stated fully when the right moment comes. But the truth is that I was first to learn about it, I informed the public prosecutor and immediately came to the conclusion that the representative of "Solidarity" from the sugar refinery in Baborow should participate in the autopsy of the dead man. Therefore, it is not true that we did not wish to give the public information on the matter. The court will take a decision regarding the guilt of former sergeant Zbigniew Stepien.

[Question] Exactly! That's just the point, that it is now "a former sergeant." For, is it moral that before the verdict of the court, which after all can acquit

him, the man be expelled from the militia? This might be politic for statistical purposes. Stepien will appear in court as a civilian and will not figure in the column: "condemned militiamen."

[Answer] These are two different cases. The court will decide whether Stepien is in fact guilty of the man's death. The fact of his dismissal from the militia was occasioned by different premises. Stephien was guilty--already proved--of misuse of authority. The question is, for example, of the manner of the detention of the suspect. For this alone--even without further consequences--he would be removed by disciplinary action from the militia.

[Question] Maybe. However, in the case of the mistreatment of children, which was tried before the court in Strzelce, two functionaries were convicted. Nevertheless, they continue to work. Where is here consistency?

[Answer] They were sentenced to 1 1/2 years of imprisonment by a still appealable judgment of the court of first instance. After the judgment becomes final we will take a decision.

[Question] Not to go back to isolated cases--even though they agitate public opinion--let us turn to the case of the Opole students.

[Answer] The case was described in the TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, though perhaps not with sufficient precision. The author, for example, could try to read the entry in the Sobering Room register. The physician on duty notes there the state in which the intoxicated were brought in by the functionaries. It is a fact that at the Opole railroad station the militia had to intervene and that truncheons were used. I have a definite opinion in this matter. A prosecutor's investigation is in process in this case. After its conclusion the prosecutor's office of the voivodship will no doubt issue an objective statement to the press on its results.

[Question] Notorious also was the case of the road accident in Nysa caused by a second lieutenant of the Traffic Service, or more properly its consequences. The case is tragic for it ended in the suicide of the 38 year-old militia officer.

[Question] Second LT Antoni Tomczyk caused an accident as a result of which a woman received injuries that necessitated several days of absence from work. Because of that he was faced with a severe disciplinary procedure and his driving license was taken away. I shall add that he was a man of irreproachable reputation and very high morals. The accident has caused him deep shock, as is seen from a letter he left.

[Question] In addressing the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee, the minister of internal affairs, General Milewski spoke of the growing danger to the country, from an ever-increasing number of crimes, especially those most harmful socially: murders, banditry, robbery by assault. From data available to us, it follows that a similar situation also prevails in our voivodship. Moreover, from talks with rank-and-file militia functionaries we learned that they abstain from

intervening. They seem to be afraid of consequences, explanations, of being accused of having used their truncheons without use.

[Answer] We do not have this sort of complaint. The number of crimes you spoke about is in fact on the increase in our voivodship. Such a number of robberies by assault and banditry were not noted for more than 15 years. This is, in my opinion, a result of social demoralization, a decline of discipline and not of dilatory action by the militia. Anyway, the perpetrators of these crimes are on the whole quickly detected by us. I know that the efficiency of the militia is not measured by statistics but in point of fact detectability of crime does not decline at all. However, their number and especially character is alarming. Exceptional aggressiveness and brutality by perpetrators is observed. Besides, despite a wave of criticism aimed at us, this detection takes place with very great cooperation from our society. Incidentally, it is encouraging that discipline in working places has improved. We cannot negate here the positive role of Solidarity." Disregarding attacks against the militia, known if only from street placards, "Solidarity" fulfills an essential function in the enterprises, among others, in combating thriftlessness and intemperance.

[Question] The much publicized fight against alcoholism is conducted with little consistency. By half-measures. For example, limiting this problem to the framework of our interview, by putting drunkards under arrest. By what right? After all, these persons are sick. Anyway, they are not criminals.

[Answer] Last year (apart from the "Sobering Rooms" which function in Opole and Kedzierzyn-Kozle) 3,486 drunk persons were detained, mainly to prevent wrangles at home and brawls in public places. Certainly it would be better to let them stay in sobering rooms, but such a unit cannot exist in every town. In any case, we cannot affort it for the time being.

[Question] Do you take into account that such a drunk, collected from the street, may die under arrest? Even when his death would be caused simply by the effects of drink, the rumor might lay the responsibility for it on the militia?

[Answer] That is a problem. Drunkards must be isolated. For the sake of their families, maintenance of public order and to prevent them from becoming victims of criminals. Certainly, it would be better that in each such case they could be examined by a physician. Whenever possible we proceed that way, but numerical limitations of the health service do not allow us to make it a rule.

[Question] All professions have as a rule the right to err. The treatment of an error committed by a locksmith or physician is very different (much more severely) as regards public opinion reacting to an error in a militia proceeding. Meanwhile, a popular view of the militia, which is not at all isolated, is that the militiamen enjoy impunity.

[Answer] This is one of many myths. During the past 12 months our functionaries intervened 32,298 times at the request of citizens. As a result of this, we received 252 complaints against them about their actions. In 21 cases these complaints were justified, and 7 functionaries were dismissed from service disciplinarily. (Incidentally, in 1979 there were 14 such cases. One should

only try to realize how severe such a punishment is. When someone is disciplinarily dismissed from a work place, he usually goes to another enterprise and often gets less pay. But when, let us say, after 10 years, a militiaman is eliminated, he must begin everything anew. Lesser disciplinary punishments likewise entail considerable consequences. After a reprimand, for example, the militiaman cannot be decorated, promoted or rewarded. We cleanse ourselves of men who are not fit to work in the militia.

[Question] Nevertheless, the people aspire to working in the militia. They are impressed by power and attracted by good pay.

[Answer] If it were so, we would not have so many vacant positions, especially in most difficult services, i.e., traffic controllers and uniformed militiamen doing guard or patrol duty. As to wages... A person with secondary education starting in the profession receives 6,030 zlotys; an officer in charge of a city district and a minimum of 5 years of service, 7,100; a chief of the most difficult (criminal) department, with the rank of Lieutenant colonel, and 27 years of service in the militia receives 10,700 zlotys. All this, of course, with unscheduled service times and with frequent transfers. These are good wages, but not extraordinarily high as they usually are supposed to be.

[Question] There still remains a feeling of power.

[Answer] In actual fact, a militiaman holds quite great power. He can identify, search, detain until clarification. He has a truncheon, a gas thrower, a gun. He also can fine you. It is quite obvious that to resist temptations which are thus provided requires corresponding traits of character. Before admission to the militia manysided tests, including psychological ones, are carried out but all faults cannot be eliminated. There is no perfect method for this anywhere in the world. Therefore, painful accidents occur. As I have already mentioned earlier, as a consequence of a fault committed by a corporal, sergeant, lieutenent or colonel the reputation of the entire militia suffers. That, however, probably cannot be avoided.

[Question] But it should be possible to avoid suspicions that militiamen are using fines for profit by pocketing the money.

[Answer] The warrant of penalty--popularly called mandate--is a pecuniary fine which is rather high, up to 1,000 zlotys. The militiaman must in the first place explain to a citizen why he is being fined. Secondly, he must inform the citizen that there are the following possibilities: payment on the spot, acceptance of the credit mandate, or refusal to pay. In the latter event, the case goes to the body having jurisdiction for offenses against regulations. The credit mandate is paid to the account of the town or gmina [rural parish]. Money obtained by militiamen, when the person fined decides to pay right away, is also paid to the account of the town or gmina. The functionary, and the militia as such, benefit nothing. Indeed, it would probably be better to give up the collection of fines by functionaries. In that case, however, the regulations would have to be amended. And this surely would put a stop to all kinds of gossip.

[Question] There would also be less gossip if the public were immediately informed about all occurrences within the sphere of action of the militia. Meanwhile access to information is often restrained, and therefore the people create their own versions of events which not infrequently greatly depart from the truth.

[Answer] Does TRYBUNA OPOLSKA experience such difficulties?

[Question] Sometimes yes. One is told that "it is not yet time," because of "the interest of investigation." Because of such concealment or by publishing facts with a delay, we become less credible and you do not gain sympathy. Throughout the whole world the press reports immediately and somehow that does not hinder the police.

[Answer] Does this, in our case, relate only to militia affairs? Didn't until recently the so-called mass media publish only what was convenient. It is otherwise at present, and in my opinion, nothing stands in the way of readers being immediately informed about what we are doing. Even about our mistakes.

[Interviewer] I thank you for the interview and take note that this last statement expresses the official attitude of the Voivodship Militia Command.

1015
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IMPORTANCE OF CAREER MILITARY PERSONNEL STRESSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 9, 1 Mar 81 p 14

[Article: "Core of the Military"]

[Text] The most important part of every army is its career personnel which is the core of the military. Soldiers in the basic [conscript] service come and go but professional soldiers are the permanent element of the armed forces: they lead, educate, train, exploit military technology, direct the army's administration and are responsible for the army's ability to defend the country.

The role of career military personnel is particularly important in modern armies because of a rapid development of military science and technology. Demands made by continuous progress may only be met by a professional soldier, a high-level specialist, who is properly educated and continuously improving his skills. There are also other reasons why it is usually said that the career personnel determines the character, face and strength of the army. The ideological and political character of the military depends mainly on the career personnel.

Because of this particular position of career personnel in the life of the military and its overwhelming influence on the quality of the army, the problem of the cadre in the Polish People's Army from the first moment of its existence was of primary interest to not only the leadership of the Army but also the Party and people's authorities.

Decisions taken by the party during the period of the struggle with Hitlerite occupation were one of the first manifestations of this interest. The slogan "There will be no democratic Poland without a democratic army and democratic officer corps" was put forward during the party conference in November, 1944. The Polish Workers' Party implementing this slogan took the initiative to send 10,000 worker volunteers to officer schools. A decision was also made to send several hundred Polish Workers' Party members to political indoctrination officer schools.

This workers' induction strengthened the people's character of the new army, including its cadre. In the following years, the military schools were open also mainly for working and peasant class youth, for example: in 1949, sons of workers comprised over 60 percent of the cadets, and sons of peasants, over 32 percent.

Worker-peasant background of our army cadre is combined with increasingly better professional preparation which is based on both general and specialist education. This is particularly true of the officer cadre which became a leading unit of the Polish intelligentsia.

This process was long and difficult. In the years when it was necessary to fight the enemy, deep patriotism and sacrifice most frequently had to suffice. The officers' stars were won after several or even a few months training in schools that today would be regarded as instruction courses and which preceded a march to the front. Contemporary cadre problems were solved through Soviet help, the assignment of Soviet officers and noncommissioned officers of Polish origin to Polish military units and the opportunity for the education of Poles in Soviet military schools.

Beginning in 1944, our own military schools were organized in liberated territories. But even then, sincere willingness was more important than education. Only in 1955, the level of development of military education was such that officer schools with technical orientation received a right to award a technical diploma to their graduates. Three years later, only high school graduates began to be admitted to officer schools.

As a result of further development of military education, in 1967, officer schools obtained a status of higher professional schools, and its graduates, in addition to officer ranks, receive a title of engineer in their specialties.

As a result of this battle for knowledge, presently about 70 percent of the officers possess higher education, and one-third of them, a higher academic education. The quality of education also increased.

Another feature of our military cadre is their deep patriotism and dedication to socialism. It results from the understanding that only a socialist Poland, in an alliance with the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact, only such a Poland may be an independent country with secure borders.

The career personnel of the Polish Army declares its affection for socialist Poland not only verbally but also practically. Aside from fulfilling its basic military duty, at the same time, it participates in the economic, scientific-technological, cultural and social life of the country and add significant and permanent values to our common heritage.

The career personnel of the Polish People's Army is divided into three corps: officers, warrant officers and noncommissioned officers. This division is suitable to the structure and needs of the armed forces.

The officer corps includes junior officers (from second lieutenant to captain), senior officers (from major to colonel) and generals. Officers carry out duties and tasks connected with education and training of soldiers, development of military discipline, exploitation of military technology, organization and conduct of battle: they are mainly responsible for high combat readiness of our armed forces. The contemporary officer is a highly qualified commander, a specialist

in a particular technology, an expert of military hardware, teacher and social activist. Such an officer cadre is trained in higher officer schools and military academies.

Warrant officers are the middle-level commanders and specialists. They are educated in warrant-officer schools.

Professional noncommissioned officers are the immediate superior officers, trainers and instructors of soldiers in the basic service. They are the commanders and deputy commanders of platoons, chiefs of companies, logistics officers, weapons specialists, etc. They are educated in professional noncommissioned officer schools.

Division of the cadre into corps does not mean that impassable barriers exist between particular corps. An outstanding noncommissioned officer, after acquiring proper qualifications, may be promoted to a rank of warrant officer. Similarly, a warrant officer does not have a closed door to officers' ranks.

I Will Have a General Friend

Since I did not ask Captain B. for permission to describe him in a newspaper article, I can not reveal his name. So let's call him simply Captain.

I have known the Captain since the day when as a graduate of the Wroclaw Higher Officer School of Mechanized Troops, he was appointed to his first officer rank. I witnessed the occasion with his father, a former frontline officer of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Infantry Division. On this occasion, his father put on his reservist uniform and a hat with a yellow rim; he was supposed to speak during the promotion ceremony but when he saw his officer son, he became so choked up, he could not utter a sound.

I wrote in my notebook: "Newly-promoted 2nd Lt B. seems to know what he wants. He graduated with distinction and so, he had a right to choose the location of his officer service. He did not try to settle down in some general staff but asked to be sent to a line unit in a provincial garrison because, as he says, he wants to place himself in the main current of military life."

Three years later, passing through the provincial garrison, I looked up my officer-friend. He was already a 1st lieutenant and led a company in a mechanized regiment. I was slightly surprised that such a "youngster" is already a company commander. It was explained by the unit commander: "He turned out well. Though he is only a "pistolet" (as they called junior officers in the army), he manages as well as experienced officers and certainly is superior to them in enthusiasm and initiative. He has been a company commander for a year already. We have high hopes for him...."

A year later I met 1st Lt B. on the firing range. He was participating in a demonstration exercise for senior officers, and his company was supposed to carry out a particularly difficult assignment. I forgot what the lieutenant's role was but I remember that, at some point, one of the observers almost yelled: "What is this

lieutenant doing?" 1st Lt B. was conducting some maneuver which at first surprised and upset some observers but later was judged to be innovative.

I suspect that this exercise had some influence on a decision to invest in him. A short time later, he called to invite me to a meeting at the General Staff Academy where he just began studying. He graduated recently and came back to the parent regiment to the position of a battalion commander, I think.

I think that, for the Captain, the road is open to subsequent higher ranks and positions which confront every talented and ambitious officer. I am even hoping that, in the future, I will have a general-friend.

9031
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IMIGRATION OF SERBS FROM KOSOVO PROVINCE RESEARCHED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1176, 19 May 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Stevan Zec: "House for Sale"]

[Text] Many people come to the office of Blagoje Popovic, director of Prometservis in Kosovo Polje, on business that has to do with community affairs and municipal services. Blagoje Pop, as they call him, is also president of the 16th Local Community of Pristina Opstina Assembly, which is the administrative appellation of Kosovo Polje. We talked for a long time about the imigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

"Well, there has been some," Blagoje Popovic said.

The conversation was in two parts: the off-the-record part and the official part for the newspaper. Even such an experienced sociopolitical figure and long-time business executive and party member as Popovic will not speak openly on this topic.

"Write that Kosovo Polje is an industrial region, a suburb of Pristina and a railroad junction, and that sums up the reasons why people come here or move away. After all, there is also imigration from the province as a whole, and indeed even from Macedonia and Montenegro. To be sure, Albanians are moving in more and more, and mostly the Serbs and Montenegrins are moving away. The reason? Don't ask me, ask the people who are leaving. I can only say that no one has put pressure on me to go, no one has threatened me, no one has mistreated my children. To be sure, many Albanians have asked me whether I wanted to sell my house, but nothing more. They ask, and I reply that I don't. My mother-in-law, who is an old woman, was very frightened after those demonstrations and made it known through certain people that she was selling her house. Her house is next to mine, and when an Albanian came to ask the price, I went out and said: She's an old woman, she doesn't know herself what she wants, and if she really wanted to sell the house, then I would buy it, since the two lots are side by side. The Albanian said: Fine, Pop, excuse me, I didn't know she was your mother-in-law."

Blagoje Popovic has worries not only as the president of the local community, but also as director of the enterprise. We were present when Milaim Hajdari of

No 161 Z. Koriku Street in Urosevac came into his secretary's office. He brought a petition in which he called upon the workers' council of Promet-servis to move out of his house the general store it operates there, since he had found another company he wanted to rent the store to. He loudly demanded that his case be settled urgently and that this was the fourth time in a week that he had insisted that the Promet-servis store move out. This is not the only such demand which has reached the enterprise whose director is Blagoje Popovic.

We asked Popovic about vandalism in the Orthodox cemetery in the village of Bresje, where someone broke 35 gravestones on the night between 29 and 30 April. This cemetery is located only 500 meters from director Popovic's office.

"That is not in my local community, that is another local community of which Vlastimir Mitrovic is president. Ask him about that."

The Opstina Will Set Everything Right

Vlastimir Mitrovic, president of the 17th Local Community of Pristina Opstina, which covers the territory of the villages Bresje and Ugljar, led us to the cemetery after a bit of explanation and showed us "Official Records of the Inquiry Made Into the Desecration of Gravestones." The inquiry was conducted by a five-member commission at noon on 4 May of this year. It ascertained the damage and "adopted the opinion that the gravestones could be repaired only by a specialized work organization because of the specific nature of the work." The Pristina Opstina Assembly would pay for all the work. It has not yet been settled when the work will begin.

Who broke the gravestones in Bresje? An investigation is under way. It is clear that the gravestones were not struck with a hammer, nor with any similar object, but were forcefully tipped over. Twelve stones were broken when they fell (mainly crosses which protruded). A family of Gypsies lives immediately alongside the cemetery. They were asked if they had heard a ruckus during the night between 29 and 30 April.

"No, we didn't," said the man of the house. "And if I had heard, I would not dare to go out in the darkness."

It would be untrue to say that this event was received without excitement in Bresje, Kosovo Polje and indeed even in Pristina. Because of this case police patrols are making more frequent visits to the cemetery in Pristina and probably in other Kosovo towns as well.

In further pursuing the atmosphere in which people are living here at the moment, our path led us to Krajinovic Brothers Street in Kosovo Polje. In front of Nos 39, 40 and 40a we saw signs reading "House for Sale."

We went into the yard. Milusa Maslovaric was weeding the garden and digging around the strawberries.

"Are you selling your house, old woman? How much?"

"I was offered 200 million just yesterday, so help me."

"But we are not customers, but newsmen."

"Too bad, I have been so sad, and it cheered me up thinking that customers had come," old Milusa said.

Bit by bit old Milusa and her husband Momcilo acknowledged that the most they had been offered was 100 and a few million, and on customer had said: You had better take it, since later you will give it away for nothing.

But why are the Maslovarices selling their house and large garden and orchard when it is located here in a large town?

"What am I going to do? The children have gone off, all my people have sold their farms. Our old neighbors have moved away, and new ones have moved in. You don't think I'm going to stay here for reseeding? And then my old man is sick, poor thing, look at him, he can hardly walk."

To be sure, old Momcilo, Milusa's husband, is walking with a cane. And in a moment the neighbors have gathered in the Maslovarices' yard. They are all whispering: They aren't customers, but newsmen.

"So, are you going to write down why I am selling my house? To write down the real truth? I will tell it, but do you dare to write it?" one old man asked.

"We do dare to write it, but what is your name?"

"Ah, if it is a question of names, that's not important. I am not afraid of either the emperor or the vizier, but don't ask me my name...."

And the old man tells all kinds of things, but he won't say his name. Perhaps what he said was the truth, but the agreement in the office was this: Every statement has to have a "first and last name"; otherwise the material goes in the editor's wastebasket. And Kosovo Polje is full of informants like this old man. They all want to talk, but no one will say his name.

There is a commotion in the yard. Three men are passing in the street. One is wearing a white Albanian skullcap on his head. The conversation broke off as though someone had turned the dial on a radio. The passers-by greeted people out loud. There was an answering greeting from the yard. But some were said under the breath.

"You go, young man, to Serbia near Smederevo and Obrenovac and ask those who have already moved away, who went before us, ask them why they left. They are not afraid to say," old Milusa said.

And we did what she said.

Through the Corn on a Bicycle

Umka is on the Sava between Belgrade and Obrenovac. We asked questions in the local community: Are there any people who have moved from Kosovo?

"Who are you looking for? There are at least 50 or 60 families. There are Montenegrins, people from Lika, Bosnians, Hercegovinians...."

"But we are looking for people who have moved here from Kosovo...."

"Yes, yes, they have all come from Kosovo."

And that is the first truth: Those who have moved out of Kosovo are mainly those whose ancestors settled there in 1912, 1919 and 1945.

They sent us from the local community in Umka to Mirko Scepanovic at 14 Tesla Street. They said that he was the first to come here from Kosovo. We found old Mirko.

"Me? Yes, I was one of the first. Actually, after the war I never went back to Kosovo. In 1941 they had killed two brothers of mine there, I heard that the people who killed my brothers were still alive, and what was I to do there? To seek blood revenge? I have five children, I would go to prison, and the children would be on the street. So I gathered my things and came here. Later whoever came from Kosovo would come right to my place. I was like a kind of embassy for people from Kosovo. The house even resembles the Billiard Room [a room by that name in the castle of the former Montenegrin monarchy in Cetinje--translator's note]. Just look at how it is placed."

We asked who was the "freshest," who was the last to move from Kosovo?

"Svetozar Mirilovic came last fall from Donja Dubnica near Podujevo. That is a place settled by people from Lika in 1922. They build exactly 450 houses where there had been nothing. I even went to school in that village," Mirko Scepanovic relates and takes us to Mirilovic, who lives in the neighborhood.

Svetozar, the man of the house, was picking over dried beans when we found him.

"That's how it is, when I lived in Kosovo I didn't even make coffee, and now I even make lunch," Svetozar said, as if to justify himself.

"There is no farming here. I was disabled by a work accident, my pension is small, and I have three young children in school: two sons and a daughter. So my wife had to get a job. She works in the foundry at FOB, doing physical labor. I heard what Draza Markovic said about even the peasants moving out of Kosovo, though they are the least mobile, since they are tied to their land. That was well put, but as far as I am concerned personally, it was late. I got rid of my property, sold my fields and house and bought this which used to be a weekend cottage for someone from Belgrade."

"Why did you move?"

"Albanians are now living in Donja Dubnica, where the Serbs once lived. There remain some 10 Serbian houses or so. My uncles and my brothers left before me. I am no chauvinist, but why should I live in a neighborhood which has different customs, which speaks a different language, and which does many things differently from the way I do. Nor am I meek as a lamb, arguments get started over a trifle, I have a quick temper, and that means trouble."

"Did anyone threaten you? Were you driven out?"

"No. I was not. I did have one conflict on an ethnic basis, as they say, some 3 or 4 years ago, and since that time I knew that one should keep quiet and go away. Or take it. It was like this: We were hoeing the corn, my wife, daughter and I. An Albanian from the village Laus came riding a bicycle through my field right over that low corn. 'What are you doing?' I asked him. 'This is the path,' he said. 'What do you mean path, this is my corn.' It wasn't the path, it was the path, and I lifted my hoe: 'Stop right there! Back up! You won't go through my corn!' He pulled out a pistol and shoved the barrel under my nose. We argued, but he had the cooler head, he gave up and went back on the right road on his bicycle. The next day I found him in the middle of the village and put my pistol under his nose. 'You see,' I said, 'I also have a pistol.' People separated us. So, you see: That is the way it was, why lie about it? Later they began to come and ask if I was selling my house. They asked once, the fifth time, the fiftieth time, and at one point I said: Yes, I am. I saw that the Albanians were dominant in the village, and whoever owns the sheep, the meadow is his."

"Who did you sell to, and for how much?"

"To a peasant, an Albanian, Alija Jakoli from Gornja Dubnica for 119 million old dinars. I had 3.5 hectares of fertile land, seven-tenths of a hectare of proper orchard, a house built in 1950, which was 12 meters by 6 meters in an L-shape, and another 5 buildings and stable. There was water and electricity both in the house and in the stable. I even had a bathroom in the house. Alija Jakoli paid me in installments, but I didn't let him move in until he had paid everything. I have a certified contract in the courthouse. He paid me honestly, I honestly sold it to him."

"Was that a fair price for your farm?"

"It depends on who it is. For me, it was, since I could not have gotten more. But Alija Jakoli paid me by selling off my land. When a Serb sells to an Albanian, the highest price for land near Podujevo is 10 million old dinars per hectare. But when an Albanian sells to an Albanian, the price is twice as high. Jakoli sold off a part of my land for building lots, and he paid me off with that money. The house and the rest of the land he had for nothing. I know this, I say it, and I would sign a statement to that effect."

"But how can that be?"

"It can, and don't draw me out any further. I am not complaining. I call a spade a spade. Out of those 119 million, I gave 40 to my sister: She is not married, that is her part of the house and her dowry. That left me 79. I bought this unfinished weekend cottage for 64 million and paid for the transfer. I have still not gotten used to it here, I don't like it here. I don't enjoy it the way I did my farm in Dubnica. I would go back to Donja Dubnica if I had anywhere to go. My wife and children will not hear of it. And what will I do, as you see, I am picking over the dried beans. If you would like to drink brandy, I still have some plum brandy from Kosovo."

7045
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'DIFFERENTIATION' SESSION OF KOSOVO PARTY UNIT DESCRIBED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1179, 9 Jun 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Jovan Antonijevic: "Party Members Put to the Test"]

[Text] Obilic, June. Silence in the auditorium. A heavy silence. Unpleasant.

"Come, comrades," the secretary Velimir Djurovic repeats. "Who is going to speak? If you please. Any individual who knows that one of us participated in the hostile demonstrations, let him speak up now."

No one spoke. On the wall of the room where the party meeting of the "Machine Maintenance and Repair" Basic Organization of the League of Communists was being held at the Kosovo Thermal Electric Power Plant in Obilic, behind secretary Djurovic and the trade union president Bedri Pantina, who are conducting this meeting, there are four flags: Albanian, Serbian, Yugoslav and Turkish. Tito's picture has been placed over them in the center.

Of the 75 communists who are members of this organization, 54 are present. No one knows where the other 21 are. They did not appear. Some of them, it is true, are on military exercises, some are on sick leave, but at this meeting the secretariat does not have exact figures.

Even after two opening speeches in Albanian and Serbo-Croatian, in which it was stated that the demonstrators were aware of everything that happened, that they knew the character of the demonstrations and that among the demonstrators there had been workers from the power plant and indeed from their own work unit, including even party members--no one asked for the floor.

Secretary Djurovic called for discussion to begin the third time, in vain.

A scraping of chairs. Many were staring at the floor.

Only Two Names

Only two names were mentioned in the reports: Behram Beka and Bajram Zejnulahu. In Beka's case the secretariat recommends that he be expelled from the LC [League of Communists], since on 2 April he reacted brutally to the general

director's demand that he return to his work station. And Sajram as well, for having spoken lies in the worker caucus.

A hand goes up. Daut Plana asks to speak:

"If no one else will," he says, "I will begin."

He speaks in Albanian. Bedri Pantina keeps the minutes and translates into Serbo-Croatian.

Plana spoke about production, which has been normal, about how party members, when there was unrest, did not go home for 3 days at a time, saying that he agrees that every case of moving away should be studied.

And Ajvaz Jaka raises his hand. He reads from a piece of paper in front of him.

"We were confused by the fierceness of the demonstrations. We did not immediately get our bearings, since we had never experienced anything like that. Our situation, however, is much better now than after the demonstrations."

A full 45 minutes had already passed since the meeting began at 1400 hours on that Tuesday, and still not a word on whether any of the 75 party members of this organization had participated in the demonstrations.

After Jaka silence once again.

"This won't do, comrades," Bedri Pantina said, taking the floor. "Why are we holding back? It is true that some demonstrators came from here. It is true that the demonstrators wanted to stop our production. They did not succeed. We need to speak about this in concrete detail."

Mustafa Pljakic, member of the PK [provincial committee] of the League of Communists of Kosovo, asked for the floor.

"There should be discussion about everything and about everyone. Since differentiation, comrades, is not just a matter of who participated in the demonstrations, but also of who is in conformity with the platform of the LC in the fight against enemies."

"These are not matters of small consequence," Pantina spoke up once again. "If every one of us 75 party members had gone out that day and opposed the demonstrators, it would not have turned out this way. But neither the president nor the secretary were there. There was a breakdown. Only afterward did we collect ourselves."

Secretary Djurovic gave notice that the discussion concerned the proposal for expulsion of Behram Beka from the LC, and about all the rest afterward.

"Well, Comrade Beka is here, let him speak, too."

Behram Beka's face is serious. There is nothing from which one might suspect how he is taking all this. He speaks briefly. In Albanian. He did not explain anything, nor did he even try. He admitted that he "had gone down," but "to defend the power plant." He admitted that he insulted the director.... And that is all.

Sahan Kelmedi speaks of Beka as a good comrade, a man who always carried out the tasks assigned him, he said that he was amazed that he had behaved like that, but he agreed with all the assessments of the secretariat.

Others also spoke about Beka. They were all surprised at his behavior that day, 2 April.

"Behram behaved badly that day," said the general director of the power plant. "And Idriz Ibrahim. If he had just been a bit different, all the workers would have gone back. At least those he was with. That is not done by members of the party. I cannot say that he is an enemy, but certainly there is no place for him among members of the party."

There was not much hesitation. Hands went up, and Behram Beka was expelled from the LC. At first there were only a very few hands up, so that in the first count secretary Djurovic found only 27 votes. Only when he asked for the hands to be held higher did the party members do so.

A vote was immediately taken to send a proposal for expulsion of Bajram Zejnulahu to the primary organization he belongs to. In this case those present were much more resolute, since Bajram was not at the meeting.

In the wordless silence Behram Beka, followed only b the eyes of those present, left the meeting at the secretary's request as soon as the vote was completed.

"Where Were You That Day"

The heavy minutes passed. All the speakers seemed to follow some established pattern. They repeated accounts of events which were quite well known to everyone and stated their concurrence in the positions of the LC.

"This won't do, comrades!" The voice of Mustafa Pljakic was strident and clear. "Are we going to start talking? Why don't we debate now the silence of party members in the worker caucus? You were there, comrades. You heard Bajram Zejnulahu lie. Why did you stay silent? Speak out now."

"I did, I made a mistake," said a worker with a thin mustache in a blue shirt whom Pljakic had directly addressed. "I should have stood up. I wanted to, but, there it is, I didn't. But that won't happen again...."

A new hand went up in the last row. Dusko Ristic:

"We lack sincerity, comrades," he said. "At this point no one knows anything, as if none of all that happened. That day, comrades, I ran. We all ran. And

we all know it. Who concealed the lists of absent workers, I put the question now? No one even mentions that. Some should be expelled not just from the party, but from their jobs. Look here, Zoran's entire group of workers was down there when the demonstrations were going on. All wearing their hard hats. Saban, where were you that day? Where were your workers? The manager and the engineers know everything. And who carried the banners and who led the way?... And we, what are we doing here? Everything is fine, treated with kid gloves, and he was good and honest.... I would not waste much time talking with people like that. We should not show mercy toward them."

Finally, it became more lively. Sali Dzardaku spoke, and then Damjan Radosavljevic, Rajko Dosnic....

"They Ran Toward Me"

Jakup Hasani said that he went to oppose the demonstrators, to negotiate and to convince them not to enter the power plant, but he did not cite a single name. He said that he was not acquainted with them.

"In that case, how is it they didn't beat you?" someone in the room remarked.

"I have something to say, too," Nuhi Rudari spoke up. "That day, 2 April, I started off to bring the people back from the demonstracion. Fadilj Hajredini was also there; I don't get along with him. When he saw me, he told the demonstrators to attack me. They ran toward me. I ran away. But I was shaken still more by what happened to me the next day. I was on my job with that same Fadilj. He came up to me and said: 'If I hear that you have said just one word, I'll set fire to your house.' That, comrades, is what happened to me...."

The meeting continued. The words, the truth, the sincere self-criticism were difficult to express. The process of ideological-political differentiation had begun, but it was not going easily or simply.

Mustafa Pljakic again asked for the floor:

"What we have seen here today is real opportunism, vacillation and coverup. We have to rid ourselves of party members like that. In today's debate to evaluate the situation and the causes, you, comrades, have not shown even a trace of responsibility. You are not willing to engage in criticism, in self-criticism, in a true assessment in order to enter the fight. How, then, I ask you, do you intend to work after this?"

Even then no one asked for the floor. People stared in front of them.

"Your task is to say who participated in the demonstrations and who was drawn in," Pljakic continued. "You cannot stay silent when it is known that there were people from your work unit who used pipes [(?) pajseri] to drive individuals and the crowd in general to join them in the demonstrations. Now we have to make a distinction: Who was led astray, and who was the organizer? One worker of this power plant, who in fact is not a member of the party, took a firm stand

on the stairway when the demonstrators wanted to come in, spread out his hands, held to the banister, and refused to let them pass. Find that one! Because there is a place for him here, and not the cowards. Enroll people like that in the LC. And differentiation is not just a matter of your having expelled Behram Beka, but a question of which one of you will be in the front ranks of the struggle for brotherhood and unity and the other achievements of our society? I personally think that this secretariat cannot remain at the head of the party organization. Since it appears that you do not have enough strength to get at the full truth. The shaken relations have, it is true, nevertheless become stable, but that is not enough. You should continue this meeting, then, though it might take 3 days, until you clear this up."

When it was proposed that the meeting be resumed at the same time the next day, all the hands went up. This time more resolutely than at the outset.

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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

AWP Organ Comments on 'Unchecked' Arms Race
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 19 Jun 81) 1

AWP Organ Views Superpowers' Economic Cooperation
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 20 Jun 81) 3

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Poison Handling Law's Implications for Armed Forces Detailed
(D. Stremmel, et al.; ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN, Jan-Feb 81) 5

POLAND

Marxism-Leninism Professor Reflects on National Unity, Patriotism
(Bronislaw Ratus; ZYCIE PARTII, Apr 81) 11

Leading Role of PZPR in Changed Conditions Noted
(Jozef Sowa; ZYCIE PARTII, Apr 81) 17

Limits of Criticism Discussed
(Waldemar Kania; ZYCIE PARTII, Apr 81) 20

ROMANIA

Recent 'Polemics' in Literary Criticism Condemned
(ATENEU, Jun 81) 22

Resolution of Congress of Workers Councils
(SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 30 Jun 81) 24

Yugoslav-Romanian Sociology Seminar in Belgrade
(Honorina Cazacu; VIITORUL SOCIAL, Mar-Apr 81) 33

YUGOSLAVIA

Briefs

Copper Theft at Bar 38

AWP ORGAN COMMENTS ON 'UNCHECKED' ARMS RACE

AU241930 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Numerous meetings have been and are being staged in various European countries "to secure" Europe and the world against war. Various high-ranking imperialist and revisionist emissaries are meeting to determine the limits of the "balance" that has been upset by one or the other superpower of their respective military blocs, as well as countermeasures to restore the "balance." The so-called conference on European "security" has been meeting for 8 months to determine "effective measures to prevent war" in Europe. Every 2 or 3 months the Vienna sessions "for the mutual reduction of troops and arms" in central Europe are resumed and concluded, for 7 years now. A full 21 years have elapsed since 15 March 1960, when the UN Disarmament Committee began its proceedings in Geneva and hundreds of international sessions have taken place without any results whatsoever. A meeting of the disarmament commission of the Socialist International has just been concluded in Moscow, also without results, as is usual.

This pacifist wind, which imperialism and social imperialism are striving to raise, cannot deceive the peoples. The daily reality proves to the peoples that disarmament is a distant and unattainable illusion, while the feverish arms race between the two superpowers and their rival blocs is real. Assuming a pacifist pose, as usual, Leonid Brezhnev declared recently at the same time that "the Kremlin will order an increase in Soviet military forces, and, should it become necessary, we will find the necessary means to defend our vital interests." Nor does Washington miss any occasion to confirm its unchanged policy regarding strengthening its military potential and all the military bodies that it leads. Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European affairs, stated that the United States will continue its efforts in that direction, thus also exerting pressure on its partners in the Atlantic alliance. He stated that "failure to strengthen nuclear and conventional European defense can cause great and permanent harm to NATO."

Drawing up a balance sheet of such demagogic conferences during the past two decades, the European press wrote recently that nothing has been accomplished in 3,000 sessions. On the contrary, increasingly higher military budgets have been approved. The military budgets of the two superpowers at the time of the Helsinki Conference amounted to approximately $100 billion each. That sum has now been doubled. U.S. military expenditures for the 1982 financial year, which

begins in October, will reach $200 billion. The military expenditure of the Soviet social imperialists, meanwhile, accounts for 14 percent of the overall national product. The military bases, troops and fleets of the superpowers have been deployed throughout the globe. The two rival aggressive blocs have concentrated over 3 million troops, 38,000 tanks, 9,000 military aircraft and about 7,000-8,000 U.S. nuclear warheads, while the Soviet Union is installing SS-20, SS-21 and SS-22 missiles at the rate of one a week.

This large arsenal of weapons, which is almost 3-4 times larger than on the threshold of World War II, appears insufficient to the two superpowers for the "security" of Europe and, simultaneously, to achieve a position of superiority over each other. "Our objectives can be attained," declared U.S. Secretary of State Haig, "if we can establish U.S. leadership" in the world. NATO is to install for that purpose an additional 600 "cruise" and "Pershing-2" missiles in Europe. The Soviet social imperialists, on their side, have declared that "we will never allow the established balance to be disrupted."

Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact have carried out a number of land, sea and air maneuvers in Europe, from the North Atlantic to the Mediterranean, off the shores of Portugal, on the territories of both East and West Germany, in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and so forth. The aggressive fleets of the two superpowers are sailing the seas and oceans thousands of kilometers away from their own shores. According to the French newspaper LE MONDE, some 62 U.S. and Soviet warships, a number of aircraft carriers with several hundred aircraft and thousands of troops on board are patrolling the Mediterranean alone. A similar large number of warships are permanently present in the Pacific Ocean and elsewhere.

The fires of war being lit by the superpowers throughout the world, their aggressions against the peoples and the brandishing of weapons have taught the peoples not to expect anything from the demagogic disarmament conferences being staged by imperialism and revisionism. There can be no talk of disarmament in the capitalist order, because the militarization of the country's life, aggressiveness, and economic, political and military expansion are in the very nature of imperialism and social imperialism. The question of disarmament resembles an unending comedy of deceit, the main clowns of which are the United States and the Soviet Union, Helsinki, Belgrade, Madrid, Vienna or Geneva are only the stages on which this tragic-comedy is being played with the purpose of deceiving the peoples and, if possible, each other.

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AWP ORGAN VIEWS SUPERPOWERS' ECONOMIC COOPERATION

AU242007 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] It has become fashionable in the Kremlin to clamorously release from time to time balloons with slogans of "peace" and "constructive" proposals to "reduce tension."

In one of his well-known poses as the "desirer of world peace," Brezhnev reiterated recently that "what characterizes our position is our aspiration for a just and stable peace." It appears that he had forgotten that only 2 weeks before he had threatened that "if necessary we will find the means to defend our vital interests." The U.S. imperialists, on their side, are stressing that a "stable peace" can only be achieved with a strong NATO and a strong United States. However, despite the disagreements and the high tone of political rhetoric between the two superpowers, imperialist-revisionist business relations are going on. Soviet-American economic cooperation has proceeded on its course and has been strengthened, particularly more recently. This profitable business is precisely the driving power of the imperialist-revisionist detente, about which Brezhnev himself has stressed that "we will spare no efforts in the future to preserve detente and all the good things achieved in the seventies."

As a reflection of the interweaving of the capitalist interests of both sides, the policy of imperialist-revisionist detente has by now created its own economic base, nurturing powerful material interests related to the export of capital and securing markets. An imperialist-revisionist partnership has been established on this foundation to jointly exploit the peoples of the East and West, as well as the undeveloped countries, to the tune of hundreds of billions of dollars. The real substance of the Brezhnevite slogans of "peace" and "reduction of tension" lays precisely in this interimperialist business, whose cost is borne by the peoples.

In this context, "all the good things" that the seventies brought to Brezhnev and the Soviet social imperialists pertain to the complete integration of the Soviet Union in the world system of imperialist exploitation of the peoples, as a partner and rival of U.S. imperialism in the struggle for markets and zones of influence. Imperialist-revisionist integration assumed its complete form and substance in the economic field in the seventies. Trade relations increased 5 times, to over $80 billion. The debts incurred by the revisionist countries

in the West surpassed that limit and the capital invested in joint bourgeois-revisionist enterprises, both within and outside the "socialist community," even exceeds the total sum of the debts incurred. Soviet propaganda is boasting about new record achievements on the road of this imperialist-revisionist flirt, stressing that during the 1971-75 period alone, more cooperation agreements were signed with Western monopolies "than during the entire period preceding the existence of the Soviet state." To illustrate these "achievements," Moscow is praising to the skies the privileged agreements concluded by the Soviet state monopolies with 2,000 FRG firms, 1,000 Italian firms, 600 French firms, 280 of the larger U.S. monopolies and so forth. Those links, the Soviet revisionists are stressing, "serve to stabilize the economic situation in the capitalist countries at a time of crisis," because "economic relations with the socialist countries assure sufficient profits to the Western enterprises." It is precisely from such positions that the most reactionary politicians and parties in the West also support detente. That is also what Reagan did recently by annulling the economic embargo on the Soviet Union, which was but a drop in the bucket of the broad and deep East-West economic links. "The capitalist interests of both sides," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "are so great that, in particular circumstances, they surface above all frictions, rivalries and conflicts."

Moscow has always accompanied its pacifistic calls with the offer of fat contracts of cooperation with Western monopolies. Recently, PRAVDA renewed an offer of participation in the Kremlin's multibillion dollar energy projects in exchange for "guaranteed supplies up to the year 2000 and beyond." On the occasion PRAVDA openly described the Soviet-Western partnership as "the most effective" and profitable form of "international cooperation," praising it even higher than the Soviet Union's cooperation with "the countries of the socialist community." The various bodies set up in the framework of this imperialist-revisionist partnership to exploit the peoples throughout the world are increasing. Authoritative revisionist sources currently count over 500 joint companies in all continents, in 117 of which Soviet capital is participating directly.

These are the "political and economic results" of the bourgeois-revisionist "peace" praised by Brezhnev. He stated that "the preservation and consolidation of world peace" is a "very necessary and mutually beneficial effort" to be achieved "through joint capital investment by East and West." The revisionist concept of "peace" is thus based on the logic of a neocolonial partnership between imperialism and social imperialism to keep the peoples under their yoke and to "peacefully" exploit their wealth.

That is why the Soviet Union is an "attractive partner for Western business circles," as Soviet propaganda likes to boast. It is not fortuitous that the major part of those circles welcomes the "balloons of peace" released by the Kremlin, when the wealth plundered from the peoples flows so freely.

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POISON HANDLING LAW'S IMPLICATIONS FOR ARMED FORCES DETAILED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 22 No 1, Jan-Feb 81
manuscript received 10 Nov 80 pp 37-39

[Article by Lt Col Prof D. Stremmel, doctor of medical science; Lt Col K. Hollenbach, MD; and Maj H. Bleyer, MD: "The Significance of the New GDR Poison Law for the Medical Service of the National People's Army (NVA)"]

[Text] The increasing use of chemicals in all areas of the economy requires the strict observance of lawful provisions and statutory regulations in handling poisons in order to assure the protection of health and labor as well as the environment. Analogous military dispositions specify the provisions of the Poisons Law for the NVA. Their enforcement requires close cooperation between the commanders and leaders, their representatives for protection against poisons and the chief of the medical service.

1. Introduction

The continually increasing number of chemical substances that affect people in conjunction with growing scientific and technical progress increases the necessity of determining risk to health through substances foreign to the body and issuing appropriate regulations for protection and safety in order to avoid cases of poisoning.

At present about 600,000 to 700,000 different chemical substances are actively used in the world. Of these about 100,000 can be considered to be potential toxic agents which, in addition to naturally occurring poisons, harm not only people but animals and plants as well and can cause considerable environmental damage.

The effect or harm from a poison is understood to be the unwholesome consequence of the biological interaction of chemical substances with structures of the body. These effects, however, depend not only on the chemical substances with structures of the body, These effects, however, depend not only on the chemical substance but also on the dose (or the concentration), the place of operation (place of contact or path of assimilation), the frequency of operation and the total time of operation. As a result, a compound must be judged according to its qualitative as well as its quantitative characteristics. Quantitative parameters achieve increasing

significance in the determination of a health risk resulting from a chemical compound or in deriving necessary protection and safety provisions.

The 1950 GDR Poisons Law, whose jurisdiction primarily covered the issue and handling of poisons in the area of commerce, was, in the face of increasing use of potential poisons in all areas of the socialist economic system, no longer adequate to insure an effective protection of health and labor for the citizens. Therefore, a new statutory control became necessary in order to provide for safe handling of poisonous material in industry, agriculture, commerce and in other areas, including the NVA and the GDR border troops, and to provide for the elimination of nonreusable toxic waste products. The 7 April, 1977 law regulating the handling of poisons (Poisons Law), as well as the implementing regulations, directives and other statutory provisions issued in conjunction with it support these requirements. This law serves to further improve health and labor protection, as well as protect the natural environment while employing the inherent advantages of socialism.

The new Poisons Law cannot, however, cover the entire complex of harmful substances. Therefore, it and analogous laws as, for example, the Medicaments Law, the Addictive Drugs Law and the Atomic Energy Law form a unified package. Beyond that, lawful regulations were issued in the various areas of the national economy to supplement these provisions. The regulations allow for specific characteristics and have been adapted to the needs of individual branches of the economy. In the NVA the handling of poisons by members of the army and civilian employees of the NVA is governed by military regulations, namely the poison protection regulation and its implementing directives. Thus these are the basic military regulations for handling poisons in the NVA medical service. They also establish the specific tasks resulting from the medical care of army members and civilian employees who work with poisons, as well as the jobs arising out of the advisory capacity of the medical service.

2. Responsibilities and Prerequisites in Handling Poisons

The Poisons Law specifies that the leaders are to create all the prerequisites in their areas of responsibility for orderly handling of poisons. That is, by means of strict control they must guarantee the observance of valid lawful regulations and operational instructions for handling poisons. Depending upon the type and quantity, only those poisons can be stocked that are necessary to complete the tasks at hand. In addition, the leaders have the responsibility of seeing that representatives for poison protection possessing the required personal aptitude and expertise are appointed for the areas in which poisons are handled. By analogy that is valid for the NVA and the GDR border troops also. The commanders and leaders at all levels are fully responsible for implementing the provisions for handling poisons set forth in the military instructions and statutory regulations. They also appoint the representatives for poison protection, who advise them in all technical questions of poison protection and take responsibility for controls. The representatives for poison protection are also tasked with continually improving their technical knowledge and skills in the area of poison protection and developing the necessary qualifying measures for acquiring permits or partial permits for handling poisons.

According to the valid military regulations and the Poisons Law, these permits and partial permits at the corresponding level are the basic requirement for handling

poisons in the NVA. That is, poisons can be employed only by persons or under the guidance of persons possessing a valid permit.

This determination of responsibility in handling poisons also provides various tasks for the chiefs, commanders or managers of medical installations in the NVA, in whose area of responsibility poisons are used. Every chief, commander or manager must:

--Know the poisons used in his area of responsibility
--Determine who is authorized to work with these poisons
--Guarantee that the representatives gain the required technical qualification and pass the examination for obtaining the appropriate permit or partial permit for handling poisons
--Know the pertinent military and statutory provisions and assure by means of periodic controls that they are observed and that consequently the procurement, storage, issues, packaging, record keeping, removal, transportation and use of poisons take place in accordance with statutory regulations and military instructions
--Assure the documented instruction of personnel handling poisons prior to the beginning of a one-time activity or monthly in accordance with military instructions
--Determine the scope of and means of wearing personnel protection systems for use in handling poisons
--Guarantee that appropriate directives are developed for working with poisons and that only those poisons are stored that are necessary to complete a given task
--Cooperate with the duly qualified representatives for poison protection in all questions within their competence

3. Definition and Classification of Poisons

Poisons are defined in the Poisons Law as follows:
"As defined in this law poisons are chemical substances (elements, compounds or mixtures) which through their toxic effect in a living organism can cause temporary or permanent impairment to health or death."

In accordance with test criteria established by the health minister in the first implementing directive to the Poisons Law of 31 May, 1977, poisons are divided into two divisions according to the degree of danger to human life and health. We distinguish highly toxic substances (poisons in division one in the Poisons Law or class A in military directives) from toxic substances (poisons in division two or class B).

The basis for the classification of a poison is the toxicity of its effects as determined in experiments with animals or derived from empirical human studies. Various means of application as well as various times and frequencies of operation were considered in the classification. Thus a poison is to be classified in division one when a single oral dose of .15mg per kg of body mass kills more than 50 percent of treated rats within 48 hours, or when a daily oral dose one-tenth as large for at least 5 days each week during a period of 12 weeks also kills 50 percent of the animals within 16 weeks or produces irreversible damage.

A poison is classified in division two when under analogous test conditions a dose of from .15 to 1.5mg per kg of body mass or one-tenth as much in the subchronic dose kills more than 50 percent of the test animals.

Similar peripheral values have been established for inhalant and percutaneous absorption of poison. But since the effects determined in animal experiments are often of little value for humans, a substance cannot be classified as a poison solely on the basis of these data, but is discussed and nominated by a committee of experts under consideration of other empirical values. The list of poisons that have been classified is maintained at the Health Ministry. Changes and additions are made public by the health minister.

Individual poisons are shown in both divisions of the list of poisons (second implementing directive to the Poisons Law, poison protection regulation) dependent upon the concentration. The reason is that dose, chronological order and length of exposure determine the effects of a substance along with qualitative characteristics. In addition, a certain uncertainty factor remains, because not all conditions of exposure can be considered in statutory provisions. Here the military doctor with knowledge of the immediate situation and considering empirical values of military work hygiene is to cooperate with the representative for poison protection in advising his superior which measures should be prescribed in order to avoid cases of poisoning.

The handling of medicaments or equivalent substances and preparations which likewise constitute or contain poisons is not governed by the Poisons Law, but is subject to the provisions of the Medicaments Law or Addictive Substances Law. That does not, however, apply to the primary components, which are to be handled in accordance with the provisions of the Poisons Law. The provisions of the poisons definition or the classification of poisons yield the following conclusions for; the chiefs, commanders or managers of installations of the NVA medical service:

--The classification of poisons in class A (division one) or class B (division two) is to be reviewed in accordance with the concentration and conditions of use. The classification of a poison determines the appropriate military provisions to be considered in handling the poison.
--The responsible military doctor is to advise the competent superior in the setting of safety provisions. At the same time actual conditions of use, references to possible signs of poisoning and standards of work hygiene are to be considered.
--Installations where primary components for medicatment are stored and used, provided that these are also poisons, consideration is to be taken that they be governed by the provisions of the Poisons Law. The provisions of the Medicaments Law apply for medicaments and equivalent substances and preparations.

4. Storing, Recording, Packaging and Labeling of Poisons

The Poisons Law stipulates that the handling of poisons is to take place so as to preclude improper use and access to poisons by unauthorized persons. Records are to be kept of the inventory, receipt and issue of poisons. The packaging of poisons must be completely leakproof and durable. They are to te separately labeled and may not be used for other purposes.

Detailed instructions for the procurement, storing, issue, packaging, recording, removal, transportainn and use of poisons are found in the first implementing directive to the Poisons Law of 31 May, 1977, as well as in the applicable military directives.

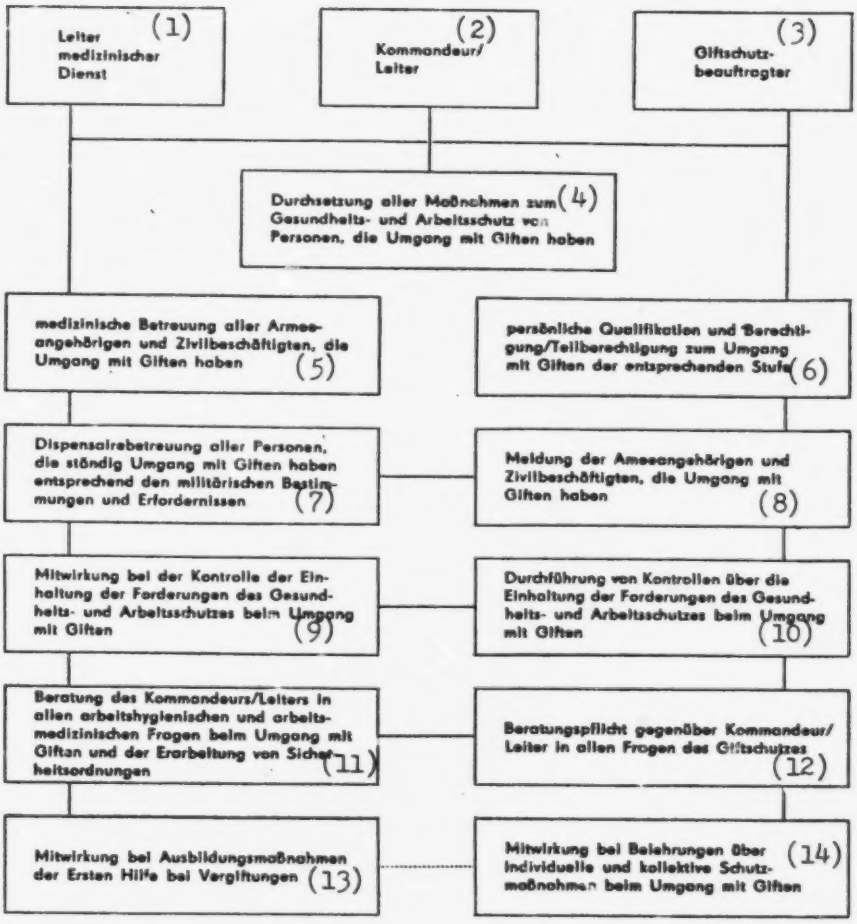

Table 1. Tasks to Guarantee Poison Protection

Key: 1. Chief of the medical service
2. Commander or leader
3. Representative for protection against poisons
4. Enforcement of all measures for health and labor protection of persons who handle poisons
5. Medical care of all members of the army and civilian employees handling poisons
6. Personal qualification and permit or partial permit to handle poisons of the appropriate level
7. Dispensary treatment of all persons who constantly handle poisons in accordance with military provisions and requirements

8. Registration of members of the army and civilian employees who handle poisons
9. Cooperation in controlling the observance of the requirements of health and labor protection in handling poisons
10. Enforcement of the controls for observing the requirements of health and labor protection in handling of poisons
11. Advising of the commander or leader in all questions concerning labor hygiene and labor medicine in the handling of poisons and in the development of safety regulations
12. Responsibility to advise the commander or leader in all questions concerning poison protection
13. Cooperation in first-aid training measures in the case of poisoning
14. Cooperation in providing instruction on individual and collective protective measures in handling poisons

Depending upon the classification of the poison, precedures are to be followed for each division or poison class in accordance with the provisions. The disposal of toxic waste products is governed by the stipulations of the second implementing provision to the sixth implementing regulation of the National Culture Act of 21 April, 1977, as well as the regulation for the handling of dangerous aquatic substances dated 15 December, 1977, along with the pertinent military dispositions.

5. Special Tasks for the Medical Service

In accordance with the stipulations in the military directives, the chiefs or managers of the medical service are responsible for the medical care of all members of the army and civilian employees in the NVA and GDR border troops who work with poisons.

In this regard they are to:

--Provide dispensary care for persons who regularly handle poisons in classes A and B (or divisions one and two)
--Receive the report of the representative for poison protection on exposed personnel and inform the appropriate installation in the NVA medical service
--Inform the representative for poison protection of the requirements for examination of army members and civilian employees, who then is to carry out the instructions
--Assure the performance of suitability and repeat examinations on the basis of statutory regulations
--Keep a list by name of the dispensary group
--Develop an individual treatment plan for all those included in this dispensary group
--Document each examination of those treated for exposure topoison
--Report the results of the suitability or repeat examinations to the commander or leader
--Control the observance of the appropriate medical provisions for those under dispensary treatment and report to the commander or leader in the case of noncompliance
--Arrange for concluding examinations immediately after termination of poison use
--After termination of poison use safeguard the documentation on the suitability, repeat and concluding examinations for 50 years and
--Organize prophylactic courses of treatment for authorized personnel in accordance with military provisions and statutory regulations.

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MARXISM-LENINISM PROFESSOR REFLECTS ON NATIONAL UNITY, PATRIOTISM

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 23-25

[Article by Docent Dr habilitatus Bronislaw Ratus, scholar of the PZPR Central Committee Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] More than any other time, the period of severe crisis in our country leads us to reflect upon our homeland, our nation and our state, as well as our own role in these great historical and political events. It is essentially a reflection upon patriotism, which is the supportive structure of civic views and the tasks issuing from these views in public life.

/Thus patriotism is linked more with a feeling than with scientific-type knowledge./ And every feeling has its own enormous scope of intimacy which quickly loses value as it becomes subject to excessive public proclamation. Actions are more important than words where feelings are concerned. Such is also the case with love of the homeland.

Every feeling should be connected with elements of rationalism.

Socialist patriotism differs from earlier varieties of patriotism in that it is linked to proletarian internationalism. This connection is the most effective way of renouncing nationalism, on the one hand, and cosmopolitanism and national nihilism, on the other. /Internationalism, by virtue of its class genesis, essence and function, must issue from rationalism, from scientific-type knowledge./

In the life of every nation, patriotic slogans are expressed, remembered and are sometimes even overused, or they become points of contention, particularly during periods of difficulty for the nation and state. Patriotism, then, belongs to that group of values which affect whole nations; thus their great motivating and mobilizing power.

Socialist Patriotism

Socialist patriotism includes the basic values created by various social classes in earlier forms. The socialist system adds new values to the values which make up patriotism, enriching them and broadening considerably the traditional notions of patriotism.

In attempting to answer the question, what are the values that make up the concept of Polish socialist patriotism, we may point out the following characteristics:

--pride issuing from a knowledge of the whole tradition of the Polish nation and state and, against this background, of Poland's patriotic, progressive and revolutionary traditions;

--solidarity and identification with one's nation and socialist state in every situation;

--the combination of service to the homeland and a civic sense with the moral and political values of the socialist system;

--knowledge and love of the native language and national culture, as well as the aspiration to defend and propagate this culture;

--the defense and propagation of one's social heritage and the frugal use of this heritage as of one's own private property;

--knowledge of the nature of the homeland and the aim to preserve it;

--pride in the achievements of the socialist homeland, knowledge of the program of domestic development and the assumption of personal responsibility in common with others to formulate and implement this program. At present it is not popular to speak or write about our achievements. However, we must view the matter calmly and answer for ourselves the question of our genesis, our origins and the problems we have had in development. For there is not a single streak of defeat and error either in individual or group efforts on behalf of our nation. We have something of which to be proud in the history of People's Poland, although this pride is painfully wounded by the mistakes, the distortions and the uncommon crimes of some periods, including those of the second half of the 1970's in particular;

--respect for state and national symbols;

--good professional and social work at every location and in every position;

--readiness to defend the country and to make the greatest sacrifices for the homeland in the event of danger;

--the consciousness that civic rights and responsibilities are interdependent (nb, L. Warynski has established this interdependence in the Polish workers movement);

--the active counteraction of nationalistic, nihilistic and cosmopolitan tendencies as well as those attitudes, phenomena and actions which damage Poland's good name throughout the world, which weaken the Polish state, its defense potential, its economic potential and its political and moral authority, which contradict the standards of socialist morality, in particular elementary universal moral standards as well as the class-worker sense of equality and social justice;

--the linking of patriotism and internationalism as a condition of the implementation of our national interests and duties, the strengthening of our raison d'etat and our country's friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the entire socialist community.

/The idea of patriotism is not of a static nature; some of its elements are enriched and others take on new meaning. As we have noted, however, its elements have a suprastructural character. The party and the concomitant political forces and the socialist states have adopted these elements as part of their program, heir to the whole history of the nation./ The essence of socialist patriotism as ideology and the attitudes resulting from this ideology are in a state of evolution and are dynamic in character.

Proletarian Internationalism

A basic feature of socialist patriotism is its tie to proletarian internationalism. The substance of the modern concept of proletarian internationalism is rich and varied.

As is well-known, proletarian internationalism belongs to the basic categories of scientific socialism. Its genesis in practice is linked with the beginnings and the development of the organized workers movement; its theory is based on the programmatic slogan of the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of the world unite." The experiences of the workers movement have supplied the empirical conditions for the formulation of theoretical generalizations in the area of proletarian internationalism. At the same time, the idea of proletarian internationalism has its empirical justification in international sociopolitical life, in the practice of the international communist and workers movement and its national branches.

In scientific literature and contemporary sociopolitical practice, in its various contexts the concept of internationalism is defined in the following way: the principle of class solidarity of the proletariat of all the world; the principle (standard) of relations, cooperation and mutual assistance of communist and workers parties, both bilaterally and multilaterally; the idea uniting the international communist and workers movement on a worldwide scale; the principle defining the relationship of communist and workers parties to progressive, nonproletarian national movements and social-liberation movements; the principle of the interstate cooperation of socialist countries (as distinguished from the principle of peaceful coexistence and the cooperation of socialist states with countries having a different sociopolitical structure); the element of the political attitude of citizens of the socialist state that is closely linked with socialist patriotism; the principle of the cooperation of nations and peoples making up multinational socialist states (e.g., the USSR, the CSR), which is the ideological basis for the creation of a new community of people on the historical scale--the socialist nation.

/The concept of socialist internationalism is closely linked with proletarian internationalism. The basic differences between these categories lies in the fact that proletarian internationalism originated along with Marxism, whereas

socialist internationalism in its genesis harks back to the period of the birth of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union./

Regardless of the substance of the ideas making up the categories of internationalism, (and these categories are not sharply defined in scope), what is basic in every case is proletarian internationalism, the classic character of this ideology preserved and the resultant sociopolitical practices maintained.

Although the constitution of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] does not include the term "internationalism" itself, the principles therein defined of /the foreign policy of our state in substance correspond to the ideological premises of internationalism./

Every nation possesses its own traditions, its own culture and its own aspirations. What is most vital to the development of every nation--national and social freedom, equality, justice and peace--are likewise the values manifested by Marxism-Leninism, by the workers and communist movement. Internationalist views and attitudes enable us to implement these values to the fullest extent. They provide a real basis for the implementation of national interest in a highly complex world.

/The internationalist attitude has a class character; it is a component of the ideology of the working class, an ideology not invented by the communists, but discovered and formulated as an objective truth of the development of the working class and of the formation of its class consciousness./

The idea of internationalism originated not only as an expression of the theoretical considerations of K. Marx and F. Engels but also as a result of the practical experiences of class struggles and liberation struggles in earlier historical periods. It was the entrance of the macroindustrial working class into the historical arena that gave rise to the objective need for an ideology of this class. Proletarian internationalism, as an expression of common class interests of the working class of various countries of the world, has become one of the important elements of the ideology of this class and of its political position.

In the 19th century, proletarian internationalism became an antidote to cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism. It continues in this function currently in the 20th century.

Socialist internationalism, on the other hand, which is closely linked in its genesis and its operation with proletarian internationalism in practice, was born during the period of the October Revolution and became generalized theoretically after the coming into being of the worldwide socialist system.

The Problem of Unity

Within the scope of our interest lies the subject of the slogan "national unity." In our opinion, this is a very compromised slogan, particularly in the sense of moral-political unity as defined in a special chapter of a resolution of the Eighth PZPR Congress.

It must be stated however, that there is probably no political authority, government or party in the world which does not aspire programmatically to create national unity in order to attain its own goals.

The slogan of "national unity" is not foreign to the communist movement. /It is a programmatic assumption of the Marxist-Leninist party in every socialist country. It is likewise a slogan which has been part of the tradition of the Polish workers movement./

Let us call to mind the actions of the KPP [Communist Party of Poland--prewar] on behalf of the creation of the Popular Front, for example. In 1937, this party defined the Popular Front in the following way: "What is the popular front? It is the joint affair of all parties of working people today, of all of working and thinking Poland, independent of party affiliation, convictions and beliefs--it is the issue of the struggle for bread, work, freedom, for peace and for securing the independence of Poland."

These were the slogans upon which the KPP wished the Poles to concentrate their attention and around which it desired to organize them into a united force in the form of the Popular Front.

Let us likewise call to mind the fact that the war and the occupation also shaped the matter of national unity in a definite way. At that time the PPR [Polish Workers Party], as is well-known, formulated the idea of the National Front. "In this decisive moment," we read in the appeal of the PPR, "there stands before the whole nation the question of unifying all forces to fight to the death against the occupying forces, to fight for life, the task of creating the national front to struggle for a free, independent Poland."

Following the liberation of part of the country, in September 1944 the PPR further defined the idea of national unity as a condition of the ultimate liberation of the country, of the preservation of independence, the normalization of economic and social life and the reconstruction of the resurgent republic. It understood this unity as "the active, solid cooperation of all basic national levels, all democratic parties."

The slogan of the moral-political unity of the nation was established by B. Bierut at the Second PZPR Congress in 1954; at that time, the unifying factor of the nation was to be the struggle for peace and for the implementation of the six-year plan. B. Bierut anticipated that the struggle for national unity would last "as long as the fragments of the old parasitic classes exist and act in the name of the return of capitalism."

The above brief recollections of the tasks of Polish workers parties in the name of national unity have been made to point out the fact that the political representatives of the working class desired to create this unity and that the slogans under which the nation was to unite were very few and were limited to those which were most fundamental for the given historical period, those which had the greatest chance of being implemented.

During the period before the Eighth PZPR Congress and at the congress itself the issue of national unity took the shape that it perhaps will have in communism (V. Lenin in his work "The State and Revolution" predicted that people everywhere will become used to observing the elementary moral standards common to all humanity, without coercion, upon the advent of communism). Thus, neither our generation nor our children's generation will have empirical evidence of this.

At the same time, neither the contradictions accompanying the development of socialism nor the conflicts occurring within it have been considered. What is more, the slogan of the moral unity of the nation, the more it was exploited in the propaganda then, the more degeneration in the moral sphere increased. The class nature of morality and even politics was overlooked.

While we are right to criticze and reject the ahistorical and classless concept of national unity held earlier, I do not belief that we should go to the other extreme and abandon the concept in general. We have too many national and state values, including those introduced into our public life by the socialist system, which links Poles without regard for their party affiliation, their class affiliation or their world view.

/It seems to me, however, that a basic condition of the party's coming forth with slogans of national unity should be the real ideological, political and organizational unity of its ranks as well as its close connection with the working class and its enduring role of serving the class from which it arose./

The creation of this unity must take into consideration the diversity of views and attitudes throughout society and its rich mosaic of life styles. It must also be constantly aware of the contradictions and conflicts occurring in society. These conflicts do occur, and the consciousness of that fact and the disclosure of their nature and character should have an effect on sociopolitical practice. This practice should not deepen conflict but should aim at smoothing them over in the name of the primary interests of the nation and state.

The experiences of the period of People's Poland demonstrate that the overly one-sided cognizance of the established goals of the socialist structure in the area of national unity, faith in its monolith together with disregard for the realia of life and the conflicts of development--both objective and subjective--will lead to adverse social consequences and even crises. A positive aspect, however, is the fact that during periods of crises in the party, forces emerge which aim to eliminate those phenomena which have a disintegrating effect on social life. However, this should be a permanent process, not one which is manifested actively only during a period of crisis.

At the same time, however, we should counteract the activities of those units and extremist groups which consciously instigate and provoke all sorts of divisiveness in society, regardless of the ideological or political motivation of such division.

/In our state, we have many joint issues and tasks to resolve for which we have the support of a large majority of society. These should be used to unify the nation in the name of the good of the Polish socialist state./

8536

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LEADING ROLE OF PZPR IN CHANGED CONDITIONS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Jozef Sowa, first secretary PZPR University Committee (KU) at the Higher School of Pedagogy in Rzeszow]

[Text] The PZPR is preparing for its Ninth Extraordinary Congress.

Resolutions and decisions from recent plenary meetings of the Central Committee prove that the party is aiming consistently at the best possible representation of the interests of the working class and the whole society. In the interest of society, it should exact from the administration the resolution of our growing problems. For this reason, the gradual, consistent action taken toward separating party organs from the organs of administrative authority, both executive and legislative, is so important. The slogan "The party leads, and the government governs" still does not render the full scope of the problem. It is something more than the mere separation of structures.

The frequent promotion of employees from the party apparatus into the administrative or economic apparatus is an undesirable phenomenon. It leads to the obliteration of the limits of competence and of the boundaries of the difference in methods of operation. Intraparty and representative democracy becomes distorted; the executive apparatus becomes set up and reconstructed through the method of appointment and cooptation based on the feelings of the individuals exerting influence on cadre decisionmaking. These and other irregularities foster disintegration and bureaucratic distortion in the party itself.

An outward sign of the merger of the various forms of executive authority with the party apparatus is the attitude to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism is introduced into slogans and is propounded at meetings and gatherings, but is overlooked in social practice. This likewise relates, among other things, to the directorial role of the party. To speak of the directorial role of the party is to suggest its directive-administrative manner of operating. Such an understanding of the directorial role leans toward the usage currently in vogue to describe the sociopolitical concept of the leadership role of the party.

If we speak of the party as a leadership force, we also mean that alongside it, parallel to it or right behind it, there stand important forces which set in

motion the sociopolitical development of the country. We are thus faced with the question, what are we to understand by these forces, what is this leadership function of the PZPR to be? If our constitution states in Art 3, Para 1 that "the PZPR is the guiding political force of society in the building of socialism," then this force must be a real category, and not a facade; it must be corroborated in social practice.

The principle of the directorial role of the party, which has been long accepted in documents and party propaganda and was turgidly expressed in 1971 in the well-known formula "The party leads, and the government governs," did not wait for a model to be developed, and nothing need be said further about the implementation of this formula at various levels of leadership. This formula was a facade for the leadership at various levels (party and administrative) for obliterating the boundaries of responsibility for errors in decisionmaking. Among other things, it violated the principle of effective management in the country. For this reason, the system of the operation of intraparty structures of a legislative character should be remodeled from the bottom up, and from every angle. In addition, the tension between party elements (echelons of various levels) and the government administrative apparatus should be defined in the sphere of leadership, management and control over sociopolitical and economic life.

A matter of urgency is the creation of a system of relations between the party and the executive authority which would make their merger, their loss of identity, impossible. The party apparatus, based on the ambitious and healthy activism of the basic party organizations [POP], would then not become alienated from them and would execute its functions in the proper manner. Then it would be able to keep control over state authority, to inspire, to program and to carry out the proper policy with cadres on the basis of principles other than the system of familiarity.

The party as the guiding political force must take into consideration the fact that there are likewise other important social forces in the country which are organized, cooperative and support the development of the state, to which they must refer and with which they must reckon. The party cannot have a "monopoly" on everything, including wisdom and the infallibility of its leaders at the various levels of leadership. Thus, we are faced with the question: How is the leadership function of the party to be expressed?

The leadership role of the party should be examined on two planes: the internal and the external.

On the internal plane, the leadership role of the party should be expressed in the consistent self-regulation of its subsystems and shared functions and, therefore, of its structures, against the background of the sociopolitical and economic conditions of the country. It should be a very competent apparatus, directed by the precedence of social goals. The party leadership, its echelons and its units should spring, among other things, from the authority of the people who are employed in it or who are socially active. For this reason, the party should aspire to win over the most able candidates, those with the best professional and ideological-moral qualifications, to fill periodically changing (1-2 terms) directorial positions in its various echelons.

The external functions should aim at developing programs and guidelines for strategic directions of the socioeconomic development of the country on the basis of scientific analysis and prognosis; they should aim at the training, the selection and the advancement of cadres into directorial positions regardless of their party affiliation; they should aim to inspire and to control politically the implementation of the programs and tasks which are laid out.

In order for these functions to be able to bear the burden of the development of socialist democracy, the creation of guarantees relieving the state and administrative organs of excessive interference from party echelons in the form of so-called "adjustments" made in various, sometimes petty matters (which in the past was sometimes carried out to absurd limits). An effective structural measure in this area would be the refinement of functions in individual echelons at the gmina, the municipal, the voivodship and the central levels (together with the Central Committee).

Our long-range goal should be to stop maintaining the present structure of the party apparatus which, in large part, falls in line with industrial sector departments--cells of the government apparatus.

We should enforce the legally guaranteed principle relating to the separation of party functions, administrative functions and union functions. We should clearly establish the powers of employees of the party apparatus, eliminating the possibility of their making decisions in matters which, according to the law, are the business of the state trustee (the voivodship governor, the major, the director or the head of a gmina).

We should cast off the harmful practice of the far-reaching symbiosis of the party and state apparatus in the process of decisionmaking. In the past this was the cause of the excessive involvement of party forces and of its authority as a whole. The party should maintain a distance between itself and organs of the state administration in its work.

Against the background of the observations which have been made concerning the leadership role of the party in the process of leading and management of the country, it should be emphasized that this function, despite the uniformity of assumptions and principles, is implemented differently in various professional milieus, within various sectors and at various levels. This is the result, among other things, of the traditions and the wealth of party organizations, changing socioeconomic conditions and the operation of self-government and socialist democracy in work establishments, school and administrative institutions. At present, the trade union movement and the youth movement place the party in a fundamentally changed situation over that of a half-year ago. New categories of self-government and autonomy are arising with vigorous force. In conjunction with this, the model of the basic functions of the party, and likewise its leadership role in the life of the people, must be precisely defined on the basis of the conditions in which it is working.

8536
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LIMITS OF CRITICISM DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 p 21

[Article by Waldemar Kania, Krakow; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The settling of accounts continues to dominate party discussion. At the same time, however, there is a growing awareness of the irrevocability of concrete, positive action. As yet, not enough energy has been unleashed to enable the implementation of all of the recommendations which have been made. As it is often emphasized in basic party organizations [POP], an action cannot be effective unless it is accompanied by a convincing, honest evaluation of the situation and by a clear-cut program. Current, accurate information about facts, events and processes made available to basic party elements is indispensable in the evaluation of the situation.

Is it possible as yet to make a complete analysis of the causes of the crisis and its meaning? It has been ascertained that however difficult and time-consuming this may be, it is necessary. This analysis must provide pointers for aktivs and offer them methods of independent analysis of the situation in their environment.

No one denies the fact--it is emphasized at POP meetings--that criticism of the party's methods of operation is an indispensable factor of its work. Sometimes, however, it is difficult for PZPR members to determine what is criticism and what is merely politicking, in which criticism is an element of the political game of the opponents of the party and of socialism, instead of being at the service of real socialist renewal.

Not all people sufficiently appreciate the fact that there is a struggle going on which is often characterized by opposing, mutually exclusive arguments. It looks as though in some circles party members are "uncontestedly" handing over the field. Such is the case particularly where the party and its operatives are unjustly criticized and no one reacts to this criticism. It likewise issues from a certain mental breakdown of some party members and aktivs and the acceptance in advance of any criticism leveled at the party and at specific persons. But there have been cases of excessive criticism which have not always been motivated by pure intentions.

In some circles, the move to portray an untrue picture of the party is gaining strength. And as long as such criticism serves the needs of party opponents, it is recognized as real criticism. But it is a portrait reflected in a distorted mirror. It seems to me that there should be a clearer definition of what sort of criticism is unacceptable, i.e., such criticism should be countered whenever it occurs. For example, /the view that the whole party has failed, that nothing that remains from the former period has positive value, is unacceptable./

The last period brought to light many concrete matters which we may not allow to simply run their course. All personal, organizational and political matters must be resolved; nothing may be put off ad acta. But is haste recommended? Time, reason and honesty are always advisable. Let us consider that a wave of emotion and the ardency of the campaign to settle up accounts may cause harm to people and inflict much moral damage. Personal decisionmaking may not be an element of individual policy which would serve as our "alibi."

There has also appeared another tendency which by now has been criticized more than once, and is now being reversed. In the past, the remedy for an unfavorable situation was to reorganize to a greater or lesser extent. We have the examples of the administrative reform of 1975 and the "reorganization" of local industry. Currently in many party elements there are aktivs who likewise are under the spell of the "reorganization fantasy" with reference, for example, to the structure of party operation. In general this tends, often unconsciously, to weaken the party, although it is caused (so it is said) by the need to increase democracy, to eliminate powerless centralism and the like. The existing structure, however, is the result of a lengthy process; it is the generalization of the experiences of the party in this field. We cannot write it off only because someone suggests this. Although improvements are necessary and possible, these are determined by the substance of the tasks and the program, as well as the effectiveness of political actions of aktivs and the apparatus.

The crisis was jolting for party members. Many members are still trying to understand how things could have come to this. But for many years in the party, in its basic elements we have seen and become aware of growing negative phenomena. Why, then, did we not heed the recommendations, why did we not analyze former crises? At the same time, there is demonstrated the need for guarantees and assurances that a similar situation does not occur. And it must be said that often the only way out seems to be in statutory guarantees, the only guarantees which have a formal character.

Does not the essence of the matter lie in acting according to the rules, in the practical operation of democracy, in the party's struggle both for the purity of its ranks, for the implementation of its program and for its aspiration toward ideological expressiveness? If the statute had been observed, then there certainly would not have been a crisis.

8536
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RECENT 'POLEMICS' IN LITERARY CRITICISM CONDEMNED

Bacau ATENEU in Romanian No 2, Jun 81 p 1

/Article signed "A": "Literature and Civic Dynamism"/

/Text/ Nothing can be more foreign to any kind of creation, including literary, than stagnation, the conservative spirit and inert isolation from social-historical evolution. The important civic function of the creators of intellectual values in socialist Romania deeply involves them in the noble task of creating the new. The civic effect of the writers (who have exercised in these weeks their right as well as their duty as members of their professional community by seriously discussing the Principles of the National Writers Conference) has been emphatically expressed by the striking presence in the public consciousness of the most representative contemporary artistic creations and their unusually broad impact.

The reactions in the press, the discussions at the various meetings occasioned by the event, and the suggestions for further improvement of the organizational structure as well as the climate wherein the collective creative activity of the writers guild [illegible] on brought out the fact that the literature of our time takes its inspiration [illegible] the achievements of this brilliant period and sees itself as inseparably bound to the people.

In reviewing the successes achieved by writers in poetry, prose, dramaturgy, juvenile literature, literary criticism and history, translations and journalism, the discussiions of the Associations of the Union of Writers in Romania or in the press conclusively demonstrated that those successes are due to implementation of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's invaluable suggestions. Clearly as crystal the historical truth emerged that the Ninth Party Congress opened up broad prospects of fulfillment for literary creation and culture as a whole and made the long dreamed of freedom of expression and advancement of true talents a reality of the Romanian social-political climate.

We may rightly maintain that these brilliant years have illustrated the real achievement of a new quality, demanded by the party documents primarily for the economic sectors of society but equally indispensable in cultural activity. As we well know, literature has a major function there.

From the RCP Program for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, the Principles of the National Writers Conference proceed with irrefutable logic to the determination of

a necessary reality that "extends man's intellectual requirements and demands broadening of his horizons of culture, knowledge and intellectual experience, posing new problems for literature." It should be pointed out here that a plea for consistently high ethical-intellectual standards and worthy and incorruptible behavior in everyday life is implicit in the true work of art. The idea that the writer can be one man in his lasting works and another in his existential attitudes and civic life is a disturbing anachronism today. The duplicity and hypocritical behavior of the man "with two faces," as character of that kind was called with the Romanian's common sense, inspire no one's confidence and cause harmful alienations, while infecting the respective writer's moral fiber particularly even if he harbors the vain belief that he is above the risk of contamination with the products of an obscure moral alchemy.

The writer who transfigures living history must aspire to the immortality of every line, and of any civic act he performs on behalf of his generation and in fact on behalf of the people that produced him. For in recognizing that he is committed, that is open to the truths of the life which the individual and the social community are combined, the communist writer becomes a public militant inconceiable unless he takes a stand devoid of any equivocation, because he has a noble faith in the lasting quality of his effort to create beauty.

It goes without saying that under these circumstance the dialogue will not be excluded but desirable, even when it takes the form of an intransigent confrontation of viewpoints. I could grant that the tension of the debate does not distort the truths involved even when it reaches the point of polemics of ideas. But unfortunately in Romania heated discussion of fundamental principles has degenerated too readily into divisive quarreling.

That is why the "polemics" that once polluted the Romanian literary climate were at least parastic gestures if not real diversions from the highly responsible options of current Romanian writing. They were all the more marginal because the characteristic traditions of Romanian literature agree upon forming its moral and aesthetic nature as one characterized by humanism, receptiveness to the new, ideological militance, accessible communication of the message or, more comprehensively speaking, the revolutionary spirit.

5186
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RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS OF WORKERS COUNCILS

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 30 Jun 81 p 2

[Unsigned article: "Decision of the Second Congress of Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Trade and Finance"]

[Text] The Second Congress of the Workers Councils in Industry, Construction, Transportation, Trade and Finance, convened at the initiative of the secretary general of the party and president of the National Council of Workers, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, constituted an event of overwhelming importance in our country's social-political life, in the development and furthering of worker democracy and in the stronger affirmation of the role of the working class, a class which, in its position as owner of the means of production and producer of material goods, actively and directly participates in the leadership of society and in the elaboration and carrying out of the party's policy for the multilateral development of socialist Romania.

The current congress, the most democratic leadership forum of the working class and an essential component in our socialist system of democracy, in which over 11,000 workers participated, strongly demonstrates the decisive role played by the working class in our society and the fact that it is honorably fulfilling its historical role and mission as the leading class in our entire nation, with this being a certain guarantee for the economic-social development of the country and the defense and strengthening of our country's freedom and independence along its victorious road to socialism and communism.

The Second Congress of the Workers Councils is being recognized, through the decisions adopted, as a moment of exceptional significance in order to achieve the objectives standing before our nation in the second phase of carrying out the program of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism.

The congress gave high marks to the role and decisive contribution of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in elaborating and carrying out the general policies of our party for the harmonious development of the country and in continually and originally improving the system of socialist democracy, as it was established during the last decade and one-half in close regard for the demands and problems that have appeared in each stage of building socialism.

The Congress of the Workers Councils unanimously approved the Speech Regarding the Economic-Social Development of Romania During the 1981-1985 Five Year plan, the Growth of the Role of the Workers Councils and the Development of Socialist Workers Democracy in Our Country, presented by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, evaluating it as a model of shining scientific analysis of the role of the working class in revolutionarily transforming Romanian society, of the level of development attained by our socialist economy and of the workers' tasks during the current five year plan and in the future. At the same time, the Congress gave high marks to the conclusions contained in the speech made by the party's secretary general at the conclusion of the proceedings in this great forum of the working class.

The Congress completely adopted the directives and guidelines formulated by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and decided to adopt them as a working program for the future activities of the workers councils and the other organs of collective leadership, for our entire working class and for all workers, in order to improve the work of these groups and increase their contribution to the management and good administration of the enterprises and all economic units, to the general activities for the economic-social development of the country and to fulfilling the provisions of the current five year plan.

The Congress decided that these important documents will also serve as the basis of all activities carried out by the ministries and central economic organs, and party, state and civic organizations.

The Congress expressed its complete satisfaction with the re-election of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu as the president of the National Council of Workers by a unanimous and enthusiastically given vote by over 11,000 participants at the Congress, who expressed the will of millions of workers as their representatives in the collective leadership organs. This once again illustrated the complete trust of our nation in the party and in its secretary general, and the special importance that comrade Nicolae Ceausescu enjoys among the ranks of the workers for his untiring activities at the head of the party and state for the good of the Romanian people and the progress and prosperity of our socialist nation.

In carrying out its proceedings under conditions where our people have concluded successfully the achievement of the 1976-1980 five year plan and are fully involved in carrying out the objectives of the first year of the 1981-1985 five year plan, the Congress of the Workers Councils discussed and adopted new measures that will give an even greater impetus to worker participation in the powerful development of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration. This will occur under conditions of increasing the attributes of the general assemblies and the organs of collective leadership, and of mobilizing these groups to completely fulfill the decisions of the 12th Party Congress for the purpose of increasing national wealth and the people's material and spiritual standard of living and raising our socialist country to new peaks of progress and civilization.

The Second Congress of the Workers Councils outlined the remarkable successes attained in all the fields of activity during the period between the two congresses and the results recorded during the first phase of carrying out the Party's Program, especially during the recently concluded five year plan which saw new and significant progress in the constantly ascendent evolution of our nation in the last 15 years - the richest and most fruitful period of achievements in the entire history of our country.

During the 1970-1980 period, industry developed at a sustained rate, Overall, industrial production increased approximately three times over and net production recorded an average annual rate of 11.6. Fixed assets reached a level of over 1,870 billion lei, a fact that created the conditions to increase national income and, on this basis, provided the means necessary for the economic-social development of the country and raising the people's standard of living.

The results attained in increasing industrial production stem from amplifying the process of increasing the technical level of production, extending modern technologies and producing certain new types of equipment, installations, machinery, materials and consumer goods.

Important progress was recorded in increasing labor productivity and the level of processing and use of raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, a process which favorably influenced the reduction of production costs.

During this period, the total amount of investments in the national economy increased from 67.1 billion lei to 186.4 billion lei.

Significant progress was recorded in agriculture, a branch in which production increased by 1.6 times at an average annual rate of 4.7 percent, thus providing industry with raw materials and the people with agro-food products.

As a result of the sustained rate of increases in all the branches of the national economy and the people's demands, transportation and telecommunication developed strongly.

A significant contribution to the general progress of society and to the achievements made by our people was made by science, which resolved problems of special importance regarding the modernization of the economy. At the same time, a closer relationship was attained between scientific research and technology, as well as design work, and the requirements of production.

On the basis of the development of the production potential in all the branches of the national economy, during the last two five year plans national income has had an average annual rate of increase of 9.2 percent, thus providing the resources necessary for economic-social development and the means for continuing to improve the material and spiritual standard of living of all the people. During the

1976-1980 five year plan, one million new jobs were created, with more than one-half in industry. A worker's real income increased by 29 percent, compared to approximately 20 percent outlined in the 1976-1980 five year plan, while for the entire decade the people's total income doubled.

The Congress stated that the rapid and harmonious development of the forces of production throughout the country and the growth of the national wealth and the material and spiritual well-being of the workers from the cities and villages represent the results of years of heroic work by the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, and all workers, regardless of their nationality, constituting, at the same time, a powerful expression of the people's creative abilities and its decision to carry out the objectives of the party's scientific policies.

The Congress examined with high political responsibility and approved the draft Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan for Romania during the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, as drawn-up under the direct guidance of and with an essential contribution from the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The Congress felt that his directives and objectives, which correspond to the decisions and guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, will ensure the uninterrupted economic-social progress of the country in carrying out the Party's Program of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism.

Similarly, the Congress discussed and approved other documents on the agenda whose implementation will lead to increasing the rate of modernizing the national economy, scientifically organizing production and labor, and increasing to a greater degree the productivity and efficiency of all activities, and to continuing to increase the material and spiritual standard of living and the quality of life of all workers.

In discussing carefully the Sole National Economic-Social Development Plan for Romania during the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and the means of implementing the guidelines and directives in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech, the Second Congress of the Workers Councils emphasized the need for all the work of collective leadership to be subordinated to the achievement of a new quality in all fields of activity and to the unification of the efforts of the workers in industry, construction, transportation, trade and financial-banking activities.

To this end, the Congress decided that the first priority of the activities of the leadership councils of the ministries and central organs and the workers councils in the economic units will be concern for identifying the ways and solutions to use our powerful potential in industry and other branches at ever higher levels of efficiency and to promote a firm management policy for raw materials, materials, fuels and energy, and rigorously apply the new economic-financial mechanism in order to achieve the program of continually increasing the people's standard of living.

Carrying out the provisions of the 1981-1985 five year plan means confronting the workers and the collective leadership organs in the centrals, production units and research and design units in the extractive industry with especially important tasks regarding the intensification of activities to discover and put into use new deposits of useful mineral substances and to draw up technologies for the most complex use of raw materials, including those with low useful-substance content and shale, as well as to use the hydro-electric potential in the production of electricity and thermal energy in the country.

The Congress decided to work more systematically for the better use of material and energy resources and the strict adherence to standard rates of consumption, and for the standardization of consumption rates for products and technological lines and installations.

The Congress gave the collective leadership organs the task of regularly achieving physical and net production and sold and paid-for goods production, which requires the full use of our technical potential in the units and the creative abilities of the workers, craftsmen, technicians and engineers.

In each sector or branch and in all industrial enterprises, the collective leadership organs must increase their attention and concern to improve quality, to ensure the technical and functional level of products and to increase the technical-qualitative and competitive parameters of these products.

In the field of foreign trade, the Congress gave the collective leadership organs in the ministries, centrals, economic units and foreign trade enterprises the task of increasing and diversifying commercial trade and international economic cooperation, ensuring a balance between imports and exports so as to achieve an active trade balance. The priority achievement of export tasks by structure and variety and at the qualitative parameters listed in contracts in all units must constitute the patriotic duty of each worker participating in worker self-mangement.

In discussing with a high spirit of responsibility the means of implementing the Program Regarding the Organization and Scientific Standardization of Production and Other Activities and the Growth of Labor Productivity during the Period 1981-1985, a program drawn-up at the iniative and under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the Congress asked that all collective leadership organs place special stress on the achievement of the tasks in this program regarding, principally, the broad scale extension of automation and mechanization to a greater number of equipment and the improvement of technical assistance. At the same time, it is necessary for each worker to continually improve his level of professional training and to militate to strengthen order and discipline in all areas of economic-social life.

The Congress received with special satisfaction and decided to move without delay to applying the measures contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech regarding the continued improvement of workers' incentives in the sense of extending the principles of overall contract agreement to all the fields of material production, industry, agriculture, construction, transportation and research and design, for the purpose of achieving a strong increase in labor productivity and, on this basis, the incomes obtained from work.

The accentuated increase of economic efficiency requires each workers councils to work with all firmness to reduce production costs, especially material costs, through the struct adherence to standard consumption rates and the elimination of old technological prodcedures that are large consumers of raw materials, materials and energy, and to eliminate any type of waste.

The Congress felt that the direct participation of workers in self-management and self-administration requires each enterprise, section, work shop and worker to precisely understand what is being produced, how much is being consumed and what are the costs. To do this, the workers councils must organize activities in the enterprises so that the budget of incomes and expenditures will be the principal instrument in applying self-administration at all levels and will ensure the administration of entrusted material and financial resources with a maximum of efficiency and the achievement of production on-time and by types outlined in contracts, basic conditions for maintaining the balance between receipts and payments, as well as for the firm application of the new economic-financial mechanism.

In order to carry out fully and on-time the vast investment program outlined for the 1981-1985 five year plan, the Congress asked the workers councils in the design and construction-assembly units to provide on-time the appropriate documentation and preparations for projects - basic conditions for putting all facilities fully into operation within planned timeframes. At the same time, it is necessary to work with greater firmness to find modern construction solutions, to accelerate the industrialization of construction-assembly work and to improve the quality of this work, order and discipline at the construction site.

The sustained development of all the branches of the national economy in the coming years and the people's demands make necessary the continued improvement of activities in transportation and telecommunication, branches where the Congress asked for the more efficient use of transportation facilities, traffic safety, the rational organization and optimum use of these facilities, the mechanization of loading and unloading operations, the extension of the use of containers and pallets and the strengthening of labor order and discipline for all personnel.

The Second Congress of the Workers Councils fully adopted the tasks and guidelines in the Program Regarding the Introduction of the Advances of the Technical-

Scientific Revolution in All the Economic Branches and the Intensification of Technical Progress, and the Modernization and Renewal of Production during the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan. The affirmation of the technical-scientific revolution in all fields of activities gives the scientific councils in the research units qualitatively new tasks, especially regarding the shortening of the research-design-production cycle, the more rapid development of the raw material base, the use of new in-country energy sources, the production of high-productivity machines and installations and the introduction of new high-efficiency technologies.

The financial-banking institutions and units will exercise a systematic review of financial activities in each central and enterprise, and will actively help them in establishing the measures that must be taken to accelerate the speed of turning over funds in trade and updating prices and to use each leu with greater efficiency so that the units will ensure the full achievement of planned profits.

The Congress gave high marks to the Program-Directive for Increasing the Standard of Living during the Period 1981-1985 and Continuing to Raise the Quality of Life, drawn-up at the iniative and under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Completed in full accordance with the general policies of our party and in close correlation with the economic-social development of the country, the program places man and his needs in the center of attention, as well as the greater satisfaction of the demands of all members of society, under conditions of increasing incomes from work and the social consumption funds of all the categories of workers and in close agreement with the scientifically substantiated rates of consumption of goods.

Conducted in a profound spirit of work, critical analysis and self-criticism of the activities of the collective leadership organs, and pointing out the shortcomings that have occurred in their style and methods of work, the Congress recognized with satisfaction and fully approved the measures presented in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech regarding the improvement of the activities of these organs for the purpose of increasing the attributes of the workers' general assemblies and councils, in full agreement with the ever more accentuated growth of the leading role of the working class in our society and corresponding to the new stage of development through which our country is moving.

Convinced of the need for the activities of the collective leadership organs to also move without delay to a new quality, the Congress adopted the ideas and guidelines of the party's secretary general regarding the improvement of the activities of the workers' general assemblies and the other organs of collective leadership, the continuing improvement of their style and methods of work and the mobilization of the energies and abilities of each member in achieving the tasks of these organs of worker democracy.

The Congress decided that the workers' general assemblies and workers councils will considerably increase their attributes in the management of the economic and social activities of the enterprises, in the better use of the technical and human potential and material and financial resources, in the discussion of proposals to nominate leadership personnel in the economic-social units, in the approval for accepting newly assigned personnel in enterprises and institutions and in the approval of proposals to punish or terminate persons who violate the norms for order and discipline or who do not carry out their duties as workers in an appropriate manner. This will be done so that all the plan indicators can be fulfilled under the best possible conditions.

Keeping in mind the decisive importance of the existence of a good labor climate upon the results of production, the Congress decided that the collective leadership organs at all levels will be more concerned with precisely applying the measures established in the realm of resolving the social problems of worker collectives and each worker and of achieving the measures contained in the program approved by the Congress to this end.

At the same time, the Congress decided that the workers' general assemblies and workers councils will ensure the strengthening of the workers' worker review and the precise, correct application of the country's laws and all the other normative acts. This will create the framework for carrying out all economic and social activities under conditions of high efficiency, thus bringing about an increase in the contribution of each worker collective to the constant growth of the national income and social wealth - an enduring basis for the further development of our entire society and for the increase in the material and cultural standard of living of all workers and all our people.

The Congress gave high marks to the creative, original contribution of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the enrichment, based on the realities in socialist Romania, of the universal treasury of theory and practice of building socialism and approved the theses of great scientific value regarding the definition of the socialist state as a state of workers democracy, which fully corresponds to the new social realities and real nature of the democracy, freedom and revolutionary humanism promoted by our socialist society.

In expressing full adherence to the party's domestic and foreign policies, the Second Congress of the Workers Councils assured the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the workers in industry, construction, transportation, trade and finance, regardless of their nationality, will work decisively and with revolutionary consistency for the exemplary fulfillment of the adopted decisions for the purpose of implementing the objectives of building a modern economy of high efficiency and productivity and of increasing the material and spiritual well-being of all the people.

The Congress expressed its conviction that our heroic working class, under the tested leadership of the party, will show the same high organizational and working capacity that it has exhibited countless times, ensuring the flowering of our socialist country, the prosperity of all our people and the carrying out of the decisive tasks of the 12th Congress so that during the years of the current five year plan Romania will go beyond the stage of a developing socialist nation and become a medium-developed socialist country.

8724
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YUGOSLAV-ROMANIAN SOCIOLOGY SEMINAR IN BELGRADE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Mar-Apr 81 pp 331-334

[Article by Honorina Cazacu of the Center for Sociological Research]

[Text] The first Yugoslav-Romanian seminar on sociology had as its topic of discussion social development and social changes. The Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the RSR was represented by a delegation made up of Professor Ion Dragan, Director of the Center for Sociological Research; Professor Dr Ion Iordachel, head of the Department of Sociology at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy; Dr Honorina Cazacu, senior scientific researcher from the Center for Sociological Research; and Dr Vasile Miftode, lecturer at the A. I. Cuza University in Iasi.

The seminar's organizing committee was headed by Professor Dr Ruza Petrovic, President of the Society for Sociology of the Socialist Republic of Serbia [SRS]. Other members of the society's leadership as well as representatives of the People's Socialist Union of the SRS also participated in the committee. The works of the seminar were received by Milan Milutinovic, the republic level secretary for science and education, and Academician Radomir Lukic, vice president of the SRS Academy of Sciences. They both described this scientific effort as proof of the multilateral relations between our two countries. Over one hundred sociologists from Belgrade and other cities and Yugoslav university centers, representing the principal institutions of sociological research and education, took part in the seminar.

The sociologists from the host country presented sixteen reports. They were the following: Miodrag Rankovic, "Marxist Sociology and the Modern Theory of Social Transformation and Evolution"; Miloslav Janicijevic, "The Development of Productive and Non-Productive Activities and Their Influence on the Transformations Resulting in the Economic and Social Structure of Yugoslavia"; Milorad Krneta, "Basic Methods of Measuring Social Development"; Silvano Bolcic, "Research on the Failure of The More Restricted Territorial Communities in The Interior of the SRS To Keep Pace With the Plan for Socio-Economic Development"; Petar Markovic, "Socio-Economic Transformations In The Yugoslav Village"; Laki Laszlo, "The Process of Disagregation and Its Social Consequences"; Mladen Stojanov, "An Experiment In Urbanization and Changes In The Village"; Miroslav Djordjevic, "Radio and Television as Means of Integrating The Rural and Urban"; Milana Damnjanovic, "An Aspect of the Transformation of Rural Culture and Its Ecological Implications"; Andjelka Milic, "Some Aspects of the Socialization of Family Functions in the Yugoslav Self-Management

In his report Miloslav Janicijevic stated that the present socialist societies have various forms in which a type or model of new society is shown. Although various models of socialism exist they have a sum of common traits. The basic common fact that property and labor are united "in the same hands" constitutes, in reality, the principal premise of socialism as a model of human organization. Although in socialism the totality of forms of production and distribution are also embodied in the economic sub-system, the key to complete understanding of socialist society in its entirety is found in the relationships between the economic and the political. All the essential social relationships are concentrated in the political sub-system. This presumes the task of choosing the objectives of development and the control of their practical achievement. It also becomes the principal means of maintaining the permanent dynamics between the two broad segments of society: productive and non-productive labor. These two notions are defined as follows. Productive labor, that is, production, distribution and exchange of material goods [the economic subsystem]; non-productive labor, including education, culture, science and various forms of control of social power. In light of these two notions, viewed as being the two fundamental areas in which man affirms himself as a creative being, M. Janicijevic presents the practical solutions concerning the relationship between the two categories of labor in Yugoslav society. Using numerous data he demonstrates the influence of the relationships between the two categories on the transformations in the economic and social structure of Yugoslavia and criticizes certain disfunctionalities. The author takes a critical stand on the idea of some communists and sociologists in the socialist countries which revises the Thesis of Marx regarding the relationships between productive and non-productive labor.

The reports' theoretical approaches to the problems of social development were also accompanied by analysis of certain basic methods of measuring development. In this sense, the report of Milovan Krneta succeeded in measuring the epistemological value and the limits of the functions method, correspondence method, factorial analysis, discriminator analysis, and the method of modeling. He also estimated the particular value of the modeling method as determined by the manner of very complex treatment of social phenomena measurement.

The principal thesis of Silvano Balcic's report was the consideration of social development on the national level as an "asymmetric" process. In other words, the changes that result in one dimension of the degree of development are not accompanied necessarily and equally by changes in other dimensions. An increase in the level of economic development is not balanced with identifcal effects in all dimensions of the standard of living. Through the intermediary of general and specific indicators the author made a detailed analysis of the levels of development of the various regions of the SRS. This established the existence of insufficiently developed zones and within them of smaller territorial communities with varying levels of development. S. Balcic estimates that underdevelopment is not a structural characteristic, however, and it can, therefore, be overcome by the socialist state. On the basis of a complex set of indicators, analysis of the network of cities in both the old and current socio-economic structures of Serbia has caused Miroslav Zivkovic to estimate that two negative trends are to be expected. These tendencies are the slowing of growth in the number of cities of average size and the over-urbanization in certain centers. The author debated certain questions

Society"; Marija Biaci, "Changes in the Contemporary Urban Family with Particular Reference to the Conflict Between the Roles of Woman Worker and Mother"; Ugljesa Zvekic, "The Vertical Occupational Mobility of the Inter-Generation"; Ksenija Savin, "The Social Prestige of the Trades in Yugoslavia"; Sergej Flere, "The Social Conditioning of the Atheization Process in Voivodina"; Kovacs Zvekic, "Interdependence of Needs, Consumption and Way of Life."

A characteristic theme that arose from the Yugoslav colleagues' reports was the "creative searchings" in the direction of a Marxist sociological theory of social development and transformations. In this context, one's own country's experience as well as that of other countries is needed in building a socialist society. Both the dialogue and the positive contributions made by the "Marxist schools of thought," as well as by certain non-Marxist schools, constitute basic premises in our own country's effort to conceptualize the theory of social transformation and evolution. Overall, the reports presented were characterized by a "multilateral sociological knowledge" of the principal areas of change in Yugoslav society and their social implications. The manner of transformational development was arrived at through scientific analysis for the field research data and the general and specific indicators of the transformations. This, as well as an open critique of disfunctions discovered by analysis and out of concern to find solutions with a view toward their elimination, was evidenced in the approaches presented in the reports. By their content the reports showed the intensive scientific activity undertaken by Yugoslav sociologists both in the research institutes and in university sociological education. The concern for the issues of social changes and the attempts to formulate a theory of social development have been intensified due to the radical transformations through which the socialist as well as a number of "third world" countries are passing. Both older and newer theories are found in contemporary sociology. Some theories try to promote a unique, single model while denying the multitude of paths of development, while others take into consideration this multitude but still remain with formulations that are too general. In addressing the theories of modernization and multilateral development, Miodrag Rankovic argued for the need to systemize Marxist sociological theory and social transformation and evolution. He formulated several problems in this direction. One premise of this elaboration is the establishment of the basic sociological category of Marxist theory concerning social transformation and evolution. In his opinion, the category of "social action" can fulfill this role as it satisfied the criterion of having the broadest analytical, explanatory content and simultaneously transcedes the structural, the static. From this point of departure M. Mankovic proposed a notional-analytical arrangement that includes such aspects as: social movement, social structure [stages, limiting states], social dynamics, social transformation ["continuous," i.e., growth, los ; "discontinuous," i.e., innovation, creation, achievement], social development [in the progressive and regressive senses], social evolution, social revolution and social involution. He provided details on part of them and their relationships. In the question of categorization of total society the author demonstrates the necessity of elaborating a "multilateral" scheme of development. The scheme takes into consideration ideas from the works of Lenin and Plekhanov, the problem of synchrony and diachrony of contemporary French structuralism, the development of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, the issue of "Euro-Communism" and other points. This is a scheme to correspond to the diverse specific situations in the evolution from the old socioeconomic order to the new socialist one.

such as the lower, upper and rational limits of cities and the possibility of constructing the socialist-type city. Such cities would have to fulfill a series of conditions including the elimination of all forms of segregation, especially residential, and zoning; the overcoming of the center-periphery contradiction; the humanization of the city center; the predominance of public over private transportation and of moderate collective living [i.e., buildings with a moderate number of floors] over single standing living quarters. A number of reports analyzed the changes brought about by the evolution of the Yugoslav village, of occupations, the processes of social mobility, atheization of the population, as well as other changes. From the collection of reports presented by the Yogoslav sociologists arose a complex series of issues similar to a degree with those that demand the attention of sociologstis in our country in addition to some new aspects. A review of them provides a good opportunity for theoretical-methodological reflection on the basis of the experience of an active collection of sociologists and also contributes to the broadening of sociological knowledge.

The Romanian participants in the seminar presented the following reports: "Social Research and the Policy of Socio-Economic Development in Romania" by Prof Dr Ion Dragan; "The Analysis of Development Through Social Indicators" by Prof Dr Ion Iordachel; "The Dynamics of Social Structure in the Socialist Republic of Romania [Systems and Concepts]" by Dr Honorina Cazacu' "Socio-Economic Development by Region: The Bahlui--Iasi Zone" by Lecturer Vasile Miftode.

The attention of the Yugoslav colleagues was particularly drawn to the Romanian contributions regarding the problematics of social development as they pertained to specific issues. These issues included the satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the working people, the concept of a multilaterally developed socialist society, the processes of social homogenization, the relationship between development, advanced technology and the values of socialism, the system of labor self-administration and self-management as applied in Romania, the system of education and training of the labor force, as well as aspects of sociology's contribution to the solution of social problems and the relationship between social research and determining factors.

The discussions at the seminar were lively and determined both by the major issues in question and by the scientific spirit that animated the participants. The manner in which the seminar was organized also helped promote the enthusiastic response. The sincere spirit, the colleagiality, and the polemical approach taken when presenting the varying viewpoints characterized the majority of discussions.

As part of the program the delegations were received by and had conversations with various noted persons. They included Milan Dragovic, vice president of the SRS; Professor Slobodan Unkovic, pro-rector of the University of Belgrade and president of the Committee on International University Relations; and Mihailo Popovic, dean of the Department of Philosophy and professor in the Section for Sociology at the University of Belgrade. A visit was made to the university's Institute of Sociology which provided the opportunity for an exhange of information concerning the organization and structure of university education in our two countries and especially the methods of training sociologists. It is worth nothing that the University of Belgrade as well as other Yugoslav universities have a 4-year sociology program and

also a post-graduate course of 2 years. Another visit was paid to the Institute of Social Research [Sociology Section] in Belgrade. It should be mentioned that all the social and sociological research institutes and centers in Yugoslavia are autonomous. They operate on the basis of contracts with economic, social, political and cultural organizations.

The program also included a visit to the autonomous province of Voivodina and cities of Pancevo and Novo Selo. At the residence of the Libertatea [Romanian: "Freedom"] Society in Pancevo the delegation met with Sava Decermic, president of Skupscina of the City of Pancevo, the capital of Voivodina province. They also met with Tudor Ghilezan, director of the Libertatea Publishing House which is responsible for publications in the Romanian language. They also met with the house editors, including the chief editor Aurel Gavrilov, who have worked on the Romanian language newspapers and magazines published here. The periodicals include LIBERTATEA [Freedom], LUMINA [Light], TRIBUNA TINERETULUI [Tribune for Youth] and BUCURIA COPIILOR [Childrens Happiness].

As part of the discussions conducted at the office of the Review of Sociology of the SRS agreement was reached and arrangements made for the complete publication of the Romanian and Yugoslav reports presented at the seminar as well as the discussions that took place on this occasion in a special issue of that magazine. Additionally, the management of Romanian magazine VIITORUL SOCIAL [Social Future] made its own plans made plans to publish the principal reports presented by the Yugoslav sociologists. Arrangements were also made for exchanges of sociological publications on a permanent basis; exchanges of articles between the sociological journals, and publication, in a spirit of reciprocity, of reviews of the principal works of sociology as they appear in both countries.

The Yugoslav-Romanian seminar on sociology and its related activities demonstrated the fact that the Society of Sociology of the SRS is indeed a very active organization. Its guidance committee, headed by Prof Dr Ruza Petrovic, has a large capacity for organizing and mobilizing sociological resources and it enjoys great prestige. The collaboration with this society has laid the foundation for close relations with the sociologists from this neighboring and friendly country. In addition to a better reciprocal acquaintanceship along scientific lines this cooperative work contributes to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship that join our two countries.

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BRIEFS

COPPER THEFT AT BAR--Recently about 200 tons of copper, containing some gold and valued at 20 million dinars, was stolen from the Port of Bar. This is one of the largest thefts in this part of the coast, but there is an official silence in Bar, although this has been an open secret for some time. The reason is that the results of the investigation are in the hands of the district public prosecutor in Titograd. But we have heard unofficially that six persons are in custody, two of whom were port employees, while the others were from Paracin, Sremska Mitrovica, and other cities. The copper was part of a 1,500-ton shipment which arrived from Chile in March 1980 and was earmarked for buyers throughout Europe. The network [involved in the theft] operated successfully until recently when it was noticed that the amount of copper in the port warehouse was declining from day to day. It appears that it was being used privately...and railroad cars were used to ship it. [Excerpt] [Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 81 p 20]

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No. 1912

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No. 1912

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

New Law on Office of Prosecutor Published
(GAZETA ZYRTARE, Mar 81) 1

Need for Agitation-Propaganda Work Stressed
(Editorial; ZERI I POPULLIT, 5 Jul 81) 7

Briefs
Lleshi Attends Peta Commemoration 10

BULGARIA

Briefs
Zhivkov on Amnesty Bill 11
Complaints Against PZPR 11
SRV Anniversary 11
Condolences to Khomeyni 12
Multilateral Agreements 12

ROMANIA

Emigre Publication Reports on Calciu Case
(BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL, 28 Jul 81) 13

Festive Meeting Marks Mongolian Anniversary
(AGERPRES, 10 Jul 81) 15

Briefs
Radulescu Receives Finnish Communists 16
Education Meeting Concludes 16
Comsa Receives Canadian Communists 16

YUGOSLAVIA

Professor Muhic Analyzes Unrest in Kosovo
(Fuad Muhic; SVIJET, 22 Jun 81) 17

Indiscipline Noted in Titograd Military District
(Tihomir Vasiljevic; BORBA, 9 Jun 81) 23

Scholar Notes Lack of Freedom in Albania
(Halit Trnavci Interview; POLITIKA, 11 Jun 81) 24

Macedonian LC Handling of Albanian Problem Explained
(Boro Denkov Interview; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 27 Jun 81) 26

Briefs
School Director Out 33
Albanian Nationalism Near Kumanovo 33
Podujevo Expulsions 33
Reference to Island Prison 33

NEW LAW ON OFFICE OF PROSECUTOR PUBLISHED

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 2, Mar 81 pp 28-34

[Law on the Office of the Prosecutor of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania]

[Text] On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolves:

General Principles

Article 1

The office of the prosecutor is an organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the control of the exact and uniform implementation of the laws which express the will of the working class and the other working masses.

Article 2

In all its activity the office of the prosecutor is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers Party; it is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and it acts on the basis of the Constitution and of the laws of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Article 3

In the execution of its duties, the office of the prosecutor resolutely adheres to the principle of the development of the class struggle in the implementation of the laws. It carries on an unceasing struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

In monitoring the implementation of the laws the office of the prosecutor is guded by the requirement that no guilty person escape punishment and that no innocent person be charged with a crime unlawfully and without basis.

Article 4

In its activity, the office of the prosecutor implements the line of the masses, relies upon this line, gives the masses an accounting of the execution of its duties, and hears testimony, criticism, and recommendations from the masses.

Article 5

The office of the prosecutor is an organ of the People's Assembly. The attorney general is responsible to the People's Assembly and gives the People's Assembly an accounting of his work. In between sessions, he reports to the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The office of the prosecutor is independent of local organs of government and state administration. It informs representative organs of the implementation of the laws and together with these organs, it coordinates measures to combat violations of laws.

The Organization of the Office of the Prosecutor

Article 6

The office of the prosecutor is organized and operates on the basis of the principle of single direction. The attorney general heads the office of the prosecutor. He directs the entire activity of the office of the prosecutor. The attorney general executes his duties directly or by means of the district prosecutors, with the exception of the duties which, by law, are assigned only to the attorney general.

The attorney general gives orders and directives which are obligatory for the district prosecutors.

The highest prosecutor exercises all the rights of the lowest prosecutor; he suspends and abrogates every irregular and illegal act and action.

The orders and directives of the highest prosecutor are obligatory for the lower prosecutor.

Article 7

The office of the district prosecutor carries out its duties and exercises its rights in a territorial administrative unit including military units and sectors, and with the permission of the attorney general, outside its administrative unit also.

Article 8

The attorney general and his deputies are appointed and released by the People's Assembly. Between the sessions of the People's Assembly, the assistant attornies general are appointed or released by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The district prosecutor is appointed and released by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The other prosecutors are appointed and released by the attorney general.

Article 9

In the execution of its duties, the office of the prosecutor is assisted by the peoples prosecutors who are selected from among the people, by open vote, in every city district, village, military unit, institution and enterprise.

Article 10

In its activity of reducing, preventing and detecting violations of the law the office of the prosecutor works with the state organs and the economic and social organizations.

The Duties and Rights of the Office of the Prosecutor

Article 11

In order to ensure the exact and uniform implementation of the laws in the entire territory of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the office of the prosecutor has the obligation of:

--Monitoring the exact and uniform implementation of laws and other juridical acts by ministries, other central and local organs, by the courts, the investigative organs, the enterprises, the economic and social organizations, workers and citizens, and making sure that the acts issued by these organs are in accordance with the Constitution and with the laws of the People's Assembly, the decrees and resolutions of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the orders, decisions and instructions of the Council of Ministers;

--Detecting violations of the law, determining their causes and seeking to make the guilty parties responsible before the law, and to ensure that measures are taken for the execution of the law violated as well as measures of a preventive nature.

In regard to important matters which come to light during the inspection process, according to the case, the prosecutor reveals the findings of the inspection to the collectives of workers and the masses.

Article 12

The office of the prosecutor has the obligation to become involved in the class and revolutionary education of the workers so that they will have a desire to implement the laws and make them known to the working masses.

Article 13

The prosecutor is obliged to receive every announcement of the state organs, enterprises, institutions, economic and social organizations and every complaint and request of citizens and, as needs be, to review and verify their contents, notifying the person concerned in regard to their solution. The prosecutor is obliged to receive every disclosure on the commission of a crime and he passes it on to the appropriate organ.

Article 14

The office of the prosecutor has the obligation to make studies and scientific generalizations on the implementation of the laws, in order to raise the level of its work and to influence the improvement of the activity of the state organs, the economic and social organizations, for the knowledge and exact and uniform implementation of the laws.

Article 15

The attorney general presents to the People's Assembly and the Presidium of the People's Assembly cases in which laws and decrees are not in accordance with the Constitution and he brings before the Council of Ministers cases in which its resolutions and orders are not in accordance with the laws, or when they are not exact, or when they do not correspond to new conditions.

Article 16

The prosecutor has the right to study and to bring up for review by the investigative organ or by the court every juridical act, all material which he needs in regard to the law which he is monitoring and every penal and civil case, on the basis of the provisions of the Code of Penal Procedure and of the Code of Civil Procedure.

The state organs, the institutions, the enterprises, the economic and social organizations, the investigative organs and the courts are obliged to respond to the requests of the prosecutor. Workers and citizens are obliged to give notices in writing or orally; when notice is given verbally the prosecutor can prepare a written account.

The prosecutor always has the right, in special cases, to enlist the help of specialists in order to execute his duties for the supervision of the implementation of the laws.

Article 17

The prosecutor has the right to be privy to all the material of the investigation at all times, and to be present during the investigative activities undertaken by the investigator.

The prosecutor approves the decisions for arrest and for house searches and other decisions stipulated in legal provisions.

The prosecutor exercises control over the implementation of the laws in the places where the persons detained, arrested or sentenced are held.

Article 18

The prosecutor has the right to take part in the judgement of every penal and civil case and to make requests. He has the obligation to expose penal actions, enemies and other evildoers and to exert an influence in educating citizens to be concerned about the implementation of the laws.

The prosecutor has the obligation to monitor the legality of the decisions of the courts and the implementation of the decisions on the basis of the Code of Penal Procedure and the Code of Civil Procedure.

Article 19

The prosecutor issues protests or makes presentations and demands in the case of an illegal act or any other violation of the law.

Article 20

A protest is an act by means of which the prosecutor requests the abrogation or modification of illegal decisions and other illegal acts of ministries and other central or local organs, of economic and social organizations, enterprises and institutions, and of investigative organs and courts.

The ministries and the other central and local organs, ecoromic and social organizations, enterprises, institutions and military units are obliged to examine the protest of the prosecutor within 15 days of its issuance. The failure to examine the protest within this period suspends the implementation of the act.

The regulations stipulated in the Code of Penal Procedure and in the Code of Civil Procedure in regard to the deadline for the examination of the protest against decisions of the investigator, of the judge or of the court, are implemented.

Article 21

The presentation is the act by means of which the prosecutor sets forth the violations of the laws, their causes, and the responsibility of the individuals and asks the responsible organs to take measures to make amends for the violation of the law.

The organs for which the presentation is intended are obliged to examine it within 30 days.

Article 22

A requisition is an act by means of which the prosecutor, when he discovers violations of the law on the part of workers or citizens, depending on the violation, requests that the responsible organ initiative a penal case and take disciplinary, administrative or material measures and other measures provided by law. The organs are required to examine the requisition of the prosecutor within 20 days.

The prosecutor has the right, in cases stipulated by the Code of Civil Procedure, to bring civil charges before the court when he believes that the protection of state and social interests and of the interests of the citizens requires such a thing.

Article 23

The prosecutor has the right to take part in meetings in which its protests, presentations or requisitions are examined. The organs must report on the measures which are taken.

Article 24

In particular, the people's prosecutor has the following rights and duties:

--He works so as to ensure that the working masses know the laws, he monitors their exact and uniform implementation and he intervenes to eliminate violations.

--He receives and helps to resolve complaints and questions of citizens dealing with violations of the laws.

--He participates, in accordance with the law, in the trials of the courts in the villages, cities and city districts; he monitors the legality and the implementation of the decisions of these courts; he lodges protests when permitted by the law.

--He prepares a written report on violations discovered and sends it to the appropriate organs.

Article 25

The internal organization of the office of the prosecutor is stipulated in regulations issued by the attorney general.

Article 26

Decree No 1790 of 28 December 1953, amended by Decree No 5322, of 30 June 1975, "On the Office of the Prosecutor of the People's Republic of Albania" is abrogated.

Article 27

This law goes into effect 15 days after its publication in GAZETA ZYRTARE.

Tirana, 27 March 1981

Law No 6298

Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania
Xhafer Spahiu

Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania
Haxhi Lleshi

CSO: 2100/100

NEED FOR AGITATION-PROPAGANDA WORK STRESSED

AU081251 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Jul 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us View the Tasks of the New 5-Year Period in Close Relation to Situations"]

[Text] At this moment, when we are discussing the draft directives for the new 5-year plan, 1981-85, a correct assessment of international political situations should further raise everyone's sense of responsibility in profoundly studying these draft directives, in discovering new reserves, in improving the plan's indicators and in daily fulfilling all tasks.

Our party has always followed developing situations carefully and vigilantly. It has profoundly analyzed foreign events and has defined a clear Marxist-Leninist position in connection with all international phenomena in accordance with the interests of our people and the world revolution. The party has clearly explained to all the people these situations and positions. All the correct, considered and principled analyses, assessments and positions of our party have always been fully supported by all the people, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the people's intelligentsia, the young people, women and all our working people. The work carried out with the masses in studying the party's materials, Comrade Enver's works and the major press articles on international events have raised the political and ideological awareness of the masses, have further strengthened their beliefs in the correctness of our party's Marxist-Leninist line and have increased their mobilization at work to meet every situation, to smash the encirclement and blockade and to fulfill the great tasks of building socialism and defending the country.

The aggressive and expansionist policy of the superpowers and of fascist and chauvinistic circles have generally exacerbated the international situation, as well as the situation in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. The freedom and independence of the peoples has been put in danger. Enraged by consecutive failures in their internal and external policies and eroded by unsurmountable difficulties, the Yugoslav revisionists, in agreement with Soviet social imperialism and all other enemies of our socialist country and of Marxism-Leninism, and following the tragic events in Kosovo caused by the Serbian chauvinists, have made numerous attacks against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and have indulged in slanders, falsifications and police-like fabrications.

This new situation induces us to further strengthen and raise the qualitative level of our propaganda and to intensify our political work in explaining the international situations and events around us. The party's documents and the press and radio-TV materials on international events are being followed with great interest by the masses. They should be widely commented upon in order to better clarify issues as they may arise. Special care is to be given to a differentiated organization of the political work carried out with the masses, particularly with young people, to better meet the requirements of various age groups of the population. Let us make as clear as possible to the masses the historical background of problems and of the consistent line pursued by our party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head throughout the past 40 years in building and defending socialism and in the struggle against modern revisionism of all hues and to defend our freedom, independence and Marxism-Leninism. A good and clear explanation of all problems will further increase the confidence and optimism of all our people in our strength, in the strength of our economy and defense, and in their own capabilities. It will also raise their vigilance and readiness to meet all situations and the mobilization of all our working people in fulfilling their tasks.

A major characteristic of our new 5-year plan also lies in the fact that it will be fulfilled in an exacerbated international situation arising from the profound economic and financial crisis that has gripped the entire world. The plan will also be fulfilled in struggle against the pressures exerted on us by this crisis, which constitutes an additional element to the fierce imperialist and revisionist blockade and encirclement. The enemies of our country and socialism are more enraged than ever because, being the only country successfully building and defeding true socialism, we are blazing our way through without halting. They are doing all they possibly can to hurt us, to hinder us and to create difficulties for us. In their propaganda, the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are prophesizing that we will be unable to fulfill our magnificent tasks relying entirely on our own efforts. But their dreams and wishes have never been and will never be fulfilled. Our entire economic development has advanced continually smashing the way through encirclements and blockades, through the pressures of external economic crises and through struggle against internal and external enemies and saboteurs. And we emerged victorious. The same will happen in the future. But the party teaches us that the new situations require a better and more profound understanding by the communists, the cadres and all working people, that they should follow events with great attention and that they should think about them and draw concrete conclusions concerning their own tasks, as well as those of their comrades and of the collective as a whole. These tasks must lead to increased production and productivity, the reduction of costs, higher quality, thrift, reduction of expenditures and imports, increased exports, the full utilization of machinery and equipment, the discovery of internal reserves, increased agricultural and livestock production and so forth. A correct understanding and evaluation of the situations must lead to stronger organization, control, management, coordination, cooperation, discipline and mutual account-rendering.

The work of the party organs and organizations and of all its instruments in explaining situations must be carried out in the way that the party has always instructed, that is, it must be systematically organized and planned, using all available means and in all possible forms. All communists and cadres, thousands of ardent activists and agitators in the mass organizations and all patriots must engage in the work of explaining the international situations and in concrete

political agitation. Every problem must be looked at from a political viewpoint and in close relations to situations. This must become a normal and daily practice in the method and style of work of all working people. The party organs and organizations and all its instruments have by now accumulated rich experience concerning the most effective ways and means of the educational perception, a highly developed class awareness and a great interest in what is happening around us and in the world. This is a great victory achieved by our party. Let us further develop this quality not only in order to further increase our political knowledge, but also to ensure that this knowledge may serve to define new tasks, to better meet all situations, to induce profound and stable beliefs in the correctness of the party's line and its positions and to make our people as aware as possible about the situations we are experiencing and the tasks arising therefrom. Revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization at work will spring more strongly from this awareness. Creative capacities in production, the spirit of sacrifice and selflessness and massive heroism will be further raised. Obstacles will be surmounted more quickly, difficulties will be overcome more easily and the objectives of this 5-year period will be transformed into reality. Our socialist country will thus become more prosperous and stronger and our people will progress as always in steel-like unity with the party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.
We will show once again in this jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the founding of our party the strength and vitality of our socialist order, the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the correctness of our party's line.

CSO: 2100/98

BRIEFS

LLESHI ATTENDS PEZA COMMEMORATION--The 40th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's meeting with the partisan guerrilla band of Peza was celebrated today in a village in Peza. Taking part in the meeting were veterans, exmembers of the partisan band of Peza, cooperativists, representatives of mass organizations, youths and others. "Also taking part were Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Myslim Peza, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Nesip Ibrahimi, chairman of the District People's Council Executive Committee; Xhelil Gjoni, secretary of the District AWP Committee; Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Union of Working Youth of Albania's Central Committee; and other comrades." The meeting was opened by Nezir Gorica, AWP Central Committee member and director of "Myslim Peza" agricultural cooperatives. Myslim Peza, excommander of the Peza guerrilla unit, spoke about his memories of this occasion. [Summary] [AU121932 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Jul 81]

CSO: 2100/98

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV ON AMNESTY BILL--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian carries on pages 1 and 2 the 1,300-word text of Todor Zhivkov's speech delivered at the 7 July Sofia session of the National Assembly in which he explains to the deputies the motives for submitting such a draft bill to the National Assembly for discussions. Zhivkov says that the reason for submitting this draft amnesty bill to parliament is connected with the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and "with the striving of Bulgaria and of the people's regime to again demonstrate their deep humanitarianism toward people who have violated the laws of our socialist society." He goes on to emphasize the stability of the people's regime and the legality of its social order. "However," he says, "our state, the organs of justice and the prosecutor's office will not allow the socialist system to be destroyed, the achievements of the working people encroached and their rights and privileges violated." After speaking about the country's reduced crime rate, he said that the aim of the draft amnesty bill is to "reeducate the violators and return them to society as adequate citizens." Zhivkov also dwells on the political significance of this draft bill by referring to those Bulgarian citizens who have illegally left Bulgaria and have failed to return home on time. He charges Western propaganda for influencing socialist country citizens to leave their fatherland. In conclusion, Zhivkov says that many Bulgarians abroad have already returned home and that the present amnesty draft bill presents an opportunity to those still abroad to assess their mistake and return to their families. [AU101814 Editorial Report]

COMPLAINTS AGAINST PZPR--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 9 July on page 6 carries a 450-word report on Andrzej Zielinski's article "Blind and Impudent" published by TRYBUNA LUDU on 8 July. The report does not comment on the article. It cites figures from Zielinski's article dealing with "unjustifiable complaints against PZPR members." [AU131320 Editorial Report]

SRV ANNIVERSARY--Hanoi VNA July 5--Bulgarian leaders on July 6 sent a message of congratulations to Vietnamese leaders on the fifth anniversary of the National Reunification Day and the founding of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The message was jointly signed by Todor Zhivkov, general-secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov [name as received], chairman of the Council of Ministers, and addressed to Le Duan, general-secretary of the VCP Central Committee, Truong Chinh, chairman of the Council of State and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The message highly praised the Vietnamese people's past struggle for

freedom, independence and territorial integrity which paved the way for the building of a unified socialist Vietnam. It highlighted the Vietnamese people's great achievements in their present socialist construction and national defence in spite of the tension created by the imperialists and Chinese expansionists. The message says: The Socialist Republic of Vietnam's foreign policy of peace has enhanced Vietnam's international prestige. Vietnam's fraternal solidarity with the Lao and Kampuchean peoples in implementing the policy of peace and cooperation with neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia has been vigorously supported by the Bulgarian people and the world people as a whole. Constructive proposals along the above-mentioned line were worked out at the recent Indochinese foreign ministers' conference. "Loyal to their proletarian internationalist obligations, the Bulgarian Communist Party and people will continue to support the Vietnamese people in their national defence and socialist construction," the message reaffirmed. It wished the Vietnamese people happiness and further achievements in their socialist construction. "May the unshakeable friendship between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Vietnam, between the Bulgarian and Vietnamese peoples constantly develop." [Text] [OW091645 Hanoi VNA in English 1554 GMT 9 Jul 81]

CONDOLENCES TO KHOMEYNI--Sofia, 1 Jul (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, sent to Mr Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a message of condolence in connection with the terrorist act which caused the tragic death of a big group of state and political figures and other Iranian citizens. Sincere condolences and deep sympathy are expressed to the families of the victims of this act. [Text] [AU012020 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 1 Jul 81]

MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS--Multilateral agreements among Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR and the Soviet Union on the development of sugar production in Cuba were signed in Sofia today. A multinational agreement among Cuba, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, the Soviet Union and the CSSR on cooperation in fulfilling the program for producing citrus fruits in Cuba was also signed. The documents were signed by the foreign trade ministers of the respective countries. [Text] [AU041734 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 81]

CSO: 2200/136

EMIGRE PUBLICATION REPORTS ON CALCIU CASE

Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 28 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "A Disgraceful Denigrating Telegram and False Accusations of the Soviet-Romanian Patriarchate Against the Martyr Priest Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa"]

[Excerpts] On 12 and 13 June there was a protest demonstration in Cologne organized by the "Association for Human Rights in Romania" of Frankfurt, for the reunication of families. The demonstration took place in front of the Romanian Embassy and on the main streets of the city. On 1 July the above-mentioned committee received from the patriarchate in Bucharest a telegram, in German, referring to the demonstration, organized by Amnesty International, to be held in Cologne on 4 July. The Red patriarchate was tricked by the addressee into sending the aforementioned telegram which reveals the authors of this shameful text, signed in the name of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the chairman of the commission for foreign relations, Metropolitan Nicolae of the Banat, and the secretary for the same area, none other than Bishop Antonie of Buzau. Here are the principal passages of this shameful telegram which no priest with any fear of God would have signed:

"With astonishment and deep regret we have learned that recently some newspapers and radio broadcasts in the FRG have been disseminating untruths about the Romanian Orthodox Church and its relations with the state, untruths which have saddened and angered the clergy and the faithful of our church. In addition, we have discovered, with consternation, that the organization of demonstrations in support of "the former priest Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa is scheduled for 4 July as a protest against so-called 'religious persecutions' in Romania."

Then the telegram speaks about the two theological schools and the six seminaries in which 3,500 future Orthodox clergymen are being trained, stating that an active religious life is being carried on in the monasteries, that 10 religious reviews are being published; that 100,000 bibles are being printed, that there is no lack of young priests, that the church has good relations with the Evangelical and Catholic churches throughout the world, and that foreign visitors have only words of praise for church life in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The telegram repeats the accusations of the Securitate against Calciu, namely, that at the age of 6 he joined the fascist "Iron Guard" organization and then, at the age of 17, he "was active in a subversive fascist group which aimed at the

overthrowal of the new political regime in the country (the one installed by Vishinsky on 6 March 1945) and that in 1949 he was sentenced to jail for his terrorist actions" without stating the different ages of Calciu in this "terrorist" honor roll.

The telegram continues: "After he was released from jail, the new regime in our country gave him the opportunity to take courses in the faculty of philology and to teach in a school in Bucharest. For unknown reasons he took courses in the Theological Institute in Bucharest. When he completed these courses, at the age of 48, he was ordained a priest since our church did not know about his earlier political activity. As a professor of foreign languages in the Theological Seminary, he encouraged the pupils to oppose higher authorities of the school and church and tried to instill in them nationalistic and neo-fascist ideas. After he received numerous warnings from the professorial council he was removed from his teaching position in May 1978 and the church authorities offered him a number of positions as a priest in Bucharest. However, since Gh. Calciu was able to make a living translating scientific and atheistic literature, he refused these positions and became active as 'The Great Defender of Religious Freedom and Human Rights'."

Later on the telegram says: "Keeping in mind our great responsibility to God and man not to allow in our ranks any manifestation which would conflict with the spirit of our belief and tradition and which would damage the relations of our church with the faithful and with the state, we believe that the subversion undertaken by Calciu has turned against him and that he has excluded himself from our ranks, both as a priest and as a citizen, as a result of his political activity. As you see, he was not arrested because he exercised his religious duties but because of his neo-fascist political activity."

This telegram deserves only one comment: it does not say that Calciu served a sentence of 10 years but it stresses that he was arrested for political activity as a neo-fascist, without giving any proof of this and not mentioning at all the 10 sermons which he gave to the faithful from the steps of the Radu Voda Church or his protest against the destruction of the Ene Church.

CSO: 2700/350

FESTIVE MEETING MARKS MONGOLIAN ANNIVERSARY

AU101230 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1100 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--A festive meeting was organized in Bucharest on 9 July by the municipal party committee on the 60th anniversary of the victorious Mongolian People's Revolution.

Participating were Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Alexandru Margaritescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, Stan Soare, deputy head of section at the CC of the RCP, Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and many working people from Bucharest enterprises.

Constantin Manolescu, chairman of the Romanian-Mongolian Friendship Association, spoke about the historic significance of the event 60 years ago. He also referred to the good relations existing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, between the two peoples and countries. The speaker underlined the importance the meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal had for the amplification of these relations on multiple planes.

In his speech, Mongolia's ambassador in Bucharest, Bamdariyn Dugersuren, highlighted the Mongolian people's success in developing industry and agriculture as well as in the sociocultural domain. He referred to the good relations existing between the two peoples, pointing to the effective support Romania gave to his country for the building by the Romanian experts of economic and social units in the Mongolian People's Republic.

CSO: 2020/59

BRIEFS

RADULESCU RECEIVES FINNISH COMMUNISTS--Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ilie Radulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received on 10 July Eino Leino, member of the secretariat of the CC of the Communist Party of Finland, and Ismo Kuiviala, first secretary of the Helsinki Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Finland, who paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. During the talk, they exchanged views on the current targets and preoccupations of the RCP and CPF, and both parties expressed the wish to develop and deepen further on the good relations between the two parties, in the interests of the Romanian and Finnish peoples, of the cause of peace, security, national independence, social progress and international collaboration. Aspects of the current international life were also discussed. [Text] [AU101822 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 10 Jul 81]

EDUCATION MEETING CONCLUDES--Bucharest, 3 Jul (AGERPRES)--On 3 July proceedings concluded in Bucharest of the 14th conference of deputy ministers of speciality higher and medium education of CEMA member socialist countries, dedicated to problems posed by the assistance granted to developing countries in the field of national-cadre training. The conference occasioned a wide exchange of experience on the problems concerning the admission to studies and schooling by CEMA member countries of youth from developing countries, as well as to sending experts and didactic staff to those countries in view of supporting them in the cadre-training process. While in Romania the participant delegations visited education units, social and economic objectives and called on the Ministry of Education and Instruction. The conference proceeded in an atmosphere of collaboration, mutual esteem and understanding. [Text] [AU031847 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Jul 81]

COMAN RECEIVES CANADIAN COMMUNISTS--Bucharest, 10 Jul (AGERPRESO--Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met on 10 July Samuel Walsh and Janette Walsh, members of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Canada, holidaying in Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP. Information was exchanged on the current concerns of the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Canada, the joint wish being expressed to further develop the good relations between the two countries, on the basis of mutual esteem and respect, in the interests of the Romanian and Canadian peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of international cooperation and collaboration. The interview, which passed in a warm, comradely atmosphere, occasioned an exchange of cordial greetings between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada. [Text] [AU101910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 10 Jul 81]

CSO: 2020/59

PROFESSOR MUHIC ANALYZES UNREST IN KOSOVO

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic: "The Dead-End Streets of History"]

[Text] Among the factors whose internal interrelations brought about certain of the most recent events in our society, those which might be referred to as factors within the party deserve particular attention of researchers. On this occation we would dwell solely on those of them which can be directly or indirectly related to views concerning the role of the LCY in building socialist self-management. And while it would not be correct to say that the confusion on this question which at times can be traced back several years, can be classified as one of the principal causes of those events, its influence still must not be neglected to the extent that one does not speak about it at all (at times it may even be deliberately covered up). From this standpoint, and with full responsibility for what shall be said, we need to say that our party theory has often in the past been subject to an impermissible experimentation whose harmfulness, by no means accidentally, was capable of being manifested precisely in those events in Kosovo.

If we take as our point of departure the certain logic, distorted though it may be, of that experimentation, it will not be difficult for us to immediately reconstruct the goal which was being aimed at. The advocates of certain viewpoints did not even wait for our society to reconcile itself to the fact that Tito is no longer living among us, but hastened, with a zeal which has caused surprise on more than one occasion, to question not only democratic centralism as a historically tested principle of the organization of our party, but also to raise the issue of the very survival of the LCY as a revolutionary party. We are not referring here to the themes of the "rightwing" and "leftwing" alternatives we have already written about, but to open attempts to abuse the space offered by various newspapers and magazines and also the discussions conducted in them for typical ideological contraband. What else is one to think, for example, about the following passage, which proclaimed itself to be a "contribution" to the discussions in advance of the 12th LCY Congress: "However, in examining these issues we should put the question of the withering away of the party in theoretical terms. At present we do not have a scientific theory of that kind. We are in the habit of talking about the withering away of the state; according to some people, the political monopoly (the party) would in that process also

wither away to the same degree and at the same rate, on a parallel line. We should bear in mind in this connection that the constitution has set forth the vanguard, ideological and political role of the League of Communists and has defined some of the direct influences on the basic positions of the social system (elements of the one-party system). The second most important precondition for debating the specific content of the LC [League of Communists] is verification of the assertion that it is not possible for one system of relations to prevail in society while another system of relations prevails in the LC. Since we have a self-management system of relations in society, relations of that kind should be stimulated and built within the League of Communists itself."*

In the light of the most recent events we have experienced, a thesis like this obviously moves on the fringe of political good sense. Unfortunately, it was uttered less than 4 months ago. But regardless of that, we would not pay attention to it if each of us had not been inevitably faced with the question--What would come of our community if a reactionary orientation were to come about that was so frivolous, irresponsible or plain crazy as to adopt as its political program in our historical space and time today the platform of the withering away of the party? Certainly, the practical patterns of behavior in the spirit of this thesis, of which there are quite a few in our everyday life, are more interesting than the thesis itself, which in the political theory of Marxism (insofar as it is mentioned at all) is fixed only as a strategic goal in the lengthy process of the historical emancipation of the working class, and therefore due critical attention should be paid to both aspects.

Party federalism was a roundabout way of realizing these conceptions about the withering away of the party. This platform, as an alternative to democratic centralism, has already been discussed in one of the recent issues of SVIJET. As for what was stated at that time in criticism of that "alternative," we would add that the intentions of the criticism were confirmed in all respects. That is, the analyses made so far have shown that the inroads of behavior and mentality proper to party federalism within one of the provincial leagues was extremely important as a factor in the crisis. All the shortcomings of a platform which in various ways wanted also to be legally present in the debates in advance of the 12th LCY Congress, the first without Tito, but not without his inspiration, which was considerably jeopardized by raising the issue of democratic centralism, have been manifested in practice.

In a sense the pattern of certain tendencies in our party life from the early seventies recurred in Kosovo, though, it seems, with a strengthened internal intensity. The party-federalism mentality once again gradually led to the creation of a set of ideological premises concerning the self-sufficiency of the provincial league and its actual independence of the LCY as a whole, or, at best, of a loose confederal linkage established mainly with federal party forums. Ideological premises of this kind quickly grew to become a case of hysteria in which all criticism, even the most well-intentioned, began to be seen

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* Nebojsa Djelovic: "Self-Management Relations in the LC," NIN, 22 March 1981. The author, who incidentally is no one we know, took advantage of the occasion of a broad discussion which NIN presented in an interesting way over several issues to present a view which immediately aroused the reaction of the readers themselves.

as "intervention in internal affairs." All the psychological preconditions were created for this criticism, if it came from neighboring national communities, to be proclaimed nationalistic, and if it came from the other republics--to be proclaimed unitaristic and paternalistic. Only in this way is it possible to understand that a part of the provincial leadership, which fell prey to this hysteria or was responsible for its going still deeper, neglected even Tito's and Kardelj's warnings about indications of counterrevolution.

This hysteria--which quickly began to turn into an allergic condition and neurotic behavior toward everything that could not be seen as "one's own" in the narrow nationalistic sense--developed in an atmosphere in which the very term "sovereignty" was gradually taken to the limits of political vulgarization and nonsense. Defined under the 1974 Constitution as a symbol of the other original and inalienable rights of our republics and provinces, the forces favoring disintegration quickly extended this term to three areas--the economy, party life and the system of political values--in which it has no place from the programmatic standpoint, nor from the standpoint of practical politics, nor ultimately from the standpoint of history. Economic sovereignty existed only as another expression for the closing off of a market (when it fitted within the framework of particularized interests) and for accusation of others for the same behavior (when this cut against those same interests). Party sovereignty--frequently conceived in an absolutized sense--was a tendency of individuals and groups with leaderistic ambitions, who liked the image of the LCY as a "party with a balance of power." This expression was meant to signify a situation in which the republic and provincial centers have a mutually equalized position and at the same time a "guaranteed" distance from one another with respect to nonintervention in internal affairs. At the same time this position led to an actual challenging of the right of the majority in the LCY to examine the true state of affairs in the party and thereby to a challenging of the basic principle of democratic centralism. The purpose was to make the power of federal forums of the LCY only symbolic if it exceeded the framework of the party federalism so conceived. As we look back today, it is increasingly obvious that these leaderistic ambitions were much better suited by the conception of republic and provincial party sovereignty as a screen behind which statism would become stronger and at the same time the power of those wielding it in "their own house," than they were by the development of self-management as an integrated Yugoslav process or by party cohesiveness in the spirit of revolutionary traditions. The events in Kosovo, insofar as the mentality and actions of a portion of the leadership are concerned, were a faithful reflection of these tendencies. A "republic" actually would be created by the achievement of statehood, by the completion of party sovereignty and by the privileged personnel treatment of one nationality, but it would be built on those statist, unitaristic (from the standpoint of the non-Albanian population) and nationalistic foundations against which President Tito first rose up in 1966 in order to dissolve the foundations of the bureaucratic domination that had prevailed until that time, when they were aimed against the historical integrity of the Albanians. There isn't the least necessity to guess about the fact that the new "republic" would in the very near future head not only toward a confederative relationship, but indeed to one of secessionism. This is plainly indicated by the documents of illegal groups whose activity had been going on for quite a long time while many competent forums and especially individuals had their heads buried in the political

sand. We will put a frank question--Is there really an insurmountable difference between the programs of those groups (indoctrination of the Kosovo population with a nationalistic system of values, turning the province into a republic and then even into a sovereign state with the prospect of secession, and hasty breaking off of all relations with the Yugoslav community, unqualified orientation toward Albania, creation of a mononational territory, etc.) and the practical behavior of a portion of the leadership at all levels in the province? The question is all the more to the point in that our revolution found itself in a situation in which because of the threat to its achievements it could debate only the objective consequence of an action that was long prepared, but could not debate whether someone "wanted them" or they came about as the result of someone's "laxity." Which brings us back once again to the internal problems of the party.

Kosovo is not a republic as that term is defined in constitutional law, but a part of its leadership did everything to behave in a federalistic way in party life. Like the "leaders" of the "mass movement" in the past, it seems that they were seeking new "subjects" in forces other than the working class, but all that they managed to bring to life was the rightwing ideology of "blood and soil." Liberalism toward those who embodied this ideology found fertile ground in describing all external criticism as "intervention in internal affairs." From the moment when premises of this kind were created, nothing thereafter was regarded as authentic except what could be derived from the mythologized "ancient past" of national existence. The irrationality of the nationalistic and even racial resentment that we are not Slavs overflowed to become the dominant content of consciousness and its psychopathic political obsession, which became increasingly intense as it became ever more firmly convinced that the vacillation of the leadership toward its intentions had all the prospects for being the overture to retreat of the entire LCY, leaving the stage clear for the advance of new forces. That was a moment which demonstrated that in moments of crisis opportunism and vacillation become equal in their ultimate effect to conscious assent to the consequences, and that in this sense the difference between "resignations" and "dismissals" is more than just a matter of terminology.

Within the limits of what we have learned so far, it is difficult to escape the impression that the political act which took place in Kosovo gathered into itself the features of almost all the oppositionist endeavors we have come to be familiar with, so that its description in political terms cannot be a simple one. It would seem that our "radical critics" emanating from the New Left have the greatest reason to be content from the methodological standpoint. Their anarchoid catchphrases about "self-determination," "unsparing criticism of everything that exists," of a "new historical coalition of revolutionary students, intellectuals and workers," along with the unambiguous demand for dissolving or displacing the LCY, could hardly have encountered a fuller attempt at realization. We do not assert that every demonstrator had read the writings of some of our "radicals," but the identical nature of the negative dispositions was equally obvious, indicating once again, as Gyorgy Lukacs once wrote, that "no view of the world is innocent."

A nationalistic rebellion is always rightwing by its very nature, but it is never precluded that it could break out under slogans of the "nonparty left." We are reminded once again of the "mass movement": It also came forth with socialist demands, didn't it, and referred precisely to Marx on many essential points? The same was the case with liberalism. The pattern has now repeated itself in Kosovo: One nationalism has appeared simultaneously as both separate and unitaristic. The separate tendencies were displayed toward the Yugoslav community, and the unitaristic toward the members of other ethnic communities, of whom it can be said without any sort of equivocation that they were reduced to second-class citizens (after the Albanian model) at the moment when the desired statehood was officially instituted. The parallels are once again inescapable: In the discussions about the constitutional amendments at the outset of the seventies the Croatian nationalists also insisted on a definition of their republic as primarily the state of the Croatian people, which immediately resulted in an appeal by Serbian nationalists to "rally around" the nucleus from which they sprang, and the demand for creation of an autonomous province in Croatia. In that confused atmosphere of a raging rightwing utopia it did not take long for the voice of Moslem nationalism to be heard and to seek national institutions for the purpose of "independent defense" against euphoric assaults from other communities. When Albanian nationalism, then, comes forth with demands for altogether the same claims, its spokesmen are striving only to turn our history back once again into some dead-end street, though they appear not to be aware that like their predecessors they are only uttering the verdict of their own ruin. The "Marxism" which they advocate is a miserable remnant of the Stalinist mentality which we dealt with long ago in our historic time. This judgment applies equally to all those rightwing and anarchoid admixtures of foreign matter which it attempts to disguise by ultraleftist dogmatic phrases and sclerotized appeals to the classics of Marxism and Leninism.

The events in Kosovo confronted the LCY with a truth which must become the motivation of a party campaign in the preparations for the 12th congress: It was the very last moment to put an end to the experiment whose ultimate goal was to question democratic centralism so that it might quickly be replaced by some other principle. All the alternatives offered ("democratic unity of action," party federalism, constitutional withering away of the LCY and the like) have been exposed by experience itself as ideological reflexes of liberalism of a kind that has never suited the historical existence of the LCY and our revolution in general. If our present-day Marxist theory has never at any point denied the significant achievements of bourgeois democracy, which it achieved in the spirit of liberal political philosophy and in the context of party pluralism, this in no case signified opening up an uncontrolled opportunity for uncritical acceptance and the taking over of a model of behavior "lock, stock and barrel" which in our context produces essentially different results than those in the West. It is therefore worth emphasizing for the umpteenth time that the fight against anarcholiberalistic, rightwing and ultraleftwing platforms in Yugoslavia does not at the same time signify a restraint on democracy, but a struggle either against various anachronisms or against "innovations" of a kind that their penchant for meretricious phraseology usually makes them irresponsible toward themselves and toward society itself. Those who assert the opposite and confuse the terms "strong party" and "party of power" and identify strengthening the integrative force of the LCY with its being transformed into a

"hard-line party" are nothing other than conscious opponents of socialist self-management or confused critics who are trying to use high-flown intellectual categories to disguise their resentment because of their weakness. At times it is difficult to discern who is the more dangerous of them, but it is equally certain that criticism dare not overlook either one.

7045
CSO: 2800/307

INDISCIPLINE NOTED IN TITOGRAD MILITARY DISTRICT

AU282041 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 81 p 12

[Report by Tihomir Vasiljevic]

[Excerpts] The Committee of the League of Communists of the Titograd Military District has positively appraised the activity of the organization of the League of Communists, commands and other subjective factors in improving and strengthening the combat readiness and the moral-political unity of the district's units and institutions. At the same time it pointed out to the organizations and organs of the League of Communists that, despite the fact that significant results have been achieved in the past period, in the second half of last year certain pronounced shortcomings became apparent and they could have a negative effect on the combat readiness and the moral-political unity of units and institutions.

These shortcomings manifest themselves in insufficient discipline of individuals as well as in their lack of knowledge of and failure to follow the regulations. All this shows the need to unify and intensify the criteria in appraising the achieved level of combat readiness and to more objectively appraise all phenomena that might affect the combat readiness and the moral-political unity as well as the need for continuity of the necessary preventive measure to eliminate negative phenomena. To achieve that it is necessary to intensify the personal responsibility of every individual member of the League of Communists and of all members of units.

Communists, officers and commands and not just officers commanding troops are responsible for the stateof discipline and order, the committee stated at its session. The aim of further work must be to improve and strengthen conscious discipline, to improve the knowledge of rules and regulations and to increase responsibility for implementing them. The communists must strive to advance the organization of work, to promote cultural, entertainment and sports activities, to know the men, and to introduce various educational and stimulative measures which would help prevent arbitrary departures from units and unjustified absences from work for the purpose of personal business and so forth.

Human relations have a very important place in strengthening combat readiness and moral-political unity. The district's units and institutions have achieved notable results in this respect but the committee insists that human relations must be a matter of constant concern of communists and the organizations and organs of the League of Communists. A resolute struggle against all violations of human relations must be waged in all communities where any such violations have occurred.

CSO: 2800/322

SCHOLAR NOTES LACK OF FREEDOM IN ALBANIA

AU301645 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 81 p 15

[Report on interview with Halit Trnavci, head of the Department for Albanian Studies at Belgrade University by Rajko Djuric--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Kadare, author of the well-known book "General of the Dead Army," belongs in the ranks of the most important writers of contemporary European literature. As far as we know, his books were translated into some 40 languages. However, that undoubtedly great and important writer has become willy-nilly a part of the Albanian propaganda machinery. How do you explain this?

[Answer] There is nothing strange in it. All those who stayed a short or long time in Albania know how one lives and thinks in that country. Thinking "measured" by truncheon is still in force in Albania. Working on a project of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and also earlier, I was in the scientific institutions in Albania and had talks with some of their scientists. Nobody even including intellectuals, is allowed to speak openly about any issue and problem in Albania, not even in the presence of his closest--wife, children or parents. I convinced myself about this by what I saw personally. I also know of some tragic cases. An Albanian from Kosovo, for instance, a few years ago moved with his family to Albania legally. Disappointed by the life and the situation in that country, he made a few critical remarks about the system in Albania. Because of his essentially quite innocent statement made among friends and acquaintances, he was sentenced to a 25-year prison term; under pressure, even his wife and daughter renounced him. However, despite this, an intellectual has a special responsibility. To be in the service of untruth, as Kadare--who had the opportunity to directly acquaint himself with life and work in our country and in Kosovo--is doing, is, to put it as midly as possible, dishonorable. Hatred, as Camus said on an occasion, is always directed against oneself. Kadare, who is undoubtedly a great writer, should have known this. But we should not forget that everyone is responsible before history. Even Kadare will not be exempt from the judgment of history.

Albania At Close Range

[Question] You were in Albania several times. What impressions did you gain about that country, people and system?

[Answer] The country offers a very miserable picture: it is all dug up, bunkers are, so to say, at every step. As far as people are concerned--I have personal friends among them--I think that it would be wrong and unjust to put all the blame on them. No, among them there are wonderful and honest people. However, one should understand that they live under heavy armor; the Albanian system has transformed the whole country into a ghetto, a hell. If you approach a person in the streets of Tirana, he will turn his head. Nobody is allowed to say a word to you, unless your "escort" approves. People live in a frightful psychosis. They are constantly under the impression that they are surrounded by enemies, and this is, in fact, also systematically presented to them. And when I hear what ZERI I POPULLIT writes, then I do not know how anyone can believe even for a moment those loathsome lies. They speak about national freedoms, yet they withhold freedoms to the members of their own nation--not to say anything about members of the national minorities--Greeks, Macedonians, Vlachs, Serbs, Montenegrins and Romanies. Members of these national minorities have, as far as I know, no rights and conditions for the development of their culture.

[Question] Comrade Trnavci, it is said and written that the "process of differentiation in Kosovo is slow." What is your view about that and is that appraisal correct?

[Answer] It is, I would say, the truth that deserves to be explained in greater detail. When what is involved is the "process of differentiation," then it is necessary to say that this process is the slowest among leaders, among the responsible people in Kosovo, before whose eyes Albanian chauvinism and irredentism grew and spread unhindered. Some of the responsible people are trying to conceal or diminish their personal responsibility. Their concern continues to be positions and posts. I personally know how certain officials of Albanian nationality brought their close or distant relatives to posts. One could make an entire genealogy of this peculiar kind of nepotism that is, regretfully, present now also. I will speak about it openly at a session of the communal conference of the League of Communists of Kosovska Mitrovica, to which I have been invited.

CSO: 2800/319

MACEDONIAN LC HANDLING OF ALBANIAN PROBLEM EXPLAINED

Scopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 27 Jun 81 SABOTA Supplement p 3

[Interview with Boro Denkov, secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCM, conducted by Pande Kolemisevski: "In Open Battle"]

> [Text] Albanians in the SRM do not need any sort of particular protection, and even less so if such protectors happen to be domestic or foreign enemies. The Macedonians should not be the only ones to fight for equality in our republic. Albanians should fight for it as well. Ideological-political work must be intensified further.

The intensive sociopolitical efforts being made by the League of Communists of Macedonia is specifically manifested also in holding of election meetings of opshtina LC conferences in the republic. The meetings are characterized by the frankness with which essential questions are discussed on the subject of ideological-political activities of the LC and its involvement in the battle for surmounting problems of the area, the republic and the LC itself. Comprehensive studies and evaluations are being made of the organization and activities of the primary LC organizations, the involvement of the membership in the implementation of the tasks set by society and the party, the development of socialist self-management relations, the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization and the consideration of individual problems.

The assessment of the political security situation, in terms of counterrevolutionary activities and manifestations of great-Albanian nationalistic and irredentist positions, is a structural part of the overall sociopolitical activity and one of the items on the agenda.

The expanded election meeting of the opshtina LCM conference in Debar was attended by Boro Denkov, secretary of the presidency of the Central Committee of the LCM. More of his statements are presented in today's conversation, published in the Saturday supplement of NOVA MAKEDONIJA.

[Question] You said at the Debar meeting that many people showed their concern about our situation and about Albanians in the SRM. Could you tell us who supports such concern and is it needed by anyone?

[Answer] I stressed at the Debar meeting that Albanians in the SRM do not need any special concern on the part of any sort of protector, and even less so if such

protectors are domestic or foreign enemies. I also had in mind the ideas expressed on having a republic of Albanians in Yugoslavia and the harmful concern shown by Albania for Albanians in Yugoslavia. I say harmful, for as we see such concern is supported by extreme reactionaries and their vestiges in Yugoslavia and is leading to a fratricidal struggle. The situation of Albanian nationals in Yugoslavia is based on the progressive development of the global process known as the struggle for peace and socialism. Therefore, such nationals cannot tolerate black shirts, fascists, Informbureau supporters, Stalinists and so on. Such people will be fought. That is why I say that Tirana's concern is harmful and truly leads to a fratricidal struggle.

Big Illusion

[Question] What have you learned concerning the political situation in our republic in the course of the past three months?

[Answer] The discussion and particularly the speech I heard in Debar indicated that we have acquired extensive knowledge and made assessments concerning the events in Kosovo. I think that this is good. However, I am even more pleased by the fact that we have acquired extensive knowledge concerning the political situation in our republic. That is why I think that there is no justification for the fact that even after three months since we began to deal with this problem, we are still not seeing stronger ideological-political efforts aimed at quickly eliminating unhealthy bad situations. I think that the time has come to conclude the studies and speeches and undertake specific political actions on the basis of a clear program.

[Question] Can we base assessments of conditions in our republic exclusively on the Kosovo events?

[Answer] The assessment of our condition based on the Kosovo example would make our efforts sterile. We cannot insist on the unspoken or occasionally expressed idea that the situation in Kosovo is obviously bad and that if matters are improved there they will be improved throughout Yugoslavia. If we follow this idea, the main task now would be for the people of Kosovo to engage in the struggle while everyone else stands aside, thinking that whenever the situation there improves, our situation would improve as well a priori.

I think that this is a big illusion. We have the same social, economic and national structure and historical heritage as the Kosovo population, as the Albanians, Serbians and Montenegrons of Kosovo. What we consider most important in the formulation of ideas leading to activities not different in any way from those which preceeded the Kosovo demonstrations or which were manifested in the course of the demonstrations themselves. We have also exposed and condemned an enemy group of Albanian irredentist nationalists. We also have defectors, hostile slogans and desecrations but not everywhere or to such an extent. Nevertheless, such things have happened and are happening. For this reason we must not nurture the illusion that if conditions in Kosovo improve, conditions throughout Yugoslavia, including Macedonia, will improve as well. Everyone must clean up his own back yard. This is not merely a question of errors but of indications of opportunism.

Achievement of Equality

[Question] One of the humiliating theses of the counterrevolutionaries is that Albanians in Yugoslavia, including Macedonia, are not the equal of the other nations and nationalities. This is a thesis which we reject totally. What is being done or how should we judge of the implementation of the policy of equality?

[Answer] It would be unrealistic to believe that on the level of the implementation of the policy of equality we have done everything necessary. However, this policy is not a one-time action on the part of the biggest nation or the dominant nation within a sociopolitical union. It is not a charity policy. It is an action in the course of which all nations and nationalities must make their contribution to ensuring conditions for equal and identical political, social, self-management and material life and development of any one of our citizens regardless of his national origin. It is an active policy.

In our republic it is not the Macedonians alone who must struggle for its implementation but the Albanians as well. This policy will be entirely implemented if all of us together work for the implementation of the policy of equality to the extent to which we create an objective material foundation for it. Such a material foundation must not be created by someone more than someone else. I believe that everyone can invest efforts so that we may create a maximum amount of income which tomorrow we shall channel into the solution of a number of significant problems and for the creation of the material foundations of a policy of equality. I believe that we have not done enough in this sense. However, nor am I mistaken in thinking that we have done nothing to prevent that which occurred in Kosovo, to prevent the manifestation of a truly destructive enemy activity based on nationalistic and irredentist feelings. Actually, all studies of actual conditions and relations within society show that very significant results have been achieved on this level, truly impressive results. Nevertheless, problems remain.

[Question] What are you referring to?

[Answer] In my view the enemy, whether domestic or foreign, has the intention of destroying the foundations of our society and creating conditions for the separation of parts of the single natural body, the body which is and will remain forever Yugoslavia. The enemy's intention is to threaten the integrity and sovereignty of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or, in our case, of the socialist republic of Macedonia. Therefore, the way the policy of equality is being implemented, with greater or lesser intensity, is not the problem. The intentions are different. Had the problem been one of equality, it could have been dealt with differently, through political treaties and within the framework of the League of Communists, rather than through demonstrations and counterrevolutionary activities. Obviously, these are not constructive activities. They are activities aimed at destroying this society and this system. I believe that we must protect all our people, particularly our young generation, from such activities.

[Question] One of the problems of the ideological-political activities carried out by the League of Communists lately is that of manifestations of great-Albanian nationalism and irredentism. How is the battle against them and against other harmful manifestations and trends developing?

[Answer] We intend to focus our main forces on this problem and deal with it most actively without, however, neglecting other ideological problems. This is not to say that while we are struggling against Albanian nationalism and irredentism that other antisocialist and antiself-management actions may not appear, or else, on the other hand, that Macedonian nationalism may not appear, for today we are saying that the main struggle will be aimed at Albanian nationalism. Other harmful and dangerous manifestations of ideas may also be found in our society. That is why we shall be fighting along the entire ideological front but the main strike will be aimed at the subversive activities of Albanian irredentist nationalism. This nationalism is acting most specifically in undermining the gains of our people's liberation war and our socialist revolution.

This neither means nor should be interpreted as a tolerance of our Macedonian nationalism. We shall be dealing with it as well. We can cite specific examples of this fact. I think that it is only in this manner that we shall be able to contribute in the complex political situation of Yugoslavia, as most specifically manifested in Kosovo. Actually, what is nationalism? I believe that always, both in practical and theoretical terms, it is manifested as the ideology of nondemocratic, chauvinistic and socialist reactionary groups use the people's love of their own nation and people for reactionary and aggressive purposes. We have no right to tell any Macedonian that it is shameful to love his Macedonian people. We cannot tell a single Albanian that it is a shame to love his Albanian people. However, this love shown by the Albanian, the Macedonian, the Serbian or any other member of our nations and nationalities for his people must not be misused by nationalists for their reactionary purposes. The end product of such activities becomes reactionary.

[Question] It is known that some outside elements play a great role in the growing great-Albanian nationalism and irredentism. What is your view about them and their activities?

[Answer] One thing is clear: Both the domestic and foreign enemies of socialist Yugoslavia and, separately, of each nation and nationality within Yugoslavia, have been exposed entirely. They are a handful of enemies with their foreign and domestic centers. We have identified them and I believe that we shall be able to frustrate them very shortly. I cannot say how far the threads of this organized action go, but I feel that they would be extensive and numerous. The work is not so simple as to be accomplished overnight, but neither is it all that complex in terms of engaging in a cleanup and inaugurating constructive and broad processes leading to the political consolidation of the situation in Yugoslavia, something which, in my view, is a matter of the relatively immediate future.

Enemy Alliance

[Question] An unusual alliance has been created among the enemies of Yugoslavia. Who supports its policy and way of action?

[Answer] All of us are of the opinion that these are irredentist, monarchic, ballistic, dogmatic and Stalinist efforts in the country and abroad. A strange alliance has been formed between Stalinists and fascists, monarchists and reactionaries and atheists with Islam, with the only objective of achieving their great illusion and,

with the help of such a hostile coalition, to make an attempt on the integrity and sovereignty of Yugoslavia and of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities. It may seem paradoxical but it is clear that both here and in Albania and throughout Europe the Stalinists, who are atheists, have allied themselves with the black shirts, the royalists. These are strange alliances made for the only purpose of an unworkable plan. I believe that it will meet with model resistance. Actually, this was clearly stated by ZERI I POPULIT and mentioned by Enver Hoxha himself at the last plenum of the Albanian Labor Party Central Committee, showing the dirty intention of bringing together the fascist forces scattered throughout Europe and the nationalistic forces among the Albanians in our country. This is nothing but joining the blackest possible reaction and grossly interfering in the domestic affairs of our country. The Albanian people in our country and, in my view, all Albanian people could ask: Who supports the policy published in ZERI I POPULIT? Those who throw bombs at our embassy, those who savagely mistreated and who killed and are killing honest people in Europe, in Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, the United States and in our country. They are the black shirts of Mustafa Kruja, Kal'oshi, Trpeza, Fikri Dine, Dzhemo, Shem Atipi, Mefal', Dzhem Asani and others like them. We loudly proclaim that this is not a policy of progress. We also know that these butchers have caused a great deal of harm to the Albanians in Debar, in Macedonia, in Kosovo and, quite likely, the Albanians in Albania.

Relations with Albania

[Question] The activities of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are considered a direct interference in the domestic affairs of our country. Therefore, in your view, how will further relations with this neighboring republic develop?

[Answer] Let me stress once again that our intention of developing good neighborly relations with Albania were and remain sincere and can represent nothing other than a specific contribution to the struggle for socialism and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. Our contribution to cooperation, based on the universally-known and globally asserted and adopted principles for settling international relations, equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference in domestic affairs is of interest to the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and to all nations throughout the world. I sincerely believe that this interest is shared by the people of neighboring Albania as well. The Albanian leadership should take this into consideration, and so should its spokesman ZERI I POPULIT and Tirana Radio and Television. We are still ready to cooperate with Albania. However, this should be a cooperation contributing to the progress of people and nations. We shall base our further cooperation on such criteria so that no one could have the illusion that one could betray our trust and our good will twice.

[Question] Some educational institutions and, through them, a certain percentage of the young generation have been contaminated with great-Albanian nationalistic and irredentist ideas. What have been their manifestations?

[Answer] We face difficult problems in the educational system as well. Having learned from the Kosovo events, as some studies of our activities indicate, we can say that the educational process or, more specifically, one part of it and one part of the educational-pedagogical cadres who have been inculcating into our young

generation a strange view of the world. Naturally, in this area as well, we must be self-critical, for in the absence of vigilance on the part of the League of Communists and with the inefficiency of some of the elements within our system, a certain number of educational workers with a nationalistic orientation and some members of the clergy have been poisoning the young generation with the intention of creating a base for hostile forces among the young. That is why we must not stop at merely noting the fact that such were the factors which promoted nationalistic, chauvinistic and dogmatic ideas or, in a few words, a wrong awareness among the young generation, and let it fall into the enemy's trap. We shall take the following steps: With specific ideological differentiation we shall clear the educational process from this weed and will then pay greater attention to the young generation which, with the direct help of the communists, will be helped to take the socialist self-management direction.

Level of Differentiation

[Question] You mentioned the process of ideological-political differentiation. How is it developing and what are its characteristics?

[Answer] In Debar I stated that there is a tendency to minimize the events. We want to put an end to this. If we were to combine all minor activities we would see the appearance of a hostile mosaic. According to this theory, there are no arguments to prove that the actions did not come as a surprise. They would not have taken place had we stopped such hostile activities on time. That is why, as communists, we must see to it that only those who are willing to struggle for the policy of the League of Communists occupy a place within our ranks. There is no place for demagogues, hypocrites or turncoats who should be allowed to hold important social positions even less. I believe that the time has come to undertake a specific process of ideological-political differentiation, which has its reasons and is necessary.

Let me also add that some of our comrades believe that they are not nationalists. I believe them. Nevertheless, essentially they are not firm, they have not developed their own system of opposition to nationalistic actions, demonstrations, thoughts or activities. Concepts alien to us exist and the effective struggle for their elimination is falling behind. This means that they are not nationalists but also that they are not strong enough to become true fighters against nationalism.

[Question] Do you agree with the thought that along with intensive actions there also exists a certain inertia, lighthandedness and complacency in carrying them out?

[Answer] Although this is a period of increased responsibility and daring, the League of Communists and, within this context, the League of Communists of Macedonia, is not totally active. It behaves rather as if these were normal circumstances, although all of us agree that our situation is not entirely normal. The Kosovo events are quite impressive by themselves and quite clearly indicate that we are not in a normal situation. Quite naturally, this means that we cannot have the right to work superficially and with a lesser feeling of responsibility and lesser energy and to tolerate or ignore obvious facts, whose existence in our practices is

totally unjustified. However, it is still difficult to surmount such weaknesses. I believe that it is high time for the League of Communists of Macedonia, for each opshtina organization, each primary organization and every individual member, particularly communists holding noted political, public and self-management positions, to find the strength to change their methods of action.

[Question] Finally, could you tell us your assessment of the political-safety situation in our republic?

[Answer] I believe that it remains good. The League of Communists of Macedonia, directly or through the other areas of the political system, is firmly holding the political situation on a satisfactory level. The negative features I mentioned are the error of the handful of nationalists and enemies of this union. However, we are not such as to undermine the foundations of our Yugoslavia. We, Macedonians, Albanians and Turks in Macedonia, have the necessary conditions to live together happily today and even more happily and better tomorrow. I am firmly convinced of this!

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BRIEFS

SCHOOL DIRECTOR OUT--The party organization in the "Boris Kidric" elementary school in the village of Saraj outside of Skopje expelled Taip Ibrahim, director of this school, from the LC because of his actions based on positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The basic LC organization also recommended to the school that Ibrahim be removed from his position as director, because of ideological-political and moral inability. Ibrahim openly supported the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, interpreting them as a "student revolt against bad food," had a direct negative influence on the political and security situation at the school, interpreting the appearance of hostile slogans and other excesses as harmless games to be ignored, and countered attempts by parents to change their last names from Albanian to Macedonian. [Excerpt] [Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 22 Jul 81 p 13]

ALBANIAN NATIONALISM NEAR KUMANOVO--Macedonians, Serbs, Albanians, as well as other nationalities, live in the village of Matejce near Kumanovo. This is a large village with a well-developed sociopolitical life. Up to now it has served as an example of harmony and brotherhood and unity among its inhabitants regardless of nationality. However, recently some people in leading positions in the village have disrupted the peaceful life of Matejce. Acting from group or personal motives, they have tried to assume the leadership in the local SAWP organization, influence delegates in the tobacco enterprise, the youth and athletic organizations. Recently the communists discussed this situation in village organizations. It was suggested that the secretary of the basic LC organization and a number of other local officials be removed from their jobs. [Excerpts] [Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 29 Jul 81 p 8]

PODUJEVO EXPULSIONS--Thus far, 29 members have been expelled from the LC in Podujevo (this opstina has over 2,500 members), 22 others were given various party penalties; most of these are students and teachers. In addition, 30 workers have been suspended from their jobs (most of these are teachers). Also, 25 secondary school students have been expelled from school, 48 persons given prison sentences, 35 of whom were demonstration participants, while 13 others were sentenced for spreading disinformation, and for irresponsible and opportunist action; trials have opened for 15 other persons. [Excerpts] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Jul 81 p 5]

REFERENCE TO ISLAND PRISON--Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian on 13 July 1981, page 3, carries a bizarre satiric note referring to aptly-named Bare Island (Goli Otok), site of a grim prison camp for political offenders, notably--in

the past--Cominformists. The note is accompanied by a photo of two men in striped Victorian bathing suits, sitting with their feet up on a balcony railing overlooking a seascape. "The tourist season on our blue Adriatic," the unsigned note begins, "is in full swing. All hotels and campgrounds are jammed, mainly with foreign guests. For Yugoslav guests, there is no space anywhere. Under the circumstances, some Yugoslavs are nostalgically recalling a magic island on which they enjoyed themselves in the sun all day long, with the scent of the sea in their nostrils, in a salutary climate; moreover, room and board were free. But that exotic island is just history now. Bare Island, a spacious isle of sun, happiness, and calm is no longer accessible to Yugoslavs. Since we are not in a position to show you all the charms of this once-exclusive Yugoslav resort in color, we give you a black-and-white photo from our files to let you persuade yourself how people once enjoyed themselves." [Editorial Report]

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26 August 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1913

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

NATO Antisubmarine Rockets Described
(Georgi Gerasimov; VOENNA TEKHNIKA, No 6, 1981) 1

Certain Soviet Military Vehicles Described
(Rashko Todorov; VOENNA TEKHNIKA, No 1, 1977) 7

Rear Admiral Comments on Warfare Tactics
(Stefan Damyanov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 17 Jul 81) 11

New Trade Union Secretary Elected
(TRUD, 17 Jul 81) 14

YUGOSLAVIA

Macedonian Problems With Albanians Reflected in Tetovo
(Dragoljub Lazov; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 28, 29 Jun 81) 16

Problem of Nationalism in Kosovo Discussed
(Jovan Raicevic; BORBA, 24-30 Jul 81) 22

Archbishop Protests Fines for Publicizing Pilgrimage
(GLAS KONCILA, 26 Jul 81) 47

NATO ANTISUBMARINE ROCKETS DESCRIBED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 6, 1981 pp 36-38

[Article by Engr-Capt 1st Rank Georgi Gerasimov, doctor of military sciences: "Antisubmarine Guided Missile Weaponry in Navies of NATO Countries"; "according to foreign press data"]

[Text] In the past two decades the combat capabilities of submarines have grown manyfold. At the same time, new more effective weapons designed primarily for the destruction of atomic submarines have been developed, too.

The development of antisubmarine weapons has been aimed at increasing their speed of convergence with the target, at making certain of its destruction at a great depth, and at augmenting the power of the charge. The most modern type of weapon that meets these requirements is the PLURO [protivoloduchnoto upravlyaemo raketno oruzhie; antisubmarine guided missile].

Foreign antisubmarine rockets are divided into two subclasses: surface-to-underwater rocket-assisted torpedo and underwater-to-underwater nuclear missiles.

The rocket-assisted torpedo is a combination of homing torpedo and long-range launch vehicle. The rocket-assisted torpedo travels the distance from the submarine chaser to the underwater target in the air, whereupon it enters the water near the anticipated position of the target and begins to act as a homing torpedo.

Modern rocket-assisted torpedoes include the PLURO's Asroc, Malafon and Ikara. The submarine chasers of NATO-member countries are armed with these.

The Subroc--the sole representative of PLURO's on submarines--belongs to the second subclass. Atomic-powered torpedo submarines of the United States are armed with it.

The Asroc PLURO system (Figure 1) consists of an Asroc rocket-assisted torpedo (RVR-5A), Mk-112 launcher (container type for 8 rockets), shipborne sonar AN/SQS-23 (or A/SQS-26), Mk-111 fire control subsystems and a shipborne storage, feed and reloading subsystem.

Фиг. 2

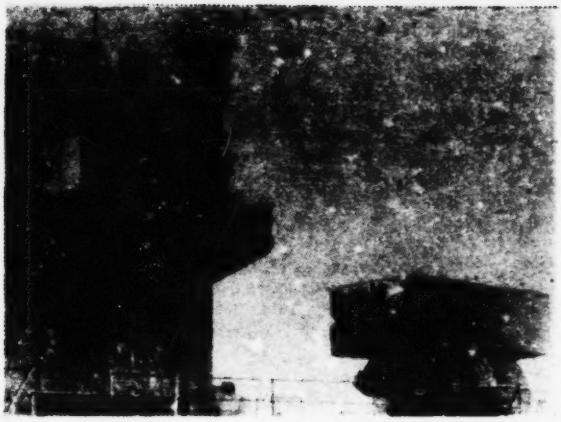
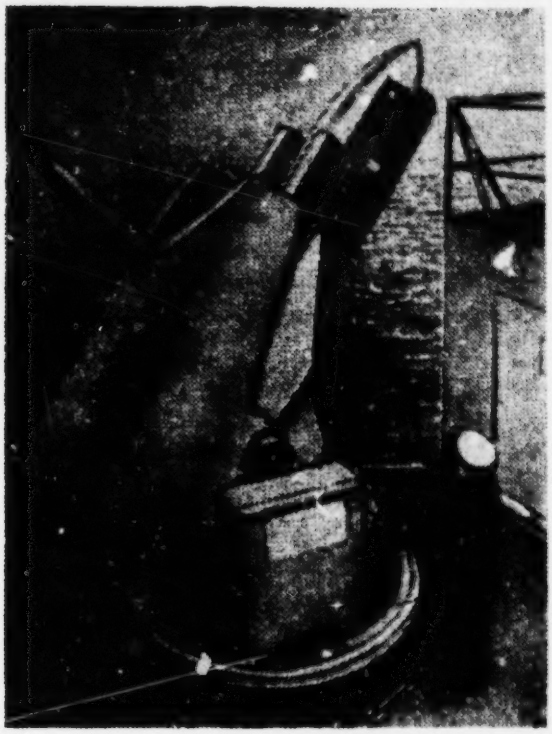


Fig. 1



Figs. 2 and 3

The Asroc rocket-assisted torpedo is a single-stage solid-fuel rocket with a warhead in the form of a homing torpedo (Mk 44 and Mk 46) or an underwater bomb with a nuclear charge with trotyl equivalent of 1-10 Kt (Lulu atomic underwater bomb). Basic characteristics of Asroc are as follows: length 4.57 m, and of the torpedo itself 2.57 m; diameter 0.304 m; span of stabilizer 0.76 m; launching weight 454 kg; weight of warhead 225 kg; maximum flight range 14.5 km; maximum effective range of fire 9 km; minimum flight range 1600 m; flight speed 1 M; thrust of rocket engine 5000 kgf.

The 22-ton shipboard launcher of the Asroc system consists of 4 twin packs, each of which holds two rockets. The launcher can swing 350° in the horizontal plane and each pack is trained at an angle of elevation up to 85°. The launcher makes possible single-shot fire or salvo fire in a combination of from 2 to 8 rockets, which are in a constant state of combat readiness in packs on the elevating rails.

The U.S. Navy is now adopting a general-purpose launcher developed on the basis of the Asroc PLURO and designed for the use of the Standard ZUR [antiaircraft guided missile] as well as existing and modernized Asroc rocket-assisted torpedoes. It is more economical, with less mass and size. The new launcher (Mk 26) will make possible for the first time fire not only with antiaircraft and antisubmarine rockets, but also ship-to-ship rockets.

The MK-111 fire control subsystem and the shipborne sonar are especially important elements of the Asroc PLURO. From the incoming sonar data the computer of the fire control system provides a continuous determination of the current coordinates of the target with allowance for the course and speed of its own ship, wind direction and speed, and air density. It produces the initial data which are automatically fed into the launcher and the rocket's onboard system. If necessary, fire is controlled manually from the captain's control panel.

The Asroc rocket has no guidance system; it receives forward motion through the booster and is guided to target on the ballistic trajectory. A hit in the area of the target is assured by pointing the launcher appropriately at the angle of site and the azimuth angle and by determination of the timer. At a moment determined by command of the timer the solid-propellant rocket engine breaks away in the area of the target, and the warhead and intermediate section continue the flight to the target. In this segment of the trajectory the rocket is stabilized by an immobile fin mounted on the intermediate section. If an Mk-44 torpedo is used as warhead, braking on this segment of the trajectory is accomplished by means of a braking parachute 1.8 m in diameter. Just before submergence the intermediate section breaks away and the torpedo enters the water, the parachute is discarded and the engine dropped. On reaching the set depth the homing instrumentation switches on and the torpedo seeks the target in a circle. If it does not discover it, it begins to maneuver in a cylindrical spiral, submerging initially to the set maximum search depth, after which it rises to minimum running depth according to a preset program. On detection of the target the torpedo begins to close in on it. If the target is not discovered, on exhaustion of its power resources the torpedo sinks.

The Asroc system is being improved so as to double or triple the range of fire, replace the Mk-44 torpedo with the more effective Mk-46 antisubmarine torpedo, as

well as introduce radio control of the rocket during its flight in air. Doubling of the range of fire at this stage of operation is warranted by the fact that such a range of target acquisition is made possible by the AN/SQS-26 sonar. The Mk-46 torpedo which moves faster and at greater depth permits the destruction of submarines traveling at a speed of up to 33 knots.

The Malafon PLURO system (Figure 2) is analogous in its purpose to the Asroc PLURO. It consists of a winged missile with a 53mm antisubmarine homing torpedo of L-4 type as its warhead (weight of the explosive 100 kg), launcher, shipborne sonar station MGS-4A and a radio command system for missile flight control. In external appearance the rocket-assisted torpedo resembles a jet fighter and is launched by a shipborne launcher by means of a solid-propellant rocket engine. Weight of the launcher is 10.5 tons. Total length of the rocket-assisted torpedo is 6.15 m, launching weight 1500 kg, diameter 63.5 cm, flight range 18 m, speed 720 km/hr. The guiding launcher is of the frame type, designed for one rocket. The ammunition is stored in an 11.5x12.0 m chamber below decks with a rocket torpedo feed system.

The coordinates, direction and speed of the target are determined by computer according to the data of the shipborne sonar station. The rocket-assisted torpedo is launched automatically at the target impact point. On the active segment of the trajectory, equal to one-third of the path traveled by the rocket in the air, flight takes place according to a fixed program. At the precalculated point the engine breaks away and the rocket-assisted torpedo continues its flight guided by a stabilized autopilot. If necessary, adjustments of the rocket flight are issued by the radio command control system on board the firing ship. Flight altitude is kept constant (100 m) and is monitored by a radio altimeter. In the target area at a precalculated point 400 m from the target, a tail brake parachute opens up, the flight of the carrier glider is slowed down, and the acoustic-homing torpedo breaks away by inertia, enters the water and destroys the enemy submarine.

Despite the significant range of flight the Malafon PLURO has substantial shortcomings such as significant weight and size, low speed and short torpedo range, for which reason it has not gained wide popularity and is in service only in the French Navy.

The Ikara PLURO system (Figure 3) was developed in Australia with the participation of the United States and England, and in the estimation of many foreign specialists is the best modern specimen of antisubmarine weapon of this type. In the development of the system the experience in designing and testing the Asroc PLURO was taken into account. This rocket is significantly superior to the Asroc and Malafon PLURO in its size and weight characteristics. A better version of the Ikara PLURO has been developed by an English company for the English Navy.

The use by surface vessels in their antisubmarine warfare of the PLURO systems considered above significantly increases the effectiveness of the attacks because the time from the moment a target is detected till a hit is made on it is shortened.

PLURO systems make it possible to fire on a detected underwater target in almost a 360° sector, and the warhead of rocket-assisted torpedoes can be delivered at a distance equal to the operating range of the hydroacoustic stations. Such

flexibility enables a ship which is part of convoy escort forces to attack the submarine without leaving its place in the formation or altering its course, as is obligatory when torpedoes and bombs are used as antisubmarine weapons. The commander of an enemy submarine does not suppose that it is under attack till the moment the rocket warhead enters the water and therefore the margin of time for attack avoidance is cut to the minimum. All this has considerable influence on the tactics of submarine employment since when ships are operating in a group, it is difficult to draw them away from the convoy escort before attacking the convoy.

The Subroc PLURO system is designed basically to combat atomic submarines. Its weight and size enable it to be fired from the conventional torpedo tubes of submarines. Launching weight of the rocket is 1853 kg; length 6.25 m; diameter of the solid-propellant rocket-engine case is 0.533 m; range of fire 40-48 km; flight speed M∿1.

The basic elements of the Subroc PLURO system are as follows: instruments for the long-range search and detection of submarines; computers determining the movement parameters of detected submarines and working out firing data; nuclear underwater bomb; Subroc PLURS [protivoloduchen upravlyaem reaktiven snaryad; antisubmarine guided rocket projectile).

Target designation during firing comes from the AN/BQQ-2 hydroacoustic system. The PLURS is supplied with a powerful nuclear charge enabling the Subroc PLURO to be used in exceptional cases against surface ships as well.

On detection of a target by the AN/BQQ-2 hydroacoustic system, the elements of movement and distance to it are fed to the Mk-113 fire control subsystem. Data are fed into the Mk-113 system from the S/NS shipborne inertial navigation system, from the electromagnetic log, the echo sounder and automatic position plotter. With the help of digital and analog computers the Mk-113 system determines the current coordinates of the target, its movement vis-a-vis the firing submarine, and the rocket's point of impact with the target, and works out the program of its [the rocket's] movement, which is fed into the onboard guidance subsystem. Preparation of the rocket for firing takes about 1 minute.

Firing takes place from an underwater position. Once the rocket leaves the torpedo tube, the safety lock of the rocket engine is released and in 1 second the engine begins to operate. At the same time the guidance and control subsystems are actuated. With their help the rocket is launched in the prescribed direction and guided to the surface of the water at an angle of 30-40°.

The rocket is guided from the air segment of the flight trajectory by the inertial guidance subsystem and flies to the target at supersonic speed. At a set point (depending on the range of fire) the rocket engine breaks away from the forward section of the rocket, and the rocket continues its flight along the ballistic trajectory. As it enters the water, the protective nose cone safeguarding the forward section of the rocket is destroyed. The nuclear charge explodes under the action of a proximity fuze at a depth of 300 m or on striking the bottom.

The merits of the Subroc PLURO are the rocket's capability of being fired from conventional 533mm submarine torpedo tubes, thus eliminating the necessity of

developing special launchers; the long range of fire; the high speed with which it closes in on the target as compared with antisubmarine torpedoes; the possibility of using target indications obtained from ASW aircraft, dirigibles and helicopters and from radiosonic buoys.

A serious shortcoming of the Subroc system is its lack of a conventional-explosive charge.

The improvement of PLURO's is an important problem for all developed naval powers and great efforts are being exerted for its solution. In present-day antisubmarine warfare special attention is now being turned to the fact that submarines are carriers of nuclear rocket weapons and that in this perspective antisubmarine and antirocket defense systems are closely interlinked. Some countries are participating simultaneously on many research projects, but regardless of the results that are achieved and the various PLURO models that are developed it is obvious that these weapons lag seriously behind the development of submarines.

6474
CSO: 2200/126

CERTAIN SOVIET MILITARY VEHICLES DESCRIBED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 1, 1977 pp 20-22

[Article by Engr-Col Rashko Todorov: "Soviet Military Vehicles"]

[Text] Modern military vehicles. . . We encounter them on the streets of cities and villages, on asphalted highways and rural dirt roads, in the field and on the tracts of labor cooperative farms and agroindustrial complexes, by day and night, in winter and summer. It is difficult to imagine modern military life without them. They take part in all activities of the military organization. The motor vehicle today is the symbol of man's power over machinery.

The Soviet automotive industry has traveled a long and glorious path. Lenin's decrees have become the foundation of a broad program for the development of automotive engineering in the USSR. The Moscow Automobile Plant came into service in 1931; the Gor'kiy Plant, which was intended for production, in 1932.

This fact is of tremendous defense significance for the Soviets. From the first day of the Great Patriotic War, almost the entire motor fleet of the USSR was mobilized for the needs of the front. The country's automotive industry almost completely met the needs of the front for motor vehicles of varying purpose. The figures eloquently bespeak the military drivers' scale of operation. On the day the operation began to destroy the German group surrounded in the area of Stalingrad, 2500 drivers delivered ammunition, cargo and equipment. In the Berlin operation alone, up to 10,000 motor vehicles--almost a constant stream--passed over the main front-line roads in a day. During the battle for Berlin military motor transport carried 1.5 million tons of cargo. The military drivers of the Leningrad front who pushed through the "Lifeline" over the ice wrote an unforgettable page in the history of the USSR's Great Patriotic War.

During the war days the main burden of common-carrier transportation was borne by these vehicles: the GAZ [Gorkievski avtomobilen zavod; Gor'kiy Automobile Plant]-64 and GAZ-67, the GAZ-AA, GAZ-MM and ZIS [Zavod ot imeto na Stalin; Stalin Automobile Plant]-5.

At the very start of the Great Patriotic War the Gor'kiy Automobile Plant began to produce the first Soviet jeep--the GAZ-64. (After modernization (widening of the wheel track and alteration of the cab) in 1943 it began to be designated the GAZ-67, and a year later, after a number of improvements, it received the code number

GAZ-67B. This model with two driving axles was produced up till 1953. This vehicle was supplied with a 39-kW (54-hp) four-cylinder engine and developed a speed of 90 km/hr. To this day quite a few of the vehicles continue operating despite their great age.

The GAZ-AA was produced from 1932 on. In 1938 it was modernized and began to be designated the GAZ-MM. During the war years and in the following period the vehicle was produced in a simplified version. It was supplied with a 31-kW (42-hp) gasoline engine and developed a maximum speed of 70 km/hr with a load capacity of 1.5 MG (t). It was produced until 1950.

The ZIS-5 truck holds the record for long life. The first models of the vehicle came out in 1933 and were produced by various plants until 1955. The machine was supplied with a 54-kW (73-hp) gasoline and when fully loaded with 3 Mg (t) was able to develop a maximum speed of 60 km/hr.

During the war a three-axled vehicle with increased cross-country ability--the ZIS-6, on which at first the legendary katyushas [truck-mounted, multiple rocket launcher] were mounted, was produced on the ZIS-5 base.

Technical progress is the key feature today in the development of Soviet automobile manufacture. The past Ninth Five-Year Plan was called the "Automotive" Five-Year Plan. In 1975 the USSR produced 1,964,000 motor vehicles (including 686,000 trucks). On 16 February 1976 assembly of the first trucks began on the main conveyor of the Kama automobile-manufacturing complex. On its entry into operation this giant will produce 150,000 heavy trucks and 250,000 engines yearly.

Today the automotive industry of the USSR supplies the Soviet armed forces with new, reliable automotive equipment with high dynamic and strength characteristics that can perform all the functions involved in military training and combat activity. Many units and elements of the armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries, including our army, are provided with Soviet automotive equipment.

As a replacement for the high-roadability GAZ-69 passenger cars, which are well known in our country, the Ul'yanovsk Automobile Plant produces the UAZ [Ulyanovski avtomobilen zavod; Ul'yanovsk Automobile Plant]-469B with a 4x4 wheel arrangement. In developing the design of the UAZ-469B, principal attention was given to increasing reliability and useful life, improving the dynamic and economic characteristics, raising roadability, decreasing labor-intensiveness in servicing, and enhancing the comfort of the driver and passengers. A four-cylinder, 55-kW (75-hp) gasoline in-line engine is mounted on the vehicle, which is expected to carry 7 people and 100 kg of cargo or 2 people and 600 kg of cargo. The high-power engine in combination with a four-speed gear transmission provides the automobile with high tractional and dynamic characteristics. Its maximum speed is 100 km/hr. In developing the vehicle the designers extensively standardized its basic parts, assemblies and units with the UAZ-452 family of automobiles.

The GAZ-66 is especially reliable for operation under army conditions. The vehicle has two driving axles and is noted for exceptionally high cross-country ability. In respect of this parameter it approximates track-laying transport vehicles. It

is no accident that it is called "the great cross-country king." The vehicle has a load capacity of 2 Mg (t) and is capable of pulling a trailer with a mass of 2 Mg (t). It is supplied with a four-cycle, V-8, 96-kW (130-hp) gasoline engine. The vehicle is intended to transport various cargoes by road and across country and for use as a special vehicle with various kinds of equipment mounted on it. A central system for varying and regulating the air pressure in the tires while moving gives it the capability of advancing over soft ground and continuing to move in the event of minor damage to tires. The vehicle is supplied with a winch with a bearing force of 3.5 Mg (t) and can negotiate a ford up to 0.8 m deep. The low siting of the center of gravity provides the vehicle with good lateral stability.

Motor vehicles of the ZIL [Zavod ot imeto na I. A. Likhachov; Likhachev Automobile Plant] family have found the widest application for the needs of the army.

The first representative of this family is the ZIL-130 and modifications thereof. This vehicle is intended for the transportation of cargoes over all kinds of highways by trailer with a total mass of up to 8 MG (t). A powerful V-8, 110-kW (150-hp) gasoline engine is mounted on the vehicle.

The new representative of the family is the ZIL-133. The vehicle has a 6x4 wheel arrangement (second and third axles are driving axles) and has a load capacity of 8 Mg (t).

One of the most striking representatives of the ZIL family is the ZIL-131. Its wheel arrangement is 6x6 (and three axles are driving axles). It is intended for operation over broken terrain and across country. Many modern achievements in the area of automotive manufacture have been applied in the design of the vehicle. The rational layout of the assemblies of the vehicle, its powerful V-8 engine, the comfortable cab, the hydraulic power steering, the automatic device for engaging the front axle, the central system for regulating the air pressure in the tires, and the reliable protection of all assemblies against water put the ZIL-131 among the best world-class models of high-roadability vehicles. The ZIL-131 can negotiate fords up to 1.4 m deep.

The soldiers of the Soviet Army and of the armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries are well acquainted with the URAL-375D vehicles. These vehicles move equally well in both mud and snow and in sandy deserts. Since 1972 the machine has carried the State Quality Stamp on its radiator. It is equipped with a central system for regulating the air pressure in the tires, thus significantly increasing its cross-country ability. The URAL-375D's cross-country ability approximates that of caterpillar tractors. It can negotiate fords up to 1.5 m deep. The assemblies and units of the vehicle have been developed along the lines of the latest achievements of motor vehicle manufacture and are characterized by special strength and reliability.

Vehicles of the KrAZ [Kremenchuzhki avtomobilen zavod; Kremenchug Automobile Plant] family are also widely used in the army. Representatives of these are he KrAZ-257 and the KrAZ-255B (which has increased cross-country ability). The vehicles are intended for the transportation of heavy and outsize cargo, as well as for pulling heavy trailers and special systems. They are equipped with a V-8 diesel, 195-kW (265-hp) engine, which gives them high traction and speed performance.

The UAZ-452 family is winning wide popularity under army conditions. It includes the UAZ-452A (ambulance), the UAZ-452V (bus) and the UAZ-452D (flat-bed truck with sideboards). They are all maximally standardized. The high maneuverability and speed of these vehicles make it possible for them to operate equally well under all kinds of road and climatic conditions. The UAZ vehicles are noted for high cross-country ability (4x4 wheel arrangement) and can negotiate fords up to 700 mm deep and slopes up to 30°. With a load capacity of 800 kg the UAZ-452 can pull a trailer with a mass of up to 850 kg. The vehicle develops a maximum speed of 95 km/hr.

This is a small portion of the vehicles that are used for army needs. The Soviet automotive industry continues to produce new models, some of which will come into army service during the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

6474
CSO: 8108/1378

REAR ADMIRAL COMMENTS ON WARFARE TACTICS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Article by Rear Adm Stefan Damyanov: "Field Training of Troops--The Enemy You're Fighting With"]

> [Text] During a search for an "enemy" submarine a signalman of the N-th ship reported that he had caught sight of a floating object. The watch officer did not give it the necessary attention. As was explained later in the critique, it did not even occur to him that the "enemy" might offer active opposition and that in that case he was "laying" mines. In a combat situation such a lapse would be the loss of the ship.

This case is very illustrative of ignorance of the enemy's capabilities. Against such a lapse not only are watch officers not insured, neither are captains who underestimate or fail to study thoroughly the forces and resources, combat capabilities and tactics of the potential enemy. And if such examples are still encountered to some extent, albeit very rarely, they must be evaluated and analyzed on principle and with a sense of responsibility because many serious consequences can follow from poor knowledge of the enemy.

The training process in our naval units continuously affords officers an opportunity to widen their tactical horizon, while cruises, practice engagements with the air, surface and underwater "enemy" and every combat episode at sea require of officers accurate and specific knowledge about the enemy's combat capabilities, tactics and ratio of forces to resources, as well as the ability to use this knowledge to win the battle.

In the units where officers Pavlov and Khristiakiev are serving it is clear to every commander and seaman observer how necessary it is to know at what range the "enemy" must be detected in order to strike a successful blow at him.

In these and other units much has been done so that every ship will have the necessary aids whereby officers can obtain the information about the "enemy" that they need in order to enrich their tactical training. There are many so-called tactical corners in training rooms and simulators, and ships are supplied with literature and aids from which information about foreign navies can be drawn.

All this must be fully utilized in independent training, in group exercises and in tests before handing in course-setting, firing and special problems. These forms of training are contributing more and more to the intensification and fruitfulness of the training process and to the improvement of commanders' combat and tactical skill. It is desirable, for example that group exercises be conducted on competitive principles with precise adherence to time limits for the solution of problems and that tests contribute to the development of officers' creative thinking.

An especially large part in the tactical maturation of commanders is played by classwork and practice exercises in onshore rooms and simulators where the training of crews and command elements is improved. Here the tactical situation can be simulated conformably to enemy pressure.

Quite naturally, in order to train purposefully and specifically for the combat ahead of him, the commander of a ship or group of ships must take into account primarily their basic purpose. A submarine commander, for example, must study the tactics and armament of enemy submarines more thoroughly. But under no circumstances does this mean that he can be content with more general training for combat with enemy aviation and surface craft. Once put out to sea, a ship must be ready for combat with any kind of enemy. Even the most conventional duels necessitate a commander's overcoming significant difficulties of a psychological and tactical character. The situation surrounding a naval engagement is always complex and full of risks and hazards. Sometimes failure can be due to the loss of valuable minutes in order to obtain more accurate information in the dynamics of action.

In one training exercise the ship commanded by Capt Lt Gotsev was carrying on an antisubmarine search and destroy mission. The sonar operators detected the target in good time. The range permitted the ship to be attacked. But the commander wanted to obtain still more reliable contact so that he could determine the elements of its movement absolutely accurately. He wanted to score a conclusive victory, but . . . there was danger of letting precious time pass by. The decreased range might permit the "enemy" to strike a preemptive blow. At the insistance of the staff specialist who was on board the ship, the attack was delivered from the maximum distance and with great success. Then still a young commander, Officer Gotsev remembered forever [words illegible; possibly, "the lesson he received"] and drew correct conclusions. To the [word illegible] study of enemy tactics he now attaches paramount importance, and the successes of the crew are entirely natural. For two years he has been among the outstanding officers, a front-ranker in the Navy in his class. Also in noble competition are the other ships in this unit where there is strict observance of the principle of "learning whatever is necessary in war."

In one of the recent training exercises the command of the N-th unit conducted thorough and all-round training with staff officers and commanders of ships and groups of ships. In seminars, group exercises, staff practice drills and tactical conferences theoretical knowledge was extended and assimilated, and unity of views was formed regarding the use of forces and the tactics of their operations, as well as optimum versions of attack formation and methods of delivering an attack. In the concluding stage of the training a comprehensive practice drill was conducted

that corresponded to the anticipated volume of work for staff officers in organizing a naval engagement and conducting it. Much attention was paid to the training of tactical group commanders, as well as commanders of cooperating forces. A tactical conference, which was held against a complex and instructive background, contributed to good mutual understanding among commanders. To be sure, deficiencies were tolerated in the conference. Thus, for example, some participants launched upon arguments whenever commands had to be issued. Somehow or other the commanders announced their combat decisions, replete with stratagem, surprise and misleading of the opposing side.

Decoy groups were created in the combat formation. In maneuvering, the main striking force took into account the specifics of the area for military operations and used different forces for reconnaissance. Special attention was paid to the organization of tactical reconnaissance since the struggle for the first salvo made it obligatory to discover and disclose the enemy group at maximum range. The communication and force-control diagram, worked out in detail, gave results.

The experience from the training exercise that was conducted etc., etc. teaches that in order to train officers to fight a strong and crafty enemy, it is advisable to create a complex simulated naval-encounter situation. For this purpose neither resources nor time must be spared.

The main thing in the operation of forces is to tolerate no conventions (unless this violates safety measures). Oversimplification and cliché lead to unwarranted waste of time and material resources. Unfortunately, not all commanders take sufficient pains to simulate the operations of the enemy as he would be in a real engagement. All this introduces elements of formalism into the organization of training and has an extremely adverse effect on the level of combat readiness, since in such cases inadequate training sometimes lurks behind a high rating.

In carrying out initiatives in tactical training it is necessary to take a realistic approach towards an estimation of the enemy and learn to see his strong and weak points; forces must prepare to achieve victory in arduous and fierce combat with any kind of aggressor.

> And the question, "Do you know the enemy you are fighting with?," every officer must answer in detail not only in classwork, in training exercises and practice drills, but above all at sea with sure and decisive actions. In a word, we must be victorious not only on a map, but also in a genuine naval engagement. V. I. Lenin's precept must never be forgotten: "The most dangerous thing in war . . . is underestimation of the enemy and self-complacency because we are stronger. This is most hazardous and can lead to defeat in war."

6474
CSO: 2200/128

NEW TRADE UNION SECRETARY ELECTED

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 17 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] Plenum of Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions

The 16th plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions was held yesterday in the capital. It was concerned with organizational questions. Comrade Dimitur Dimitrov, chief of the Mass Organizations and People's Councils Section took part in its proceedings.

Kosta Todorov Andreev, member of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions and up till now first deputy editor in chief of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO [Workers' Cause], was unanimously elected secretary and member of the bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Due to his transfer to other important work the plenum relieved Maryan STOYKOV of the post as secretary and member of the bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions and candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, Petur Dyulgerov, made a presentation on some of the urgent problems related to the work of the trade unions in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th Party Congress. He analyzed the course of the fulfillment of the plan and of the trade unions' commitment during the first five months of the year; he focused attention on the participation of labor collectives in the compilation of the counterplan for 1982 and for the Eighth Five-Year Plan, and dwelt on certain urgent social problems. Finally, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov spoke, as well, about preparation for the forthcoming report-and-election campaign in the trade unions.

New Secretary of Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions—Kosta Andreev

Kosta Andreev was born in 1930 in the village of Bregovo, Khaskovo Okrug, to a poor rural family. He has been a member of the RMS [Workers' Youth Union] since 1944 and of the BCP since 1949.

On graduation from Kharmanli gymnasium he majored in journalism at Moscow State University. From 1955 to 1979 he was employed in the editorial office of the newspaper TRUD [Labor] as reporter, editor, section chief, deputy editor in chief, and editor in chief. Thereafter he was elected secretary of the International Organization of Journalists and in 1980 became the first deputy editor in chief of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

He is a member of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. He has been elected a member of its bureau and member of the bureau of the US [Administrative Council] of Bulgarian Journalists.

Kosta Andreev is a candidate of historical sciences and the author of three books and many articles in whichhe considers important theoretical and practical problems related to the history of the revolutionary trade-union movement and the role, place and functions of trade unions under conditions of socialism.

For his high creative achievements he has been awarded the title of "Honored Cultural Worker" and given the distinction of the orders of "the Bulgarian People's Republic" and "Kiril and Metodiy."

6474
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MACEDONIAN PROBLEMS WITH ALBANIANS REFLECTED IN TETOVO

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 28, 29 Jun 81

[Article by Dragoljub Lazov]

[22 Jun 81 p 2]

[Text] Wait for Real Differentiation

Cases of nationalism in some circles, still being discussed disapprovingly, were noted at the last session of the Tetovo Opshtina Communist League conference

Tetovo is a city with a mammoth high school: 85 teachers teaching three languages, 1,913 students attending Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish-speaking classes. This city at the foot of Sar has many cultural and artistic societies and the sports are on the increase....

These places serve the needs of the multinational population of Tetovo Opshtina, of the young people who meet there. This makes even more important the duties and responsibilities of people in charge of raising and guiding the young, regardless of whether they are high school teachers or members of the managements of amateur cultural-artistic or sports societies.

Over the past decades the schools and cultural-artistic and sports societies in Tetovo have had something of which they can be truly proud. Today, unfortunately, some of them have fallen down on their jobs. This criticism was voiced from the prestigious rostrum of the opshtina conference of the Tetovo Communist League at its last session, held on 10 June. More specifically, the Dzeladin Zekiri KUD, whose membership consists exclusively of Albanians, and the Skendija Sports Society, which also consists of Albanian athletes, most of whom were taken away from the other athletic organizations in the city, were cited for nationalistic manifestations. The bad situation at the Kiril Pejcinovik High School was also pointed out. We were told that there have been no clear cases of national intolerance but neither has there been any closeness and unity considered normal in such places. There has been no friendship among students of the same generation attending the Macedonian and Albanian classes. One reason for this may be the rather cold relations prevailing among their teachers....

Conduct of Political Activities

This situation, which has been the subject of intensive discussions lately, should be taken into consideration in presenting a more realistic portrait and in terms of the assessment of the opshtina communist league conference, according to which the political situation in the opshtina is good.

"This assessment does not mean that we have no problems and that we should lull ourselves," Idriz Idrizi, Tetovo Opshtina Communist League Committee secretary.

"The 1968 events have taught us to be cautious," added Bosko Merdzanovski, chairman of the opshtina communist league conference.

In discussing the political activities conducted by the Communist League in Tetovo, Idrizi explained that immediately following the hostile counterrevolutionary activities in Kosovo, based on great-Albanian nationalism and iridentism, the members of the communist league conference and the political aktiv of the opshtina and the committee held a number of meetings in primary organizations, local assemblies and villages. Such intensive work will be continued. There is virtually no summer holiday for political action and for the activists. The initial activities which consisted of assessing what had happened in Kosovo were followed by discussions on the situation within the organizations themselves and on the necessary measures to be taken....

We pointed out that the public remained virtually uninformed of such activities and that the impression developed that this organized political action was overdue.

"We organized task forces assigned to determine the state of affairs at the Dzeladin Zekiri KUD and the Skendija athletic society. We shall investigate specifically the study of the Macedonian language in the schools and the textbooks which, with minor amendments, have been entirely reprinted from Prishtina. Other topical problems existing in individual circles will be considered as well. After the proper studies have been made we shall provide both a political assessment and the qualifications. Eventual wrong manifestations and errors will be condemned sharply regardless of their authors," Idriz Idrizi said. He added: "To this effect we would like to have clear views and I believe that it is better to be slightly late than hasty."

When There is Silence

Meanwhile, not waiting for official assessment, the people are talking. Generally speaking, their discussions are not naive. Questions are being asked in the marketplace, in offices and at home, and answers are given as to what happened on the occasion of last year's visit which the "Dzeladin Zekiri" culture and arts society paid Albania, who founded Skendija and why. There is talk about differentiation in cadre policy, of polls taken concerning leading positions and especially the positions of managers of workers' organizations, to determine how many of them are Macedonians and how many are Albanians, of people acting behind the scene and of the existence of an atmosphere which drives some Macedonians to consider leaving Tetovo.

"Such manipulations are the product of the bazaar and, in my view, they are inimical," Idrizi said afterward. "Walk around the city and you will see that such is not the case. We formulate and implement cadre policy jointly. We may have some weaknesses but they are not so major as to create such a background....

Idrizi was unwilling to assess the situation with Skendija and the Dzeladin Zekiri society. He stated that it was not proper for him, as committee secretary, to prejudice the instructions which must be issued by the opshtina communist league conference. However, he was categorical when we asked him about the differentiation:

"The process has been started but I personally am not satisfied with activities so far. No real steps have been taken so far. This has been confirmed by the various back alley conversations. We will make a thorough study to see who has been working and what his attitude has been. This will apply to all levels, from the primary organization to the opshtina communist league conference," Idrizi said.

Let us point out that the other opshtina leaders, such as Bosko Merdzanovski, chairman of the opshtina communist league conference, Daut Ibraimi, chairman of the opshtina conference of the SSRNM, and senior comrades from the security and internal affairs service, shared the same views concerning the atmosphere in Tetovo, according to which it gives no grounds for any thoughts of leaving the city. This was illustrated by the fact that since the inimical demonstrations in Prishtina, only one hostile slogan was painted on the wall of the transformer station near Sarena Dzamija, that no single open organized nationalistic action has occurred, that there have been no excesses and that no influence has been exerted by the more than 250 students from Tetovo attending the university in Prishtina and, naturally, that things at the bazaar and in the shops are proceeding normally, without boycotts or incidents.

For the sake of the truth, however, we must point out that there are other views as well, some of them shared by people who could hardly be considered unnoticeable and who point out the tension which the people of Tetovo feel to a far greater extent than people from the outside, and cases of "petty" excesses on the street, in a store or in a pharmacy. In a word, they are mentioning the existence of a schizophrenic mentality.

We have no reason to mistrust the official representatives of the highest opshtina forums. Meanwhile, however, such matters are being discussed in Tetovo, for which reason they must not be ignored. It would be far more effective if the communist league or the Socialist Union would discuss the persistent rumors.... The fear that the asking of questions could harm the political action and the overall condition of the community is somewhat out of place. Problems cannot be resolved by silence or glossing over and even less by concealment. We have the bitter experience of Kosovo to prove this.

[29 Jun 81 p 2]

[Text] How the Macedonian Language Is Studied

Students from Sar and Suvogor villages come to enroll in the Kiril Pejcinovik High School in Tetovo without knowing a single

word of Macedonian although Macedonian is taught in the grammar schools. The open handling of problems is the most effective cure to bizarre rumors.

In a substantial number of Tetovo villages, inhabited exclusively by Albanians, particularly in the Sar and Suvogore villages, the teaching of Macedonian is so poor and irregular that the results are striking and the consequences serious, above all in the case of young Albanian students. In addition to 30 Macedonian and one Turkish, the Kiril Pejcinovik High School has 54 Albanian classes. We spoke with Mirko Krstevski, the principal. From time to time deputy principal Estref Emini joined in the conversation. We asked about the manner in which Macedonian was taught in Albanian classes.

"We are encountering serious difficulties. Students come from the villages with a very poor knowledge of the Macedonian language. Some of them have virtually no knowledge of the language although for six years of the eight-year primary school they have studied the language. Meanwhile, our curriculum stipulates that the language must be known."

It is difficult to catch up with what has not been taught in grammar school. This creates problems such as "The teacher is strict," or "What are we to do when the students are unwilling to study." Krstevski says that a certain number of Albanian teachers, ignoring the class counsels, insist that students should not be asked to repeat a grade because of the Macedonian language. All this discourages the students and it even occurs that some of them have still not mastered the language by the time of their graduation. Such problems lengthen the time spent at school. No such problems exist among students of Turkish nationality, for they speak Macedonian. There have been no nationalistic excesses nor clear manifestations of impatience among students in the high school. The high school has 531 Macedonian, 1,349 Albanian and 33 Turkish students. The good relations were helped by several meetings held by communists and young people. Nevertheless....

"At the last meeting of the opshtina communist league conference there was mention of opportunism and liberalism among us," said principal Krstevski. "There were suggestions of resolving matters on the basis of nationalistic and even [inforbirovski] positions without energetic opposition on our part. The party assembly is being informed now as to the number of directors in Tetovo work organizations who are Macedonians and the number of Albanians. Heads are being counted. If there is such talk among the teachers...."

Indeed, it is not easy to develop a feeling of closeness in such a cumbersome high school in which there are 300 to 400 students per grade. The fact is, however, that the students look up to their teachers who, obviously, are not setting the best possible example.

Actually, this is not our conclusion. "An energetic political action leading to real differentiation must be carried out in the high school, above all among the faculty. This will enable us to get results," we were told by Daut Ibraimi, chairman of the opshtina committee of the SSRNM.

What is Happening at the Dzeladin Zekiri Cultural-Arts Society?

Obviously, something will have to be done also in connection with displays of nationalism at the Dzeladin Zekiri. A great deal has been said on the subject in Tetovo. There is talk about the ceremony on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the society, in 1979, or, more specifically, about the celebration which was conducted exclusively in the Albanian language, followed by the inadmissible writings in the official organ of the society, last year's Albanian tour, and the deletion from the repertory of the mixed choir of the society of a song which had a national-romantic content and was written especially for the Tetovo traditional festival of amateur Macedonian choirs.

It was precisely during the trip to Albania that this Tetovo society found songs which were rated highly by the Albanian newpaper BASHKIMI, particularly two beautiful folk songs, the song of the Prizren Albanian League and the song on Mits Sokoli, the folk hero, which describe the bright period of the mass people's heroism, praising highly the Prizren Albanian League and Mits Sokoli, the hero. The songs impressed the audiences and were sent off with warm applause...."

The previous was a quotation from the article entitled "Beautiful Songs and Dances" which BASHKIMI, the central organ of the Albanian Democratic Front, published in its 11 June 1980 issue. Such effects notwithstanding, a recent study of the work done so far by the Dzeladin Zekiri KUD states at one point that "we do not exclude the possibility that the repertory may have contained songs from the romantic period. However, their content is not of a kind to promote some kind of nationalistic euphoria. Such songs may be found in the repertories of the Skopje and Prishtina TV..."

We mentioned both quotes to illustrate the fact that things are still not being called by their real name and that attempts are being made to soften or conceal the state of affairs with a view to dulling the wedge of the political action. This does not involve the case of the Dzeladin Zekiri KUD alone. Obviously, an open and critical discussion is needed also in the case of the Shkendiya Athletic Society.

Let us say something about the society's publication. The inscription "Albanian Dzeladin Zekiri KUD" is found in Albanian in the upper section and in Macedonian in the lower. A comment here is hardly necessary. Officially, this matter is under investigation. However, we have been told that this heading was registered in this manner as early as 1950. Meanwhile, no one deemed it necessary to point this out, and this heading has been used in all correspondence to this day. The proper authorities will determine whether this was a case of lack of attention or a deliberate action. We have been told that practical measures have already been taken to make the society's seal consistent with Macedonian bylaws and the bylaws of the Tetovo Opshtina, as it conflicts with stipulations of these documents.

Specific Measures Must Be Taken

Studies are under way, leading to the adoption of specific measures for the elimination of such problems in the opshtina. Of late the reaction to incidents has become quicker. This, in connection with the incident or, more accurately, the fight

in Volkovija village in the course of the soccer game between Cuka, the home team, and Skendija, the chairmanship of the opshtina SSRN conference in Tetovo reacted immediately, most firmly blaming the culprits for interrupting the game. Today it is openly asked in Tetovo who needed an athletic society which, even though this is not included in its bylaws, in practice has become "purely Albanian," something which inevitably leads to the polarization of the public....

"We saw that this was not right. The idea has been expressed that the city should have a single athletic society within the framework of the Ljuboten SD [Athletic Society]. The management of the Skendija Athletic Society showed no understanding or good will. However, we are going to carry this out," Daut Ibraimi asserts. He added that a similar idea has been voiced regarding the cultural-art societies in the city which are intensively studied primarily from the viewpoint of their function in promoting fraternity and unity and bringing together the young people of different nationalities in the opshtina. It is expected that such societies will be consolidated and have their own sections.

Unquestionably, solutions can be found for these and far more delicate and difficult problems. Naturally, this can be accomplished to the extent to which such problems are brought into the open and become the subject of responsible and mature discussions motivated by the sincere desire to seek and find the best and most acceptable solution and to the extent to which such things are not dragged out, as this creates opportunities for those who are waiting for such efforts to assume second priority. It is equally clear that the political action will be a long-range one, particularly when it becomes a question of work with young people, especially in the schools.

A great deal is being expected in this connection of the forthcoming election conference of the opshtina communist league in Tetovo. Under such circumstances this conference could not be reduced merely to an accountability and election conference. We expect that the clear and specific statements which will be made will give it the aspect of a political action and will mobilize the membership and all working people and citizens in surmounting the current problems and conditions in the opshtina.

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PROBLEM OF NATIONALISM IN KOSOVO DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-30 Jul 81

[Series* of articles by Jovan Raicevic: "What Is the Meaning of the Slogan 'Kosovo--A Republic'"]

[24 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Before answering the question put in the title, we will attempt to deal with the problems associated with the "question" itself. The demand for SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo to become a republic has, to be sure, never been put in official and public form in any of our political bodies or any self-managing body of delegates. But it has been put by the "public opinion" of the man in the street: in the 1968 demonstrations and the counterrevolutionary and irredentist actions this past April, and it has been done in an extremely arrogant and cruel way. Is that demand the "invention" of the man in the street himself, or is it the result of a deliberate and organized activity? If the latter, then what are those forces, internal and external, what is their social-class and ideological configuration, and what sort of motivations and goals are they guided by?

Those who were the pride and joy of Great Albanian hegemonism and nationalism immediately proclaimed themselves, and their own initiative, the advocates and defenders of the demonstrators, and they also supported their principal slogan--"Kosovo a Republic." The previous analysis has shown that this kind of support could be only transient and tactical in nature, but not strategic, since the ultimate goal of that hegemonism is the conquest of Kosovo, that is, its annexation to Albania. Why, then, does that hegemonism tack back and forth between

* This text is an extract from a longer work entitled "Ideoloska osnova Albanskog iredentizma i birokratskog nacionalizma (Povodom dogadjaja na Kosovu i njihove interpretacije u listu ZERI I POPULIT)" [Ideological Foundations of Albanian Irredentism and Bureaucratic Nationalism (Concerning the Events in Kosovo and Their Interpretation in the Newspaper ZERI I POPULIT)]. In it the author does not exhaust the topic of the slogan "Kosovo a Republic," it is also his concern in other parts of the piece, but the text we are publishing represents a section that stands on its own and is being published by the journal SOCIJALIZAM, No 6, 1981, while the entire piece will soon be published as a separate publication.

the tactical and strategic version? Because the first version, according to its assessment is more realistic--first a "Albanian national state within Yugoslavia," and on the basis of that constitutional legitimacy, the demand can be made for separation from Yugoslavia. And--what then? Probably attachment of the "younger" to the older parent state!

What Do the Facts Show

However, is that actually a realistic goal? As Marxists we examine the entire issue from the concrete-historical and class standpoint. Does the Albanian in Kosovo really have a vital interest in joining Albania? We categorically assert that more than nine-tenths do not want that, except a very few rabid irredentists. The most substantial proof of this is that Albanians, like all other citizens of Yugoslavia, who have passports and are constantly traveling in this world, can freely choose the place where they wish to work and the place where they wish to live, but, as far as we know, none of them has emigrated to Albania, and on a relative basis very few even visit Albania as tourists.

Ethnogenetic relations, the Illyrian-Albanian ethnicon on which the nationalists have been particularly insisting of late, are not enough; or--as Lenin would have put it--the mutual "sympathy of the population" is a prerequisite of unification, but not the only one, though it fairly often seems so to the layman. Are the general conditions and way of life which the Albanians have in Kosovo and which are possessed by all other working people in Yugoslavia truly such that they see a solution to their national existence only by joining the People's Socialist Republic of Albania?

Let us speak frankly about this: Is the Albanian nationality, as an ethnic minority living in Yugoslavia, ethnically oppressed in any way whatsoever, is assimilation being forced upon it, is its social, material and cultural development being frustrated? Does any nationality in Yugoslavia have any privilege which the Albanian nationality does not, does any ethnic group in Yugoslavia have any privilege which the Albanian nationality lacks, except the privilege of a national state, which we will be speaking about further on? As far as we know, there is no such privilege, except for the relative differences in economic level of development between the regions where the Albanians live and the other regions, but such differences also exist between entire national territories, which is the result of uneven development in the past and of the historical legacy in general.

Those relative differences in level of development will be a particular topic of ours, but bearing them in mind and also the fact that the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is only an autonomy with home rule, but not a state like, say, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, we put the question the other way around: What are those privileges which the Albanian people has in Albania and which the Albanian nationality in Kosovo lacks, beginning with individual and human rights and freedoms and going to opportunities for material, social and cultural development? We must not, for instance, underestimate the fact that the citizens of Pristina Opstina alone, for example, have more household appliances and automobiles than are in the entire state of Albania. (To be

sure, the citizens in that country cannot possess an automobile, which is a sole prerogative of the state.) Moreover, the population in Kosovo knows better than we do what life is like in Yugoslavia and what it is like in Albania, so that our explanations along that line are perhaps superfluous.

A Specific Autonomy

Though it has the status of a province in which the Albanian nationality constitutes a huge majority, that autonomous sociopolitical and self-managing community has broad rights and opportunities not only for its own development, but also to exert an impact on the overall development of the entire Federation. This is actually a specific autonomy previously unknown in legal and political theory and practice. The province is a part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but it is also an integral element of Yugoslav federalism; it has its delegation in the Federal Assembly, in whose Chamber of Republics and Provinces, when it feels that some law or some other decision is not in Kosovo's interest, it can always demand a reconciliation of views and agreement on an equal footing with the others.

The province has its delegations and representatives in all government and self-managing delegate bodies, in the leadership organs of sociopolitical organizations, based on a quota established in advance and set forth in regulations and bylaws, that is, based on the principle of collective work and responsibility. Under our constitution an Albanian in Kosovo may be the head of the Yugoslav state (on one occasion he has already been a vice president) or the chairman of the SFRY State Presidency, which in our context is the collective head of state, and he will become that automatically when his turn comes.

We have good reason to ask: Is there any country in the world, in either east or west or in the so-called developing countries, where the chief of state may come from the ranks of an ethnic minority? We know of no such example.

Moreover, at the moment an Albanian is the president of the Social Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the largest sociopolitical organization, whose membership runs into the millions; Albanians are delegates to the Federal Assembly and members of the Federal Executive Council (the government of Yugoslavia), members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, ambassadors and generals, high federal administrative officials, but they do not occupy those positions solely because of their personal attributes or personal success in their careers, but because the constitutional system guarantees and ensures the Province of Kosovo, like the other republics and Province of Vojvodina, a proportional number of posts in the federal structure.

Then take education, culture and art. Since it represents a majority of the population in Kosovo, the Albanian nationality has practically all the attributes of a national culture: Its language, as is understandable, is the one that is most common, all the schools, from elementary schools to the university, have instruction in the mother tongue, it has three times as many university students as Albania, though its population is half the size. There is Albanian television in Pristina, a radio network, theater, opera and ballet, many newspapers and magazines, the Academy of Arts and the university in Pristina, a

library which in its magnificent building has more books than the National Library in Holland, the great Institute of Albanology, which even Tirana might envy, and so on. There also exists the large scientific and artistic output of Albanian creators, a legion of talented scientists in all fields, poets and writers, painters and musicians.

Differences in Systems

Personal freedoms and human rights of the working people and citizens in Kosovo, as an integral part of Yugoslavia, and the status of workers and of the entire working class in production and political relations differ qualitatively from those relations experienced by the working strata and citizens in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Those differences are indeed historically conditioned by essential differences that exist in the socioeconomic and political systems of the two countries: socialist self-management and nonaligned international policy in Yugoslavia and the ossified and mummified Stalinist system, with significant traits of so-called primitive communism, of a closed and isolated society, in Albania.

The differences between these two systems also give rise to two completely different nationality policies, that is, two diametrically opposed views on the nationality question: The policy of full national equality of nationalities and ethnic groups, unremitting deepening and development of that equality in Yugoslavia, and the policy of Great Albanian hegemonism, chauvinism and assimilation in Albania. That is why separation from the working class of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia does not suit the workers of Albanian nationality in Kosovo--viewed from their class standpoint and historical interest, and this also applies to most of the peasants, since they would lose the ownership of their land, the right and opportunity to enter into association, and the right to personal freedoms, civil liberties and religious freedom.

Finally, the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, which during the revolution participated in creation of the new Yugoslavia, is unified with its fraternal nationalities and ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia, from which the Province of Kosovo, where that nationality predominantly lives, also receives aid for accelerated social and economic development, and it is involved with them in world-historical developments and the currents of civilization, in the struggle for peace and democracy and socialism as a world process. That nationality does, of course, as we shall see, also have its difficulties and problems, as do the nationalities in Yugoslavia as a whole.

If that is the case, and it actually is the case from the standpoint of the concrete-historical analysis of practice and trends of development, why, then, are the leading circles in Albania intensifying their hegemonistic and irredentist pressure on Kosovo, why in this effort are they forging ties with various emigre organizations, reactionary circles and various mercenaries of the intelligence services of various foreign powers? Their immediate goal is above all destabilization of the Yugoslav community, which means accomplishing the tactical version, and beyond that probing conditions for the strategic version!

[25 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Nationalism as Bureaucracy in Disguise*

However, the recent events in Kosovo have confirmed once again--both in theory and in practice--the old truth that nationalism regularly emerges as bureaucracy in disguise. The tendencies toward ethnic bureaucracy and a political bureaucracy based on nationality (whose structure includes elements of a merging of the republic-government and political-party bureaucracy) have been gaining strength in our society for quite a long time now.

These tendencies have been able to gain strength precisely because the economic substance, that is, the surplus value of labor, has been pumped out of organizations of associated labor in the sector of physical production on an enormous scale, with the sole purpose of augmented investment to round out the so-called national economies. The consequence has been that economic flows have been enclosed within the boundaries of republics and provinces, the unified Yugoslav market has been disrupted, the economic patterns of commodity production have been destroyed on the one hand, while voluntaristic subjectivism has become stronger in economic life and in the life of society in general.

National statisms have become stronger at the expense of self-management, and even social ownership has to a certain extent begun to be manifested as republic-government ownership, a kind of statist "national" ownership, but that we will discuss in the last chapter of this book.

These tendencies were also manifested in the Province of Kosovo, but in addition to that it was also the least developed, certain old disproportions were manifested in its development (perhaps in more acute form), and new disproportions were created. All of this favored the rapid strengthening of the political bureaucracy and its tieup with technocracy, and since the Albanian nationality is the most numerous in Kosovo--it can be said that the bureaucracy and the bureaucratic phenomenon arising out of the ranks of that nationality became dominant some 10 years ago, which does not mean that it does not also exist in parts of the other nationalities and ethnic minorities that live there.

Strengthening of Nationalism

Nationalism in a part of the Albanian nationality began to become rampant precisely when the bureaucratic phenomenon gained strength in the province's structure, as its administration developed and expanded, as many new institutions were created and old ones enlarged. That was also the time when ethnic bureaucracy was emancipated from the tutelage of bureaucratic centralism and unitarism and its shock forces, which were defeated at the well-known fourth plenum in the broader Yugoslav context, but that emancipation has specific significance and its own path of evolution in Kosovo.

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* See Erratum at end of third installment--translator's note.

Those defeated forces were especially compromised in Kosovo, where the various repressive measures and methods of their activity had also been the most widespread, and perhaps even most drastic, and they were also retained there longest, precisely because Albanian irredentism had held on continuously and persistently. And it was able to go on feeding and maintaining itself since Albania held to its Stalinist and Cominform positions toward Yugoslavia. Relations with all the countries in the "Cominform circle" began to change essentially, especially after the 12th CPSU Congress, but with Albania they remained at a standstill, even after the reestablishment of diplomatic relations.

Defeat of the Centralistic Bureaucratic Forces

The defeat of the bureaucratic-centralistic and dogmatic forces in Kosovo was especially welcomed, with good reason, was celebrated even as a "new" or "first" liberation, a great achievement in creation of the Albanian nationality's opportunity for greater affirmation. General enthusiasm ensued in Kosovo, investment projects were undertaken on a large scale, the university was set up, along with many new institutions in the fields of culture and art. However, in the criticism of those defeated Rankovicite forces, which was frequently reiterated, there were also exaggerations, both what wasn't and what was was spoken of,[1] the practices of UDB [State Security Administration] were rightly branded, but it was forgotten in all this that the defeat of those forces did not mean an ultimate defeat for the irredentist forces in Kosovo, that the UDB, which also had included members of the Albanian nationality, had made no small contribution to the fight against irredentism, and also that Albania's attitude toward Yugoslavia had not changed essentially in any respects.

Moreover, bureaucratic centralism and unitarism were equated in that criticism with Great Serbian hegemonism and nationalism, which, of course, was true only to a certain extent, since bureaucratic centralism and its various forms were nevertheless our general Yugoslav phenomenon. In the nationalistic euphoria in the early seventies, when Albanian nationalism had already begun to raise its head in an important way--the criticism of the organized socialist forces in Kosovo again focused on bureaucratic centralism as Great Serbian hegemonism, that is, as the principal danger, while irredentism and Albanian nationalism were apostrophized abstractly and by the way, more as a matter of principle. That is how the exodus from Kosovo became a taboo subject, for one reason because of the harsh climate created in society. During all that irredentism[2] in Kosovo was quietly vegetating, but it survived that "nationalistic crisis" in the early seventies.

But in this analysis we must go back a few years, since bureaucracy did begin to manifest itself as nationalism somewhat earlier in the province of Kosovo.

One thing that favored this was the fact that Albanians were increasingly represented in the entire political and self-management structure, which was also a normal process when we bear in mind that in the previous period they had been displaced in this respect, and the share of the Albanian nationality in the ethnic composition of the total population was rapidly increasing year after year, whether because of the high birth rate or emigration of members of other nationalities and to some extent also because of immigration from other parts.

The Thesis of the "Leading Nationality"

It is precisely that fact, misconceived, that is, the exclusively pragmatic approach to its interpretation, as well as the entire set of other circumstances we have mentioned, that led to Albanian national bureaucracy's beginning to be presented more and more as the principal representative of the interests of the Province of Kosovo, of all the working people and citizens, of the nationalities and ethnic minorities living in the province, all of this precisely on the basis of the Albanian nationality actually did comprise the predominant share of the population of Kosovo.

Various analogies were made on that basis, the thesis of the Albanian nationality as the "leading nationality" in Kosovo was developed, and in the bosom of that bureaucracy the demand was made for that nationality to obtain statehood, that is, for Kosovo to assume the status of a republic. The slogan "Kosovo a Republic" was thus launched for the first time in the demonstrations that took place in Pristina in 1968.

To be sure, even at that time there were various assessments as to such a political tendency, but the prevailing conception was that it resulted above all from the bad experience which the province had had in the previous period, particularly at the time of the activity of those forces which had been resolutely condemned at the Fourth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee. After all, that activity truly had accumulated quite a bit of mistrust, especially in the ranks of the Albanian nationality, and it had even created a certain fear with respect to the future development of the policy of equality among the nationalities.

At the same time, this tendency was looked upon as an expression of a certain ideological confusion, a disorientation, of a pragmatic and mechanical approach not only to complicated and delicate relations among the nationalities, but also to other essential issues in self-management and society, which existed at that time also in the other communities, since this was the time when one stage was being abandoned and a new stage was being entered, that is, when bureaucratic centralism and unitarism began to be dismantled on a broad front and the preconditions created for the faster development of self-management, and, within that context, for a more thorough policy and practice of equality of the nationalities. The point of departure was, of course, that well-known position of Lenin's concerning ethnic minorities that it was better to put too little salt than too much.[3]

But neither political concessions nor concessions in ideology and theory were undertaken, since the demand for statehood of an ethnic minority has nothing in common with development of our socioeconomic and political system, which is based on socialist self-management, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, nor with strengthening of their linkage and unity, nor indeed with Marxist theory. Comrades Tito and Kardelj criticized this political tendency from well-argued positions on several occasions--to be sure, in internal debates and discussions, but there were also a few public reactions, but unfortunately very few.[4] Nevertheless, the impression was gained that the matter had "died down," that it was a question of an ideological disorientation that had already been discussed.

FOOTNOTES

1. In VJESNIK U SRIJEDU (No 1001, 7 July 1971), for example, there was a long article by a certain Nebil Duraku entitled "Who Has Been Moving Out of Kosovo," in which it is stated that 230,000 inhabitants from Kosovo had emigrated to Turkey between 1953 and the Brioni plenum of the LCY Central Committee and even 1 year after that, that is, up to the end of 1967, and it is added that "very few if any of these emigrants were Turks, but they were rather Albanians." The assertion of this article, which was commented on in an expanded meeting of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo held in July 1971, was that it was not the Serbs who were emigrating from Kosovo, but Albanians, under the pressure of the UDB, as "converted" Turks. However, it later turned out that this was misinformation, that the figure of 230,000 did not pertain to Albanians emigrating from Kosovo, but to total emigration from Yugoslavia over the period from 1953 to 1961 (NIN, No 1076, August 1971). But nothing was done toward public denial of that misinformation in Kosovo.

2. Irredentism is a unique form of nationalism in its negative aspect. Irredenta (which in Italian signifies unredeemed territory, under foreign rule) signifies a chauvinistic policy of taking territory from others; territorial claims are usually supported by various "historical rights," by the same language, culture and ethnic characteristics, and so on. A second meaning refers to the aspiration of an ethnic minority in some country to join the parent country. The well-known Italia irredenta was the Italian chauvanistic and fascist aspiration in the past to occupy parts of Yugoslavia on the basis of "historical rights."

3. See: V. I. Lenin, "On the Nationality Question or 'Autonomization,'" in an anthology of writings by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the nationality question (Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1973, pp 188-189). Hereinafter referred to as nationality question....

4. See the article by Kiro Hadzi Vasilev entitled "Self-Determination and Self-Management" (KOMUNIST, in two parts, 14 November 1968 and 21 November 1968), which was one of the rare public reactions to the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" at that time and in which the theoretical positions were presented as to why Kosovo could not be a republic.

[26 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] The Essence of the Slogans "Great Albania" and "Kosovo a Republic"

The development of events, however, showed that bureaucracy from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, aside from a certain ideological confusion and disorientation, was still weak and insufficiently consolidated at that time, and above all was not sufficiently linked with the forces of petty bourgeois nationalism, especially from the ranks of the intelligentsia, which was still small. The forces of irredentism had been recovering from their lengthy "war" with the UDB, but they received the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" with a certain surprise, shock

and mistrust precisely because it was not originally theirs, though they did join in the demonstrations in 1968, since everything that led to destabilization and exacerbation of political tension in our country ultimately suited their nature. National bureaucracy,[5] though it was surprised by the "general support" of irredentism, did not incline towards a political alliance with it, and even stood quite distinctly apart from it, at least at that time, since there is a difference in their nature and aims.

Irredentism in Kosovo operates in a combined form: as a movement for separation from Yugoslavia and unification with Albania, but also as a chauvinistic and expansionistic campaign of the government of Albania, as an operation for annexation, for territorial reshaping of borders, on the basis of alleged "historical rights," "mental and psychological mutual sympathies of the population," "pure ethnos," and so on. In addition to that, of course, Albanian irredentism also takes the form of an ideological phenomenom offering another socialist alternative, that is, state collectivism, with the essential traits of primitive communism. Its basic slogan is "Great Albania," while that of bureaucratic-statist nationalism in the Albanian nationality is "Kosovo a Republic," but these are not simple identities, nor identical ideological creations either in form or content, even though sometimes their phraseology and "argumentation" is similar or coincidental.

The Conduct of the Cominformists and Stalinists

The Cominform-Stalinist enemies of socialist, self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia, which are well known to us both front and back, who are willing to associate even with the black devil, with various emigre circles and foreign networks of intelligence agents, not only to destabilize and disintegrate our community, but also to dissever and take over its particular parts, comport themselves under the first slogan.

Under the second slogan--"Kosovo a Republic"--are the bureaucratic-statist and nationalistic forces from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, united bureaucrats and nationalists, who, by virtue of their ideological confusion and hardheadedness, are striving to resolve the problems of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo by mechanical constitutional guarantees, but in practice, because of their narrow and personal interests, want to climb on the back of that nationality and the other nationalities in Kosovo. It is a question, then, of a political-ideological tendency of those representing provincial bureaucracy and nationalism, with separatist foreshadowing, but not exclusively on the irredentist basis of annexation of Kosovo to Albania. Bureaucratic nationalism, with its separatist aspiration, may--to speak alphabetically--also have other claims and aspirations, but they cannot be guessed at without arguments.

Certainly this is not the sole bureaucracy of a nationality in this country which has created various difficulties for us--to be sure, they differ in severity and consequences, and we have managed to deal with them. Bureaucratic nationalism in Kosovo has gone furthest in its escalation. But regardless of that, we must not forget that for all its counterrevolutionary and bureaucratic ugliness and unacceptability, it does nevertheless come from the ranks of the

Albanian nationality, which unfortunately, because of a burdensome historical legacy, is still fighting against the greatest difficulties in this country.

Political Colorblindness and "Collective Shame"

A distinction, then, should be made between Albanian irredentism and bureaucratic nationalism in Kosovo, between those bearing the slogan "Great Albania" and those bearing the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" in the political-ideological differentiation which is now taking place in Kosovo as well as in all debates outside Kosovo concerning the events that have taken place in Kosovo. This, of course, should be done above all by party members and working people in Kosovo, it is they who are in the greatest need for detailed analyses of this kind. After all, one criterion used in differentiation might be, for example, participation in demonstrations, and a quite different criterion might be the manner in which someone became part of the demonstrations, whether he marched under the slogan "Great Albania" or "Kosovo a Republic," often not even knowing what they meant and all the various consequences that might result therefrom for our Yugoslav community.

Those outside Kosovo who are debating and writing about Kosovo must be particularly mindful of this differentia specifica between irredentism and bureaucratic nationalism in a portion of the Albanian nationality, since by cramming all into the same basket they cannot correctly perceive the true colors of the actors in the events in Kosovo. But political colorblindness, usually malicious in intent, can in this case serve only those who insist at all costs on the "collective shame" of the Albanian nationality, who put in too much salt instead of too little! Fully aware of the seriousness of the situation that has been created, especially that part of the situation which resulted from the unhappy slogan "Kosovo a Republic," we feel that again on this occasion, as party members and Marxists, we should adhere to that maxim of Lenin's, that is, that "in the given case it is better to put too much salt on the side of leniency and mildness toward ethnic minorities than to put too little" [sic].

At the same time, in no case does this mean that we can make political-ideological compromises and concessions. Further on we will in fact attempt to delineate and define our attitude toward the slogan "Kosovo a Republic," but first let us finish our examination of relations between irredentism and bureaucratic nationalism in a portion of the Albanian nationality.

What happened in development of bureaucracy from the ranks of the Albanian nationality, especially after 1968, was more or less the same as what happened with the other national bureaucracies in our country. Emancipating itself from bureaucratic centralism and unitarism, and striving to present itself as the only interpreter of the global interests of "its" nationality and "its" working class, each bureaucracy in each of our republics and provinces inevitably strove to establish ties, to form an intimate political alliance, with petty bourgeois nationalistic groups, especially with groups in the national intelligentsia: in science, culture and art.

The National Bureaucracy With the Nationalistic Intelligentsia

After all, the bureaucracy possesses the institutions and the power, but it does not possess sufficiently the nationalistic spirit; the intelligentsia mainly does not possess the institutions (the bureaucracy strives to impose "its own people" even on those institutions which eminently belong to the intelligentsia), but it does possess consciousness and knowledge of the ethnic identity, it can create a nationalistic ideology and national myth, and therefore this kind of unification, not only, of course of the bureaucracy and the nationalistic portion of the intelligentsia, but indeed of all other nationalistic forces, is indeed a prerequisite for the creation and deportment of the national bureaucracy as the representative of the global interests of the nationality, and, in this case, of an ethnic minority as well.

In the struggle of the League of Communists, of the working class and of the working people for self-management, and in particular for it to make inroads at the level of the entire society--whether in the framework of the ethnic collectivities or in the framework of the entire Yugoslav community--this tieup between the national bureaucracy and the nationalistic intelligentsia has proved to be one of their toughest adversaries, one on which quite a bit of time and labor has been spent, and there have even been temporary defeats, but victories as well, though they cannot boast that they have gotten to the head of this phenomenon, even today it follows them like a shadow.

This is exactly what happened in Kosovo as well. The bureaucracy in a portion of the Albanian nationality was able to operate more strongly and to escalate only when it came to have an ally in the nationalistically oriented intelligentsia from among the ranks of its own nationality. Young and fledgling, enthusiastic and happy that for the first time it was offered the opportunity to fight for affirmation of its own nationality in the fields of science and culture, or, more accurately--to freely create its own science, culture and art--that intelligentsia in a relatively very short period of time did actually achieve exceptional results. Nor did it particularly bother anyone that in the enthusiasm and desire to create as much as possible as soon as possible, there was here and there an overlay of ethnic romanticism.

Yet the turning point came when the bureaucracy formed a firm political alliance with the nationalistic part of the intelligentsia, when, because of its own needs and assurance that all the problems of the Albanian nationality would supposedly be solved if it were granted statehood, it called upon the intelligentsia for "scientific evidence" and "historical argumentation" for accomplishing its designs. But that kind of "evidence" and "arguments" could be found and exist only in Tirana, in its archives, in its writing of history, and indeed even in the history of the Albanian Workers' Party.

FOOTNOTE

5. In this book we shall be using the terms "national bureaucracy" and "bureaucratic nationalism," though they are imprecise and, strictly taken, even inaccurate, since it is not a question of bureaucracy in the ethnic community,

but in a portion of the Albanian nationality (ethnic minority), but in the absence of a better expression and for the sake of convenience of expression we use both terms.

Erratum

In yesterday's installment of this feature article a typographical error occurred in that a term was transposed in the first sentence of the text and in the title. In its correct form it should have been: "Bureaucracy as Nationalism in Disguise." We apologize to the author and to our readers.

[27 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Two Tendencies on the Nationality Question

Which accounts for the "need" for increasingly intensive scholarly and cultural cooperation between Kosovo and Albania, and then, if an exception is made for teachers from Tirana in the technical sciences, it was confined mainly to the writing of history, ethnography and folklore, and even to uncritical printing of scholarly and literary works of certain authors from Albania in Pristina. That collaboration gave rise to the theses of the "Illyrian-Albanian ethnicon" as an "autochthonous" and "pure ethnos" on "compact Albanian territories"--all those things which awaken and create the nationalistic spirit, which represent an "opiate of the people," especially the young generation, and so on. And, what is worst, that "evidence" and those "arguments," contained in the unified nationalistic literature, were able to serve both slogans--both "Great Albania" and "Kosovo a Republic."

This also injected the greatest confusion and ideological disorder, but it served well for indoctrination and manipulation, especially in handling the young generation. Perhaps bureaucratic nationalism even counted on this, on the support of irredentism, so that the pressure in the Yugoslav public to acquire the "status of a republic" would be as strong and impressive as possible, but irredentism also saw its own chance in all of this, and it supported the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" as a transitional and tactical version of its own.

However much it might have appeared that "love at a distance" had been established between bureaucratic nationalism in a portion of the Albanian nationality and Albanian irredentism, it is difficult to believe that a political alliance was also established between them.

After our endeavor to show how the adverse political process which launched the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" took place, our task now is to attempt to clarify and demonstrate why SAP Kosovo cannot be a republic. There are several reasons for that, there have been public debates about them, especially concerning more consistent application of the features contained in the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, and perhaps the entire issue has been even dealt with too much from that exclusive angle.

The Nationality and Self-Determination

In our exposition up to this point we have already pointed out that a nationality's right to self-determination would be a mere fiction if it did not also express itself in political terms as the right to form a national state, that is, as the right to voluntary secession from a multinational state. This is Lenin's principle, which he also formulated this way: "This means that 'self-determination of the nationalities' in the program of the Marxists can have no other meaning from the historical-economic viewpoint than political self-determination, independent statehood, the formation of a national state."[6]

Historical development, according to Lenin, knows of two tendencies concerning the nationality question. The first is the awakening and creation of national movements, the struggle against any oppression of a nationality, the creation of the national state. The second is the constant development and linkage of nationalities and their states in all domains of human activity, the breaking down of all national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of international life in general, of science, of politics, and so on. "Both tendencies," Lenin said, "are capitalism's holy law. The first predominates at the beginning of its development, the second characterizes mature capitalism, the capitalism which is following its transformation into socialist society."[7]

This also contains the progressive and civilizing side of the evolution of the nationalities as large social groups and their institution as national states. Wherever that process has not been taken to the end, where they have remained multinational states such as tsarist Russia or the old Yugoslavia--these were the exceptions of European capitalist history and cases of its lateness in those areas. The national state, then, is the "rule of capitalism," "the state with a variegated ethnic composition represents backwardness or an exception" (Kautsky), and those "backwardnesses" and those "exceptions" had to be resolved by socialist revolution.

In that process of the creation of national states, however, national boundaries could never be drawn so that within them remained a completely "pure" and "homogeneous" ethnic population, that is, so that all the members of a state would at the same time be members of the same nationality. That is why through the confluence of various historical circumstances larger or smaller parts of the various nationalities had to remain outside the boundaries of their national states, that is, they found themselves to have the status of ethnic minorities in another national state. This was especially characteristic of the process of creation of national states in the Balkans.

Ethnic Minorities

Finding itself to be an ethnic minority within another state, the basic and vital question for it was to secure itself against any form of national oppression and discrimination, to have full rights as a nationality, to use its mother tongue and to have schools in its own language--in short, all the freedoms of a nationality and full equality with members of the nationality it lives with and--which is very important--that that equality also be guaranteed in law, precisely

because as a minority it cannot set itself up as some sort of separate "state" in a state that already exists. "Not even the slightest oppression, nor the slightest injustice toward the ethnic minority!--those are the principles of worker democracy."[8]

Few, indeed hardly anyone, have consistently held to that principle concerning the freedoms of ethnic minorities as an integral part of human freedoms in general, nor did they in the good old Europe, in which the process of formation of modern nations had its first historical beginnings. Those freedoms are in one way or another restricted, withheld, abridged or completely destroyed even by those who boast of their democracy and who fight for human rights in other countries as though the rights and freedoms of ethnic minorities were not par excellence an integral part of those elementary human rights and freedoms.

This is done both in the west and in the east; the working class and communist movement, especially in certain periods, has failed the examination over the question of the equality of ethnic minorities, and certain parties even today have been unable to rid themselves either of the assimilationist or even chauvinistic attitude toward ethnic minorities. In the time of Stalinism, let us state it openly, and even in the process of homogenization on the basis of the ideological conception of the so-called unified "socialist nation"--ethnic minorities of the South Slav nationalities completely disappeared or have been slowly vanishing in certain socialist countries, while minorities of those same nationalities which live in Yugoslavia have the same rights and freedoms as nationalities as those nationalities which are components of Yugoslavia.

These are generally known and acknowledged facts, and they cannot be passed over in silence nor evaded even now when in the European press, both west and east, they are writing about the so-called Kosovo events, or when attempts are being made here and there to distort the real status of the ethnic minorities in our country. But the altogether equal status of the ethnic minorities with the nationalities which are components of Yugoslavia did not fall from the skies, nor was it the fruit of any sort of demagogy or temporary tactic, but the culmination of a component of the enduring policy and strategy of the Yugoslav socialist revolution and the result of the persistence of its subjective forces in constantly and consistently implementing that policy and strategy.

On the Positions of Bourgeois Nationalism

The point is that that strategy and fundamental Marxist policy and practice in achieving the equality of ethnic minorities has hardly existed at all in many parties of the working class and communist movement, and therefore there have been disputes even among certain socialist countries. And not just disputes over assimilation, but the taking up of the positions of bourgeois nationalism, including claims for the reshaping of national borders and the annexation of parts of one state by another state, solely because in those parts, together with the population of one nationality, there is also an ethnic minority. Thus the very existence of ethnic minorities has unfortunately become a source of conflicts and dissension among peoples, even among those in which the socialist process has been initiated.

Nevertheless, the League of Communists and the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, aside from having guaranteed full equality of all nationalities and ethnic minorities by their revolution, emphasize the principle: Ethnic minorities are not and may not be a source of discord, but must be bridges binding peoples together. They have held to that principle and will hold to it always, regardless of the good or bad relations with the parent nations whose ethnic minorities happen to be in our country.

Though the new Yugoslavia has often been forced in the postwar period to defend itself against external attacks of various neighbors, even in the period when in certain neighboring countries the elementary rights of the minorities of its nationalities were drastically extinguished--the development of the ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia has proceeded normally and without disruptions, since our entire strategy, even from before the war, during the National Liberation War and revolution, and in the construction of socialism on the foundations of socialist self-management--rests on a principled attitude toward ethnic minorities that is based on Marxism.[9]

FOOTNOTES

6. "Nationality Question ...," p 64.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p 55.

9. See "Resolves of the Executive Committee of the LCY Central Committee on the Questions of Ethnic Minorities," adopted 2 March 1959, published in KOMUNIST, 28 June 1982 [sic].

[28 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Why Kosovo Cannot Be a Republic

It even went so far that the old term "ethnic minority" was replaced by the term narodnost ["nationality," but used officially in Yugoslavia to denote ethnic minorities--translator's note] in order to express the full equality of the ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia with the nationalities making up the country,[10] which sometimes causes terminological confusion outside our country. All of this, at least certain essential elements of that strategy of ours toward ethnic minorities, was meant to give a better understanding of the problem we are discussing, that is, why the Albanian ethnic minorit in Kosovo cannot set itself up as an organized separate state or--which is the same thing--why Kosovo cannot have the status of a separate republic in the existing federal system. As we see it, there are many reasons for this in the realm of principles and theory, and we shall attempt to expound them here.

The Reactionary Nature of the Demand

First Reason. Setting up ethnic minorities as a separate state would be a retrograde and ahistorical process, and from the standpoint of the working class movement and Marxism a return to the petty bourgeois and bourgeois conception of society, of nationalities "in general" and to nationalistic ideology, in which emphasis would be put only on the ethnic factors and the common language, and even more on feudal tribal relations than on present-day bourgeois relations and views concerning the organization of society as to nationalities.

The view of the working class, the working class approach to that kind of organization of the life of the nationalities, would have been abandoned, not only because the working class movement would thereby be broken into pieces and would become disunited, not only because the principles of its organization as an essential prerequisite of its unity and activity would be frustrated, but because in socioeconomic and political relations, production relations above all, tendencies would develop utterly opposed to the world-historical flows of the contemporary production of values, modern science and technology. Put simply, the entire objective social basis of the struggle for progress, democracy and socialism would be undermined or essentially jeopardized, since the point of departure of that kind of organization of society would not be the working class, but the nationality!

The pattern of the historical process of the formation of the modern nations and their national states and the nature of all the factors that contributed to their institution are well known in social theory. That is not our topic here, but the parts of already-existing nationalities, their national minorities, whose "statehood on the basis of self-determination" is being demanded, but within another state--the state where they live. It is a question, then, of "initiating" a kind of process that has never been known before in history.

Ethnic Composition of the Population in SR Serbia

Yet historical processes initiate and open up certain class-political forces on the basis of goals and prerequisites which they discover in the objective social reality and its contradictions. If that is the case, we put the question: On the basis of what objective world-historical tendencies is such a demand made, what are the essential postulates and criteria of its possible achievement? Before answering that question let's look at the ethnic composition of the population of SR Serbia, since aside from the Serbian nationality and parts of other nationalities which are the components of Yugoslavia, there are also several ethnic minorities, referred to as narodnosti.

The following table shows that in addition to Serbs and members of all the other nationalities which are components of Yugoslavia, there are some 10 ethnic minorities in SR Serbia; actually there are more, but probably they have a negligibly small number of members. It is also evident that the share of the Albanian ethnic minority in the overall composition of the population has been increasing steadily, while that of others has stayed at the same level or has even been declining, which is affected by many things--from mixed marriages between the nationalities to the growth of the category "Yugoslav," and so on.

Ethnic Composition of the Population of SR Serbia

Nationality	1948	%	1953	%	1961	%	1971	%
Total	6,527,966	100.0	6,978,154	100.0	7,642.227	100.0	8,446,581	100.0
Montenegrins	74,860	1.0	86,061	1.2	104,753	1.4	125,260	1.5
Croats	169,864	2.6	173,246	2.5	196,409	2.6	185,894	2.2
Macedonians	17,917	0.3	27,277	0.4	36,288	0.5	42,675	0.5
Moslems	17,315	0.3	81,081	1.2	93,467	1.2	154,327	1.8
Slovenes	20,998	0.3	20,117	0.3	19,957	0.2	15,957	0.2
Serbs	4,823,730	73.9	5,152,939	73.8	5,704,686	74.6	6,016,811	71.2
Albanians	532,011	8.2	565,513	8.1	699,772	9.1	984,760	11.7
Bulgars	59,472	0.9	60,146	0.9	58,494	0.8	53,800	0.6
Czechs	6,760	0.1	5,948	0.1	5,133	0.1	4,149	0.0
Italians	863	0.0	636	0.0	586	0.0	566	0.0
Hungarians	433,701	6.6	441,907	6.3	449,587	5.9	430,314	5.1
Romanians	63,130	1.0	59,705	0.9	59,505	0.8	57,419	0.7
Ruthenians	22,667	0.4	23,720	0.3	25,650	0.3	26,251	0.3
Slovaks	73,140	1.1	75,027	1.1	77,837	1.0	76,733	0.9
Turks	1,914	0.0	54,526	0.8	44,434	0.6	18,220	0.2
Gypsies	52,181	0.8	58,800	0.8	9,826	0.1	49,894	0.5
Other	157,443	2.4	89,911	1.3	30,152	0.4	35,545	0.4
Not declaring their nationality under Art 41 of the SFRY Constitution	--	--	--	--	--	--	4,486	0.1
Yugoslavs	--	--	--	--	20,079	0.3	123,824	1.5
Regional allegiance	--	--	--	--	--	--	9,428	0.1
Unknown	--	--	1,994	0.0	5,604	0.1	30,274	0.4

* Including also Ukrainians.

Analogies Are Not Valid

If the demand for Albanian statehood is based solely on the size of the Albanian nationality in SR Serbia, then a percentage between 13 and 14 percent (which we assume will be the share of Albanians according to this year's census) of the total population of Serbia need not be any imperative argument, since the Albanian ethnic minority represents barely one-seventh of that population. But if the point of departure is the size of the Albanian ethnic minority as compared to other ethnic minorities in SR Serbia, then probably the size of that ethnic minority, that is, the number of its members, is being suggested as an essential criterion for organizing its "state."

What, then, is the "optimal" size which an ethnic minority should attain so as to qualify for "statehood," who would affirm the "fairness" of that figure, or

perhaps it might be based on a "mechanical analogy": Every ethnic minority "automatically" qualifies for "statehood" when it attains the size of the smallest nationality in our Federation!

Such analogies have unfortunately been made by comparing the size of the Montenegrin nationality and also of certain others and the size of the Albanian ethnic minority, and since the latter is larger than the former, these common sensical lines of argument, based on that quantitative relationship in size of population, "consider" that the Albanian ethnic minority has "qualified" for a "state," that is, for a "republic."

If we set aside for a moment the fact that Montenegrins do not have any other national state except SR Montenegro, and that Albanians already have one--the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, but historical development, regardless of what kind it has been, has nevertheless in its way been "fair"--every people which has managed to institute itself as a nationality has also succeeded in forming its national state regardless of its size--large or small!

If history has "behaved" this way toward all nationalities and toward their right to self-determination in the form of a national state, how otherwise are we to approach the whole issue when it is a question of parts of nationalities that already exist, that is, when we are concerned with ethnic minorities!? Is it possible here to go below the level of that "historical fairness" we mentioned and to shut our eyes, make an exception from the rule, and by some arbitrary decision "grant" the privilege to the Albanian ethnic minority in Kosovo to organize itself as a state? On behalf of what would such an arbitrariness be possible? If one is to judge by the demand that was made in Kosovo--on behalf of "greater and more reliable safeguarding of the principle of equality" of the Albanian ethnic minority.

But when it comes to the "principle of equality"--that principle might apply to any ethnic minority in SR Serbia and in any other republic, regardless of its size, that is, regardless of the number of its members. A principle is indeed not a principle if it applies only to one ethnic minority and not to all other ethnic minorities; in that case "on behalf of" equality an actual inequality would be established among the ethnic minorities in our country: Some would have the "right" to create "their own state," while others would not.

FOOTNOTE

10. The extent of the effort for the ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia to feel themselves completely free and equal is shown by the fact that their members also fly the flags of the states of their parent nationalities at various ceremonies and on other similar occasions. This might seem paradoxical to some people, since flags are symbols of states, but not of nationalities; the character of the states and of their regimes changes, and these changes are usually accompanied by changes in flags as well, either partially or completely, but that is the usual practice, and no one is changing it.

[29 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] A Single Nationality May Not Have Two National States

If in turn this "right," as an expression of the principle of equality, were held by all, then in SR Serbia alone there might be some dozen or so little states belonging to the ethnic minorities; aside from the Albanians, that right might be taken advantage of by the Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, and others; the wheel of history would begin to turn back toward the Middle Ages, and this kind of artificial fragmentation of social and economic structures in accordance with the principle of tiny states of ethnic minorities would not only destroy the progressive course of integration and internationalization of human society up to now, but would turn it back[11] to the "medieval antiques of all sorts" which Marx discussed in his "Civil War in France."

So that is basically what would happen to our Yugoslavia if the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" were carried out! We apologize to the reader for our manner of exposition, but there was nothing we could do; this method was imposed on us by the topic itself--"Kosovo a Republic," that absurd and reactionary idea conceived in the head of some irredentist or inveterate and obstinate bureaucrat and nationalist in Kosovo.

The Nationality and the State

Second Reason. One nationality, as Marx and Lenin saw it, cannot have two national states. This is self-evident, since the process of formation of every nationality has been unified, but parts of varying size may have been left outside the boundaries of its national state (this has almost been the rule), but they figure as ethnic minorities in other states, usually neighboring ones.

If, however, we adopt the principle that ethnic minorities can also attain statehood, this would as a rule result in the creation of two or even more states and pocket states whose inhabitants would be members of one and the same nationality. Nor do we need any particular emphasis as to the extent of the various hazards this would represent not only for the nationality in which such processes were initiated, but also for international relations concerning the endeavors of two parallel states of one and the same nationality.

Since today's world has been divided into military-political blocs, and that division is extremely pronounced in Europe, it is easy to imagine the interest which the various blocs and their powers would have in the fate of these "newly generated" states, in their foreign policy orientation, in their political and ideological character, in their internal systems, and so on, and there would be fierce confrontations and even conflicts over all of these things. This is incidentally suggested by the experience with the existence of "dual" national states within one nationality created by the outcome of World War II and "sanctioned" by the subsequent development of the military-political blocs.

The border which divides those parallel national states of one and the same nationality is as a rule also the border between the military-political blocs,

which in and of itself indicates that those states are not creations of normal and natural economic and cultural and ethnic development within a nationality, but of their artificial division brought on by a large war.[12]

What Would Be All the Consequences

Third Reason. If two or more national states were to be created of the same nationality, there might be a dual process in their subsequent development: First, the tendency toward unification of the national states of the same nationality into a common unified state, which would signify secession of the ethnic minority from the state where it is located and its annexation to the parent state. Thus the issue of the equality of the ethnic minority would de facto be presented as a territorial problem, as a change of the borders that exist between the various states, and insistence on the status of a national state ("republic") within a previous state would be portrayed as nothing more than a farce, attainment of statehood in order to accomplish the ultimate goal of joining the parent state.

The second, if in actuality the process of instituting an ethnic minority as a new national state were confined within the existing framework, in the framework, say, of a federal state structure, then irredentist activity toward that federal community would be intensified, especially toward that national state which a given ethnic minority previously belonged to and there would also be division within the ethnic minority itself--for and against secession.

In both cases the issue of the given ethnic minority would be raised as a territorial problem--the problem of changing the borders that exist, and probably it could not be otherwise resolved than through armed conflict. Other situations are, of course, possible as well, especially if the social systems in the two states of the same nationality are essentially different; then there would inevitably be ideological disputes about whose system is better and more progressive, and such disputes--as experience demonstrates--are most difficult to resolve by an ideological struggle of opinions, all sorts of weapons, often without restraint, are brought to bear--from propaganda and psychological weapons to military weapons.

About the "Famous Argument"

Fourth Reason. The "strongest" and "main argument" of proponents of the thesis of "Kosovo a Republic" is the "national territorialistic" principle (Lenin's expression), which comes down to the quantitative relationship in the ethnic composition of the population. But even if this is taken as the exclusive point of departure, this "population principle" is not applied to the total population of SR Serbia, in which, for example, the share of the Albanian ethnic minority ranges between 13 and 14 percent, but only to the ethnic composition of the population in Kosovo. As if Kosovo were not part of SR Serbia, which is a national state and self-managing sociopolitical community of the Serbian nationality and members of the other nationalities and ethnic minorities which live together in it. But let us look first at the ethnic composition of the population in Kosovo.

Ethnic Composition of the Population of Kosovo

Nationality	Difference in Size of Population Between 1971 and 1981 (+ or -)	1971 Census	1981 Census	Index Number	Ethnic Composition, % 1971	1981*
Total	340,867	1,243,693	1,584,560	127.4	100.0	100.0
Albanians	+311,256	916,168	1,227,424	134.0	73.6	77.4
Serbs	- 18,472	228,264	209,792	91.9	18.3	13.2
Montenegrins	- 4,680	31,555	26,875	85.2	2.5	1.7
Turks	+ 331	12,244	12,575	102.7	1.0	0.8
Moslems	+ 32,591	26,357	58,948	223.7	2.1	3.7
* Other	+ 19,841	29,105	48,946	168.2	2.3	3.1

Source: Bureau of Statistics of SR Serbia.

This table indubitably shows that the share of the Albanian ethnic minority in the composition of the total population in Kosovo has been growing rapidly, that it already constitutes three-fourths of that population, but that in Kosovo, along with the Albanian ethnic minority, there also live members of Serbian, Montenegrin, and other nationalities and ethnic minorities. There is, then, no "pure ethnos" of the Albanian minority, not now, nor has there ever been in Kosovo, otherwise there would have been no Albanian ethnic minority in Serbia either in the past or now. But we have already seen that this numerical relationship of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo was at one time quite different.

The question of the ethnic minority, then, is ordinarily posed as a problem of living together on a territory with an ethnically mixed population. It is not important how large that territory is, whether we are talking about an opstina, a region, a province or a republic, nor how ma members of the ethnic minority there are; it is in any case a small ethnic group within a nationality, as a large social group, and the two must live together.

FOOTNOTES

11. "New York State ...," Lenin says about the process of assimilation carried out by capitalism, "is like a mill grinding up ethnic differences. What is happening in New York on a large international scale is also happening in every large city and factory settlement. No one who is not steeped in nationalistic prejudice can fail to see in this process of assimilation of nationalities carried out by capitalism an immense historical process of breaking up the isolation of various bear dens--especially in backward places like Russia" ("Nationality Question ...," p 66). It is true that Lenin favored voluntary assimilation, deprived of any sort of coercive pressure and oppression, but the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and LCY, since Tito came to head it, never favored equality of the ethnic minorities in any form of ethnic assimilation, but on the contrary always and consistently favored ethnic equality.

12. In its hankering for such a solution ZERI I POPULIT III says: "The Albanians of small Albania, amounting to nearly 3 million, or of large Albania ... exceeding 5 million, all are Albanians. There is no objection you can make to that, you chauvinist Serbian gentlemen. There are two Germanies, east and west, just as there are two Koreas, north and south, but no one doubts that there exists one people and one German nationality, just as there is one people and one Korean nationality." On the basis of that analogy ZERI I POPULIT argues for statehood to be granted to the Albanian ethnic minority in Kosovo as a part of the Albanian nationality.

[30 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] Socialist Commitment to Community Rather Than Isolationism

For a moment let us set aside all three [sic--translator's note] of the reasons we have stated and take up the supposition that an ethnic minority has organized itself as a state in a part of the territory of the national state of a nationality. Using "its own" newly born state, the ethnic minority would begin to behave as the leading ethnic force in that state, and in its desire to emancipate itself, and probably to cure its own "minority complex"--it would strive toward ethnic homogenization of "its" territory, would exert more or less disguised pressure for emigration of the population belonging to other ethnic groups, would create artificial migrations, and these would be markedly inhumane and nationalistic in nature. If we merely glance at the table on the ethnic composition of the population in Kosovo, we note that the Serbian and Montenegrin population, for example, is diminishing there because of emigration, and we know that that trend has been a lasting one. And artificial ethnic divisions of that kind, especially if they are accompanied by ethnic convulsions and conflicts, would quickly evoke a reaction on the other side--the other nationalities would come to defend their portion of the population, and they themselves might take repressive steps for return of the population to the territory on which the ethnic minority has instituted itself as a state. Natural and economically motivated migrations, which are an imperative in development of the social division of labor, might be halted in that manner, and this would be regressive and indeed even reactionary!

That is why Lenin opposed exclusiveness, was against the Marxists "taking the position of the national territorialistic principle," and favored a determination of new national boundaries corresponding to contemporary capitalistic civilization, rather than "bureaucracy and Asiaticism."[13]

The Large Entities Would Impose Force

Fifth Reason. It is an illusion to suppose that strict ethnic delineation, including also the national states of small and large nationalities, even of ethnic minorities, would in and of itself ensure real national sovereignty and equality. If one is looking for solutions to the equality of nationalities exclusively through the state--then relations among the nationalities and ethnic minorities would be based on the balance of power: The larger and more numerous, those which are stronger and more highly developed in the economic and military

sense, would constantly impose their will and interests on the smaller and weaker nationalities and ethnic minorities; someone would always have the vanguard role and the others would have a subordinate role, not only in the Federation as a federal state, but also in the League of Communists. And as a rule in any society the relatively small and underdeveloped nationalities and ethnic minorities would have the worst of it.

The fact that the equality of the small ethnic groups (ethnic minorities) is sought and seen exclusively through the functions of a state, and indeed through its own organization as a state, signifies in and of itself distrust of the system of social self-management, but also indicates the statist and nationalistic nature of such demands. In other words, the proponents of such demands detach solution of ethnic problems and problems of relations among nationalities from their real working class foundation, destroy all the natural ties between real flows and events in socioeconomic relations and the equality of ethnic groups. That is why they seek the way out and the solution for "their own ethnic position" in a possible conclusion of agreement and bargaining among national bureaucracies, and when this does not succeed--then they make use of various forms of direct or indirect pressure, including demonstrations of uninformed and manipulated parts of the population. This, of course, is nothing specific to bureaucratic nationalism within an ethnic minority: A kind of fetishization of the national state is a fairly general tendency in recent years, but we will speak about that a bit further on.

The Slogan Concerning Vertical Linkage

Sixth Reason. Within the context of the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" the argument was also made of the so-called vertical linkage of all members of the Albanian ethnic minority regardless of the sociopolitical community where they live and work. This would signify political organization on the principle of ethnic characteristics rather than the geographic principle, that is, ethnic organization of the so-called bund type, against which Lenin waged a vigorous fight.[14] In its essence this likewise signifies a so-called territorial assemblage of the Albanian ethnic minority in Yugoslavia under one "umbrella," that is, inclusion of parts of Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, the allegedly "compact Albanian regions" in the imagined "Republic of Kosovo," in another Albanian national state, this one within Yugoslavia. Of all the various arguments, this thesis seems to us the most reactionary, since it is based on two essentially nationalistic postulates: national isolationism and national chauvinism. The first would lead to an artificial and mechanical shattering and dismantling of complex multinational communities, which is what all of the socialist republics mentioned really are. In addition, this would be the basis for isolating the Albanian ethnic minority within the limits of its own "ethnicon," establishment of a Chinese Wall between "its territory" and the other nationalities of Yugoslavia, which is contrary to the objective patterns of social and economic integration of peoples and nations, to the creation and development of socialist commitment to community of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia.

Isolationist Banishment

This kind of isolationist banishment from the life and communications within Yugoslavia would in and of itself and by virtue of its motive also predetermine the status and function of that "newly created" national state, which would again be multinational, but with an Albanian majority in the population. The tendency would be toward absolutization of the interests of the Albanian nationality, for it to consolidate itself in the position of the "leading nationality" in the newly created state, and the bureaucracy from its ranks would represent itself as centralism. Thus members of the other nationalities and other ethnic minorities living on the territory of the "newly created" state would find themselves in the position of ethnic minorities with respect to the Albanian nationality as the principal vehicle of statehood. This would have an impact on relations among the nationalities, above all in that state community which would be closed within itself, it would lead to mutual conflicts and would fan the flames chauvinism, and the outcome would be a majoritorian dominance by the larger, more numerous and stronger group over the smaller and weaker ethnic groups.

It would not, of course, be possible to resolve ethnic disputes in this case within the framework of the "newly created republic" (state); they would inevitably have an impact on overall relations among ethnic groups within the Yugoslav community. Then much larger and more numerous groups than the Albanian ethnic group "could emerge," and they also, on the basis of the same bund principle and "national territorialistic principle" might raise the issue of bringing together the parts of their own nationality living outside the boundaries of their national state. Albanians comprise about 7 percent of the total population in Yugoslavia, Serbs about 40 percent, Croats about 22 percent, and so on, so that there is no need to even mention what sort of dangers of all kinds to ethnic relations and ethnic equality might come from their demand for "territorial assemblage" of their nationalities.

All in all, from the standpoint of Marxism and the Yugoslav revolution and its theory and practice on the nationality question, stated briefly, these have been only the basic reasons why SAP Kosovo cannot be granted statehood in our federal system, that is, why the Albanian ethnic minority in Kosovo, since it is an ethnic minority, cannot institute itself as a national state.

FOOTNOTES

13. "Nationality Question ...," pp 85-86.

14. Militating against the "Bundites" and the national liberalistic and bourgeois conceptions of the nationality question, Lenin, criticizing the well-known "Austrian Program," adopted at the congress, and its possible application in Russia, expressed this idea among other things: "The commune of German colonists in Saratovskaya Guberniya plus the German worker suburb in Riga or Lodz, plus the German settlement near Petrograd, and so on, make up the 'unified ethnic alliance' of Germans in Russia. It is obvious that Social Democrats cannot demand such a thing as to consolidate such an alliance, though by no means do they renounce, of course, the freedom of all

alliances, including alliances of as many communes of as many nationalities in a given state as you like. But separation of the Germans and so on under the constitution from different regions and classes of Russia to form a unified German national alliance might be an enterprise of priests, bourgeois, petty bourgeois, anyone you like—but not Social Democrats" (see Lenin's well-known "Critical Notes on the Nationality Question," in "Nationality Question ...," p 75).

7045
CSO: 2800/313

ARCHBISHOP PROTESTS FINES FOR PUBLICIZING PILGRIMAGE

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 81 p 13

[Excerpt] At the request (dated 8 July 1981) of the Zagreb SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] section for combatting economic crime, the city magistrate courts initiated proceedings against Danijel Labas, parish priest of St Blaz parish in Zagreb, and Mijo Gabric, priest and GLAS KONCILA journalist. On 10 July 1981 city magistrate Mario Mestrovic heard the cases and fined the first 2,000 dinars and the second 1,600 dinars for having organized the production and distribution in Zagreb churches of leaflets and posters entitled "The 250th Pilgrimage of the City of Zagreb" (the poster invited people to the annual Bistrica pilgrimage).

In the request to initiate proceedings it was said that these leaflets and posters "can produce justified complaints and feelings of offense among working people and citizens because of the false and distorted public presentation of their progressive ideological-political commitment to the self-management socialist system." On 13 July 1981 the judge said, they "had offended and denigrated in public places the socialist and national feelings of citizens who are not members of the Catholic Church, thereby violating Article 3, Point 1 of the Law on Violations against Public Law and Order...."

Zagreb Archbishop Franjo Kuharic, before sentences were pronounced, sent to the city magistrate courts the following statement, to which he has not yet received a reply....

1. The pilgrimage of believers of the city of Zagreb to Marija Bistrica has a 250-year-old tradition.

2. The invitation to believers of the city of Zagreb was sent from the undersigned archbishop.

3. The undersigned Zagreb Archbishop is also the author of the text printed in the leaflet which is the subject of the indictment.

As a result, the Zagreb Archbishop takes responsibility for this text. If the basis for any legal blame is contained in it, let this "blame" be assigned to me and if the text is punishable, I personally accept also the penalty for this "fault."

4. The leaflet itself and the poster were distributed to believers within church premises and distributed according to the regulations of the Public Prosecutor. Thus, I see no legal violation here.

5. The title of the leaflet and poster is traditional and there have never been objections to such a title nor do we believe that any well-intentioned person could feel offended by this title.

6. I am aware of the fact that the text of the indictment is absurd and that which has been arbitrarily extracted from my text did not exist either in concept or intention. Perhaps the believers of the city of Zagreb have the right to consider themselves equal citizens of the city of Zagreb. The text of the indictment also offends all the believers of the city of Zagreb because it accuses them of backwardness when it places them in opposition to those who are "progressively, ideologically, and politically committed."

I believe that all this dramatizing of this year's pilgrimage is trumped up and is offensive to all of us who are believers.

7. It astonishes us that the bus transport enterprise which undertook the obligation to transport pilgrims to Marija Bistrica, has now just before the pilgrimage cancelled its obligation. We believe that this contradicts the public statements made about the full equality of believers in this society.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1914

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31 August 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1914

CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

West German Appraisal of GDR Historiography
(Wilhelm Bleek; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 16 Jun 81)..... 1

HUNGARY

Meaning of Communist Commitment Analyzed
(Imre Cserhalmi; NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Jul 81)..... 4

Szakali Interviewed on Work of Central Control Commission
(Jozsef Szakali Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Jul 81)..... 8

POLAND

Civil Defense Alert Procedures Outlined
(ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 29 Mar 81)..... 14

ROMANIA

Perfection of Democracy, Socialist Awareness Examined
(Maria Nastase Georgescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jun 81)..... 18

Roman Presence in Moldavia in First Millenium
(Gh. Teodor; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jun 81)..... 24

YUGOSLAVIA

Drawbacks of Consensus-Seeking Process Described
(Dragos Ivanovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 28 Jun 81)..... 32

Macedonians Discuss Measures To Deal With Albanian Problems
(NOVA MAKEDONIJA, various dates)..... 37

New Albanian Textbooks, by Z. Andreevski
Albanian-Language Teaching
Question of Albanian Flag

Anti-Yugoslav Propaganda in Albanian Dictionary Condemned
(NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 17 Jul 81)..... 42

University Enrollment Disputes Reviewed
(Slavko Stanic; SVIJET, 22 Jun 81)..... 44

WEST GERMAN APPRAISAL OF GDR HISTORIOGRAPHY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Jun 81 p 11

["Signals of a New Opening in Contemporary Historiography? Three Studies on the History of the GDR"--Reviews by Wilhelm Bleek of the following three books: (1) "Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik in der DDR. Das Problem der Periodisierung" (Historiography and Politics in the GDR. The problem of Periodization) by Christina von Buxhoeveden, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1980, 303 pages, DM30.00; (2) "Geschichtswissenschaft im geteilten Deutschland. Entwicklungsgeschichte, Organizationsstruktur, Funktionen, Theorie- und Methodenprobleme in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der DDR" (Historiography in Divided Germany. Developmental History, Organizational Structure, Functions, Problems of Theory and Methodology in the FRG and in the GDR) by Guenther Heydemannn, Erlanger Historische Studien (Erlangen History Studies) Vol 6, Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt/Main, Bern, Cirencester/Britain, 1980, 267 pages, 36.00 Swiss francs; (3) "Kleine Geschichte der DDR" (Brief History of the GDR) by Hermann Weber, Edition Deutschland Archiv, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, Cologne, 1980, 200 pages, DM 12.80. For various references to other items of related information see translation of an earlier West German review of Buxhoeveden's book in JPRS 78075, 14 May 1981, No 1879 of this series, pp 42-44]

[Text] By and large, the history of the GDR is being ignored in the FRG. The general level of our contemporary research and philosophy and of our history and social science instruction concerning the development of the German people is characterized by the title of the trend-setting book by Hans-Peter Schwarz, "Vom Reich zur Bundesrepublik" (From the Reich to the Federal Republic). German history after 1945 is condensed into the history of West Germany and if the development of the SBZ/DDR (Soviet Occupation Zone/GDR) is mentioned, this is mostly done to provide negative contrast material for the postwar history (period) of the FRG. In the fields of educational policy and science we are in the process of giving up the idea of that concept of "unity of the nation" which, on the other hand, we constantly invoke in declarations on questions of the Germany policy and constitutional law.

The realization of these facts was the motive for the publication of a new presentation of the history of the SBZ/GDR by Hermann Wever. The work presents a number of introductions to particular aspects of the GDR (geography, culture, politics, economy), published as special issues of the magazine DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV and meant especially as instructional aids for teachers. These publications can be ordered from the All-German Institute (Adenauerallee 10 5300 Bonn 1).

Pedagogical aims are also the mark of Hermann Weber's 'Brief History of the GDR." The text of this book is illustrated by numerous informative quotations and facsimiles of documents, and is supplemented by chronological tables, short biographies and literature references. The focal point of the presentation is the political development of the GDR against the background of German and world politics. In addition, Weber has included social and economic developments. Weber is primarily interested in presenting the most important facts, but he also does not shy away from evaluation. His analysis is convincing. Only when he uses the adjective "Stalinist," as he frequently does, to characterize the forms of power and organization even after the 20th CPSU Congress (1956), the reader would first like to have had an explanation of the term "Stalinism." The way "Stalinist" is used in the text, it has a pejorative rather than explanatory effect.

Weber's "Brief Histry", to sum up, is not just a popularized sketch, but the currently best scholarly comprehensive presentation of the history of the SBZ/GDR in the FRG, encompassing the extensive detailed knowledge of its author. The "Brief History" is a useful aid in understanding the present politics and situation of the GDR not only because the presentation extends all the way to 1980 but also because it describes clearly the historical inevitability of the present situation of the GDR and the traumatic experiences of its population and leadership.

Course Change of SED Historians

Christina von Buxhoeveden's book presents a more profound interpretation of the still controversial phase of the history of the SBZ/GDR, the "anti-fascist-democratic period" between 1945 and 1952. She explains the contrast between the original goals of the KPD/SED of 1945-46 and the results of 1952 when Ulbricht proclaimed the "construction of socialism" at the second SED Congress. This work makes clear that, contrary to East German claims regarding the "inevitability" of the development and West German claims of a planned "Sovietization," the postwar history of the SBZ/GDR has been marked by ambivalence and openness, by contradictions and course changes caused primarily by the uncertain situation of German politics.

But the real topic of the book is not the events between 1945 and 1952 but rather their interpretation by GDR historians. The author describes in a subtle way the changing and contradictory efforts by GDR historians to coordinate the "anti-fascist-democratic phase" with the periodization scheme of the Marxist-Leninist approach to history. The discussion of historical periods is used by the author to focus attention on the methodological-theoretical efforts of GDR historiography and its complex relationship to politics.

To us in the FRG, the following question is of special interest: where are the basic differences between GDR historiography and its FRG equivalent? what do the two still have in common? is there a possibility of a dialogue between the two kinds of German historiography? These questions are investigated by Guenther Heydemann in his work which ocvers a wide area and is rich in information. It has received this year's Ernst Richert Prize of the Federal Ministry for Inner-German Relations. Heydemann describes the contrast between the developmental history, organizational structure and especially the discussions on methods and theory in the FRG and the GDR. Measured by his own ambitions in regard to content and language, however, Heydemann's book, because of the wide range of its themes, has turned out to be too diffuse and to opinionated and therefore vague.

In his final comparison, Heydemann claims that there is a "certain rapprochement" between the two German historiographies. As a reason for this conclusion he cites the fact that since the middle of the sixties there has been developing in the two German states a parallel socio-political debate on the role of historiocal consciousness, history teaching and the basic discussion of methodology and theory. Also, Heydemann claims that the two historiographies are paying more attention to each other and refer to each other. Heydemann sees the possibility of a more intensive dialogue--if politics (that means the SED) would only permit it.

This conclusion seems to correspond more to the wishful thinking emanating from the Germany policy rather than to the reality of historiography and history teaching in the two German states. Even though the study of history in the GDR is referring more intensively to the work done by its West German "hostile brothers," our own historians and history teachers by and large ignore the history and historiography of the GDR. One look at East and West German history journals and their articles and reviews testifies to the phenomenon that can also be observed in other fields, namely that in the FRG the "unity of the nation" is invoked but rarely practiced, whereas in the GDR it is officially denied but given a certain weight in practice, again and again, especially when it comes to the efforts made by the ruling party to define borders (Abgrenzung).

The fact that three important books on the history and historiography of the GDR have been published in the FRG in the same year does not necessarily refute this critical appraisal of FRG historiography. The publication by Hermann Weber comes from the pen of the West German expert on GDR contemporary history, and the two dissertations by Buxhoeveden and Heydemann have been published by the Erlangen Institute for Society and Science which has specialized in the history of science and in aspects of political science in the GDR. In view of our officially proclaimed goals in regard to the Germany policy, the hope remains that these three new publications will not just be an exception to the rule of FRG ignorance in regard to the GDR, but rather that they will signify a new opening in contemporary historiography and history teaching in the FRG.

8889
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MEANING OF COMMUNIST COMMITMENT ANALYZED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Imre Cserhalmi: "Our Commitment"]

[Text] I would prefer to begin by saying what I write below is intended only for communists. Not because I want to speak only of matters which pertain to members in the inner life of the party, but because I would like to appeal to those who are committed. And yet, I must make a correction already, for what we call commitment is undertaken and born witness to by many more persons than there are party members. And thus there are many who sense and know that to be committed is a condition which was never easy, and it is not easy today.

To be committed, that is, to undertake a consistent and steadfast service to some concern and goal and a way of thinking and form of behavior appropriate thereto represents such a burden to a seriously undertaken responsibility that there is only one thing that can make it bearable: the knowledge that we are one with many others in respect to the most essential substantive elements and tasks of this commitment. For example, in our country the people have come to a basic and broad understanding in their affirmation of socialism, and actually conceiving the building and reality of socialism as the primary national interest.

On the Tuition Fee

I believe I could with cause and good reason still list a number of those general principles and goals from which we can, exclusive of any doubt, experience that the vast majority of our people are committed to us. We do not need a holiday occasion to put this popular-national achievement of ours into words and to place it on a fitting height in our value system. We do not wish to do it with the intention of boasting or for the sake of admiration--although we are genuinely happy for it--but in order that we shall never forget the path we have travelled, where we have come to, and that we should never forget it as a determining factor when we prepare the plans for our future course. Thinking about this seriously and with commitment, we cannot forget, for example, that at times we also had to pay with blood the historical tuition for travelling the road that has led us thus far, and "blind" fate could not always differentiate among the truly responsible, the guilty and the unfortunate. Therefore, when we want to think and act in a way true to our principles, we are obligated to make use of the lessons acquired in our lives as the treasure of history given at dear cost--for the very reason that the commitment to socialism and a people wanting socialism should never again cost superfluous sacrifices and dangers.

on it. Let there be no misunderstanding: in questions affecting the fate of peace, detente, disarmament, that is, the fate of all mankind, there is no stance or strength which is superfluous. But the dimensions of our country make it impossible for us to fulfill a cardinal, determining role in the above questions. On the other hand, the extent of the credit and weight of what it does regarding the outside world depends on what it does inside. How great and valid is its commitment at home? Is it attractive, creative, sincere, and ready and capable of true service?

On Democracy

I believe that we can and must rely to all these questions with what we can say about our democracy. Democracy as a means, which at the present level of our society and its ambition appears to be one of the most important. I would risk saying that even our economic progress depends to a very large extent on the protection and realization of democratic public mentality and democratic social relations, and where necessary on its further development. We are speaking of socialist democracy, which of course recognizes not only rights but also obligations, not only personal sovereignty but discipline, order, exactness and decency. And in the name of the working masses--it is indeed their democracy!--it can only give a social commission for this purpose, it will endure only this; that is, it will consistently take action against the violators. True democracy is indeed committed.

Therefore, it is essential that we cut back in our public life the idle motions of democracy, which would spread wild. We can name as idling, for example, those salutes of administration and empty formalities which in the end reduce operational work. At times, we encumber ourselves with so many preliminary and superfluous conditions before making a decision that by the time the decision is actually made, it can only follow the events, which it should have influenced. And with all this preliminary, obligatory--or "highly recommended"--ceremony, it is the essence itself that is lost: its definite, clear character, its orientation toward a precisely defined goal.

Truly the respect and boldness of commitment is frequently necessary for us to reduce these dangers, and that the administration of democracy will not replace democracy itself, and behind it will not be concealed irresponsibility, refusal to take a position, and the kibitzer. But in the same way from the other aspect, voluntarism should not be able to hide behind it, which would like to shine with commissar virtues (for it is always impatient) there, too, where life is consolidated and with the fig leaf of idle democracy would or could conceal the fact that it wants not even a drop of socialist democracy. We must therefore, constantly be on the alert to know in whose service democracy, as a means, stands and can stand. Because, and with this I conclude the list of examples, it will become a caricature of itself if it does not lead to decisions for the general good, and their deliberate implementation.

On the Interrelationships

I mention our relationship to democracy as the most important practical and daily commitment because it is only a truly democratic atmosphere which can give commitment to its actual standing. Those decisions whose correctness is attested to by

Today, the concept of commitment is being more and more frequently discussed—in speaking of the national interests, in analyzing the situation and prospects of detente, in drafting the tasks of party work, as well as on seeing the various and at times heatedly actual focus of problems in world politics. But this phenomenon is related to the fact that our thinking has modified in recent years: the striving for stability has come to the forefront in the life of the individual and in the fate of the world, the role of the search for a fixed point has increased, and a special importance is given to everything which appears capable of guaranteeing the security of existence.

But actually to everything? Not entirely. And the commitment in these so-called large questions is exactly the fact that it does not seek to protect and build the most precious one, human life, at any price, level, perspective, and in any social medium. Yes, indeed, there are many who say this and may say it, but let us not act as if the world had so many levels and perspectives, or such a range of choices in regard to its future fate.

On the Area of Mobility

The world situation which is called difficult, grave, and fraught with dangers is strained in this way among other things exactly because today the alternatives have been vastly reduced, and the area of mobility for action narrowed. Peace or war, detente and disarmament or privation and nuclear catastrophe, and so on: there is not a tenth or twentieth way, not even a third way! In this situation the billions of people in the world with a sound mind understandably vote for life. This is a constructive act, an important factor, but in itself is still not a commitment. A commitment demands much more than this because the more it wants to know and can understand about the world the greater the responsibility that it bears. Commitment does not rest satisfied with the voice and strength of instinct (no matter how human and true it may be), but rather it "sees into a conscious future" or constantly strives to do so.

We can also put it this way that commitment means a conscious representation of the past and the future in the present. It does not want to lose sight of either experiences and goals. From yesterday it seeks to deduce the tactics of today, but for its sake it is not ready to sacrifice the strategy of tomorrow. We could truly continue to make a long list of what is assumed, meant, demanded by commitment, and what it can result in. It would be justified to look a bit behind the phenomena and to reflect on the prime causes and timeliness of some more frequent word uses. But it is at least useful to this extent, or even more useful, to examine the concrete substance of the concept. If for no other reason than that the road generally leads to nearest, everyday life.

That is, it leads to where it is the most difficult to be committed. Where the uses and successes of commitment depend on the strength and credit of the personality, but in any case is constantly being measured thereon. The fate of the whole world hardly depends on the commitment of a given Hungarian communist or a Hungarian party committee, but the atmosphere of all Hungarian cities, the action capability of a given electoral district, perhaps the happiness of one of our countrymen and the struggle for justice on his behalf may very well depend

the results achieved in the past two decades or more and are recognized everywhere, were formulated through many, often heated debates and conflicting views and opinions. It stems from the nature of debate that in the end life can justify only one side: the side of those who espoused the cause of successful change.

But because life justifies one side, this does not mean this side has any reason or right to dispute that the other side was also thinking intelligently and responsibly, and what is more with sincere commitment to the cause. It would represent simply the expiration of a commitment to the constructive will if anyone were to feel that we must or can now sweep from the great work table of joint and committed thinking whoever said something else when life still had not "spoken out" in its own voice. In a democratic atmosphere we must oppose even the attempt to do anything like this.

Thus it may become more obvious to everyone that in our society the commitment to the constructive intent and to the defense and everyday practice of democracy is interrelated. In fact, it is one and the same thing.

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SZAKALI INTERVIEWED ON WORK OF CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jul 81 p 5

[Interview with Jozsef Szakali, chairman of the Central People's Control Committee, by Gyula Fejer; date and place not specified]

[Text] In recent years the party and the government on a number of occasions have put on the agenda the question of the further development of state control. Decisions and resolutions which promote the modernization of control also increase requirements on central people's control.

We talked with Jozsef Szakali, chairman of the Central People's Control Committee, on timely tasks of central control.

[Question] In respect to control in general, people think of a strict accounting to responsibility and the following unpleasant consequences. But regarding the work of people's control they emphasize everywhere, on the other hand, its helpful intent, and they speak of that. How can you explain this?

[Answer] In our society, all forms of control are basically different from the old, for it serves the interests of the working class and all the working people, it helps in realization of our socialist goals, and it supplements state control with broad social control. A helpful intent, therefore, is the essence of control work. Our organization has the means, independently of different kinds of branch and local interests, to review the whole of social and economic reality, and search out those causes which make it difficult successfully to realize good ideas. In our comprehensive investigations which seek out interrelationships, we look for, above all, an answer to how we can realize more effectively and better than now our possibilities in administration, management and all areas of life.

We Do Our Work Well When We React Rapidly to the Problems of the Population

[Question] According to this, control is a tool for directing social, state and economic life. It is a leadership function?

[Answer] Yes, control is an organic part of leadership, and in directing our social and economic life it is becoming more and more indispensable. Decisions which were promising at an earlier time must now frequently be evaluated and refined after they have been implemented. It is only in this way that we can protect the results we have achieved thus far. Therefore, an improvement in and modernization

of control methods must keep exact pace with the development of the economic guidance system. We do our work well when we react rapidly to the problems affecting the broad strata of the population and when we immediately inform the leadership of experiences that are revealed, and the leadership by the use of this information can make the decisions that will eliminate errors and weaknesses. This was the case, for example, in the investigations that dealt with the situation in the children's institutions, housing distribution, the care of patients, and the revealing of bureaucratic elements in public administration.

[Question] The investigation which has been conducted for many years now regarding energy savings evoked a great reaction, but we still have not reached a point where we could declare that the economy measures have brought the desired results. What do you see as the reason for this?

[Answer] Our method is to discover weaknesses and make recommendations to eliminate the causes. We not only say what the problem is but also give a prescription for the cure. Unfortunately, these documents end up in the file drawer at many enterprises, because of the old attitude that since there was no penalty "we managed to pass" the inspection. Namely, the energy management investigation which affected all branches, made a great number of good and intelligent recommendations worth tons and millions. The controllers offered about 4,000 ideas nationwide, and at a given enterprise they would initiate eight measures on the average of which six would be for eliminating losses and improving efficiency.

[Question] We spoke before of basic and repeat investigations. What is the difference between the two?

[Answer] A basic investigation is the revealing of a subject in the first instance. In earlier years we regarded it as natural to think that we were working well when we did as many basic investigations as possible. But in the course of doing so, we came to realize that this amounted to little more than ticking off the items. Since then we have changed this, and now we do almost as aany repeat investigations as basic ones. In the future we would like to improve this ratio because the true value of our work is frequently latent in the repeat investigations. In all those cases where we regard it as necessary that we ascertain the fate of the jointly developed measures, we do not close the investigation. With the conclusion of the basic investigation we state that we will pay another visit after a certain length of time to see whether the errors have been corrected and whether the measures have brought the expected results. This is not only the repeat inspection of one enterprise or institution but also a control of ourselves. We are not infallible either, and even the best-appearing suggestions must be proved in practice. If we err, we draw the conclusion. Therefore, those frequently expressed beliefs that people's control looks for an exposure at any cost are not real. At the most, only those can assert this who are not familiar with our work.

[Question] But it is also frequently said that the people's control puts the suitability of leaders under the magnifying glass and does not investigate phenomena but the mistakes of persons.

[Answer] This is exactly what I started to talk about. Let me say it plainly: we have been accused of anti-managerialism. But this is a faulty view. Why? Every kind of phenomenon and control occurs among people, and if matters are not

going well at an enterprise we cannot call in the doorman for questionning. We cannot expect a manager to applaud if we lay the negative facts and findings out on the table. But this is the responsbility of the controllers even as it is the initiative for a calling to responsibility. A leadership assignment places special political, economic responsibility on everyone. Most of the managers meet this responsibility. Therefore, if during our investigation we encounter leadership neglect, glaring lack of understanding, arbitrariness, and squandering of social property, it is our obligation to speak up. With his attitude the leader decisively influences the management and atmosphere of the work place, and therefore we call attention to his errors and help him to correct these. However, if someone commits the same errors over and over again and is incapable of change, it is actually he himself who fills out the certificate of unsuitability.

The Creative Element of Socialist Democracy is Open Criticism

[Question] In discussions regarding control, there is another view that crops up: namely, that control obstructs enterprise independence, inhibits the development of creative forces, and sometimes even becomes an end to itself. What is your opinion of these views?

[Answer] Only those assume something like this who do not know the essence of control, they do not know or they do not want to acknowledge that open, honorable debate is the creative element of socialist democracy, and the basis thereof is a well-intentioned search that seeks to reveal facts. Who would say that we violate enterprise independence if we reveal weaknesses in certificate accounting discipline or lack of organization within the plan, and we point out ways of how it could be done better or in some other way? Moreover, we also promote the circulation of good, successful methods, for the controller performing the investigation works at a similar plant or institution and is exceptionally knowledgeable of his profession. That is why he can give advice.

The people's control is an economic and political school of education, its social workers examine how certain organs function from the property right point of view. In the capital city and the megyes, the people's control matters. At the same time, last year for example, 25,000 of our social worker colleagues participated in national and local investigations. It has already become general practice for people's controllers to be asked about investigations at their places of work and for their advice to be requested. This has a dual benefit. On one hand, they anticipate errors and failing reports--that is, they learn from the errors of others; and on the other hand they take over adaptable experiences and methods.

[Question] How can an apparatus with such a small staff meet the requirements of such proliferating tasks?

[Answer] A small independent apparatus working at the KNEB [Central People's Control Committee] and at the 142 area committees, that is capital city, megye, city, city-jaras and ward committees, is sufficient for they only help out and serve the social army. The professionals of people's control are encompassed by elected bodies, their work is supported by those people's controllers who because of special social honor and party commission receive letters of reference. Therefore, it is actually the area committees that maintain relations with our social

worker colleagues. They perform their work based on a good political background, helping to prepare and implement local party and state leadership decisions. The area committees build relations not only with the local party organs. It is becoming more and more common for the people's front, KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League], the trade unions, the public prosecutors, and others to help in the work of the people's control and to mutually utilize experiences.

[Question] Can you give us a new example in cooperation?

[Answer] Recently, the activisits of the people's front and the people's controllers investigated why sow stocks of household and auxiliary farms were declining throughout the country. They called on the persons concerned, noting the complaints of the animal breeders, namely that there was not enough fodder, they were not satisfied with the work of the purchasers, and they were not receiving the profits they had anticipated. The participants in the investigation came together to review and discuss their experiences at a national conference, where leaders of the Agricultural and Food Ministry were also present. Based on the idea that many eyes see more things, they worked out proposals to improve the situation. The Council of Ministers discussed these proposals and ordered worthwhile measures which are still having a positive effect.

[Question] The people's control is an organization which embraces branches and is missioned for complex investigations. Of course, this approach cannot do without cooperation with the ministries and the national authorities. Can you tell us about this?

[Answer] We are trying to conduct as few and as basic investigations as possible. In addition to this feature of our work, I can also speak of another: we are trying to receive information from as many ministerial heads as possible on measures taken following the KNEB investigations. For example, the minister of health informed the Central People's Control Committee of the situation regarding dentistry for children. Most recently, the minister of domestic trade gave us information on measures taken to improve the commodity supplies of the population, and on their results. Those who provide this information serve the public interest, for they find methods to eliminate problems that affect many people. Together with the exchanges of experience, there is an increase in control tasks carried out jointly with the ministries. But the ministries, the national authorities and the people's control seek for possibilities of better cooperation not only in large, comprehensive subjects but also strive to investigate more successfully the reports and complaints of public interest. This is not a small task, for last year 5,000 reports of public interest and 2,000 complaints were received by the people's control.

People Often Turn to Us Because They Receive No Answers at the Work Place

[Question] What can be read in general from the public interest reports, what is their fate?

[Answer] Nowadays people react sensitively to negative phenomena; for example, to weaknesses in management, to bureaucratic or insensitive administration, to abuse of power, and to offenses against social property. This sensitivity is a

good sign: it indicates a bent toward and an interest in public life. It also happens that a letter writer may not reveal his identity. Undeniably, some of these writers maintain improbabilities either deliberately or for lack of appropriate information. But there are also some good reports among them, which also provides food for thought because the sender of such a letter fears reprisal either on solid or imaginary grounds. Unfortunately, we have not yet succeeded in making it generally known that those who report matters of public interest are protected by law.

The people's controllers at the area committees and at the KNEB handle every case with the same thoroughness. It has been our experience that people often turn to our organization because they failed to receive a satisfactory reply to their observations at their work place.

Many call attention to weaknesses in supplies to population and consumer services. Nor do they fail to comment on the fact that the work of the auto repair industry has scarcely improved despite higher prices. It is still difficult to obtain many kinds of parts, and thus the repair of durable consumer items often takes a long time. Moreover, the services--although this is the regulation--do no willingly exchange household appliances and automobiles that cannot be fixed for a long time. Both those who make complaints and those who send in reports of public interest frequently object to the operation of housing cooperatives, chiefly the house construction cooperatives. The proliferation of these signs has prompted us to begin a basic investigation of the housing cooperatives.

[Question] How do you make use of public interest reports?

[Answer] First of all, we investigate everything, and then we inform the interested state organs as necessary. But it has also happened that a given public interest report will result in an investigation of national dimensions. Such, for example, was the report which at the time called attention to weaknesses in children's nourishment, which by a chain reaction, as it were, was put on the agenda in villages, jarases, cities and interest in it still has not finally subsided.

It is our goal to improve further the handling of reports. In the future I would like to see it made general for our committee to meet personally with those who submit public interest reports. It is a happy development that in more and more places people's control groups are being formed of young people, pensioners, who are expressly specializing in the investigation of public interest reports.

[Question] Increasing the effectiveness of control is a task that is on the agenda. In conclusion, therefore, I would request you tell us what tasks face people's control in the coming period.

[Answer] The people's controllers will perform serious investigations. I shall mention two such investigations where by experiences we can count on public interest in the near future. One is the analysis of the relationship between enterprise manpower management and the change in the product structure. The other cuts to the bone: it will investigate the implementation of the MT [Council of Ministers]-SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] resolution regarding plant democracy.

Of course, it is not enough to assemble a list of serious investigations. One of the conditions of further progress is that we should plan our work more far-sightedly and more basically, for we would like our investigations to be more effective, and help theleading organs better in their work of preparing decisions. But this will not come about by itself. We ourselves must prepare the work better, and it also depends on us to reveal the facts and the errors more fundamentally at the site.

We would like to broaden the practice of having the people's controller discuss his suggestions on site with the interested people, because for the most part these are accepted and implemented by local people. We would like to raise the level of continuation training and orientation, and further strengthen the social character of people's control. In the future, we shall devote greater attention to repeat controls because only consistent calling to account can create better work. In wake of the investigations we must work out good, usable recommendations, and we must work more consistently than heretofore to implement them. In any event, we are seeking to give the party and state leadership more valuable help to prepare decisions and to supervise their implementation.

6691
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CIVIL DEFENSE ALERT PROCEDURES OUTLINED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 13, 29 Mar 81 p 14

[Text] An important element of the civil defense system is the ability to warn the population before a threat. This is accomplished by a uniform warning and alert network for the whole country. Within the framework of this system, alert sirens were installed in all cities. The alert may also be publicized via radio, television, radio cars and such alternative means as bells, gongs, factory sirens and lights.

The subject of today's "lesson" are the types of alerts and the means of publicizing them, and behavior in the event of their declaration.

Air Alert

This alert is to warn of an air attack and is announced by a 3-minute siren with a modulated sound. It may also be transmitted over the radio, television or by radio car, with the words "Attention! Attention! I am announcing an aerial alert for the town (area) of..."

The signal ending the alert may be a constant 3-minute siren or an announcement via radio, television or radio car stating "Attention! Attention! I am canceling the aerial alert for the town (area) of..."

If at home when the aerial alert sounds, the first thing to do is to disconnect all types of stoves--electric and gas, heaters and lights (fuses), close the gas inlet and extinguish coal stoves and ovens. Second, take personal anticontamination items, lock the apartment and together with the remaining tenants go to the shelter or other hiding place.

If the alert signal occurs while at school or at work, unquestioningly follow the instructions of the school, enterprise or institution authorities (otherwise, panic might easily result). Production peculiarities of some industries might require that a portion of the crew remain at their work stations or at least in their vicinity. (Suitable hiding places should be ready.) The others should go to hiding places and shelters.

If in some unexpected place when the aerial alert sounds, obey instructions transmitted by loudspeakers. In the event that there are no such instructions, hide in

nearby hiding places. If caught on the edge of town when the alert sounds, it is best to take any available transportation out of town, where it will be safer.

Since after an aerial alert the danger of a nuclear attack may be expected, it is worth knowing certain protective properties of the land, buildings and even vehicles against the effects of nuclear weapons.

The shock wave of a nuclear blast acts much more strongly on a person on the slope of an elevation on the side of the blast than on someone on the other side of a hill or building.

Ravines, gullies and other ground indentations also have shelter properties. Their degree depends, however, on their depth and location in relation to the spreading of the shock wave. If the earth's indentation runs in the same direction as the spread of the shock wave, its shelter properties are zero. But if it runs perpendicular or at an angle to the wave, then the shock wave's negative effect is reduced twofold or even threefold.

Narrow ravines have the best shelter properties, but one can and should take advantage of such ground shelters as hillocks, depressions and bomb and missile craters. There is also some shelter in the growth on the ground, especially woods, which to a large degree slow down the air velocity in a shock wave.

Nagasaki, on which the Americans exploded an atom bomb in 1945, lies in a river valley which is surrounded on both sides by 300-400 meter hills. During the nuclear explosion, the hill chain and its vegetation created a shadow which covered a quarter of the city. In this section the number of people injured was three times smaller, and the number killed five times smaller, than in the other sections of the city. This shows that the terrain's shape and cover also offer shelter against thermal and penetrating radiation. (For instance, a sparse, leafy wood weakens thermal radiation twofold.)

A person who is caught by a nuclear blast on open land should immediately hide behind a tree, building, mound or any other obstruction in the terrain. If there is no such obstruction in the vicinity, one should fall face down on the ground with the feet in the direction of the blast, palms under the body and eyes closed. This may prevent burning of hands and face and blindness, as well as reduce the effects of the shock wave.

If the explosion occurs when at home, lie down on the floor by the external (window) wall or hide behind a cabinet for shelter against thermal radiation and rubble.

Truck beds (covered and shielded with canvas) or the driver's cab are also shelters against thermal radiation. At the first flash of the explosion, the driver should immediately duck below the windshield for shelter against thermal radiation and debris. Persons finding themeelves in an open truck should lie face down on the bottom of the platform and if possible against the wall lateral to the blast.

Warning of Contamination Threat

This usually follows the announcement of an air alert. Its signal is the three-time repetition (via radio, television and radio car) of "Attention! Attention!

Persons finding themselves in the area of (...) around (hour, minutes), may be threatened with contamination (type of contamination) from the direction of..."

Cancellation of the warning is announced by the repetition three times of the words "Attention! Attention! I am canceling the warning concerning contamination threats (e.g. radioactivity, chemicals)" or a continuous three-minute siren.

Warning of contamination threats should be announced at the latest one-half hour before radioactive fallout or chemical contamination. Thus there will be plenty of time to close apartment windows and doors, stuff unnecessary openings and hide in shelters. Before going to a shelter or other hiding place, make sure that the apartment has been safeguarded against radioactive fallout.

Food must also be remembered. Food remaining in the apartment should be put into refrigerators, cabinets and boxes. A supply of water should also be left.

One should take to the shelter personal anticontamination remedies as well as the necessary food and water supply (for at least 2 days).

It may happen that there is no time to warn against the threat of contamination, and then a contamination alert will be announced.

Contamination Alert

This is announced by means of a siren. A sound lasting 10 seconds will be emitted every 15-20 seconds for 3 minutes. The alert may also be announced by the repetition three times of "Attention! Attention! I am announcing a contamination alert for (type of contamination) for the town (area) of..."

Cancellation of the alert is by three-time repetition of "Attention! Attention! I am canceling the alert for contamination (type) for the town (area) of..." The alert may be canceled by means of a siren sounding continuously for 3 minutes (as in the warning of contamination threat).

As soon as the alert is sounded, go to the shelter or other hiding place, taking with you personal protection items, food and water supplies, change of clothing, toilet articles, etc.

How much time is spent in the shelter and further action depend on the area in which there is contamination. If it is an area of moderate contamination (A), then the stay in the shelter is relatively short--several hours. In the city, it is possible to remain in the apartment, but on the condition that it is properly safeguarded against radioactive fallout. When staying at home, it is absolutely necessary to take advantage of personal protection resources. At the workplace, work may be continued, but also on the condition that personal protection is practiced. Outdoor work should be discontinued for at least 3-4 hours.

In an area of strong contamination (B), staying in the open could result in a dose of radioactivity causing radiotoxemia within 12 hours, which is why protection efforts must be much greater. During the first 3 days, time spent outdoors must be limited

to the fullest extent. Do not go out earlier than 12-14 hours from the time the alert is sounded.

In an area of dangerous contamination (C) or especially dangerous contamination (D), exposure to radiation can be prevented only by remaining in shelters, and that for a period of several days. Later, it is possible to leave the shelter, but only for a very short time (up to an hour).

In the event of chemical contamination, personal protection steps must be immediately initiated.

Attention: In the event of contamination by a poisonous liquid, do not look for shelter, but rather for antiseptic remedies.

9461
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ROMANIA

PERFECTION OF DEMOCRACY, SOCIALIST AWARENESS EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 81 pp 11, 12, 52

[Article by Dr Maria Nastase Georgescu: "Democracy and Socialist Awareness"]

[Text] The perfection of democracy during the current stage of the development of our society requires the broad participation of the workers in the elaboration and carrying out of all the country's domestic and foreign policies. The direct and responsible involvement of the members of society in leadership activities represents the sole means of fulfilling the objectives of socialism under the best conditions. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the 60th anniversary of the party, "It is necessary for us to be fully aware that the new stage of development requires an improvement in the organization and activities of our socialist state and a democratization of organizational forms in order to permit all workers, regardless of their nationality, and all the people to participate directly in the elaboration of all the state's domestic and foreign policies and in their fulfillment."

The achievement of such a requirement calls for the development of consultative facets in the participation of the masses in leadership activities through the information that precedes the decisionmaking act regarding the variety of the demands and requirements, as well as through the information that stems from review activities on the carrying out of decisions. Similarly, an important role in this regard is played by the contribution of the masses to the decisionmaking act in their areas of competence and specialization and through the direct cooperation of the overall leadership factors with the workers and specialists in different sectors.

Socialist democracy is expressed in the fact that the people's power is the expression of the workers' interests and belongs to the masses through their participation in leadership. A substantial modification in the content of socialist democracy, one which proves its superiority, lies in the fact that, for the first time in history, the overall leadership of society is subordinated to the interests of all its members.

By virtue of the existence of socialist production and social relations, the objective roots that blocked the exercise of leadership in accordance with the fundamental interests of all the members of society have disappeared. The

elimination of antagonisms and the dynamics of the fundamental interests of the social classes and categories during the construction of the socialist society, in the direct of bringing them closer together and harmonizing them, ensure the premises for modifying the relationship of the individual with the collective group so that the affirmation of the workers' rights and liberties is not done by restricting these rights in favor of other social category, but by creating the opportunities for the affirmation of each individual, with this representing a condition for the development of the overall socialist society.

The achievement of the attributes of the superiority of socialist democracy is necessarily combined with the communist party's direction of leadership, as an expression of the political position of the working class and its common interests with the other categories of workers, whose development and emancipation are tied to the advancement of all of society.

At the same time, the effective and permanent participation of the masses in leadership activities is the aspect that gives a real content to the process of developing and perfecting democracy. The direct, active participation of the working masses in the management of enterprises and institutions, all socialist units and all of society constitutes a legal requirement. In this context, democracy is shown to be a motive force that directly influences the achievement of the objectives and values of socialism. As a result, any underestimation of the necessary nature of the participation of the masses in management becomes the source of serious dysfunctions; first of all, due to the fact that currently the complexity of leadership activities call for the ever more intense use of the thoughts and experiences of those who are directly involved in the production process and in the operations of the most varied fields of social affairs. This requirement is expressed as an objective tendency of contemporary times, which, especially under the conditions of socialism, have broad opportunities for achievements.

Similarly, the guarantee for the affirmation of socialism's values is closely tied to the manner in which the masses' contribution is ensured in harmonizing relations between the objectives of leadership and the interests of the social classes and groups, in accordance with the specific historical conditions and the possibilities existing at a given moment. Since the fundamental common interests do not mean identical interests, they do not exclude the existence of certain contradictions, both with regards to their different particular aspects and with regards to the manner in which the relationship is expressed between current and future interests. This statement even more clearly shows the importance of the masses' contribution regarding the strategy of priorities and opportunities and their consensus in establishing options. The overall functionality of society influences the general satisfaction of interests, and the adequate reflection of this as particular interests of a class, a group or even a sociodemographic category presupposes the intensification of the broad masses' participation in different forms and phases of the leadership process.

Since not even under socialism can an abstraction be made of the problem of specific interests, the modification of the statute on ownership by acquiring the attribute of collectivity does not in itself solve the relationship between the general interests and those of a group or an individual. The new type of ownership does not automatically produce changes in the awareness and behavior of the producers of goods, activities and services. Behaviors have been dominated for a long time by the models belonging to the old systems, while the manner in which the workers relate to socialist ownership frequently takes on an abstract form.

During the process of building socialism, it is true that the complexity of the tasks and certain conditions within some of the socialist countries (the working class was not sufficiently developed from a numerical point of view, the masses had a low level of culture and professional competence and so forth) caused a large portion of the attributes of the right to collective ownership to be assumed by the central organs of power and administration. This situation created not only a voluminous administrative apparatus, but also resulted in, among other things, expressions of formalism, the lack of responsibility, disinterest and so forth.

The measures adopted by our party for the introduction of worker self-administration and self-management have increased the role of the workers collective in the proper administration of that portion of the social wealth entrusted to them and their responsibilities in the solution of the different problems of economic and social activities. In this manner, a real opportunity has been created for a functional decentralization that will lead to the streamlining of the administrative apparatus and to the elimination of certain negative aspects in management activities, such as parallelism, lack of mobility and diverse forms of bureaucratic activities. On the other hand, worker self-administration and self-management is designed to contribute to the practical political education of the workers.

Democratic awareness is expressed in a variety of ways. First of all, we should mention the awareness of the need to effectively and permanently participate in different forms of management and organization and, in general, in the carrying out of all fields of activity under good conditions. The development of the habit of participating, an expression of a right and a duty to society, is influenced by an organizational framework and a democratic climate in interpersonal relations that will permit the masses' continuing access to all the aspects of the management process, as well as by professional competence. Precisely for that reason, many of the forms of participation are gradually expressed during the process of democratic practices.

Participation requires the awareness of responsibilities. In analyzing the manner in which the new economic-financial mechanism is currently operating. comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed on a number of occasions the importance of using

the full potential of the existing institutional framework in our country for the affirmation of democracy, emphasizing that in the operation of this framework formal aspects sometimes appear. It has come out that one of the aspects that lead to the maintenance of certain shortcomings is closely tied to responsibility, imposing the need to improve and even correct the legal framework, including in the plan, for the purpose of more precisely establishing personal and collective responsibilities.

In the carrying out of democratic affairs, a series of shortcomings can be found whose causes also have their basis in negative phenomena of awareness. The mechanical application of certain normative acts, decisions and directives of the higher party organs without keeping in mind the different specific conditions can lead to undesired results which are sometimes contrary to the outlined objectives. Many times, attitudes of formalism in leadership make abstracts out of the need for certain measures that will make a prior analysis of the current and future consequences that will be brought about by their implementation. This means of action hides a narrow political horizon, be it from a certain type of convenience or from insufficient professional competence. In some cases, a lack of responsibility os covered up by principled orders or directives from higher organs. Rigidity and bureaucratic practices in the operation of certain organs have continued to be expressed in some situations precisely as an expression of a lack of responsibility. A clear example in this regard was pointed out by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Conference on Agriculture, noting that much time is lost in filling out documentation in order to justify the failure to achieve plan tasks "instead of the specialists, ministry personnel and personnel from agricultural organs going out into the fields to take specific actions to find the necessary solutions for fully carrying out the plan."

As an operating principle of the state and society, democratic centralism finds its adequate implementation and its full or potential affirmation only if it is adapted to each stage of development in the building of the socialist society. The operation of this principle during the current stage, and the functional decentralization which it requires, does not effect the unity of leadership, but involves the growth of the degree of the masses' creativity and the increase in the workers' initiatives in different sectors of activity, as well as in mass and public organizations. At the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party and in other party documents, expressions of excessive centralism and bureaucratism were pointed out in the work of the state apparatus. Among those solutions outlined was the need for the activities of the leadership councils in the ministries and other central organs to be based upon the active participation of the masses of workers and specialists. In this regard, the March 1981 Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party stressed the need to increase the requirements of the leadership cadre in the different fields of activity and the collective responsibilities in the promotion of this participation.

Creativity and initiative are incompatible with a lack of order and discipline. The unity between the general interests and particular interests call for the strengthening of law, order and discipline, conditions for achieving democracy and carrying out the objectives of socialism. The requirements of the current stage of development of socialist democracy call for order and discipline and respect for the law to be achieved by increasing self-control and self-discipline regarding one's own activities and by consciously adopting them to the behaviors of the workers.

Since the state exercises the right to issue orders in the name of the collective owners of the means of production for the purpose of satisfying the interests of all the members of society, dysfunctionalities at the level of an economic unit or institution can have negative effects upon the functionality of overall society. In this sense, the perfection of democracy cannot be conceived outside of the responsibilities for the general interests of society, and the development of autonomy and initiatives from below is necessary only within the framework of a unified leadership and a single development program for society.

Our party has analyzed the factors that lead to the development and perfection of democracy, stressing, among other things, the need to increase the degree of the masses' culture and pometence, the development of socialist awareness, the improvement of the organizational framework and the implementation of the principles of leadership in accordance with each stage of development. In this context, an institutional network, unique in its own way, was created that permits the participation of the workers in the leadership of different sectors of activity and all of society.

An important role in the masses' participtation in the leadership of society is played by the public organizations (trade unions, cooperatist unions, youth organizations, women's organizations and so forth), representing the social classes and categories and the sociodemographic and socioprofessional groups that characterize the current social structure of our country. Such organizations are designed to express, at the level of the overall social system, the specific requirements and peculiarities of the different social categories, class interests, group interests and individual interests. Along this line, the Second Congress of Trade Unions forecast the growth of the role of the public organizations in general in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

The process of organically integrating public power in society is achieved through a continuing improvement in the relationships in bringing closer together and of cooperation between party and state organs, mass and public organizations and the workers collectives in different sectors. The originality of our political system is also expressed in the manner in which the state organs more and more combine the principle of representation with direct forms of mass participation. At the same time, the mass and public organizations, generally constituting the

direct forms of worker participation in leadership, are included through their representatives at the level of all state organs and other collective leadership organs. Similarly, one can stress the practice of attracting the masses into the leadership of society in their fields of competency and specialty through the multiple and varied means of dialogue with the party and state organs.

The move to a new quality in the area of political affairs and in the process of perfecting democracy requires a growth in the social awareness of the masses. The exigencies called for during the current stage of development in our society and the intensification of the workers' direct participation in the diverse aspects of leadership activities require the broadening of the workers' political horizons. Among the considerations that more clearer point out this requirement, we can note the acceptance of certain public functions by the broad masses; the accentuation of the masses' review at all levels; the diversification of the forms of consulting with the workers and the growth of the role of public opinion in the variety of its forms of expression; the extension of the principle of collective work; and, the strengthening of the law as an expression of the workers' conscious mastery of it.

In addition to political-ideological activities, one of the most efficient means of developing awareness is practical political education. Effective participation in the solution of different social problems accelerates the process of developing awareness and leads to a growth of social responsibility.

Along with the development of socialist society and the maturation of social, political and ideological conditions, the opportunities are created for the perfection of socialist democracy and the affirmation of its capacity as a motive force for the new order. The especially complex tasks of the current stage in our country require the use of the entire potential offered by socialist democracy in the variety of its significance, not only as an expression of leadership exercised in the name of the masses, but especially as an effective and permanent participation by the masses.

Together with a growth in the role of socialist awareness, the development of democracy represents especially significant coordinates for carrying out the objectives of the 12th Party Congress for creating a multilaterally developed socialist society.

8724
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ROMAN PRESENCE IN MOLDAVIA IN FIRST MILLENIUM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 5 Jun 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Dr Dan Gh. Teodor of the "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of History-Archeology in Iasi: "The Roman Presence in Moldavia in the Second Half of the First Millenium"]

[Text] As a result of numerous and broad archeological research efforts undertaken throughout Romania to understand the history of the first millenium of our times, a significantly large number of scientific data has been accumulated in recent decades which has resulted in bringing up for discussion again certain aspects of the problem regarding the formation of the Romanian people from new points of view, compared to those of the inter-war period historiography. These new points of view are incomparably richer, more complete and closer to the historical realities of the development of this process.

In this context, the numerous archeological discoveries in the region to the east of the Carpathians, some of them of great scientific value obtained as a result of broad diggings, probes or intensive surface research, as well as the comparative studies regarding similar and contemporary vestiges from the rest of Romanian territory, gave the researchers a rich and significant number of data. Their use contributed to the clarification or precise understanding of certain aspects referring especially to the characteristics and evolution of local civilizations during the period of the fourth to tenth centuries A.D. In this regard, the fact must be stressed that, just as in the entire Romanian Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian region and in the regions to the east of the Carpathians, the continuity of the native population during the period of the fourth to the tenth centuries A.D. can be followed in the rural areas, where the sedentary Daco-Romanian resistance and, later, that of the Romanians preserved the ancient forms of organization, such as the village council with its mixed economy - agricultural and pastoral - and with its internal structure differing from that of the communities in the neighboring territories. This continuity during this historical period is illustrated by the life style adopted by the native people under the specific political and social-economic conditions brought about by the temporary presence there of certain migratory peoples.

Contrary to certain older or newer theories lacking scientific substantiation, the archeological research carried out in recent decades incontestably prove that the Romanization process of the Geto-Dacian population did not end with the abandonment of Dacia province, but, on the contrary, it continued and even intensified during the course of the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., gradually and irreversibly encompassing the extra-Carpathian territories. Furthermore, it is known that the presence of the Roman Empire for a certain period of time, during the third and fourth centuries A.D., in some parts of Wallachia and Oltenia, as well as in southern Moldavia, favored the continuation of the Romanization process not only in these territories, which were effectively occupied and for a long time became a kind of annex to Moesia, but also in the regions farther away from the Danube, to the east of the Carpathians, which were also closely tied to the Roman material and spiritual life from earlier times. Numerous settlements and necropolises dating to the end of the fourth century until the middle of the fifth century and spread to an equal degree in all forms in Dacia to the east of the Carpathians (many of these places were methodically researched through broad archeological diggings) offer important proof about the stage of socioeconomic development of the native people and the clearly Roman traits that characterize the civilization specific to these regions. Such discoveries were made at Nicolina and Ciurchi-Iasi, Nichiteni and Corlateni-Botosani, Zaharesti-Suceava, Costica and Davideni-Neamt, Dodesti and Valea Seaca-Vaslui, Barcea-Galati and so forth.

In the great majority of the cases, the settlements from that era (and frequently the necropolises as well) are placed over other older settlements from the immediately preceding period or, in some cases, are covered by those dating from a later era, which constitutes, without a doubt, eloquent proof not only about the continuity of the native populations in all its forms in these Romanian regions, but also about the uninterrupted existence, on the same village locations, of Daco-Romans who never abandoned their native lands.

Just as in the rest of the Carpatho-Ponto-Danubian region, the archeological research conducted to the east of the Carpathians offered numerous and important proofs that attest to a prosperous life there based on agriculture, raising cattle and practicing numerous crafts, with metalworking occupying first place. The developed tools discovered in the areas researched, the existence of certain iron ore reduction furnaces, pottery sheds and workshops for making ornaments, the rich variety of vases made on a wheel or by hand showing certain Dacian traditions and, especially, Roman ones, the system of building houses and furnaces and other items are essential elements that distinguish the civilization of the native people to the east of the Carpathians, as well as in the other areas of the country, from the material culture belonging to the diverse migratory populations which temporarily came into contact with them and which, for a certain period of time, dominated some of them in the Carpathian-Danubian regions.

In the evolution of the Carpathian-Danubian society, beginning with the middle of the fifth century, the development of certain historical events marks a separate stage with favorable consequences for the development of the Roman presence in these regions. Thus, the immediate effects of the end of political domination by the Huns in the middle of the fifth century (a domination that lasted there for approximately three-quarters of a century) were expressed, in certain regions of the country, by the establishment of a period of nearly a century of relative peace and, we could even say, of some economic progress which primarily benefitted the native population, temporarily freed from the uncertain political domination that constituted an impediment to its development. Also benefitting from this new situation, which appeared after the middle of the fifth century, the East Carpathian region, characterized by the civilization generally named the Costisa-Botosani type, illustrates the stage of internal development of the local society during the period of the fifth to sixth centuries A.D. while at the same time showing the nature, intensity and multitude of its relations with the Romano-Byzantine world of the Lower Danube.

Established on the basis of the Daco-Roman material and spiritual culture of the preceding era, the Costisa-Botosani type civilization, in addition to the numerous elements of an older Dacian or Roman style preserved within its make-up, also presents many new characteristics, a consequence of its uninterrupted evolution and its ties to contemporary and similar aspects documented throughout the rest of the country's territory, of the type identified in Transylvania at Bratei, Sighisoara, Taga, Poian, Moresti, Berea and so forth, or in Wallachia and Oltenia at Ipotesti, Bucuresti, Tirgsor, Cindesti, Ciresanu and so forth. In this context, one can show, specifically and overall, the originality and especially the unity of the Roman material and spiritual culture throughout old Dacia, proving with arguments of great scientific value the fact that its founders are Romanized Dacians not only from the former territories administered by the Romans, but also from beyond them, from the rural areas of the free Dacians.

The numerous archeological discoveries in recent years, tools and ornaments, ceramic work of local design and Roman influence, the type of settlements, houses and furnaces, the Romano-Byzantine imports, the use of bronze Byzantine coins and the sedentary agricultural and handicraft nature of the settlements, in general constitute eloquent proof regarding the stage of socioeconomic development of the native population and the Roman content of its civilization. Furthermore, the earlier discovery of numerous vestiges of a Christian nature throughout the entire region to the east of the Carpathians shows the early and massive spread of Latin Christianity, conclusively accepted here not only as a result of the old and multiple ties with the South Danubian Roman world, but also as a natural result of common Latin ethnic, cultural and linguistic traits which characterized both the native population there and the one to the south of the Danube. Such discoveries, some of them of great scientific importance, are seen at Botosana-Suceava, Davideni-Neamt, Traian-Bacau, Costesti-Iasi, Dodesti and Murgeni-Vaslui, Stoicani-Galati and so forth.

Certainly, in maintaining and strengthening the North Danubian Roman presence during the period of the fourth to the seventh centuries A.D., an important role was played by the multiple and permanent ties between the native population and the Roman-Byzantine Empire. In this regard, we must also emphasize the significance of the existence, all along the Danube, of numerous Romano-Byzantine cities that were not only defensive fortresses for the empire, but also economic, political and cultural centers having broad influence in the Romanization process to the north of the Lower Danube.

As the rich and significant archeological discoveries therefore show, during the course of the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. to the north of the Lower Danube and in the old territories of Dacia, there was a broad ethnic, linguistic and cultural Roman area having its own original and unified characteristics.

Towards the middle and the second half of the sixth century A.D., new and important political events effected the Romanian region to the east of the Carpathians, primarily because of its geographic position. Beginning with the middle of the sixth century, and especially in its second half, more or less compact groups of Slavs penetrated and temporarily settled in the East Carpathian regions and on the eastern part of the Danubian Plain, avoiding the lands of Dobrudja which were still firmly defended by the Empire. Although the penetration and temporary settlement of Slavs in the extra-Carpathian regions of Romania in the second half of the sixth century did not have a peaceful impacy, as can be easily understood, the life in the villages of the native population continued at an intense level, despite the clear disruption of the local production forces caused by the new demographic movements that occurred during this era and continued throughout the seventh century, effecting the entire Carpatho-Ponto-Danubian region. The burying of certain Byzantine monetary treasures in the southern part of Moldavia and eastern Wallachia, containing coins from the end of the sixth century or from the first decade of the next century (at Cudalbi and Movileni-Galati; Horgesti-Bacau; Gropeni-Braila; Plumbuita and Unirea-Ialomita), clearly reflects the fact that the massive penetration of the new migrators and, later, their movement into the Empire disturbed the development of certain regions to the north of the Lower Danube more than was presumed.

In the territory to the east of the Carpathians, the most important archeological research into areas dating from this period (the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.), were undertaken at Botosana, Udesti and Sipot-Suceava, Cucorani-Botosani, Bacau-Curtea Domneasca, Davideni and Izvoare-Neamt, Crucea lui Ferent-Iasi, Dodesti-Vaslui and so forth. The data obtained from these discoveries, which are especially important and significant, gave the researchers the opportunity to carry out a careful and complex analysis on the basis of which they succeeded in identifying the characteristics that define the civilization of the native population on one hand and the material culture belonging to the Slavs that penetrate this region, on the other hand.

As shown by the results of the archeological research carried out, the great majority of the objects dating from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. are layered over other, older ones, offering the opportunities to find not only a clear continuity of settlements on the same spot and in all forms, but also to make a comparative analysis of the evolution of the native population during this time, when new penetrations of migratory populations occurred. It was found that houses continued to be built in the same manner as during the preceding era, having the same type of stove, built from stones or clay, and the same bread oven, of the Roman type. Inside the houses, they generally discovered the same tools used in agriculture or in diverse handicrafts and household work, with most of them, as well as ornamental objects and Christian objects, produced right there in specialized workshops. They found numerous iron ore reduction furnaces specialized tools, melting pots, printing presses, iron blooms and so forth at Botosana-Suceava, Udesti, Costesti-Iasi, Davideni, Fedesti and Horga-Vaslui, Cucorani-Botosani and so forth. The pottery works in the settlements during this era generally continued the older forms, ornaments and work techniques, belonging to earlier periods, in addition to some new elements.

Imports of amphora, tools and ornamental objects, as well as the circulation of bronze Byzantine coins prove that the regions to the east of the Carpathians, despite the sufficiently troubled political situation, continued to be within the economic and cultural sphere of influence of the Romano-Byzantine Empire.

In comparison to the Roman civilization specific to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., the material cultural brought by the Slavs who penetrated the extra-Carpathian regions during this time was at an inferior level, having certain archaic aspects. After a short period of living in these territories, the vast majority of the Slavs moved, after 602, to the south of the Danube. The rest of the Slavs staying to the north of the river, sufficiently few in number, as well as those that later penetrated some of the western regions of the country, continued to live, after the seventh century, in contact with the native population and began to adopt the higher forms of Roman civilization within a broad and intensive assimilation process.

Besides the penetration of the proto-Bulgarians towards the end of the seventh century, an event which did not directly effect the region except in the southern regions between the Carpathians and the Nistru, as well as the eastern part of the Danubian Plain as shown by the geographic distribution of certain treasures buried at that time, there was no movement of a second massive wave of Slavic population in this area, but merely the infiltration of certain minor elements of this group, which were to be carried away by the above-mentioned proto-Bulgarian invasion. This explains to a certain degree the temporal and spatial coordinates within which the symbiosis of the Romanians and Slavs took place and the assimilation of the Slavs occurred.

Numerous archeological discoveries in the area to the east of the Carpathians, dating from the eighth century and from the first half of the next one, such as those at Hlincea and Dorobantu-Iasi, Lozna and Horodistea-Botosani, Drumul National-Suceava, Izvoare-Bahna and Dulcesti-Neamt, Dodesti, Fedesti and Falciu-Vaslui, Oituz and Lichitiseni-Bacau, Suceveni and Stoicani-Galati and so forth, attest to the continuing existence of a numerous Romanian population with its own original civilization, developed on ancient Daco-Roman bases and identical to that documented throughout the Carpatho-Ponto-Danubian area. On the basis of the research undertaken, it has been proven that the type of settlement, housing and oven do not have essential changes compared to the preceding era, instead there is a clear evolution with the production forces developing even more.

After a period of relative stagnation, brought about by the economic crisis that enveloped the Byzantine Empire during the course of the seventh to the ninth centuries and, therefore, its relations with the north Danubian Roman world, in the settlements in the East Carpathian regions, as well as throughout the rest of the country, from the eighth century there began an increase and improvement of agricultural tools and other handicraft and household tools. New tools also appeared for gardening and vine growing, there was a continuing growth of activities in the area of processing iron and there was an increase in the number of handicraft workshops and, implicitly, their products. In this regard, the research done brought forth numerous proofs about the making of ornamental objects and certain objects made from bone, wood and stone and especially about activities in the area of pottery making. Beginning during this period, ceramics are to an ever greater degree produced on a wheel in a variety of forms and styles, becoming specific only to the regions of the Lower Danube.

From the data presented by the archeological research, we similarly note that, beginning with the ninth century, to the east of the Carpathians, as well as throughout the entire Carpathio-Danubian region, there was a resumption of the dissemination of diverse Byzantine imports, concomitantly with the carrying out of a certain circulation of Byzantine money, which became especially intense during the 10th and 11th centuries.

Numerous necropolises identified north of the Danube, dating from the seventh to the ninth centuries and having a clear Romanian and Christian nature, likewise prove the maintenance of certain close and continuous ties with the civilization of the Byzantine Empire.

It is important to stress the direct conclusion of the research carried out to date that the civilization in the seventh to ninth centuries, as attested to by the hundreds of settlements and necropolises in the East Carpathian territories of Romania, is absolutely identical to that documented in the rest of the Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian region. The clear unity of the old Romanian material and spiritual culture, which began to make itself fully felt during the eighth century, was possible due to the similar development and stage of development

of society concomitantly throughout the former territory of old Dacia, with this being brought about by the common ethnic and language background and by the similar social-economic organization of the village communities, as well as by multiple and permanent relations with the Byzantine Empire.

The essential Roman characteristics, as well as the presence of certain Byzantine elements in the content of this culture, confer upon the overall civilization in the eighth century and the following century its own peculiar characteristics of the Carpathian-Danubian region through which it clearly distinguishes itself from the material cultures of the Slavs in the neighboring territories. The establishment of a specific civilization right from the eighth century on the territory of old Dacia, defined as an aspect of the Dridu type, corresponds generally with the conclusion of the process of forming the Romanian people. Its establishment in the region to the east of the Carpathians is, without a doubt, the result of a local, long and uninterrupted development on a powerful Daco-Romanian base with deep and rich roots in the thousand-year past of our history.

Towards the end of the first millenium of our times, as a result of the internal changes of an economic and social nature that occurred within the heart of the villages and as a consequence of certain foreign dangers caused by the migrations of certain new peoples, including the Hungarians and Petchenegs which we must first of all note, to the east of the Carpathians and throughout the entire territory of old Dacia fortified settlements started to be built, of the type discovered at Funu-Hertii, Derscam Baranga and Tudora-Botosani, Ciurea and Pocreaca-Iasi, reinforced with defensive ditches and mounds of dirt with palisades. They undoubtedly belong to the old Romanian civilization from the ninth to twelfth century A.D., and clearly prove that the local society in this part of the country was at a stage of development similar to the rest of the Romanian population or to that in the other territories in its vecinity.

With regards to this aspect of the problem it is especially important to point out that certain concentrations of settlements and necropolises dating from the ninth to the eleventh centuries A.D. in certain well-defined and naturally defended geographic subunits were to be the sites of the existence of certain powerful village unions and certain already thoroughly organized Romanian political formations, a significant and decisive fact in understanding the traits that characterize early feudalism to the east of the Carpathians. These traits, themselves stemming from the peculiarities of the internal structure of the Daco-Romanian village councils and, later, the Romanian councils during the period of the first millenium of our era, similarly constitute an eloquent statement about their uninterrupted development and close and direct ties with the Roman-Byzantine and Byzantine worlds in the Lower Danube. Such conclusions can be made on the basis of the research carried out at Suceava; Ionaseni, Spinoasa and Baiceni-Iasi; Danesti, Dodesti and Epureni-Vaslui; Oituz and Oncesti-Bacau; Sendreni-Galati; Cimpineanca and Dragosloveni-Vrancea and so forth.

The continuity of the native population to the east of the Carpathians during the first millenium A.D., as well as throughout the entire Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian region, clearly proved by numerous archeological research projects, was the result of the superior economic and social organization of the local village communities and of the high level of their material and spiritual culture, as well as of a broad and continuing process of Romanization which gradually, but conclusively encompassed the entire territory of old Dacia.

The carrying out and conclusion of the process of forming the Romanian people and language in the territory to the east of the Carpathians, which occurred concomitantly and in a unified manner throughout all of the area of Romanian ethnogenesis, would not have been possible without the continued existence of the Romanized Dacian population and without the direct and multiple ties with the Roman presence in this part of southeastern Europe.

Despite all of the difficulties of the period of the first millenium of our era, the native population in the Carpathian-Ponto-Danubian territories with deep and multimillenia roots in these lands defined with vigor and originality, within the framework of a long and complex historical process, the essential traits that depict it as the sole and most authentic heir of the eastern Roman presence.

8724
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DRAWBACKS OF CONSENSUS-SEEKING PROCESS DESCRIBED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1591, 28 Jun 81 pp 10-12, 14

[Article by Dragos Ivanovic]

[Text] "We face an important responsibility. Don't let the situation tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, comrades, hit us in the face!"

This warning was uttered without pomposity, but in tones of serious concern, by a delegate during the recent rather meandering debate in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of furnishing funds to stimulate foreign trade. It was a question of providing 14 billion dinars, and the Federal Executive Council saw no other possibility for obtaining these funds than to take them from government and social service expenditures, which are larger than they should be.

Everyone agreed in principle, but at the same time everyone had so many individual critical remarks to make that the entire measure was jeopardized because there were so many of them. Don't we often show more passion in defending our separate reasons than in showing our willingness to really detect those interests we have in common? At such a moment of personal divisions and vacillation, the delegates thought it fitting to throw this serious argument into the debate as though on the other pan of the balance: "The situation with our international payments is extremely serious and does not allow for any postponement whatsoever."

Later in fact this issue was resolved in a satisfactory way, but the examples of haggling, hanging back and dragging things out which we often encounter make it imperative that we seriously reassess the practice of our decisionmaking.

The Main Road and the Inevitable Path That Leads Astray

Someone described the way we go about concluding compacts and accords this way in a witty metaphor: This decisionmaking often resembles a train about which the only thing known for certain is where it comes from and who has taken it, but no one knows where it will go and when it will stop. Perhaps this complicated social procedure from the top to the bottom of society, which aside from the main road also has an inevitable path that leads astray, might best be

illustrated by the fate of a resolution--the principal economic document for 1 year.

The procedure for adoption of the resolution ordinarily begins in late October for each year to come. First the preliminary debates are conducted in committees of the assembly, a draft is written, and the republic and provincial assemblies take their position on that document. Reconciliation of these views in the Yugoslav Assembly takes place in December, and at the end of the month the resolution is finally adopted.

It would be premature to say that the job is then over. The decisionmaking train has only reached halfway, since what we have before us is only a list of what we want and what is possible in economic policy for the next year. For this resolution to become "operative" it now has to be furnished measures that guarantee its implementation, and now the republics and provinces, associated labor and many other organizations and agencies have to reach further agreements on all that.

We Can No Longer Remain in a "Nirvana of Generality"

Consensus on all these measures is neither easy nor simple to achieve. Since there is a delay running even to several months, and the measures agreed on, when taken, cannot yield the expected results. For instance, the resolution for this year runs to some 50 tasks which need to be implemented by economic measures adopted with the consent of the republics and provinces or set forth in self-management accords of associated labor. Consensus has been reached on many, but on some it has not yet been reached, though half a year has passed. This incidentally is a practice which has recurred for several years now. Is it any wonder, then, that the resolution for this year is not being carried out the way it was conceived?

The dangers of this deviation are already being noted, but the question being asked is what we can do about the uncontrolled situation of irresponsible delinquency and poor choice of measures, which in turn have the result that our planning documents end up being mere pieces of paper.

According to our custom established over many years, it is then usually said that "someone" has not adopted the agreement, and that "some people" have not taken certain specific measures. Those who say these things, of course, relieve themselves of any responsibility, but they offer little help in finding out who really is at fault.

A few days ago several delegates vigorously asserted that we could no longer remain in this nirvana of generality and of clouding things over. They want it stated in public who has not signed the agreements and who has failed to enact regulations. These should be summoned to the Yugoslav Assembly to explain their actions before the public. This would be a refreshing and interesting departure in the way things are done in the Assembly and would be approved by the public. If responsibility were established in this way, the guilty parties would have to be affected by appropriate measures of the Federal Executive Council.

One of the possible solutions for these unpleasant situations has been suggested by Veselin Djuranovic, who himself was recently the prime minister. He wants the participants in the conclusion of accords and compacts to be given a decent period of time to obtain consensus, and thereafter, in accord with constitutional powers, appropriate measures would be taken by law. This line of action, he is convinced, would not only be in conformity with the essence of our relations in the federal system, but also represents an indispensable condition if we are to avoid the tardiness whose consequences are increasingly serious.

Thus we now have two proposals on how we should avoid these constant and unfortunate delays--proposals which fit more nicely together than they differ.

Out of Step With the Economic Situation

But if the question of deadlines could be reduced to just a matter of better organization, to a more logical and balanced sequence of steps in the decisionmaking procedure, then this hurdle could be taken with relative ease. There are many deeper reasons why the train of our economic policy is always late, why it wanders along its way and gasps as it becomes lost in administrative labyrinths.

They lie above all in the separate interests which by and large we know about and in particular forms of behavior which as a rule we are very poorly informed about. One is encouraged by the willingness to speak more frankly about these "specific forms of behavior." The foundations of our democratic game of political decisionmaking consist of two components: the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and their responsibility for the development of Yugoslavia as a whole.

However, as the chairman of the Federal Executive Council recently said in the Yugoslav Assembly without beating about the bush, "the reaching of consensus of the republics and provinces on the measures of economic policy is evidently out of step with the needs imposed by the present economic situation. Whereas the situation requires effective adoption of economic policy measures and also of measures which are to guarantee enforcement of the jointly established priorities in development, the conclusion of an agreement among the republics and provinces takes a long time and does not facilitate effective action."

The tendencies toward republic and provincial statism, which is arising more and more in the name of associated labor, are becoming stronger. "There is not just the opposition," the chairman of the Federal Executive Council said, "just in the relationship between associated labor and centralistic statism (as we are accustomed to think about it and to speak of it), but also between associated labor and statism, be it centralized or decentralized." What is more, the danger of this latter is indeed greater, since it has more opportunity to adapt and tie up with technocracy "which unfortunately has been strongly confirmed in the decisionmaking on investments."

Everyone Has His Own Part of the Truth

When you speak with the delegates about responsibility for decisionmaking at the top level of society, you frequently have occasion to hear the other side of the issue. It is true, they say, that the Assembly does make the decision, but many things in decisionmaking actually begin and end with the Federal Executive Council. It proposes the measures, it defends them, it takes up the dialogue on critical remarks and it is responsible for carrying out what is adopted.

This is undoubtedly a broad field of political possibilities and constitutional obligations, which also presuppose varying forms of activity. Many delegates feel and on various occasions do not fail to confirm these critical observations of theirs, that the Federal Executive Council is often not acting promptly or vigorously enough. For example, when there is a difference in views between delegations on some issue, it is not always evident what the Federal Executive Council is committed to. And this abstention in cases of disagreement threatens to paralyze decisionmaking or to unnecessarily postpone the final decision.

Disagreements also arise when it is subsequently found that certain measures are not working out in practice. There follows an exchange on the causes of the lack of progress in which each may have his own part of the truth. Some delegates then react strongly and say: "Why doesn't the Federal Executive Council pound the table and say who is responsible?"

It is another question why there is so much opportunism and inexplicable considerations in actual forms of behavior. Perhaps, as some say, this is because even the Federal Executive Council does not have the necessary prerogative in its actions. This refers to those situations when the Federal Executive Council is directed in preparing certain proposals to enter into the necessary consultations with appropriate bodies and agencies of the republics and provinces.

A Question of Confidence Might Also Be Put

Generally speaking, the question of who is to take what measures by what time in order to implement the policy which has been adopted is often debated with quite a few differences and ambiguities. It is just that the Federal Executive Council, which in this respect has definite constitutional and legal powers, undertakes administrative measures with a certain feeling of reluctance, since the latter, even when they are inevitable, "leave less room for decisionmaking by the workers and perpetuate the idea of the all-powerful state."

The delegates in turn are often divided when they assess the purport and value of these measures. Some of them feel that the Federal Executive Council is quick to adopt administrative measures and makes excessive use of them. Nor, moreover, do they avoid rather harsh criticism: Piling one restrictive measure on another does not improve matters, but only takes us further from self-management. Others are convinced that in situations when there is a departure from the established policy, we would fall into still greater difficulties without these measures, and they encourage the Federal Executive Council to make even more use of its power.

These vacillations are to be found not only in debates concerning matters of principle, but also in individual cases when specific steps are to be taken. For instance, when some law is being adopted or policy set forth, then the Federal Executive Council is competent to enforce it. But often our hands are tied, since the Assembly has told it that it must first obtain consent of the republic and provincial executive councils. It is well known what happens then: Often some executive council does not grant its consent, and the decision is postponed.

These untoward situations arouse two types of reaction. Some people are inclined to call for more powers to be granted to the Federal Executive Council and say that the prior consent of the republic and provincial executive councils cannot be sought in such cases of adopting regulations. Others come down hard on the very practice of the Federal Executive Council: Why in a situation when there is no consensus for enforcing the policy that has been adopted doesn't the government use its authority, which is also constitutional, and put a question of confidence?

Of course, all the problems of our self-managing decisionmaking do not lie solely at this federal level or republic level of society. The further one goes toward the base of society, the more rarefied becomes the network of agreements and procedures aimed at agreement. But here again, one hears in various quarters, the dilemmas that arise are just as great.

Someone, for instance, says that we have too many agreements, that we conclude agreements where this is necessary and also where it is not. (One economist remarked in jest: "Pretty soon a man will have to have an agreement to get on a streetcar!")

The critical remarks about the quality of the agreements are much more serious. Although they conform to self-management in their form, the agreements take us away from self-management, especially when they are peddling their own narrow interests. The flows of reproduction are thus interrupted, and the fabric of the unified market torn. So it is no wonder that some people resolutely assert that this kind of discussion and agreement--which is only another expression for administrative action--is actually a fractured decisionmaking which prevents any joint and coordinated action.

As was seen at the Congress of Self-Managers, in many work organizations people have become embittered for this reason and have the feeling that they are hampered by invisible threads outside their control. On the one hand countless agencies and organizations spend several months of effort computing, measuring and foreseeing what will happen with output, prices, exports, spending and the standard of living. On the other the course of events takes a different direction and destroys all that tremendous social effort.

One does not have to be excessively skeptical to realize that this is a story which occurs over and over again year after year. One delegate commented on it this way: "Things that are against the law are beginning to become the custom and take on legitimacy with us." Are we going to turn this sequence of events around so that the situation does not actually hit us in the face all of a sudden?

7045
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MACEDONIANS DISCUSS MEASURES TO DEAL WITH ALBANIAN PROBLEMS

New Albanian Textbooks

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Z. Andreevski]

[Text] Delegates of three council committees have been working on Albanian language teaching and educational activities for the 1981-82 school year to develop new textbooks and to provide recommendations for normal implementation of educational objectives.

Delegates of the Committee for the Sociopolitical System of the Sociopolitical Council, the Committee for Education, Science and Culture of the Council for Associated Labor, and the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations of the Council of Opstinas of the Macedonian Republic Assembly, at a session held yesterday, considered information relating to several situations for implementing educational activities for the Albanian language in the republic. The introductory remarks regarding the information came from the republic secretary for education and science, Anatolij Damjanovski.

The initiative for considering this material stems from the May session of the Sociopolitical Council, at which time the delegates pointed out that in some textbooks and supplementary literature for high school and higher level students, without instruction in the Albanian language, a foreign ideological content is to be found. The Republic Secretariat for Education and Science was charged with the task of examining all such textbooks and study aids, and was empowered to withdraw those with nationalistic and other ideological content that is alien to Marxism and the self-management socialist society. The secretariat was also charged with considering the moral and political qualities of the Albanian language teaching personnel in the republic.

Worrisome Situations

The information prepared by the Republic Secretariat for Education and Science set forth concrete data for implementing instruction in the Albanian language at primary and secondary schools, university faculties and other advanced training institutions. These data state that a worrisome situation exists at several key points in the educational and upbringing process. To be precise, the textbook literature contains editions published in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, reprinted in the

province of Kosovo and adopted for use in the schools of the republics without critical consideration of the content of the books. The texts in these textbooks have been written from alien idiological and political positions, and they are filled with nationalist and irridentist messages. For example, readings include the books "One Stormy Autumn" by Ali Abdi Hojha, and "The Turning Point" by Fatmir Gata, which as the book notes state "by their ideological foundations, satisfy the needs of Albanian ideology."

In the process of implementing pedagogical programs, asserts Anatolij Damjanovski, there have been instances where programs have been reshaped to the detriment of an affirmation of Yugoslav values.

Where textbooks and instructional materials relating to history are involved, there is a noticeable tendency to ignore facts concerning the interaction between Macedonians and Albanians, while on the other hand overemphasis is placed on studying the activities of Skenderbeg, Ali Pasha Janinski, and the history of Albania since the middle of the last century. Students of the Albanian language and literature group at the Skopje Pedagogical Academy throughout their course of study do not study the literature of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities at any time. At some schools in Gostivar, Tetovo and Kumanovo, they use textbooks that have not been approved for use in Macedonia, such as for example the History for the first class of secondary school by Ali Hadri, and the History of Albanian Literature for the first through fourth classes of secondary school by Dimitar Suteriki.

There are also unsatisfactory methods for evaluating the quality of teaching personnel for the Albanian language. A large number do not have suitable education, ideological conviction, or competence in ideology. Incidents have also been reported in the Opstinas of Kicevo, Tetovo, Gostivar and Struga, where persons have been included in the educational process who have been convicted of enemy activities against the people and the state.

The Macedonian language is offered for 2 hours weekly in the curriculum, which really is not sufficient to permit mastery of the language for normal communication and vital needs. Besides that, a number of instances have occurred where the Macedonian language instruction hours have been boycotted.

What do the Delegates Say

Delegates of the three councils at yesterday's session expressed amazement that such situations had been allowed to emerge. They expressed themselves in favor of energetic and most urgent withdrawal of textbooks containing alien ideologies, and of undertaking measures in 1981-82 school year for Albanian language instructional activities that would use new textbooks where that is feasible, and for giving suitable instructions for work without literature in other cases. The delegates agreed unanimously that it would be better to conduct instruction without textbooks rather than to use ones with ideologically unacceptable content and messages.

The delegate Sejfedin Sulejmani dwelled particularly on the materials being used for primary education. Sulejmani cited numerous unacceptable examples. Among readers for the fifth through eighth grades, some 60-70 percent come from authors of the Albanian People's Republic! He backed up his statement by showing the readers to the delegates. As an example, we might cite that in one of them, four of the

texts were by Macedonian authors, three were by authors of Albanian nationality who were living in Macedonia, and fully 40 texts were by authors of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania (?!) The compiler of three of the four readers shown was Ali Aliu, who was convicted for Albanian nationalist activities. Sulejmani presented yet another example: The Rilindza Publishing House of Pristina published Studies in Esthetics in which Yugoslavia was named as an example of revisionism!! The epilogue for this book was, incidently, written by Ali Aliu (and this book was also presented to the delegates).

Ljutvi Marku also spoke about the unacceptable degree to which authors from the Albanian People's Republic were represented in the textbooks that are used in Macedonia. He offered the opinion that there is no place for those writers in our textbooks, since through these texts they transmit ideological and political positions that we Yugoslavs cannot accept.

Petre Tsvetanovski spoke of the responsibility of people who permit the publishing and use of textbooks containing Albanian nationalist viewpoints. He dwelled on the studying of the Macedonian language by members of the Albanian nationality, stressing that without suitable command of that language, they cannot carry out their employment tasks and assignments, or deal with the problems of production processes.

The statements of other delegates also unequivocally underline the urgency and gravity of implementing the measures that have been proposed. To be specific, measures have been foreseen and the concrete approaches determined for reevaluating the curriculum in educational activities in the Albanian language, and for monitoring their accomplishment. Next there are measures for withdrawing and banning the use of textbooks with alien ideological stands, for testing the moral and political qualities of the teaching personnel, and for removing those who do not perform on agreement with the social objectives of education and upbringing. Accelerated publication is foreseen for textbooks where they are lacking, or where they are needed to replace ones that have been withdrawn from use. Steps will also be taken to ensure adequate instruction in the Macedonian language, and to test the attitudes of those receiving stipends and credits in relation to Albanian nationalist and irridentist manifestations; other steps are also foreseen.

It is expected that the information presented and the proposed measures and steps will be approved at today's sessions of the Macedonian Assembly.

Albanian-Language Teaching

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Jul 81 p 3

[Text] In some curricula, programs and textbooks there are aspects that do not adequately reflect Marxist viewpoints on the national question, Yugoslav community, and the socialist self-management system.

The commission for international relations of the Macedonian Assembly, at yesterday's session chaired by Spirko Spirovski, considered information concerning certain situations relating to the implementation of Albanian language instruction.

In discussing instructional plans, programs and particularly textbooks of the Albanian language, literature, history, sociology, etc., the commission determined

that there were factors present that did not adequately reflect Marxist viewpoints on the national question, or the brotherhood and unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, the expanded national community, and the Yugoslav socialist self-management system.

The commission particularly condemned those manifestations in instructional programs and in individual textbooks and materials that show the presence of a content that indoctrinates ideologically alien influences of Albanian nationalism and irridentism. The commission pointed out that concrete measures should be taken against such manifestations to eliminate everything that is alien to the ideological educational nature of the Yugoslav self-management socialist society.

The commission also directed special attention at the study of the Macedonian language. Here the stand was adopted that the materials used at some schools did not direct attention to the study of the Macedonian literary language, or to the development of a qualified teaching staff. This had led to poor quality in the teaching of this subject, and to poor mastery of the Macedonian language by students of Albanian nationality in some areas. For this reason, and with a view to the fact that part of the students of this nationality are guided into continuing their education in secondary schools and universities where Macedonian is the language of instruction, and for a number of other objective needs in public life and public communications, it is essential that the Macedonian language be offered paralled to the Albanian language in educational institutions, and that such instruction be qualitatively and quantatively better than it is now. Here special concern must be devoted to developing suitable teaching personnel.

As stressed in the material presented to it, the commission stated that in some primary and secondary schools, as well as in institutions of higher education, teachers are employed who have been convicted or against whom ideological corrective measures have been directed because of their hostile activities regarding Albanian nationalist and irridentist positions. As the commission stressed in the report of its past session, there is no place in educational training organizations for such persons.

Question of Albanian Flag

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Jul 81 p 3

[Text] A change has been suggested in the law on the use of flags.

At yesterday's session of the Opstina Council, the delegate from Struga, Veli Shaipi, presented the resolution of the Struga opstina assembly to initiate a change in the law on the use of flags. The proposal would eliminate from that law the provision by which use of (the Albanian) flag is permitted for members of the Albanian nationality living in Macedonia.

In justifying the initiative, Shaipi said that the flag now being used by the Albanian nationality group in Macedonia is the flag of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which since 1948 has carried on a constantly hostile policy toward Yugoslavia. The Struga delegate pointed out that that flag has symbolized for them an extreme Albanian nationalism and irridentism, and that under this flag, whose form and content is not regulated by a single positive regulation, one can

find not only the internal enemy of Albanian nationality, but also adherents of international reactionary positions including Zogists, Balists, Enver (Hojha's) lackies, Ustashe and other hostile elements living abroad.

According to Veli Shaipi's report, the Struga opstina assembly has initiated this action at the request of members of the Albanian nationality group in the Struga opstina.

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ANTI-YUGOSLAV PROPAGANDA IN ALBANIAN DICTIONARY CONDEMNED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 17 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] A review is presented from the current issue of the Albanian language newspaper FLAKA E VLAZERIMIT, highlighting the overly generalized and tendentious interpretations of several terms in the recent edition of the "Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language," published in Tirana.

In today's issue, the newspaper FLAKA E VLAZERIMIT presented an article entitled "Anti-Yugoslav Propaganda Even in the Dictionary," which stated the following: "The depth to which Albania is descending into the murky waters of hostile propaganda against Yugoslavia is shown by the 'Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language,' and the tendentious interpretations of certain terms in it, as prepared in the political offices of Enver Hojha, in order to throw dust in the eyes of both the domestic reader and those abroad who use the dictionary. Obviously not everyone is satisfied with the licentious language and slander of Radio Tirana, ZERI I POPULLIT, other radio stations, newspapers, propaganda books and other media. The dictionary will be used (by Tirana) for its malicious politics, and as everyone knows, that is an application that should have a scholarly character.

"The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language" (Tirana, 1980) was published by the Albanian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Language and Literature, and copies of it, brought in by various means, can be found here in Yugoslavia. It deforms and maliciously interprets the meaning of a number of terms. Such, for example, is the case with the word "vetadministrim," (page 2141 No 2), which Albania, in contrast to the Albanians living in Yugoslavia and living under this system, stubbornly uses for the word "vetkeverisje" or self-management. Their intention is to distort the meaning of the content of the word by interpreting it as a state institution, rather than as a social one in the true meaning of the term." Here is how Tirana politics interprets the Yugoslav notion of self-managment:

"It is a bourgeois system of administration that modern revisionists have established in their economic enterprises and in all walks of life, which is supposedly a creative application of democracy and of popular participation in management. In reality, it removes the working class from its role of guiding and controlling the state and takes away the possibility for the working class to protect its own interests; it promotes anarchy, unequal development and competition, creates political and ideological chaos, increases social differences and complexities in intellectual life, feeds bourgeois individualization and transforms social

property into the property of the management groups, the new bourgeoisie, which claims the added value and becomes wealthy on the shoulders of the workers and the other working masses. This is Yugoslav self-management."

"The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language" expresses its "scholarly" (read propagandistic and anti-Yugoslav) stand in a number of other definitions. Modern revisionism (page 1651) to it is "the revisionism that emerged during World War II and which has taken control in a number of countries, where it is used against communism and the revolution." Then as it continues, the dictionary cites as examples Yugoslav revisionism (Soviet, Chinese). Thus accusing Yugoslavia as a revisionist country. "The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language," just like the babble of Radio Tirana and ZERI I POPULLIT, also regards it as a bureaucratic (page 200) country in which most of the ruling class (page 1517) has come from the bourgeoisie (page 165), and so on.

For this dictionary, the unaligned countries are "bourgeois and revisionist countries (states) that, according to some wise revisionists and various opportunists, supposedly do not belong to some military or economic block led by the superpowers, but that in reality in various forms and ways are tied to them." (page 1316)

These and similar overgeneralized and tendentious interpretations by this dictionary clearly speak of its unscholarly and propagandistic nature. "The Dictionary of the Modern Albanian Language" could be a useful work, since for 26 years they have been publishing the "Dictionary of the Albanian Language," which now is very inadequate and antiquated in many aspects. Unfortunately, however, the new dictionary is ruined as it bows before the ship of politics dictated from Tirana. It is transformed into a propaganda instrument, and for these reasons we believe that as a tendentious dictionary, with malicious political objectives, it cannot serve the reader or institutions, and should not be allowed into our country.

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UNIVERSITY ENROLLMENT DISPUTES REVIEWED

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jun 81 pp 4-5

[Article by Slavko Stanic]

[Text] In the rather acute financial conditions faced by educational institutions, some large universities are trying to close their doors to the flood of students from other areas.

As a rule, at this time of year the newspapers are full of polemical speeches, reports and commentaries about registering new generations of high school and college students. If our future lawyers, economists, professors, docto s and archeologists, not to list all the professions, read all that is written about the future value of their diplomas, they may become apathetic toward study and scholarship. Judging from data of employment offices, even today these graduates are having difficulty finding positions. For example, in Belgrade it has already been calculated that in the next five years there will barely be openings for about a thousand lawyers and economists, while this year alone, seven times that number of students will enroll in those schools of the university. The situation is even less clear for future archeologists, dentists, journalists, art professors, political scientists, sociologists and graduates with technical training, as well as teachers of language and literature, etc. Parents who diligently follow everything that is written and said, instead of being proud that their children are entering high schools and universities these days, will become pessimistic at the thought of the fate of the diploma that their child will receive in four or five years. For that reason, there have been quite a few family discussions that at times finish not merely with "political pressure" on the child to choose "the right school," but even with force.

Great Difficulties

Probably a part of the problem has been caused by the general climate that has been created and nurtured for decades in which, despite the fact that Yugoslavia is a workers' state, a distinction has been made between "true workers" and others. Those others are the citizens with so-called "academic degrees," and everyone, even the sparrows, knows that they were destined for well-lighted offices and higher, guaranteed pay. Therefore it is no wonder that, at the Self-Management Leaders Congress, it was repeated dozens of times that productive work cannot be given a value by resolutions and decisions, but by dinars. True, that is nothing

new. Those conclusions have been reached at all major Yugoslav political meetings in the last ten years or so. Speaking honestly, however, few, if any, results are to be found anywhere. There are regulations under which, for nothing except the possession of a diploma, a person receives higher pay or a dinar supplement, to say nothing of other benefits. Yet that violates the system of rewards according to labor performed, a process that cannot be completed overnight because, for one reason or another, it will always be a component part of the struggle to develop self-management or of efforts to strengthen our overall Yugoslav community.

At this time of year, directly or indirectly, this factor always crops up during the registration of new generations of high school and university students. In the rather acute financial circumstances that affect educational institutions, some large universities attempt to close their doors to the flood of students from other republics and provinces. That recently came to light in the delegates' questions concerning the problems of Vojvodina students who gravitate toward the Yugoslav capital because geographically Belgrade is closer to them, and because of this their school expenses are significantly lower there. Belgrade University's inability to accept everyone who wants to study there is not the only difficulty. There is the problem of uncoordinated study programs at various high schools, so that the barriers to gaining admission are even greater for young people who are not from Serbia proper. The situation, however, is similar at other university centers, and the difficulties facing young people who wish to change their republic or province in selecting their place of advanced schooling are at times insurmountable.

For years there has been talk of the need to reimburse the universities in one sociopolitical community for the expense of educating students from other regions. That has remained an open question, although some self-management agreements should have found a suitable mechanism that would to one degree or another wipe out the boundaries blocking the wishes of young people, so that they could freely and without discrimination select the university center at which they wish to study.

There is a very ugly sound to recently discovered plans for enrolling students, according to which limits would be placed on universities in one republic for students coming from another republic, regardless of the quality or success they had achieved at their high schools. It is even worse when a "nationality key" is added to that youthful dossier, so that it is stated, as recently happened at the university in Pristina, that for every three of four freshmen of Albanian nationality, one who is not Albanian can be enrolled. With full understanding of the concern generated here in Yugoslavia for the education of nationality groups that live in the country, and for planning for their education to that purpose, nevertheless the insertion of a "nationality key" into education cannot be accepted either politically or for any other reason. By so doing we would be making national heritage into a privilege that would drastically devalue other criteria that should be weighed in enrolling students, such as their previous work records or evaluations of their high school success. Another question, which deserves the highest attention, is the matter of ensuring that each people and nationality is provided with all necessary material conditions, so that increasing numbers of young people from its ranks will be able to enter advanced

schools. Imagine how it would sound if Sarajevo University or some other university in the country were to establish an enrollment plan which stated in advance that a certain percentage of Moslems, so many Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Hungarians, etc., would be accepted.

The Experience of Vojvodina

Another question deeply effects the Yugoslav community; it relates to the language of instruction at various advanced and lower schools.

Without citing the constitutional rights of Yugoslav citizens regarding language, everything points to the conclusion that one must know not only his or her mother language, but also the language of the place in which he or she is attending school or working. That cannot be left to the good will of the individual, but rather must be achieved by making the study of the local language a mandatory subject, at least to the same extent that French, English or some other foreign language is required. Without that, we would be so bold as to say that there can be no solid community in Yugoslavia, nor free circulation of the labor force within the unified Yugoslav marketplace.

How can a future lawyer who is Serbian, who comes from Kosovo, find a position in thatprovince--where 70 percent of his fellow workers cannot function using his mother language--if he does not know Albanian; or the opposite, how can a young economist of Albanian nationality get a job in Titograd if he must obtain an interpreter in order to carry out his responsibilities. How can a Croat or a Montenegrin fulfill his self-management employment functions in Slovenia if he does not know Slovenian. Another matter relates to the manner in which that new environment is to provide supplementary instruction in their mother language for his children. In that regard, a position of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee stated three years ago was very clear in requiring that by now, we should have a number of schools in republics and provinces that offer either regular or supplementary instruction in the mother tongue of workers and citizens who, in seeking work, have found themselves in a linguistic environment other than their own.

That becomes a major question for the Yugoslav community, and therefore it is no wonder that in Vojvodina, more than 80,000 young people are already studying the languages of their neighbors and comrades, and the other way round so that 90 percent of the Hungarian nationality group's students and pupils are attending courses in Serbo-Croatian, so that in this respect at least they will be able to seek work in environments where that is the official language. At the first session of the provincial committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, Fadilj Hodza was very insistent that in his province, the languages of peoples and nationalities must not only be equal, but they must also be required subjects at schools and universities. He had in mind both their centuries-old mutual traditions and the possibility of facilitating the circulation of the labor force within the Yugoslav federal community, for despite all our wishes and plans, we should not nurture illusions that we will achieve full employment exclusively by creating jobs where there are excess workers. Rather, in the search for employment the labor force must move outside its sociopolitical community, and thereby outside the region where its mother tongue is spoken. That, incidently, is becoming one of the imperatives of our social community.

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Liberalism, Conservatism Persist in Family Relations
(Ksanthipi Begeja; SHQIPTARJA E RE, Jun 81)..... 1

BULGARIA

Historial Events in Balkans After Liberation Examined
(Simeon Damyanov; ANTENI, 15, 22 Jul 81)..... 2

Aleksandur Lilov Interprets Role of Scientific Socialism
(Aleksandur Lilov; NOVO VREME, No 7, 1981)..... 10

Role, Tasks of Transportation Troops Described
(NARODNA ARMIYA, 21 Jul 81)..... 31

Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov Interview
Patriotism of Transportation Troops, by Stoyan Seymenov
Construction Troops' Life

POLAND

Commentary of Madrid CSCE Deliberations Noted
(Eligiusz Lasota; GLOS PRACY, 24-25-26 Apr 81)..... 41

Various Issues of 'MYSL WOJSKOWA' Reviewed
(PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ, Apr, Sep 80, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI,
various dates)..... 44

No 11, 1979 Issue
No 3, 1980 Issue
Unspecified Issue
No 3, 1981 Issue
No 5, 1981 Issue
No 6, 1981 Issue

Review of B. Lewandowski's Book on U.S. Radio Propaganda Noted
(SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, Mar 81)..... 58

ROMANIA

Call for Increased Attention to Workers' Complaints
(MUNCA DE PARTID, Jun 81)..... 59

Problem of Religious Youth Examined
(Mircea Boharu Interview; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 27 Jul 81)..... 64

Indulgent Parents of Parasites Reprimanded
(Dionisie Sincan, Gheorghe Cirstea; SCINTEIA, 9 Jul 81)..... 67

Briefs
Old Rite Vicar-Bishop 70
Consul General Appointments 70

YUGOSLAVIA

Church-State Relations Discussed in Western Press
(Christine von Kohl; DIE PRESSE, 10 Aug 81)..... 71

LIBERALISM, CONSERVATISM PERSIST IN FAMILY RELATIONS

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian Jun 81 pp 8-9

[Article by Ksanthipi Begeja: "The Norms of Proletarian Morality Are the Basis for Our Socialist Family"]

[Excerpts] Despite the successes which have been achieved in the process of the socialist transormation of the family, one cannot say that every family in Albania has those traits which characterize the socialist family. But this is natural. The problem of the creation and strengthening of the new socialist family is not a problem which is resolved in a short time. The obstacles to the further development of socialist realtions in the family continue to be the following: Conservatism which continues to find expression in outmoded marriage customs, in the failure to respect the principle of complete equality in the family, in cases where the woman does most of the housework, in the obstacles to the woman's participation in the social life of the country, in the camouflaging of the forms of buying and selling brides, which appears in some villages where there is bargaining about the dowry conditions which the family of the bride sets forth to the family of the groom, etc. and also, liberalism, which finds expression in the contracting of marriages in a frivolous manner, carried away by a transitory passion, in a frivolous attitude in society or in the violation of conjugal fidelity which conflict with our proletarian morality and which undermines the family, and in love of luxury which has been noted in some cases. Naturally, these tendencies are not extensive but whenever they occur they shake the foundations of the family.

Therefore, the organizations of the Albanian Women's Union must organize a better and more timely campaign to counter these harmful practices, wherever they appear, in the city or in the village. These backward customs, regardless of their form, represent the subjugation of women. Therefore, a united front must be created to stir up healthy social opinion to intensify the struggle against every foreign custom and manifestation which treats women like a commodity on the market or a luxury and which prevents their progress.

CSO: 2100/104

HISTORICAL EVENTS IN BALKANS AFTER LIBERATION EXAMINED

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 15, 22 Jul 81

[Article by Prof Dr Simeon Damyanov]

[15 Jul 81 p 13]

[Text] In 1876 Russia had a powerful ally. It was European public opinion which was deeply touched after the excesses committed in Bulgaria. Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Turgenev and Aksakov in Russia, Gladstone and Piers in England, Garibaldi in Italy and several hundred other diplomats, statesmen, writers and journalists the world over, whose conscience had been aroused, were exerting a strong influence on the behavior of Western governments. The voice of Victor Hugo, one of the most noted philosophers and humanists of the age, rose high above all others. The great writer made a warm plea in favor of Bulgaria and accused the European chanceries of remaining indifferent at a time when immediate action was necessary if a nation was to be saved physical annihilation.

The Western European democratic society supported the Russian action of Bulgaria's liberation. The forces which opposed this action were neutralized and a European war was avoided, at least at the beginning of the Russian-Turkish conflict. This enabled Russia to carry out its liberation mission. The culmination point arrived when the Russian army, continuing its victorious march, reached the walls of Constantinople. On 3 March 1878 Turkey was forced to conclude the San Stephano peace treaty.

The treaty called for the restoration of the Bulgarian state in its virtually natural borders. It crowned with success the age-old struggle of the Bulgarian people and the selfless exploits of the Russian soldiers. The bright horizons of a free development, allied with Russia, its liberator, opened to Bulgaria.

It was precisely then, however, that the situation changed suddenly. The European powers were hostile to the creation of a big Bulgaria which, in their view, was nothing other than the excessive expansion of Russian influence on the Balkans. Isolated and financially exhausted by its military campaign, Russia had to avoid at all cost the restoration of the 1853 Crimean Coalition as well as a new war, this time against all of Europe. It yielded to the demand of the powers to convene an international congress to revise the San Stephano treaty.

The Berlin congress (June-July 1878) tore Bulgaria apart. It proclaimed it a vassal principality subordinated to the will of the sultan. Thus the nature of relations

between the new state and the European powers was established for several decades in advance. The young Bulgarian state was faced with the solution of major and vitally important problems: the problem of Eastern Rumelia, which was separated from the Bulgarian Principality and proclaimed an autonomous province under the direct jurisdiction of the sultan; the question of Macedonia and the Odrin Vilayet, whose population was predominantly Bulgarian but over which the sultan's power was fully restored; the problem of the capitulation system, retained from the period of Turkish rule, and so on.

Article 8 of the Berlin Treaty stipulated that "all trade and navigation treaties, as well as all conventions and agreements concluded among the great powers and the High Porte, effective at present, remain applicable to the Bulgarian Principality, and no change may be made in them, which would affect that power, without its agreement." Concerned with the protection of their interests, the Western powers insisted that yet another text be included in the Berlin Treaty, especially drafted as follows: The immunities and privileges of foreign citizens, as well as the rights of consular jurisdiction and protection, as stipulated through capitulations and customs, will remain fully effective unless amended with the agreement of the interested parties."

It was entirely natural that authoritative historical publications assessed the Berlin congress in an extremely negative fashion. The congress' decisions are justifiably considered the result of the selfish policy of the Western powers which, for the sake of their own interests, dealt irreparable damages to the Bulgarian national cause and to the unification aspirations of the other Balkan nations. "Rarely does one come across such strange and unfair decrees," stressed the noted French historian A. Malet in the familiar multiple-volume work by E. Lavis and A. Rambeau, "Universal History from the Fourth Century to the Present." "Two powers which had had no participation in the war, one of which, England, had made the war inevitable with its support of the Turks, benefited the most. England occupied Cyprus and thus ensured for itself a new base in the Mediterranean; Austria-Hungary gained Bosnia and Herzegovina." It was thus that the balance in the Balkans was disturbed.

"Disregarding the will of a nation," A. Malet goes on to say, "Bulgaria was divided into three parts.... At San Stephano Russia had been concerned with ensuring the equality of all Christians; in Berlin neither justice nor the will of the nations nor the requirements of common sense and common interests were taken into consideration. The final act (i.e., the Berlin Treaty) is a monument to egotism, a matter of jealousy, personal hatred, a dishonest and base act, for instead of securing the peace it prepared many grounds for future conflicts and wars."

The reason for which I am drawing the attention of the readers to such extensive but noteworthy excerpts from the work of the noted French historian is because I am firmly convinced that a contemporary historian could hardly add anything new to such a precise and exhaustive description of the political principles which guided the Western European powers in the course of the historical June-July 1878 Berlin meetings, which proved to be so fatal to Bulgaria.

Some of the problems stemming from the unfair decisions adopted at the Berlin congress were systematically resolved thanks to the adamant struggle which the Bulgarian people waged for rejecting its degrading dependence on the High Porte and for gaining national unity. The unification of Eastern Rumelia and the Bulgarian principality was achieved in 1885. In 1908 Bulgaria proclaimed its independence by rejecting its

status as a vassal of the sultan and became a sovereign kingdom. Meanwhile, the capitulation system was abrogated. Henceforth relations between the Bulgarian state and the other powers were to be settled on the basis of bilateral consular conventions. Bulgaria signed equal and mutually profitable trade agreements with the other countries and set up specific customs tariffs. As a result of the wars waged starting with the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Balkan status quo of 1878 changed entirely. Almost nothing was left of the stipulations of the Berlin congress 35 years later.

In the view of the Bulgarian statesman of the period, a desire on the part of the great powers to support Bulgaria's national aspirations would have secured them great advantages and the possibility of consolidating their influence in the country. It was this factor that contributed to the gradual clarification of Bulgaria's foreign policy orientation. On the eve of the wars which were to shake up not only the European Southeast but the entire continent, in the second decade of our century, Bulgaria was ready to join that group of forces which was willing to meet the country's national requirements.

Until that time the country was the arena of all kinds of sharp competitions. Each of the great European powers tried to win Bulgaria over to its side. Circumstances appeared quite favorable. In order to meet its requirements, which were based on the accelerated building of railroads and the modernizing of its armed forces, each subsequent Bulgarian government was forced to seek foreign financial aid. Gradually, French bankers became Bulgaria's creditors.

Another important question arises when we consider the role of foreign investments in Bulgaria: to what extent were the great powers able to tie up the country from the political viewpoint to their capital? This problem particularly affected France, which was holding the strongest financial positions in Bulgaria and which, furthermore, on the eve of the 1914 war, claimed the position of leadership in the Antante. It is unquestionably true that the main objective of French economic penetration into Bulgaria was to involve the country entirely from the political viewpoint. Without denying the unquestionable fact that French capital was largely successful in assuming control of Bulgaria (precisely through state loans), nevertheless, the "moneylender of Europe," as France was universally known at that time, was unable to subordinate the country entirely, either economically or politically.

What was the reason for this? Unquestionably, French investments in Serbia and Greece, put together, exceeded investments in Bulgaria by a factor of about five. This largely explains the firm line followed by French diplomacy in its defense of Serbian and Greek territorial aspirations during the Balkan wars and in World War I. Nothing is easier in winning over two or even three Balkan countries than trying to favor them at the expense of a country sacrificed in advance.

At that time England and France were not sympathetic to Bulgaria. Particularly after the Second Balkan War they considered the policy of the Radoslavov government with mistrust, openly accusing it of pro-Austrian sympathies. The leaders of the two powers did not realize that, considering the difficult situation in which Bulgaria found itself after the first national catastrophe of 1913, anyone who was ready to help it could rely on substantial broadening and consolidation of his political influence in the heart of the Balkan peninsula. That was not the way Paris and London

looked at the situation. It was believed there that a "firm tone" must be maintained in the case of Bulgaria. Its request for a new loan was declined by the French government which asked as a condition for granting it that the country immediately join the Antante and accept denigrating financial clauses.

It was at that point that the Austro-German diplomacy passed to the offensive. A German financial group, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft Bank, expressed its readiness to grant the Bulgarian government the requested loan. Common sense forced the members of the Antante to counter the German proposals with others more advantageous to Bulgaria. However, it was precisely the opposite that happened. As instructed by his government, the French minister of foreign affairs instructed Alfred de Panafieu, the French minister plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, to warn the head of the Bulgarian government that the Quai D'Orsay "would allow in no case French money to be used today in Bulgaria." This behavior merely speeded up the talks between the Bulgarian government and the Diskonto Gesellschaft. Toward the middle of June 1914, when the financial veto to which Bulgaria was subjected was finally lifted, the Bulgarian government considered its talks with Diskonto as concluded. The Sarajevo assassination was already a fact and a world war was about to break out. A severe blow was struck at the interests of the Antante in Bulgaria in favor of the German forces.

The main reason for the failure of the Antante's policy in Bulgaria on the eve and beginning of World War II lies in the lack of sufficient far-sightedness on the part of government circles in Paris, London and Petersburg. Proceeding from the preconceived idea that no financial aid should be granted the Radoslavov government because of its sympathy for Austria-Hungary and Germany, the leading Antante circles underestimated the fact that granting a new loan could have raised the Bulgarian state indebtedness to France alone to one billion francs. This would have made it impossible for even the most pro-German government to involve Bulgaria in a war on the side of Germany. With the refusal to give Bulgaria financial aid, the Antante powers practically facilitated pro-German propaganda in Sofia and the tying of Bulgaria to the bloc of the Central Powers--initially financially and, subsequently, politically and militarily. Having found the road to Paris blocked, the Bulgarian government, which was experiencing a severe lack of funds, took the only way which proved tempting--the way to Berlin and Vienna.

Nevertheless, the main problem which defined the foreign policy of the Bulgarian government was the national problem. Politically, the cabinet in Sofia was not necessarily oriented toward European powers which had the strongest financial positions but toward powers which had expressed their willingness to support its national aspirations. However, this meant that the "chain of gold" (in the words of Kaiser Wilhelm II), through which the bankers in Paris intended to tie Bulgaria to the Antante, proved to be insufficiently strong for the purpose.

[22 Jul 81 p 13]

[Text] Once again, when it came to the Bulgarian question, the members of the Antante displayed groundless restraint and reservations. During the 1914-1915 talks, while World War I was already being fought and the Bulgarian government had proclaimed its neutrality, mistrust of Ferdinand and Radoslavov prevented the Allies from adopting more flexible and just criteria which could have annulled the steps of

German diplomacy. All disputes and differences were focused then on the so-called "undisputed zone" in Macedonia as defined in the March 1912 Serbia-Bulgaria treaty. The unconditional granting of this area to Bulgaria would have sufficed for winning the country over to the Antante.

At that time Winston Churchill, who was a member of the British cabinet, called for granting immediately to Bulgaria the "undisputed zone." In the spring of 1915, when the Allies had already undertaken the Dardanelles operation, Churchill addressed the now-familiar memorandum to the British government in which he emphasized that "we must win over Bulgaria now. Bulgaria is strong and its army is ready..., its territorial aspirations are just and coincide with the principle of nationalities which must guide us....Bulgaria's demands, as formulated now, contain nothing which is not sensible and honorable."

No such realistic policy prevailed in the approach which the Antante took toward Bulgaria. This facilitated the supporters of Germany in pushing once again the country to a catastrophe instead of preserving strict neutrality and saving Bulgaria tremendous pain and casualties.

The tragic events of the second decade of our century clearly proved that Bulgaria could avoid the great misfortunes which afflicted it, one after the other, only by maintaining good relations with Russia, its liberator, and Russia's allies, and only by firmly rejecting any kind of adventuristic policy. At the same time, let us emphasize, for the sake of the truth, that those who scorned Bulgaria's interests and forced us to seek other means to achieve its goals were also to be blamed for the fatal development of events.

After World War I the situation in the European Southeast became exceptionally complex. Three Balkan countries--Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania--were in the camp of the victors. Bulgaria and Turkey were defeated and had to bear the heavy obligations imposed with the peace treaties. The Kemal Ataturk revolution in Turkey, nevertheless, enabled it to reject the annihilating clauses of the Sevres treaty so that, in the final account, Bulgaria proved to be the only Balkan country which was subjected to the full strictness of the decisions of the Versailles conference.

The circumstances in Europe became incredibly complex only 15 years after the end of World War I. The establishment of the Hitlerite dictatorship in Germany was a threat not only to the Western countries but to Eastern Europe as well and above all to the first socialist country, the Soviet Union. In the exceptionally delicate circumstances which developed after 1933, the land of the soviets, the most consistent peace-loving power, pursued a firm policy of collective security. Bulgaria's foreign policy was pursuing a strictly-defined objective: no involvement, nonalignment with international blocs and groups, and maintaining good neighborly relations with the other Balkan countries. The Bulgarian governments of that time tried to achieve the resolution of some problems which had remained pending as a result of the peace treaties. In particular, they were hoping to achieve the peaceful revision of the Treaty of Neuilly with the help of the stipulations of Article 19 of the League of National Pact.

The hopes were futile, for the victors opposed any change in the postwar status quo. The political isolation of Bulgaria continued. It ended in 1934 with the conclusion

of the Balkan Pact, which was hostile to Bulgaria. This was a structural part of the French system of European alliances supported by the Quai D'Orsay. On top of everything else, the foreign policy of the Western powers toward Bulgaria was backed by economic and financial measures. The only outlet for Bulgarian agricultural exports was Germany, and such economic ties subsequently led to a political rapprochement with the Reich.

In accordance with their political plans concerning the Balkan peninsula, in the course of time the great powers changed their attitude toward Bulgaria. Not counting Germany which, immediately after 1933, unilaterally rejected the Versailles Treaty, took the path of revenge and openly incited Bulgaria and Hungary to follow its example, a certain change was noted in the British behavior, which was of key significance in determining the positions of the other Balkan countries. Concerned with weakening French hegemony on the continent, as early as the 1920s, Britain did not conceal the fact that it was ready to support some Bulgarian demands for a partial revision of the peace treaty, more specifically that of having an outlet on the Aegean Sea and on the question of Bulgarian minorities in Yugoslavia.

In the final account, although under different circumstances, this political line was concretized with the conclusion of the 31 July 1938 Salonika Convention, according to which the signatories to the Balkan Pact agreed on the abrogation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly affecting Bulgaria. Henceforth Bulgaria was free to increase the size of its armed forces and to rearm.

"The importance which the British press ascribes to the conclusion of the Salonika Convention," stressed on this occasion the London correspondent of the Bulgarian newspaper ZORA, "is considered by political circles in London a success of British diplomacy." In order not to feel isolated France, followed by the United States, supported the Salonika Convention. This can be assessed as a serious attempt to satisfy Bulgaria, although partially, and thus to win it over to the cause of the Western powers at a time when Hitlerite pressure on the Balkans was being exerted with unusual strength, following the Anschluss and on the very eve of the Munich crisis and of World War II.

The second success of the Bulgarian government, prior to the tragic decision to join the Tripartite Pact, was the return of Southern Dobrudzha. The country's alliance with Hitlerite Germany in World War II was the biggest crime committed by the bourgeoisie and the monarchy in Bulgaria's recent history. As all serious students of that period point out, the pretext was the national unification of the Bulgarian people (which turned out to be entirely fictitious, for no one recognized it). The real reasons for the action were of a class nature. The reactionary bourgeoisie and the monarchy were concerned, above all, with protecting their rule. Bearing in mind that their own forces were insufficient to surmount the rising mass opposition of the people to the bloody regime, they decided to seek the help of a stronger ally, German fascism. The great predator, however, never gives anything for free. Its class support was earned at a high cost, at the cost of the national independence and dislocation of Bulgaria. Simply stated, this can be described as national treason.

The 9 September 1944 revolution not only put an end to monarchical-fascist domination and opened the way to the building of socialism in our country. It also put an end

to the tireless roaming of the bourgeoisie and the palace in search of strong and influential allies in Europe. The fact that Bulgaria was saved from a new and even more terrible national catastrophe with the decisive help of the Soviet Union in itself justifies the general direction which its new foreign political orientation took. A contributing fact in this case was the coincidence of interests and objectives which were shared by the great socialist country and Bulgaria, which had taken a new way. Even during the antifascist resistance every Bulgarian patriot was fighting not only for the liberation of his homeland from class and national oppression but for the sake of the international task of defeating the most terrible enemy of mankind, German fascism, whose objective was to destroy the first socialist state in the world. Whereas after the war the policy of the Western capitalist countries toward Bulgaria had as its sole objective the restoration of the rule of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union extended a fraternal hand and selflessly helped in the restoration of the country plundered by the Hitlerites and in the strengthening of the people's regime.

The historical turn in Bulgaria's political orientation after 1944 is final and irreversible. It has its deep roots in the distant past, in the tribal relations among Slavic peoples and in the age-old reciprocal cultural influence and mutual aid between the two nations. This turn was cemented by the blood which was jointly shed for the liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke and for the victory of fascism in World War II. It was definitively asserted with the conclusion of the 1948 friendship and mutual aid treaty.

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is one of the unique phenomena of our time. It is a powerful factor in the socialist development and success of the new Bulgaria. In relying on the powerful support of the great Soviet state, Bulgaria gained strong positions in the contemporary world. It is a question, first of all, of the exceptional aid which was given to us by the Soviet Union in the development of a modern industry and mechanized agriculture, which make us a reliable economic partner of the economically most developed country in the world. It is also a question of the firm support which the Soviet Union is giving to any one of our political initiatives in the international arena. In many cases its prestigious word has been decisive when problems of vital importance to Bulgaria had to be settled. Bulgaria has never before had such a selfless and strong ally. That is why reciprocity is the only means with which to repay such an ally.

It was precisely this that led L. I. Brezhnev to declare that relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are a classical example of proletarian internationalism in action. It was this that led Comrade Todor Zhivkov to state that although Bulgaria is a small country, it has a "strong and reliable" support and that Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, tested and tempered in heavy battles, will prevail through the centuries. Our national interests demand of us always and under all circumstances to march in step with the great and invincible Soviet state and with the other members of the socialist comity.

The historical problem of Bulgaria's allies and position in the modern world has been resolved forever and irreversibly.

What conclusion could be drawn from all of this? It is entirely clear that in modern and most modern times, when the historical process is developing most rapidly

and dynamically, Bulgaria does not live separately from the rest of the world. Even during the most tragic centuries of its existence, during the epoch of Turkish domination, when there was no Bulgarian state, the Bulgarians were able to make themselves known to the world, to acquaint the world with their aspirations and to instill love and respect for themselves. Noted Bulgarians, whose characters and merits we may have somewhat neglected, maintained economic, political, religious and cultural ties with many Eastern and Western European countries.

Ever since the European world crossed the threshold of the Renaissance, the Bulgarian people have experienced endless degradations and covered a complex and contradictory way of development. When the Bulgarian state was resurrected and appeared once again on the map of the world the contradictions between the so-called great powers, which were settling the destinies of the world, had become so intense that the Bulgarian national problems became the currency of their "big policy." This brought Bulgaria many new trials and disappointments both as a result of the unbalanced policies of its rulers and of the gross neglect of its national interests on the part of the imperialist countries.

It was only after the 1944 socialist revolution, relying on the support of the USSR, that Bulgaria assumed its proper place in the world as an equal and respected country. Today its road is clearer than ever before. It is a stable factor of good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and is marching in the leading ranks of forces fighting for peace on earth and for social progress.

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CSO: 2200/133

ALEKSANDUR LILOV INTERPRETS ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 7, 1981 pp 5-26

[Article by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary: "Scientific Socialism: Theoretical and Ideological Foundation of the Bulgarian Communist Party"]

[Text] Ninety years have passed, or almost a century, from the founding of the revolutionary Marxist party in Bulgaria.

The celebration of this important and great Bulgarian anniversary is a major sociopolitical event. The long distance which was covered along the crest of history and of its greatest and most severe class battles, ranging from Buzludzha Peak Balkan Mountains, in the victorious 9 September 1944 socialist revolution, to the building of a mature socialist society in our country today, allows the party to present itself to the Bulgarian working class and Bulgarian people, to the world's proletariat and the international communist movement, on its 90th birthday, as a strong and mature Marxist-Leninist party which is successfully fulfilling its historical mission.

The anniversary presents us with great opportunities for the study and assessment of the distance already covered, the historical victories and gain achieved, the errors allowed, the still-unresolved problems and the lessons for the future.

Looking at the past nine decades globally, we are bound to see that we, Bulgarian communists, have all the reasons to be proud, and are proud, of what the Bulgarian Communist Party is and what it has accomplished over these 90 years. In the first decades, when it planted the seed of socialism in Bulgaria, under the leadership of Dimitur Blagoev-Dyadoto and later, when headed by Giorgi Dimitrov it wrote the glorious and hard pages of the struggle against capitalism and fascism, as well as today, when under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, it is implementing its Leninist April line and is building a developed socialist society, our party was and remains flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of its class and people and, at the same time, the tested battle vanguard and political leader of the working class and the people in the struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism.

"Never before in the course of its 1,300 year history,"Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated at the recently-ended 12th BCP Congress, "has the Bulgarian people had such a brilliant thinker and inspired poet, scientist, organizer and leader as our Bulgarian Communist Party."[1]

Yes, the BCP has nothing to fear today when it is drawing the balance of its 90 years of struggle in front of the people and the world.

However, the anniversary also offers great opportunities for serious theoretical consideration of the distance covered and the current problems facing a Marxist-Leninist type party today.

Ninety years is a long historical period in terms of the existence and functioning of a political party. It is quite sufficient for the development and manifestation of the basic essential characteristics of such a party: ideological, political, organizational, social, moral-ethical and internationalist. It is entirely sufficient for practically testing and weighing on the scale of social practice the objectives, capabilities and actual historical contribution of such a party. It is entirely sufficient for answering the question of what kind of party this is.

The question of what kind of party this is is a major and topical problem not only from the viewpoint of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the BCP but from a more global viewpoint: what party may be considered a Marxist-Leninst party; does such a party develop and change or is it permanent and fixed; if it does develop and change, what directions and ways does it take and what are the problems accompanying the development of the Marxist-Leninist type party at the current stage, as they appear in contemporary social practice, what are the basic conclusions and lessons which must be drawn from the development of contemporary Marxist-Leninist parties, what are the leading and determining features of this development and so on.

The question of what is and what should a Marxist-Leninist party be today and what problems does a Marxist-Leninist party face today and what kind of party does the contemporary global revolutionary process need is, unquestionably, one of the main problems of contemporary social development and of the contemporary stage in the historical transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism.

In this case, the problem does not acquire an abstract interpretation. We must analyze and sum up the actual historical practice of today without avoiding the tremendous data of positive facts or negative phenomena and facts, similar to those which, for example, triggered the crisis in the Polish People's Republic and the PZPR or else which we note in the development of China and the Chinese Communist Party, of individual parties in some developed capitalist countries, and so on. We must not forget that the development of a Marxist-Leninist party as such neither takes place nor could take place other than by following the path of any development, i.e., by surmounting the contradictions which arise in the course of its historical march and the acquisition of what is most progressive and objectively necessary for the advancement of the party as the political vanguard and leader of the working class and the people's masses in the struggle for the socialist reorganization of society.

Consequently, in order to provide an accurate answer to the question of what kind of a party is a party of a Marxist-Leninist type today, at the end of the 20th and on the eve of the 21st centuries, means to enter one of the general questions of our revolutionary epoch.

This means that history is not satisfied with the ceremonious music played at party anniversaries but faces us with ever-new questions and harmonies of our time and seeks in history, which includes the interpretation of party anniversaries, answers to

questions which it itself creates today or will create tomorrow in the course of the revolutionary socialist reorganization of society.

The study of the 90 years of experience of the BCP, looked at through the lens of the general question of what does a party of a new Leninist type represent today, in 1981, is an exceptionally interesting, tempting and responsible assignment. Naturally, it would require more than the efforts of its single author or the limitations of a single article. It would be impossible within an article to present even the formulation of the problems which, put together, form the contemporary content of the general problem, not to mention the undertaking of their more thorough study.

It is possible, however, as a step leading to this major task, to synthesize and bring up the basic characteristics: the ideological, political, organizational, social, moral-ethical and internationalist features of our party as they develop in the course of the past 90 years, and as they are today in our own social practice and within the context of the reality of the contemporary global revolutionary process and international communist and workers movements.

This article deals with the theoretical and ideological characterization and theoretical and ideological identity of the BCP as a party of a contemporary Marxist-Leninist type.

Historically considered, one of the most characteristic features of the BCP is its strong reliance on the ideas and principles of scientific socialism, its development of a revolutionary Marxist party, on the basis of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, the ideological support and profound theoretical substantiation of its political and revolutionary activity and the conversion and constant strengthening of Marxism-Leninism as a mass active ideological awareness of the party.

Naturally, our party has always taken into consideration the requirements of reality, the development of social reality itself. It has always tried to rely on its own and international socialist and political experience of the working class and the people's masses. The BCP has always tried not to lose its feel for the pulsebeat of the time. It has never erected barriers separating it from reality, from the world. It has never been deaf and blind to the real needs of the working people and their fate, aspirations and dreams. At the same time, however, it has always tried not to become disoriented in the sea of empirical facts and developments. It has never abandoned its class-party criteria, ideological guidelines and revolutionary objectives. Neither the achievements in the class struggle nor the results of the building of socialism today in our country would have been so all-embracing and profound, had the social actions of the masses not been guided by a combat Marxist-Leninist party, armed with profound and practically-tried scientific truths concerning the development of society, and unless at each stage of its development and of the development of society it had been unable promptly to find the true scientifically-substantiated answers to the most acute and topical problems of the class struggle and the building of socialism.

Looking at the 90-year-old road of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party, we see that as a political party, from its very beginning and to this day, it has stood on the principled scientific positions of scientific socialism and has always

aspired, precisely on the basis of such positions, to sum up most profoundly and penetratingly the social and political experience of the working class and the people's masses. Our party's entire history unequivocally proves that it is the bearer, on the one hand, of the trend of steadily-rising sociopolitical and revolutionary practices to the level of the requirements and criteria of Marxist-Leninist theory; on the other, to embody the basic stipulations of our theory in life and thus to guide the revolutionary struggle accurately and on a long-term basis. It is thus that unity between Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice historically determines the overall aspect and behavior of our party, starting with its founding to the present. The highest point of this application of social science in practice is the main result of the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarian working class--the building of a developed socialist society in our country.

The fact that our revolutionary workers movement experienced the lasting fruitful influence of the Marxist-Leninist scientific knowledge of social life and that it is precisely on this basis that the success was developed in the class struggle, naturally, is not accidental. It is not the random result of historical development or the exclusive personal merit of the creators and leaders of our party, although their contribution in this respect is unquestionable. It cannot be denied that ever since the "Communist Party Manifesto" was published the doctrine of Marx and Engels has covered a remarkable distance and that it has been quite closely linked to the upsurge and development of the revolutionary workers' movement and that it became widespread throughout the world as the most progressive ideology which defends the interests of the broad toiling masses. Understandably, the "ghost" which, according to Marx and Engels, was roaming around Europe as of the mid-19th century, could not fail, in the final account, to reach even the then most neglected areas and countries on the old continent. However, we are bound to err if we consider that in this case it is a question exclusively of purely external and spiritual influences, of a kind of "offshoot" of Marxist ideas and concepts. In this case, it is rather a question of an objective need of our sociohistorical development, which was perceived on time, profoundly and accurately by our first Marxists, and of the systematically and deliberately directed organizational, ideological and political actions, based on this requirement, which very quickly raised the movement of the Bulgarian working class to the level of a most active subjective factor in the historical process.

In this case one feature is noteworthy: the point is that by virtue of our specific internal conditions both the time and the possibility were lacking of enabling the idea of Marx and Engels on the revolutionary role of the proletariat to be asserted slowly and to cover the long distance leading to its application and development. However, it was adapted immediately to the actual needs and eventually turned into the realized need for the creation of a revolutionary party of the Bulgarian proletariat, a party which could defend its class interests and head its struggles. As we know, some European proletarian parties were created under far more favorable circumstances, as parties of a large, already-established working class, which had proved itself in the social struggle, had acquired considerable social experience and had its victories and defeats, class aspect and established joint class interests. Our historical lot was different. The Bulgarian workers class, which began to take shape toward the end of the 19th century, under the conditions of an initial accumulation of capital with an underdeveloped mainly artisan production system, could draw on the shining example of the fighters for national liberation from foreign yoke and their prophetic dream, which the Bulgarian bourgeoisie had forgotten,

of a "single communist order"(Kar. Botev) and a "pure and sacred republic" (V. Levski). At the same time, however, on the other hand, the example of the working class in the more developed capitalist countries in waging an organized struggle for social rights and social liberation was of tremendous importance to it. It was on this basis that history brought about in a very short time period the virtually simultaneous development in our country of a working class itself and of its revolutionary Marxist party. It was no accident that immediately after the Bulgarian Social Democratic Workers Party was founded, at the congress on Buzludzha Peak, in 1891, that Dimitur Blagoev, its founder and creator, published his remarkable work "What is Socialism and Does It Have Grounds in Our Country" in which he described the class differentiation developing in our country and indicated the newly-created need for the development of the class awareness of the workers, the substantiation of their special role as a social class and the dissemination of socialism as the only reliable and really possible future of our social and political development.

Consequently, how could we explain such a less frequent case in the history of the workers and communists movements of a very short timespan separating the forming of the working class itself and of its party? Why is it, by virtue of what circumstances and reasons, that in our country in no more than six to seven years the socialist movement was able to come out of its spontaneous development stage, leave revolutionary phraseology, utopian socialism, nihilism, and Proudhon-Bakunin anarchism behind? How is it that from the moment of its creation our party turned out to be a principle-minded proletarian party, regardless of the power of the bourgeoisie, intolerant of reformist trends, behaving as the complete opposite of newly-developed bourgeois parties which were fiercely involved in the struggle for power, a party invariably focused on a single final objective: the revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist society?

A more analytical consideration of this circumstance, a more profound study of the rapid development of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Systematic Marxist Party, and a desire to determine more accurately the meaning of its further legitimate historical development on the path of Leninism, which reached its culminating point in the victorious 9 September Revolution and the development of the building of socialism in our country require that we pay particular attention to the specific conditions under which the communist party of the Bulgarian working class was created, developed and won victories.

To begin with, an essential feature of the problem is, as we already noted, that our socialist movement was forced to take its first steps in a rather backward country which had only recently gained its national liberation and had taken the path of capitalist development, a country whose working class was still weak and small. It was precisely these insufficiently developed objective socioeconomic conditions and circumstances that made the position of the newly-formed working class extremely difficult, subjecting it to merciless exploitation and sentencing it to a rightless and silent existence. Small, unorganized, with no concept of class and cruelly exploited, naturally, all by itself the working class could not become aware of its position and become a "class for its own sake" and look for its rights and for an organized solution to this situation. Furthermore, it was actually threatened with falling under the influence of the numerous bourgeois and petit bourgeois parties and, particularly, of their corrupt ideology, which was

fed by the capitalist, essentially petty ownership economic base of society, on whose grounds it grew rapidly. Thus, on the one hand, backward objective socioeconomic conditions aggravated the class differentiation to its extreme and, at the same time, were not contributing to the development of the class awareness of the proletariat. At the same time, however, the adverse objective socioeconomic conditions and circumstances indicated quite clearly the need for a specific proletarian organization which would facilitate the shaping of the proletariat and its development as a new independent social class. In his 1871 letter to F. Bothe, K. Marx wrote: "Wherever the working class has as yet insufficiently developed its organization so that it may mount a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power of the ruling classes, in all cases it must be trained to accomplish this through constant agitation against this power and by assuming a hostile position toward the policy of the ruling classes. Otherwise the working class will remain a toy in their hands...."[2]

In order not to become a toy in the hands of the bourgeois parties and be able to wage the political struggle against the ruling classes, it was necessary for the Bulgarian proletariat to set up its independent political party promptly. Under the specific conditions which prevailed in Bulgaria at the turn of the century, it was precisely a longer absence of a proletarian revolutionary party that would have delayed the appearance of the self-awareness of the working class and its political growth and systematic revolutionary development. In order for the latter to become reality it was necessary, to begin with, to achieve a profound, accurate, correct and creative understanding of Marxist theory and the fast, timely and effective propaganda, dissemination and study of the ideas of scientific socialism and the instilling of these ideas in the newly-developing working class.

It is precisely at this point that the social need for and historical role of the subjective factor are strongly manifested, of the role which the individual plays in history. We see the great figure and invaluable personal contribution of Dimitur Blagoev-Dyadoto and his fellow workers. It was precisely they who planted the seeds of Marxism in Bulgaria and who combined scientific socialism with the labor movement in our country. It was precisely they who laid the foundations and formed the roots of one of the most strongly-expressed characteristics and traditions of our party: loyalty for and creative attitude toward scientific socialism as a mandatory prerequisite for the proper development and successful implementation of the party's historical mission.

As we can see, it was precisely the at-first objective socioeconomic conditions that emphasized the need for the party's ideological growth and which accelerated the political organization of the Bulgarian working class on the solid foundations of the authentic Marxist theory, on the basis of the founding ideas of scientific socialism. This was not fortuitous, for it is precisely Marxism, as an exclusively scientific-theoretical accomplishment, that enables any workers movement to develop a long-term confident progress, lasting results in the class struggle and liberation from all oppression and exploitation.

It was on this basis and under these specific circumstances that the establishment of the working class itself became possible and necessary, thus facilitating and accelerating the dissemination and study of the ideas of scientific socialism and, particularly--on the basis of such an ideological unification of the proletariat--the founding of its combat revolutionary Marxist party, able to defend its class interests and objectives.

At the same time, yet another proof exists that the political movement of the working class is not the automatic or schematic consequence of economic and social reality but the result of the class struggle itself, its inevitability, intensiveness, polarization and sharpness. Social progress does not come exclusively from the economic base. To a very large extent it depends also on the deployment and shaping of political forces and the development of social class relations and, particularly, on the class struggle itself. It depends on the self-awareness of the classes, the political awareness of the people and their social and political behavior. It is not without importance to stress in this connection the significant although subjective circumstance that our party was created by people with great revolutionary experience and revolutionary knowledge, people who were educated as Marxists and had developed their Marxist creative personalities, people who were closely related to the revolutionary movement of their time and were armed with the Marxist theoretical concept of the historical role of the proletariat in the age of tempestuous capitalist development. It was precisely on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and under the guidance of the greatest Marxist in the Balkans by the turn of the century--Dimitur Blagoev--that the Bulgarian proletariat created its revolutionary Marxist party whose aim was to prepare the working class for its historical mission. It was not fortuitous that Blagoev himself acknowledged that, on the one hand, it was precisely Marx' "Das Kapital" that gave him the opportunity to understand "the origin and growth of the working class, the hidden springs of capitalist production, the significance of the working class within it, the status of the class, the grounds for its struggle, its organization and its historical task, the "expropriation of the expropriators,"[3] and, on the other hand, to stress that "the spreading of the ideas of scientific socialism strengthened the movement and rallied a larger number of socialists within an organized force."[4] This makes it clear that it becomes very difficult to understand the starting principles and ideological development of the founders, the organizers and the leaders of the party outside the influence of the subjective factor and of Marxist theory, and to understand even better the relatively early establishment and development of the party itself as the most conscientious and highly organized leading detachment of the Bulgarian working class. It is unquestionable that it was precisely the proper theoretical orientation of the party that assigned it a new considerable role in the country's political life. The main fact is that Blagoev's party, from its very founding and, subsequently, throughout the entire period of its legal and clandestine existence in bourgeois Bulgaria, was radically and diametrically distinct from all other parties and movements in the country by having rejected once and for all the principles of narrow practicalism and political adventurism, not having pursued transient and insignificant objectives and for having acted always without any political, theoretical and ideological carelessness. The party of the Bulgarian communists is a party of the profound and scientifically substantiated Marxist thinking, a party of revolutionary ideals and of great ideological and political objectives. It is a party with revolutionary political, ideological and social scope, whose final objective is the revolutionary reorganization of society.

It would be useful to draw a substantiated conclusion supported by history on the basis of all we have said so far: without clear ideological-theoretical foundations and a clear ideological awareness there could be no strong Marxist-Leninist party. The illuminating role of the theory of scientific socialism is a permanently necessary and irreplacable means for daily, consistent, principle-minded and

effective practical party-political activity. This is a particularly important lesson for our time, when the tremendous successes achieved in the revolutionary reorganization of social life and the tremendous pressure exerted by bourgeois ideology and by right-wing and left-wing opportunism face us with the present danger of a reduction in theoretical awareness, its confusion and reforming, and of a general underestimating of the role of theory itself in today's tremendous revolutionary process. It is no accident that in each individual case the danger of social democratic deformations within some contemporary Marxist-Leninist parties begins precisely with the underestimating of theoretical and ideological foundations of political activity. Actually, any party which would like to remain loyal to the working class and lead it on the way to the revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist society must keep its Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundations clean and strong. It must adopt a consistently principled attitude toward the founding principles of scientific socialism.

The study of history proves that Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology are not merely the foundation on which the communist party of the working class is developed but one of its main and most powerful weapons in the revolutionary struggle. "The Marxist-Leninist Party," emphasized Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "cannot fulfill its role without paying the necessary attention to the interpretation of everything which takes place, the summation of the new phenomena in life and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory."[5]

Now, when voices are heard calling for a reduction of the participation of scientific theory in shaping the policy and activities of communist parties, and when a right-wing revisionist and left-wing revisionist circumstantial political pragmatism is clearly being created and is being manifested ever more clearly, a pragmatism which is dangerous because of its attitude toward theory, it is of essential importance to analyze more profoundly our own historical experience regarding the important and totally irreplacable role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the creation, internal development and progress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, its fruitful participation in the class struggle and the social revolution and the successful and accelerated development of the building of socialism. More specifically, what did scientific socialism contribute to our party?

It seems to us that in this connection it would be proper to go back to one of Lenin's thoughts, namely that "a movement which develops in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of the other countries. Such implementation requires more than the simple familiarization with this experience or the simple duplication of the latest resolutions. This calls for the ability to adopt a critical attitude toward this experience and check it ourselves."[6]

In the light of this stipulation we can easily see that the experience of other countries came to our country not merely as a simple reference to some existing examples or the borrowing of individual theses, concepts or even entire resolutions. Particularly important, above all, is the circumstance that the Marxist development of Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of our party, began in the midst of the Russian workers movement. As we know, together with other Russian workers-revolutionaries, as early as 1883 he created the first Marxist group in Russia. That is why Blagoev naturally brought to Bulgaria the live experience of the Russian revolutionary movement and the Russian social democracy. At the same time, he laid

a firm and remarkable beginning for the subsequently historically developed and strengthened tradition of revolutionary fraternity between the BCP and the CPSU, and between our countries and peoples.

However, this too is not all. The essence of the matter is not covered exclusively by the external influences on the subjective factor, for in our country the experience from other countries "arrived" also as a reliance on the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels and the daily consideration and even testing of this theory on the basis of specifically Bulgarian conditions. To our first socialists it was precisely Marxism that represented the most concentrated form of experience, extracted directly from the international workers movement. It was a source of revolutionary inspiration, theoretical confidence and ideological strength and a most accurate political guideline.

It is a fact of essential significance that starting with the very first day of its founding, Blagoev's party began to resolve the problems of the class struggle from the positions of scientific socialism. On the one hand, this strongly limited the influence of random, secondary, spontaneous and accidental factors on the development of the workers movement; on the other, it enabled the party to maintain a live, permanent and effective contact with the objective and natural course of events and to use it in accordance with the interests of the working class. All this was expressed more durably in the historically established and distinct class-political appearance of our party. Let us consider this matter in greater detail.

To begin with, let us point out that firm reliance on revolutionary Marxist theory enabled our party promptly to identify in the then-new working class the future gravedigger of capitalism, i.e., it was precisely on the basis of this theoretical foundation that it was able to penetrate deeply into the essence of the existing historical situation in our country and, despite a considerable backwardness, to identify the revolutionary future in the development of society. Thus Marxist theory brought the party closer to the specific facts and circumstances; it showed it the deeper inner trends of our economic and political development; it indicated to the party the most accurate political line which it had to take under such specific national conditions and circumstances.

At the same time, on the other hand, it was precisely scientific socialism that revealed to the party most completely and consistently the fact that regardless of the entire characteristic of historical conditions and national development, it was later Bulgaria took the path of a more general capitalist development which was inevitably to lead to the pitting of the working class against the bourgeoisie, to sharp class battles and to a socialist revolution. That is why the workers movement in our country was able to develop on a long-term basis and most successfully precisely as a structural component of the international workers movement. It was thus that in its activities our party has always taken into consideration the specific historically existing conditions of work and struggle in our country without, however, ever having been focused on regional developments or becoming a nationally restricted party. It has always borne in mind that the liberation of the proletariat is an international task and that this is an irreversible global process in which each working class, party and country will make its unique contribution.

Still within the same range of problems and this viewpoint we must also stress that the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party of the Bulgarian proletariat was exceptionally important in terms of our national development and national progress. The timely unification and organization of the revolutionary energy of the Bulgarian working class enabled it to become a powerful motive force in the open, conscious and purposeful class struggle for a new social order and a new life. Whereas economically we found ourselves quite backward, by the turn of the century we were also in the front ranks of global political development. That is why it is no accident that our party led the first antifascist uprising in the world, in September of 1923, and that today it is not accidental in the least that Bulgaria is among the countries which are successfully developing a mature socialist society--the highest level reached in the area of contemporary social progress.

One of the major advantages of our party is the fact that in its entire history, engaged in an open and systematic struggle against reformism and right-wing and left-wing revisionism, it has not experienced periods of ideological division. It has never sought a different ideological and theoretical foundation for itself, for the development of the struggle and for the victory of the socialist revolution other than that of Marxism-Leninism. The party itself defeated and rejected in its time Yanko Sakuzov's reformist "right-wing socialism," and, subsequently, left-wing sectarianism, nationalism and other ideas and trends alien to scientific socialism. This played a tremendous role in its ideological development. In his time it was Engels himself who drew attention to the fact that without a correct, systematic and profound ideological-theoretical formulation scientific socialism would be unable to become the flesh and blood of the workers movement, and that it is precisely indifference to theory that is one of the main reasons for the slow development of workers movements in some large European countries and for conditions of confusion and trouble experienced by such movements. One can easily imagine the difficulties which would have been inflicted on our workers movement, which was developing at a slow quantitative pace, in the midst of a wide petit bourgeois sea, had our party not always had at its disposal the true compass of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The profound loyalty of our party to Marxism enabled it not only to remain loyal to the liberation cause of the working class but directly to penetrate deeply into social reality, to detect the most essential, the basic, the class interests of the workers and of all working people and to express and defend such interests. That is why our party has never tried to be and has never been a closed political elite, a kind of separate sect, separated from the working people and indifferent to the interests of the people's masses. This profound internal tie linking the party with the working class, the party and the working people, was expressed in the course of historical development through the extensive spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideas and their transformation into the ruling ideology of our society in the period of the building of socialism. Thus, the more the party developed and headed the revolutionary process as a mass process, as a movement of all working people, the more it needed, objectively and subjectively, a profound Marxist-Leninist theoretical view and criterion regarding processes and phenomena, the class struggle and the prospects for social development, so that it could be able to provide prompt and proper answers to the questions of the time, and to direct and enrich its methods of action; at the same time, however, this process has a back side which is quite essential: the ever more extensive popularization and dissemination of the

ideas of scientific socialism and their conversion into a militant, struggling and winning revolutionary ideology of the masses.

Along with the steady enrichment and expansion of its ideological potential and influence, the party waged a constant, an uninterrupted struggle against the various bourgeois and petit bourgeois currents and theories, against the varieties and various deviations of revolutionary theory and the attempts to prevent the direct spreading of scientific socialism among the masses and its connection with the specific spiritual needs of the broad popular masses. It is thus that its strong and practically-tested Marxist-Leninist theoretical position is specifically embodied in a long and firm Bulgarian tradition of irreconcilable ideological struggle against any and all deviations or ideological encroachments directed against scientific socialism. We are in full agreement with the history of our party and the specific and numerous facts of our ideological life by noting that to this day the forms of open and ideological struggle are among the best and most tried methods for countering and defeating the class enemy and for developing and planting of our ideas among the working class and the broad people's masses.

As we may see, the fact that by relying on the solid foundation of scientific socialism the party rises to the position of leading political force which frees the working class from the influence of bourgeois politics and ideology through its organizational, political and ideological activities, takes it into a new independent orbit of motion and development, and makes it able to provide true political leadership of the toiling masses is of determining significance in the class-political portrait of our party.

Let us immediately add that this ideological-theoretical and revolutionary-practical experience of ours is one of the greatest gains of our party in the course of its 90 years of history and that we are constantly returning to it in order to be able to understand more profoundly and be guided more accurately in the processes of our time. As we know, we are observing today the uninterrupted attempts of bourgeois ideology to infiltrate within the workers movement its own or suitable social democratic views, approaches and solutions, which not only does not threaten but could even be useful to its class interests. At the same time, for many years, modern anticommunism has focused its main forces against Lenin and Leninism and has been doing everything possible to be able to de-Leninize scientific socialism and the international workers movement, and to de-Leninize the communist parties themselves, particularly those in the most developed capitalist countries. These are no longer external threats surrounding the workers movement without any specific consequences. On the contrary, we are noticing today the actual attempts which are being made to change the internal Marxist-Leninist ideological and theoretical nature of some influential communist parties. We must also see, however, that in all such cases we are faced with an extremely dangerous phenomenon: attempts at the ideological disarming of the workers movement and at internally deforming the revolutionary force and energy of the communist party.

Any attempt at the consideration and resolution of ripe problems by themselves, with a view to one or another pragmatic result, rather than from the positions of the overall laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism, destabilizes the communist movement and opens the way to reformism, conciliationism and defeat in the class struggle. A retreat from the positions of scientific socialism contains the real danger

that the communist party may lose its class orientation and objective, abandon the front of the proletarian class struggle, adopt a reformist platform and lose its revolutionary nature. As the initial and basic form of the ideological disarming of a given party under capitalist conditions, its de-Leninization means opening the way to the social democratization of this party which, in turn, is a prelude to a crisis within the party and to its conversion from an enemy to a partner of the bourgeoisie and from a revolutionary force into an integral component of bourgeois society itself. Under socialist conditions the party's de-Leninization marks the beginning of an internal crisis which, as reality proves, under specific adverse domestic and foreign circumstances, rapidly becomes a crisis of the entire society and a real threat of the destabilization of the socialist social system itself.

As our party's history proves, a creative attitude toward Marxism-Leninism is of the greatest importance to the steady development and advancement of the party's organization and policies.

The point is that the mere one-time acceptance of the basic stipulations of scientific socialism, after which they become a dogma or, worse, a kind of catechism, a static mold and criterion for judging social and political phenomena, is not enough. In this case one puts the mold on, measures the sides and if the phenomenon does not fit it means that it is wrong. Both history as well as our modern times offer drastic examples of the way basic stipulations of our theory are used not as a foundation for creativity and for managing the political process but are raised into a frozen inviolable dogma or even into something like a "holy scripture." Unquestionably, this proves a lack of profound understanding and a misshaping of the very nature of Marxist-Leninist theory, which is not only the bearer of the most profound truth related to social development but is also a constant process of the study of social reality itself. That is why any blind veneration of theory or its conversion into a dogma, rather than its use as a specific manual for action, could remove and isolate any party from reality, condemn it to sectarianism, hinder its ties with the broad masses and, in the final account, compromise its leading role and leading ability.

Without going into unnecessary details let us point out that our party not only had the wisdom to adopt the theory of scientific socialism but was able to display in the course of its historical development the perspicacity of learning steadily, mastering this theory and daringly applying it creatively in accordance with our national conditions, while steadily enriching and developing it. As G. Dimitrov pointed out, "It is easier to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism than the ability properly and promptly to apply such principles in practice as a manual for action at all stages of social development."[7]

It is true that in the course of its entire history the party has not always been able to master and apply Marxist-Leninist doctrine properly and promptly when faced with some events and processes. As we know, the delay with which the party accepted the new features which V. I. Lenin introduced into Marxist theory prevented it from accurately understanding and assessing the events and processes which were occurring in our country at the end of World War I and the subsequent years. As a result of this, the party adopted an erroneous position toward the Vladaya events and, particularly, the military-fascist 9 June coup d'etat. However, the beginning process of Leninization of the party and its transformation into a party of a new, a Leninist, type raised it to the level of the tasks and requirements of the time and updated its political activities in such a way that at the proper time it assumed the

hegemony in the revolutionary struggle and became the main leading force of all progressive forces fighting the fascist onslaught. It was thus that, through its own experience, the BCP reached the truth that it is precisely through Leninism that the party can rise to the level of the times and become armed with the theory of the socialist revolution and of the building of a real socialist society.

Our party has always emphasized that it owes its achievements to the creative application of Lenin's ideas. It was precisely the general principles of Leninism and their brilliant consummation in the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR which made it possible for our party to master specifically the historical characteristic of Bulgarian social reality and to provide original solutions to many problems of the building of socialism in our country.

Currently the international communist and workers movements are sharply discussing the dialectics of the universal and the specific in the class struggle and the building of socialism. We hardly consider this to be an artificial discussion. As we know, for a while no attention was paid to these problems, considering their importance. Priority was given to general laws and concepts, while the characteristics of specific processes and phenomena through which they made their way and through which the general laws as summarized in our theory are manifested were studied relatively less. Without reducing in the least the significance of the general laws, the current stage in the development of the revolutionary process and of the building of socialism has given increased current significance to the consideration of specific historical, social, national and other specific features and conditions in which the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism are developing. Paralleling this positive need a negative trend appeared, according to which, in the final accounting, everything is reduced to the specific, to the regional, to the national levels. From the viewpoint of the matter under consideration, this means the absolutizing of national autonomy and individual characteristics of the separate communist parties. Lenin already has noted in his book "What is To Be Done" that splits, hesitations, readiness to compromise and grand concessions, and the petty practicalism and total theoretical carelessness which prevailed at that time led to the fact that scientific socialism stopped being an integral revolutionary theory, becoming a mishmash to which each newly published German textbook "freely" contributed.[8] For the sake of the truth we must note that today as well, particularly insistent efforts are being made to"pour additional liquids," drawn first and foremost from the misunderstood "national characteristic." It is in this manner that a thoroughly familiar problem of our movement is returning to the foreground: what kind of approach could be classified as being a contemporary and a creative approach to the theory of Marxism-Leninism?

Naturally, in the course of their activities the communist parties are guided by the overall principles and laws, for it is precisely they that crystallize the main, essential, recurrent and natural features of all isolated and special processes and phenomena of the class struggle in each country, big or small, advanced or backward, located in one or another part of the world. At the same time, however, the accurate and creative attitude toward the common and practically-tried truths regarding the class struggle and the socialist revolution does not mean ignoring specific features. It does not mean refusing to take into consideration regional features or pitting some specific conditions against others. Conversely, it means the mandatory adoption of a specific historical approach, for

each common law appears precisely within a given set of specific regional unique phenomena and circumstances. The communist party or communist leaders were unable to understand and take into consideration that the features of the specific revolutionary process and the variety within the global transition from capitalism to socialism are dogmatic and are as dangerous as those who fail to see behind a specific fact a profound pattern and behind a temporary advantage the basic interests and objectives of the revolution. "As long as national and governmental differences exist among nations and countries," Lenin wrote, "differences which will remain for quite some time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been achieved on a global scale, the unity of the international tactic of the communist workers movement in all countries demands not the elimination of the variety or of national differences (for the time being, this is a hollow dream) but the type of application of the basic principles of communism (a soviet system and proletarian dictatorship) which can properly change these principles in their detail and properly adapt and apply to national and national-state differences."[9] It is in the spirit of this Leninist thought that we could say that we can speak of a creative Marxist-Leninist attitude, of a heuristic attitude toward contemporary processes and phenomena, only when we penetrate deeply into the new social reality and circumstances, on the basis of common Marxist-Leninist principles and laws, and provide an accurate solution to the topical problems encountered by revolutionary work.

As we know, it was precisely such an innovative dialectical approach that enabled Lenin to resolve both the fundamental and the grave yet topical problems of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. By adopting such principle-minded Leninist stipulation, the CPSU gave us a unique example of great innovation and creativity unparalleled in human history. Naturally, what the USSR achieved is not a model which can be simply transposed or automatically copied and moved. It is a question of something more important and more complex: of the fact that the practice of the building of socialism in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, including our country, unquestionably proves the universal validity of the overall laws of the socialist revolution. At the same time, this is a real triumph of the specific historical characteristic of the development of individual countries and peoples along the socialist path. "As we know," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, "the common feature in the revolutionary process and in the building of a socialist society in different countries is implemented in specific characteristic ways."[10]

What else is needed for the adoption of a creative approach and attitude to theory and reality by a Marxist-Leninist party?

We should not look for the answer too far: the 90-year history of the BCP gives us the necessary grounds from which to draw a major conclusion: in order for a party to be creative, a number of things are needed: the high ideological-theoretical standard of the party and its leading cadres, a creative atmosphere, a strong and capable leadership, a creative style and work method, clear awareness of the ways and means through which knowledge and society move, and so on. However, if they are present, the main, the decisive feature is that, on the one hand, Marxist-Leninist creativity is impossible without Marxist-Leninist theoretical consistency and without loyalty and dedication to the ideas and principles of scientific socialism; on the other, that without constant theoretical study of reality and

without taking into consideration the characteristics and changes in specific social practices, no flexible, innovative and creative activity and struggle are possible. The Marxist-Leninist party must adopt not only an accurate but a flexible application of the general principles in terms of specific historical conditions. The fact that new problems constantly arise and demand new answers demands of the party always to display a live, an active, a creative attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory. As Lenin himself noted, right-wing doctrinairism acknowledges exclusively the old forms, ignoring the new content; in turn, left-wing doctrinairism rejects the old forms without realizing that the new content makes its way through all possible forms. According to Lenin it is the duty of the communist to master all methods, to learn to supplement one method with another and to replace one method with another and adapt their tactic to any triggered change in circumstances with maximum speed.[11]

In the course of its historical development our party has incessantly struggled against conservatism and a dogmatic attitude toward theory, against ossification and sclerosis in the application of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles, against right-wing and left-wing opportunism and against all attempts to revise scientific socialism. Loyal to its creative approach to the topical problems, objectives and tasks of the workers movement and the building of socialism, after each one of its mistakes or omissions, the party was able to draw accurate, profound and, most importantly, principled conclusions, i.e., conclusions based on Marxist-Leninist theory. In this sense it developed as a party with a profound feeling of realism, a critical attitude toward itself and toward achieved results, never conceited by successes or demoralized by difficulties and errors. Our party has always shown a feeling for the new, for the offshoots in life. At the same time, it has always had the strength and valor to look the truth in the eyes. Such a profoundly scientific approach, principle-mindedness and honesty are among its most remarkable virtues.

Therefore, history gives us yet another contemporary lesson: the ability to engage in theoretical and practical creativity is a fundamental characteristic of a Marxist-Leninist party. A party which loses or weakens within itself this feature actually loses the prerequisites for being the political vanguard and leader of the working class and the people's masses.

As we know, the long revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarian working class ended with the victorious socialist revolution and was legitimately extended in the building of the new socialist society. Unquestionably, this historical success achieved by our working class is due to the greatest extent also to the circumstance that it was cohesive and was invariably guided by its own Marxist-Leninist party, which considered scientific socialism as the highest science for the revolutionary reorganization of society.

From an historical viewpoint, the party of the Bulgarian communists enjoys the advantage of firmly relying on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and of steadily enriching itself through the study of the revolutionary experience of the global proletariat and, particularly, the experience of the October Revolution and of V. I. Lenin's great party, and that, above all, it studies attentively and profoundly the specific historical conditions, and the course and development of the revolutionary process in our own country.

It is at this point that some circles ask the following topical question: could we consider the revolutionary experience acquired by our country and the other countries of real socialism practiced by the working class and their Marxist-Leninist parties as one of the essential manifestations of the common laws governing the class struggle, which were discovered and are studied and steadily developed and enriched by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, or should we consider this experience as an individual case which neither could nor should be generalized?

Let us explain: this question does not arise from the need for providing an accurate and precise assessment of our revolutionary traditions, for our attitude toward such traditions is clear and definite: they are the priceless capital of the working class and of the communist party, the entire people. We consider it unquestionable that the revolutionary Marxist party, whose objective is not merely to participate in sharing the power but to lead and take the working class and the people to the revolutionary reorganization of society itself, must stand firmly on the founding principles of scientific socialism, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism. However, the problem is that there exists today a clearly manifested trend, shown by right-wing and left-wing revisionism, of restricting the significance of party revolutionary experience, acquired so far through the class struggle, of underestimating the historical and contemporary achievements of the global socialist system, and of criticizing the CPSU, the BCP and the other communist parties in socialist and nonsocialist countries, which are building real socialism or developing their revolutionary activities in accordance with the basic stipulations and requirements of scientific socialism. In the complex context of today's socioeconomic, political and cultural conditions, some circles have begun to mention the "regional" significance of the experience acquired by the socialist countries and their parties, and about the essential changes in the objectives and tasks and ways and means of the policies practiced by communist parties in some of the most developed capitalist countries, and so on.

A closer look at this phenomenon will inevitably prove that it is actually growing on the thick stem of the contemporary class struggle. It is related to the inordinate current expansion and development of the global revolutionary process. It is also related to the real fact that the international communist and workers movements have entered a new stage in their development and that new phenomena and processes have appeared which must be promptly taken into consideration and studied.

To begin with, the contemporary stage of the revolutionary movement is distinguished by the tremendous changes which have taken place in the ratio of forces in the world between the three currents of the revolutionary movement, on the one hand, and capitalism, imperialism and the other reactionary forces, on the other. Unquestionably, the countries of victorious socialism, headed by the USSR, which are building an essentially new society without class oppression, the exploitation of man by man or antagonistic class struggle, have assumed the leading role in the contemporary revolutionary process. At the same time, the remarkable revolutionary victories of backward yet severely oppressed classes and peoples are of most essential significance. The antiimperialist struggle in colonial and dependent countries made its considerable contribution to the development and enrichment of the global revolutionary process and the intensification of the general crisis of the capitalist social system. Finally, the struggle for social and political independence of the working class in the developed capitalist countries is continuing and is steadily

expanding and intensifying. All theories concerning the "abatement" of internal contradictions within capitalist society and the "disappearance" of the proletariat as a separate class--as a barrier of social and political progress--notwithstanding, the facts irrefutably prove that the basic class antagonism is reproduced at all levels of development of the capitalist socioeconomic system.

We see today the implementation of Lenin's prediction of the historical merger among the struggle for the building of a new socialist society, the struggle waged by the proletariat for social and political liberation and the struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, within a general revolutionary process. This way the class struggle of the proletariat today is not an isolated phenomenon breaking out in one or another country, as was the case in the 19th century. It is being waged everywhere. It is penetrating in depth in all existing social forms and structures and is conquering in width all countries and peoples, actually the entire globe. It is here that we discover the second characteristic feature of the contemporary revolutionary process: the qualitatively new level of the ideological, political and organizational maturity of individual parties and of the international communist movement as a whole. At the same time, unquestionably this dynamic development in depth and width of the global revolutionary process today seeks and finds its real manifestation in the wealth of ways and means of class struggle, in the wealth of roads and methods leading to the assertion of the socialist social system, and that it is distinguished by the discovery of a variety of ways leading to the revolutionary development of backward and colonial countries. It is thus that in the common flow of the global revolutionary process today there is unity and variety. The various detachments of the revolutionary movement are increasing and steadily enhancing the level of their revolutionary maturity. It is on this basis that new ways leading to a socialist victory are sought. This is an entirely natural phenomenon which reflects and expresses the wealth of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale.

However, it is precisely the circumstance that the contemporary global revolutionary process is transforming when it reaches different levels, in accordance with the level of socioeconomic, political and cultural development of the individual countries, regions or continents, that has encouraged revisionist trends toward absolute separation and excessive and one-sided emphasis on exclusively or essentially national and regional features or on the specific nature of some countries. Under the aegis of their desire to adapt as successfully as is possible to the specific conditions of the struggle and the requirements of the specific historical moment and the national specific features, some people have gone so far as to separate themselves from the other detachments of that same global revolutionary process. Particularly indicative in this respect are the intentions of some leaders and circles of some communist parties in developed capitalist countries to set themselves apart and separate themselves from all other communist parties and, particularly, from the example and activities of the parties in the socialist countries. Thus, priority is given once again to the question of what type of party, policy and theory does the contemporary revolutionary struggle demand?

It becomes clear, therefore, that in this case the directions taken by these and other similar parties do not deviate from the trend existing in the global revolutionary movement. Since, starting with October 1917 and to this day, essentially a process of broadening of the social base of the revolution has been developing, these parties have tried to broaden their social base and become a deeper part of

the social structure of the individual country by involving a more considerable percentage of the people's masses within a democratic movement for social and political change. On the one hand this is necessary with a view to the actual circumstance that in the developed capitalist countries today ever broader masses, the tremendous majority of the toiling population, are involved in class contradictions. An understandable desire exists to use for purposes of the revolutionary struggle the contradiction, the objective clash between the interests of the broad people's masses and the ruling bourgeois class. As Lenin noted perspicaciously, the social revolution is inconceivable without the uprising of small nations in colonial countries and in Europe, without a revolutionary explosion of parts of the petite bourgeoisie, with all its prejudices, and without the movement of the unconscious proletarian and semiproletarian masses against the various forms of social oppression.[12] Indeed, here the question of tapping and controlling the spontaneous indignation of the various petit bourgeois strata and of the unconscious or semiconscious proletarian masses is a key problem from the viewpoint of the creation of a broad antimonopoly front.

At the same time, however, the tendency to adapt more completely to this contemporary situation has led a number of personalities and even individual circles in some parties to the state of openly revising Lenin's theory of the role and nature of the communist party in the revolutionary process.

As we know, the parties of the Second International allowed the free existence of opportunistic currents and factions within themselves. This determined their conciliationist rather than revolutionary political strategy and tactics. Lenin created a party of a new type, a party which, through its ideological and organizational unity for the sake of the final objective, was able to lead the people's masses to a decisive and systematic struggle against the domination of the bourgeois class. However, despite the brilliant historical test which this Leninist concept passed, today mention is being made of abandoning the idea of a "centralized party," and of seeking a different type of party which could open "new prospects leading to socialism," struggle for "democratic and independent socialism" and for "liberal socialism," and so on. This openly raises the question of the respective changes in the internal ideas and organizational principles which govern the structure of the communist party itself. On this basis there has been talk of "ideological pluralism," i.e., of allowing the existence within the party itself of different and even opposite ideas and views; there has also been talk of "organizational pluralism," which means the rejection of the principles of centralism in the internal party structure and the free existence of various groups and organizations within the common overall party organization; finally, the question was raised of political pluralism in the revolutionary process. This means not only the building of a common front by all antimonopoly forces in a given country but also that within this front the working class and the communist party has not been called upon and will not always be able to play a hegemonistic role within the movement.

Unquestionably, each communist party must develop and does develop in accordance with the development of society, the specific circumstances and the search for new allies with a view to its internal ideological, political and organizational growth and in accordance with the changes in the socioclass breakdown and the internal stratification of a given society. Does this mean that all such changes are of a nature such as to go beyond the framework of Lenin's theory of the party? That is precisely the idea to which we object.

As we know, neither Lenin nor Leninism has ever opposed the broad political alliances of the people's masses. They have encouraged them. Neither Lenin nor Leninism has excluded the peaceful development of the revolutionary process and the use of the opportunities provided by the developed forms of bourgeois democracy for the political struggle of the working class and the people's masses under the leadership of the communist party; neither Lenin nor Leninism has excluded in any degree the political and ideological creativity of communist parties under the specific conditions of their work and struggle. Furthermore, it was precisely Lenin and Leninism, after Marx and Marxism, that developed theoretically and applied in practice the concept of the broad political alliance of the masses under the leadership of the working class and the party, such as to isolate the bourgeois class and to pit it against the people at large. It was precisely Lenin and Leninism which, creatively and systematically developing the ideas of Marx and Engels, formulated and applied the theoretical stipulation of a possible peaceful development of the revolutionary process and the utilization of the chances offered by the proletarian struggle acquired as a result of the gains of the working people within the limits of bourgeois political democracy, relating revolutionary force to the behavior of the bourgeois class, and who practically ensured a peaceful period in the development of the October Revolution. It was precisely Lenin and Leninism that always warned not to copy experience but to study and apply it creatively, in accordance with specific circumstances and social and historical specific features in which the common laws governing the revolutionary struggle of the working class are manifested. That is precisely the reason for which the theoretical motivation of the rejection of Leninism is theoretically groundless and essentially represents an unscientific and untheoretical attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory.

As we can see, the desire to broaden the social base of the revolutionary struggle by penetrating deeper into the social structure of the developed capitalist countries has led some individuals and even individual parties to actually underestimate the theoretical possibilities of Marxism-Leninism in terms of today's revolutionary movement.

This is a significant and dangerous retreat from the positions of scientific socialism. Essentially, it is a question of rejecting Leninism as a revolutionary theoretical weapon wielded by the parties of a new type, as a concept which demands not only the study and utilization of the objective possibilities of gaining new class allies but of engaging in a permanent search for suitable means for the implementation of the hegemonistic role of the working class in the revolutionary process. Leninism is a doctrine of the optimal ways of the transition from capitalism to socialism, rather than a theory of class compromise, ideological retreat or subordination of the revolutionary movement to the existing political and social set of circumstances.

In conclusion, it would be proper to draw and emphasize the main lesson from the analysis of the 90-year history of our party from the viewpoint of its ideological foundations: both in the past and today there could be no revolutionary party whose aim is the socialist reorganization of society without firm reliance on the theory of scientific communism, which gives the party an overall view of the movement and of its specific development during a given period and in the course of the pursuit of the final objectives. Real socialism cannot be built without scientific socialism. It was no accident that in their "Communist Party Manifesto" Marx and Engels

emphasized that a proletarian party has the theoretical advantage of defending the common, the final interests of the proletariat, that it penetrates deeply and understands thoroughly the conditions, development and overall results of the proletarian movement. It is precisely the Marxist-Leninist theory that offers each party a basic solution to the problem, particularly important today, of the communist movement, the problem of the relationship among the party, the working class and the people's masses, and of the specific development of the communist movement in accordance with the realities of the individual country or movement.

Consequently, in the epoch of the building of a developed socialist society as well, and of the radical confrontation between the two global systems--socialism and capitalism--the epoch of revolutionary victories won by colonial countries and peoples, more than ever before we must consider Marxist-Leninist theory not a dogma but a manual for action. From the viewpoint of the problem we are discussing, more specifically this means that the party adapts to the specific circumstances of the struggle not through deviations or the abandonment of Marxist-Leninist principles or the theoretical concepts confirmed by revolutionary practice but through the creative utilization of these concepts and the principled and creative utilization of the tremendous heuristic opportunities offered by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This demands that our theory be considered not only as a collection of familiar truths but as a process of the study of reality, of detecting within the confusion of specific circumstances and conditions the best way leading to the truth itself, as a process of constant discovery of new truths which enrich those which are already known.

It is precisely this attitude toward theory that is today as well of essential significance in defining the ways which a contemporary Marxist-Leninist party takes and follows in the course of its policies and its struggle.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP Pred XII Kongress i Predstoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata" [BCP Central Committee Reports to the 12th Congress and the Forthcoming Party Tasks]. Sofia, 1981, p 159.

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Izbrani Pisma" [Selected Correspondence]. Sofia, 1952, p 306.

3. D. Blagoev, "Such." [Works], Vol 18, pp 39-40.

4. D. Blagoev, "Partiyata i Sindikalnoto Dvizhenie v Bulgariya" [The Party and the Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria]. Sofia, 1979, p 7.

5. "Materialy XXVI S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 77.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], Vol 6, p 24.

7. G. Dimitrov, "Izbr. Proizv." [Selected Works], Vol 8, p 247.

8. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such.," Vol 6, p 175.

9. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Vol 31, pp 79-80.

10. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such." [Selected Works], Vol 26, p 544.

11. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Vol 31, p 92.

12. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Vol 22, pp 371-372.

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ROLE, TASKS OF TRANSPORTATION TROOPS DESCRIBED

Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov Interview

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Interview with Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov, transportation troop commander by representatives of NARODNA ARMIYA, TRUDOVO DELO, GRANICHAR AND MAGISTRALI, and Bulgarian Radio, date and place not given]

[Text] To begin with, it seemed to us that this creative assignment had something unusual in it. A group of journalists were meeting with the command of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation. There was nothing unusual in this. On the contrary, instead of holding a discussion on the problems of the troops in the office of their commander, Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov, the journalists were offered an opportunity to visit the most important projects, traveling by motor carriage, to see the daily life of the troops and to meet with those who are implementing the decisions of the 12th congress. Journalists representing the newspapers NARODNA ARMIYA, TRUDOVO DELO, GRANICHAR AND MAGISTRALI, and the military affairs editors of "Zvezda" of the Bulgarian Radio are in the vast hall of the coach, seated around a big oblong table. They will be accompanied on their trip by Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov, Maj Gen Stoyan Seymenov, chief of the political department of the forces of the Ministry of Transportation, and the officer Georgi Karakekhayov. The introductions have been made. Well, what kind of introductions? This is a meeting among all the war comrades. When they discuss matters as friends and comrades, frankness is the greatest feature of a fruitful dialog.

Naturally, the journalists are awaiting with particular interest the answers of Major General Kis'ov. The coach takes off slowly. In a while the outline of Sofia remains behind us. We can begin:

Question: The latest organization within the system of the armed forces of the Bulgarian people's republic are the troops of the Ministry of Transportation. Comrade Major General Kis'ov, would you describe their birth, initial difficulties and initial successes?

Answer: This took place in the autumn of 1974. One morning Comrade Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation, rang up and asked me to be ready, together with Major General Seymenov (at that time Colonel),chief of the political department of the troops,and two other command officers to meet with Comrade T. Zhivkov, on the premises of the BCP Central Committee. I thought that this would take place in at least some ten days, bearing in mind how busy our first party and state leader was. I was greatly surprised when that same afternoon I was told that the meeting would

take place at 1800 hours. Ten minutes before the set time we were waiting in the reception room. I was quite excited. At one point the door opened. Comrade Zhivkov showed up and welcomed us: "Come on, Comrades!" I do not know whether it was the voice or Comrade Zhivkov's bright smile, but my excitement disappeared immediately. A very informal atmosphere developed and we calmly reported on our work. At that meeting Comrade Zhivkov described his idea of setting up the forces of the Ministry of Transportation. He defined their main tasks which were the following:

The building of double railroad tracks and their electrification;

The laying of new main line tracks;

Most active participation in railroad track repairs;

Active participation in the operation of the railroads;

Training of performing and executive cadres for railroad transportation; and

Performance of our military duties.

We received our plan the very first day of operations. We mounted, so to speak, our attack on the run. We had difficulties in terms of living conditions and personnel problems. But is there an easy beginning to anything? In the course of the struggle to surmount them the troops matured. By decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, passed in 1976, they were organized in the present structure. Let me particularly emphasize that the troops of the minister of transportation are the heirs of the Railroad Troops and of their experience, traditions and successes.

Question: The creation of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation coincides with the start of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. How did the forces carry out their assignments?

Answer: Despite the objective difficulties related to the initial period of development of the troops, the Seventh Five-Year Plan was fulfilled. By the end of the five-year plan the transportat troops had become a powerful military-construction organization within the system of the National Transportation Complex. All in all, the plan was fulfilled 105 percent. One hundred five km of double railroad tracks were laid, capital repairs of 1,000 km of tracks and average repairs of 500 km of tracks were carried out. All economic indicators were reached. The profit plan was fulfilled 134 percent and the net output plan, 110 percent. These figures represent dedicated labor, a high feeling of responsibility and higher conscientiousness. During that period the forces were closely supervised by the party's Central Committee. The visits which Comrade Tano Tsolov, Ognyan Doynov and Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov paid to the troops had a beneficial influence on their dynamic development.

Troops and commanders will never forget their exciting meeting with Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Peko Takov last year. After long observation and discussion, Comrade Zhivkov said: "Splendid people are working in the transportation troops!" In the evening, after touring many sites, he stated: "Today you have made my soul and my heart full!" To us, the transportation troops, this is a high acknowledgement and an obligation to achieve new accomplishments.

Question: Comrade Major General, in accordance with the decisions of the 12th congress the party calls for the further development of successes achieved in the various sectors. What are the tasks facing the troops of the Ministry of Transportation?

Answer: Comrade T. Zhivkov pointed out in the accountability report to the 12th congress that improving the structure of the transportation system is of significance to our economy, giving priority to the development of rail transport. Transportation is of tremendous importance in the country's overall activities. This calls for paying greater attention to it, for upgrading the level of discipline and for improving the organization of the work. Hence the serious assignments facing our troops. Compared with the Seventh Five-Year Plan, their volume will double in the Eighth. We shall lay 210 km of double railroad tracks, carry out capital repairs of 1,800 km of tracks and medium repairs of 1,000 km. The troops will participate in the electrification of 200 to 250 km of railroad tracks and in the laying of the Khemus and Trakiya main highways. Capital repairs will involve the participation of 100 percent of the troops while 70 percent of the troops will be involved in medium repairs.

Question: Our country has already entered the Eighth Five-Year Plan. How was the first half of 1981 completed?

Answer: Today you will see for yourselves that with us every day brings something new, in the sense that every day new kilometers of railroad track and roadbeds are being laid. The semiannual results have been good. New double tracks have been laid, capital repairs totaling 110.2 km and medium repairs totaling 85.5 km have been completed. The semiannual plan was fulfilled 116 percent. These figures show that an indicative start was taken in the Eighth Five-Year Plan at a high pace. This is a secure guarantee for future successes. As the folk saying goes, the day is seen by its morning.

This is indeed the truth. We started with the idea of meeting the forces of the Ministry of Transportation, whose daily work creates labor exploits and updates the map of the homeland. Accomplishments, accomplishments, accomplishments! This party imperative has become the meaning and the content of the lives of the purposeful soldiers, a wealth which has physical measurements. It is found in the tracks laid and main automobile highways, the tireless efforts to provide the troops with social benefits, the training of specialized cadres, the daily intensification of the production process, and the mass study, dissemination and utilization of leading experience. Major General Kis'ov's story gave us a complete picture of inspired toil for the sake of the blossoming of our country, a toil filled with a spirit of innovation and creative zeal.

Patriotism of Transportation Troops

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Maj Gen Stoyan Seymenov, chief of the Political Department of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation]

[Text] Under the conditions of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation the problems related to the study, interpretation and implementation of the decisions of

Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov

Maj Gen Stoyan Seymenov

the 12th BCP Congress are being resolved with the necessary feeling of responsibility by political organs, commanders and party, Komsomol and trade union managements and organizations. A number of meetings with delegates to the congress and of primary party organizations, Komsomol and trade union meetings and meetings of aktivs were held. On the initiative of the political department, starting with 1 Jun 1981, on the example of the Soviet Army, a consolidated political day was introduced. In accordance with the decisions of the 12th congress, the command drafted and adopted programs on the following problems specific to us:

Development of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation on the basis of the concentration and specialization of basic activities; upgrading the quality of construction and installation work; reducing the share of manual operations and of heavy physical and unattractive work in carrying out construction and installation projects; engaging in engineering-applied and rationalization activities; most effective utilization of productive capital; material and technical support for construction projects; and social development.

The troop collectives and Komsomol organizations and societies took up a number of initiatives such as "Youth Fund for the Eighth Five-Year Plan," "Military Glory XII-1,300," "12 Shock Ten-Day Periods," "12 Shock Weeks of Safe Traffic in Operational Activities," "Komsomol Quality Guarantee," "Days of Komsomol Management of the Labor Process," and others. All this helped to raise the conscientiousness and activeness of the personnel in carrying out the construction assignments of the troops. In the first half of the year the troops fulfilled 51.5 percent of their annual program with overfulfillment totaling 6,265,000 leva; this includes 52.5 percent of the capital construction plan, with an overfulfillment totaling 3,093,000 leva, and 51 percent of the repairs plan with an overfulfillment of 2,136,000 leva.

Extensive and comprehensive activities are developing among the troops in celebration of the 13th centennial of the founding of the Bulgarian state. In this respect the meeting between party-political workers and Comrade Todor Ribarov, chief secretary of the National Coordination Commission "1,300 Years of Bulgaria," proved to be very useful. The coordination of the measures related to the celebration of the 12th party congress, the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of our state, the 25th year of the April plenum and the 90th anniversary of the founding of the party develops in the troops loyalty to the party, patriotism and an active life stance.

Extensive organizational and mass-political work is developing in the units. The necessary objective and subjective prerequisites for the steady expansion of such activities and the utilization of the rich ideological and emotional charge of the anniversaries have been created. They enhance the patriotic and international upbringing of the personnel and promote socialist competition for the timely and qualitative implementation of construction, operational and training tasks. The historical significance of the founding of the Bulgarian state in the year 681 and the basic stages and periods in its development and the military battles in which the heroism of the Bulgarian troops was manifested are explained to the personnel. The achievements of the material and spiritual culture of socialist Bulgaria are propagandized. The spiritual roots of the Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and its role in the existence and social progress of the Bulgarian state and the nature of the policy of the BCP and the CPSU of the all-round rapprochement between our countries, peoples and armed forces are brought up.

On the eve of the celebration of the great national holiday the anniversary projects were completed: the doubling and electrification of the Mezdra-Strupets and Cherven Bryag-Pleven railroad sections, the completion of the administrative building of the command of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation and the doubling of the Strazhitsa-Asenovo railroad section.

Our many-sided party-political work contributing to the fuller and more profound description of the past, the present and the future, and to enhancing the socialist conscientiousness and further developing the feeling of responsibility of every officer, sergeant, private, employee and worker. With this we develop and enrich the communist moral features and virtues of the troops and their feeling for duty, national pride, socialist patriotism and internationalism.

Construction Troops' Life

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Each railroad station or port marks the beginning or the end of a trip. It is a lively crossroads of excited people in a hurry, people departing and arriving, people who sent someone off or are waiting for someone. It is a crossroads of smiles, sighs and awaited meetings or partings. There is no difference between day and night, holiday or working day, as the high level of tension remains. Here everyone is "on the way," and everyone is in a hurry to reach his objective. It seems that precisely when a person is "on the way" that his character, his dreams and his aspirations are revealed most simply. Frequently it is at the railroad station or in a train that friendships are born. In such cases upbringing, love of man and comradeship find their best manifestation....

Central Station, Sofia. It is 10 minutes after seven. In about 10 minutes our group will take off in the wake of the "flaming traces" of the troops and commanders of the forces of the Ministry of Transportation.

Our conversation with Major General Kis'ov is already taking us through the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The results of the work of the troops are bright spots on the great canvas of the homeland. They show the place and significance to our economy not only of their contribution but of the entire national transportation complex. All indicators of the Seventh Five-Year Plan were met.

We listened to the story of Major General Kis'ov and recalled the words of Georgi Dimitrov at the 5 December 1945 congress of Bulgarian railroad workers and seamen. At that time the leader of our people spoke with concern about the dislocation caused by the war and the problems which had to be resolved.

Almost 36 years have passed since that December day. As the saying goes, "Much water has passed under the bridge" since that time. The national economy was not only restored but made great progress in its development. The creation of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation are contributing to the even better solution of the problems in the field of transportation, problems which were created by our time, so that the "arteries" can be always reliable and safe....

"Sleepily, the tracks click in the darkness, and the joints ache from fatigue...," someone says. Sleepily? No!

The tracks are awake and gaily sing along with the wheels in this happy morning of our socialist homeland. We see this in the cheerful face of locomotive engineer Todor Simeonov. His silvery hair shows a long practical experience. It turns out that this wizened person is not only an excellent locomotive engineer but an excellent teacher as well. He teaches at the T. Kableshkov PZhI [Semihigher Railroad Institute]. He is, one may say, an "instructor" of the highest category. He has trained and sent along the steel tracks a large army of locomotive engineers.

Past Mezdra we are traveling "at our own speed." This is required by the circumstance that we must stop at various places, where the tracks are being rebuilt or else work on the doubling or electrification of the tracks is under way.

The first stop is also our first target. "This is described as the bridge of the year," perhaps because of the difficulties which accompanied its construction.... Anyway, since it is in the hands of the troops, it will be completed and delivered on time. Our hospitable hosts tell us that the application of the new economic approach and new mechanism have made a major contribution to the successful solution of the problems and that the brigade organization has made itself felt and has become a permanent feature of the labor process. We listen with interest about the four different directions along which scientific and technical progress is being applied, namely: maintenance of existing equipment; introduction of new technologies; improvements of technical facilities and industrialization of construction.... This is fully consistent with the requirements set by the 12th party congress regarding the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

We cross yet another bridge and meet more construction troops. We are traveling across one of the most difficult sectors, covered with bridges and tunnels. Together

with the railroad station complex, its length exceeds 10 km. Its delivery deadline is the end of the year.

Our next stop is the "trench" at km....

"That was a hard nut to crack.... This may be our most difficult project..."

Soon afterward we find ourselves in the very "fire of the battle." From above we can see the work best. Several earth-digging machines are removing rocks. Their thunder blends with the noise of the dumptrucks which take the crumbled rocks away. As is proper, the first meeting here is with the chief of the project. Information on the work follows the usual report. Senior Lt V. Naydenov gives us specific data: about 150,000 cubic meters of earth must be removed before the end of July....

We are standing above the huge ditch several hundred meters long and more than 14 meters deep. The resistance of the rock was indeed strong, but the rock has already "surrendered." All that remains is a thin "shield" which will soon crumble and the tracks of the new double section will be completed. With the help of the new bridge it will merge with the main tracks.

We have written many names in our notebooks. Two of them stand out: that of Captain Klisarov and his colleague Senior Lieutenant Naydenov, whose implementation of the planned norms never dropped below 100 percent for all indicators!

The thought that great accomplishments are achieved by courageous and strong people is proved here. Here we find them at each km along the way, dressed in uniforms or civilian work clothes. Their faces are burned by the sun and the wind, their hands are cracked and the fire in their hearts is blazing. Many examples of valorous service are found here. Let us mention briefly the family of Stoilka and Yordan Stoychev. They are excavator operators. They have earned the respect of the others with their work, patriotism and courage!

We reach the final stop, alight from the coach and climb into a bus which is taking us to yet another "point of fire." Our meeting with the detachment commanded by Officer Stoycho Panayotov is punctuated by a sudden fine rain...

"There was a steep hill here!" someone says, surprised.

Today this is a flat area of 25 decares. The roadway for the new twin tracks is being opened in its southernmost section. Beyond it a train of dumptrucks is pouring fertile chernozem on the ground. A wonderful, fertile field will be left behind and will be planted in crops this very autumn.

"Quite interesting!" we say. "Is this a new idea?"

"No, it has become our practice," the battalion commander added. "Some 10 km behind us we left another field of 40 decares..."

Darkness is falling, and the rain increases. We hasten to the elevation where a grand monument stands in honor of the fighters for the people's freedom in this area, whose immortal names will be glorified by grateful Bulgaria through the centuries... and, once again, we take off.

We forget the sharp and even clicking of the coach and our ears become attuned to the greater variety of noises in the bus. The morning is fresh and clear. The sunrise is rich like translucent grapes. We try to get a taste of it with our lips, our lungs and our pores. The day begins to ripen and becomes heavy with heat.

Once again we are on the tracks. In one of the sectors immediately after the Levski railroad station we are scheduled to see capital repairs along the tracks. This operation is known as "pairing," i.e., repairs of a specific section of the tracks (usually 500 to 600 meters), which must take place within a strictly defined period of time which is known as a "window" in the general traffic schedule.

The troops of the battalion commanded by Captain S. Stefanov are at work in this sector. The first person we meet is welder Private First Class P. Petrov, who puts the finishing touches to the work of the group which is removing the bindings of the old tracks. Here and there cut bolts and traces of the torch flames are visible.

A machine, the likes of which we frequently see in documentaries on the Baykal-Amur mainline, is slowly approaching us traveling along the tracks. The so-called track-layer (it literally lays an entire track section in a matter of minutes) is now removing the old bits of tracks and sleepers and loading them on a special work train. The bulldozer operated by Private First Class Kh. Mekhmedov starts work on the stripped foundation, known as the ballast lense. He evens up the crushed rock which will soon absorb the weight of hundreds of tons.

Lt D. Dimitrov, deputy commander for political affairs, takes us to the relatively biggest group of troops moving ahead of another track-layer. The iron arms of the machine extract a brand-new section of rail and smoothly drop it on the still-unfinished ballast lense. Immediately it is grabbed by dozens of young arms or, more specifically, by special levers in the hands of the troops who place and level the track. All this takes place very quickly and in an orderly fashion. The group commander, Jr Sgt F. Nedzhibov, is standing between the two new tracks. He is shouting something like "Hey-hop, hey-hop," and his comrades repeat after him, although their attention is entirely absorbed by the way in which the new track has been laid on the roadbed.

Our eyes focus on the hands of the young people who are performing miracles in front of us. They are calm, confident and firm in the course of their steady work. Everyone knows that in no more than a few hours the "window" will be closed and the first trains will pass over those tracks. It is true that the first of them will be traveling very slowly. This, however, is no relief, for they will be followed by trains crowded with people!

The new tracks are still not ready. Many of the features have to be completed. To begin with, a machine which removes the old ballast and sieves the soil shows up, doing its rather noisy work. After the cloud of dust has dispersed we can see how well it has done its work. This may be because it is operated by the Lilyana and Nedyalko Kirilov, young people who have not sought an easy life. One of our colleagues has already climbed into the booth regardless of the dust while the rest of us are satisfied with having seen truly unusual people!

New Labor Record!

....Two hundred meters ahead of the last machine we stopped to meet with B. Arkhangelov, the technical manager of the project, in charge of the most complex equipment. He is simply sitting on the track, which is still dark and rusty, and controls telemetrically the huge machine engaged in the most delicate operation. Electronically, the machine receives the orders for the final leveling of the tracks.

The horizon in the heat of this July morning is endless. Instead of sun, however, there is rain. It is fine, transparent but cool, leading to the next question: "What if it rains more heavily, what if it pours, what if it hails, what if there is a storm, what will happen?" Officer Georgi Karakekhayov answers simply and clearly: "Nothing. The work will go on."

We are nearing the end of our trip. The hyperdosing train is winding up this huge column of people and machines, moving with the dignity of a winner. It carries cars with fresh ballast and fills the cracks. Its work is complex, for in a strange way the machine determines where to drop ballast but in such a way as to make the road bed ideally smooth. Actually, this is the end of the operation.

The Levski railroad station appears in the distance. Soon the first train will come out of there. The time of the "window" is running short. At this point someone reports in a hurry that the norm will be overfulfilled and that instead of the planned 500 to 600 meters, the day's capital repairs will total 875 meters of track. We cannot watch the pleasure of the troops and commanders but we feel the pride in ourselves. This can be nothing other than the pride of having witnessed a new labor record!

Once again we are traveling, attacked by the summer heat. We are traveling to the Khemus highway. Before reaching it, we stop at one of the bases which supply all organizations building the new road with quarry materials. Officers Alipiev and Parapanov show us around the work areas and tell us that one-half of the investment funds have already been used and that the construction work is almost finished; the other half will be used mainly for equipment purchases.

Toward Khemus...

We quickly reach the highway. The hosts show us what remains to be built, the position of the new sections and the ready but "frozen" sections. Some two to three km outside Botevgrad we turn left and reach the Balkan mountains.

We are told that this is the most difficult sector. From this point on, through complex road installations, the mountain will be "pierced" with a tunnel near Vitinya in the direction of Yordankino.... At the point where we are the roadway will branch out in three directions leading to Sofia, Varna and Botevgrad. The "cloverleaf" is being built on three levels. Initially, the idea was to build bridges. However, a young creative collective came up with a plan which reduced construction costs by about one million leva.

There is restlessness here. It is as if the tension has reached its peak. Machines and more machines of all kinds and sizes are in operation and their thunder is like a giant battle, a battle for conquering the mountain. Meter after meter the level of a broad area is raised, making the implementation of the big idea possible....

We take the road back to Sofia. We shall now be crossing the old tracks. After the project has been completed in the second half of the Eighth Five-Year Plan travel along this sector will take considerably less time and, most importantly, will be safer and far more pleasurable.

5003
CSO: 2200/123

COMMENTARY OF MADRID CSCE DELIBERATIONS NOTED

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 24-25-26 Apr 81 p 5

[Article by Eligiusz Lasota: "Not only Reflection"]

[Text] Another "pause for reflection" is the expression that has been applied to the holiday period with which is associated the three-week suspension of the deliberations of the Madrid meeting of the signatories to the Helsinki CSCE Final Act. This period is to be utilized for, among other things, consultations between the delegation members and their governments so that, after the deliberations are resumed on 5 May, the editing of the final document can be expedited.

When on 11 April 1981 the delegates left Madrid for their home countries, the formulation of the final document was in a state of impasse. Certain delegates--who, however, were in a definite minority--even expressed fears that such a document would not be agreed upon after the holiday break either, and were ready to end the meeting without expressing its results in the form of any document. However, a majority of the delegations has--despite the existing difference in the positions they took, especially between the representatives of the socialist countries and the Western countries--expressed cautious optimism. They judged that attempts to define further ways of detente in Europe should not be abandoned, especially as regards complementing political detente with detente in the military domain.

Following the final session prior to the holiday break, the delegations of the United States and Soviet Union organized press conferences at which their position and that of their political allies were once more enunciated.

The American spokesman declared that, among other things, the meeting has not yet reached an agreement concerning the convening of a European conference on the military aspects of security. The United States will support the convening of such a conference if it is recommended by a "balanced" document. This means a document which will adequately reflect respect for human rights, for fundamental liberties in the field of humanitarian cooperation, and also for the free exchange of information. The United States wishes to be certain that at such a future conference agreement will be reached on confidence building measures in accordance with the criteria proposed by the Western participants at the meeting.

In practice the American position means that the Madrid Document should include--and this is to be a precondition for convening the conference--all the accusations made by the West against the USSR and other socialist countries concerning failure to observe human rights, hindering the flow of information, and so forth, etc.

Such accusations have been made repeatedly especially by the United States, during the deliberations at Madrid so far. The countries of our community have not avoided discussions and ripostes on these topics, but they have, at the same time, stressed that if the Madrid Conference is to make headway on the issues of detente, it must offer a constructive program instead of confining itself to mutual recriminations.

The solution of all problems concerning the exchange of thought and information, as well as human rights and also economic exchange, simply ensues from the decisions of the CSCE to date and is contained in the Final Act of Helsinki, which should continue to be the guideline for the shaping of mutual relations among all its signatories. These issues are contained already in the Final Act, and harping on them in a new document to be based on the premise of the development of European cooperation would mean running in place, not taking a step forward.

That is why, during the press conference given by the USSR delegation, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs L. Ilichev emphasized that he "had not heard anything" about any proposal which would aim at separating the proposed European Conference on military detente and disarmament from the CSCE process. (That is, from all the issues included in the Final Act.)

The Soviet minister called to mind once again that the USSR treats military detente and disarmament as being closely connected to the entire CSCE detente process. He also pointed out that the Western side has not yet responded to Leonid Brezhnev's proposal to broaden the zone of application of military confidence building measures to the entire area of the European part of the USSR. Ilichev expressed the hope that, following the break in the deliberations, which will be utilized as a time for reflection, the West will respond to that proposal.

Following the holiday break, the main battle in Madrid will continue to center on the issue of convening a conference on military detente and disarmament. It is a fact that the very idea of convening it [that conference] has the acceptance in principle of all 35 participants at the Madrid meeting, including also the United States. But the conditions put forward by the Western countries, which we have already mentioned, make this a continually controversial and open problem.

Poland, the USSR, and other socialist countries support the convening of a conference with such a program and in such a form--just as proposed in Madrid by the Polish delegates--in the name of all the states of our community. Speaking of that future conference, Vice Minister M. Dobrosielski stressed that it should be a forum for reaching agreement on steps which would make possible the strengthening of confidence among participating states. The conference should concern itself with coordinating political and legal-treaty steps aimed at reducing the threat of an outbreak of war in Europe and at strengthening guarantees for the security of the CSCE States-participants as well as moves aimed at reducing the level and "density" of military confrontation on our continent. Taken into consideration here also is the limitation of military activities and reduction of armed forces and armaments.

The Polish minister also confirmed the proposal by our government on the matter of holding the first stage of such a conference in Warsaw, suggesting that its deliberations begin on 20 October 1981.

The socialist countries also submitted an entire complex of proposals in Madrid concerning the most varied directions for European cooperation. The governments of Poland and the USSR proposed the convening of a high-level conference next year devoted to energy issues. A similar proposal was made at Madrid by Austria. Mention should be also made of the proposals by socialist countries to prohibit the inclusion of school textbooks concerning history and geography among materials disseminating distrust or hostility among nations, as well as the proposal on developing youth tourism. Specific ideas for developing cooperation in the field of information in order to strengthen confidence among nations also were submitted.

Madrid can and should become a forum at which a new contribution to the development of relations between East and West will be made. For this purpose, not only is the good will of all the states necessary--[already] declared, after all--but also a striving toward compromise and a desire to prefer that which unites--in matters of security and detente--over that which continually still divides states and nations.

1386
CSO: 2600/194

VARIOUS ISSUES OF 'MYSL WOJSKOWA' REVIEWED

No 11, 1979 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 63-64

[Text] Radioelectronic Warfare During Actions to Gain Control Over Large Urban Centers

In No 11, 1979, of "Mysl Wojskowa," Col [plk dypl] Stanislaw Lewandowski uses the example of the West German theater of military operations to discuss the question of radioelectronic warfare. He says that radioelectronic warfare is an integral part of each type of operation. The goal is to gain in the atmosphere an advantage which would create conditions suitable for use by friendly forces. Such warfare should be planned and organized in such a way as to make it possible to shift the effort from one direction to another. Urban land, built up with reinforced concrete, offers adverse conditions to the propagation of electromagnetic power. In addition, on the other hand, the adversary has great possibilities for hiding in such an urban center. In this situation it is possible for him to avail himself first of all of a stationary, well-protected system of line communications (telephonic and telegraphic) as well as a stationary line radiophonic network. The elements of these systems are exceptionally resistant to radioelectronic overpowering. To eliminate them it is necessary to use various sorts of fire power. Warfare with radioelectric measures located throughout regions and towns with a weaker screen of electromagnetic waves is somewhat different. Places of this type include low levels of development, parks, boulevards, and so on. In these places the conditions for radioelectronic warfare are easier, and it is in this sort of area that such warfare will largely be conducted. The undertakings of such warfare should be reviewed in their individual phases.

For example, while the armies are advancing, the main thing is to camouflage one's own radioelectronic facilities and correlate everything in this realm with direct, operative camouflage. During obstructions and offensives to control a large town, there is the detection of radioelectronic facilities and systems, air defense radioelectronic facilities are disabled, and the radioelectronic work of the radio communications and command systems are disorganized. At the same time, among our own

armies it is necessary to insure the free working of our radioelectronic facilities. The means for radioelectronic disabling should be developed most closely to the town, on the approaches to it.

Support for the Grouping of Armed Forces Over the Area of the Voivodship

Broadly-conceived defense of the territory of the country, according to Col [plk dypl] Jan Raban writing in an article with the above title, focuses many key undertakings carried out for the general purpose of preventing the enemy from operating or moving on Polish territory. One such enterprise will be to insure Warsaw Pact armies of the most rapid, coordinated access to the region of the combat operations. Basic groups of tasks can be listed in providing for such movements. One of them is keeping the armies on the move informed. An important question here is information on the situation along the path of march, about regions suitable for conducting complete special operations under stationary conditions or directly along the path of march, the possibilities for assistance in evacuating the injured, places of supply of liquid fuels, the military and civilian repair base distribution and capabilities, and water intakes.

The voivodship army staff should be the main center in the voivodship with the above-mentioned data. Civil defense bodies should also be a source of information. They can have data available on damage, contamination, and poisoning. Through instructions from the head of National Civil Defense they are required to pass on these data to the voivodship army staffs. Other sources of information might be the citizens' militia, the public roads region, the Polish State Railroads, and garrison commands. An important question is cover for the path of march, protection of transportation facilities, and antisabotage cover. In this area the Civil Defense formations and construction departments as well as the local population can play a special role.

They can be particularly helpful in reconstruction and repairs. Within the framework of planning defense undertakings (gmina civil defense plans) the transportation network should be divided up among the various villages and agricultural enterprises. In case of need, in the villages work parties can be set up which are able to make railway repairs. Civil defense formations, and technical emergency departments in particular, can be utilized to make a way through rubble. Road clearing should be directed by local civil defense bodies.

The military peace-keeping forces and citizens' militia will play the most important role in the realm of peace-keeping in areas of regrouping. The citizens' militia and the army traffic control system will handle detours in regions of biological and atomic contamination. Military, police, and civil defense forces are required to help in the reproduction of the combat capability of the regrouping affected units. The regions where the recovered armies come together cannot be arbitrary. They will be designated by the voivodship military staff, assisted by other army forces and

civil defense units. Next the author takes up the problematics of medical assistance to effected subunits, and fire and rescue operations, in which civil defense units also can and should play an important role.

Detection of Contamination on the Modern Battlefield

In his work Major Dr Michal Krauze considers the problem of the detection of contamination on the modern battlefield. Under the conditions of a possible future war chemical and radioactive contamination can exist. Usually the former encompass a smaller area. After nuclear explosions on the ground, contamination of large areas can occur. By linking the ground attacks with important natural boundaries like water obstacles, the enemy can create contamination zones which are barriers making it difficult or even impossible to carry out the tasks associated with the movement of the armies and the control of local boundaries situated further on. To ease the effects of contagion, various sorts of prophylactic measures may be employed. Among these are the preparation of the armies for operations in a contaminated region, the use of individual protection, the conduct of partial and complete special and sanitary measures, and the use of radioprotective preparations and antidotes.

The detection of the contamination is the most important undertaking. As the result of detecting the contamination it is necessary above all to establish the fact that a weapon of mass contamination has been used, the type of poisonous agent, the areas of chemical or radioactive contamination, the boundaries of the effected area and the way of circumventing it, and changes in the contamination situation with the passage of time. The detection should be continuous, a feat which may be achieved through a uniform, cohesive system, being outfitted with detection equipment which is modern and reliable for the detection of chemical and radioactive contamination, careful training of soldiers in the realm of carrying out tasks under conditions of radioactive and chemical contamination, organization of joint efforts within the framework of the system of contamination detection, accurate planning of the use of components of the system for detecting contamination, taking into account an assessment of the threat of attacks of weapons of mass destruction and the consequences of their use.

The basic role in the system of detecting contamination is played by the specialized army chemical subunits.

The detection may be performed in motion or may consist of so-called circulating observation. In the problematics of detecting contamination, it is especially important to be able to perform remote detection of contamination of the atmosphere under various conditions, which, for example, would make it possible to insure constant detection over a far larger area.

Equipment for the remote detection of contamination has greatly improved the process of sounding the alarm and notification concerning contamination.

To maintain continuous detection it is especially important that it be done skillfully, that private means of protection be used, and that proper procedures be followed in the contaminated area.

The need to insure continuous detection of contamination in combat operations follows from the danger that weapons of mass attack will be used against armies. It is possible to maintain continuous detection of contamination through the systematic organization of this process and its being outfitted with functional detection equipment for its components. Continuous detection of contamination may be assured through the maintenance of a multilayered, universal detection system.

Efforts should be made in the direction of outfitting specialized subunits for detecting contamination with modern equipment for the remote detection of atmospheric contamination.

No 3, 1980 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 9, Sep 80 p 47

[Text] Picture of the Battlefield of the Future

Nobody knows for certain whether a future war will get to the point where weapons of mass destruction will be used, or, if so, in what way or what the consequences will be. About one thing there can be no doubt: in the event such a weapon is used, the picture of the battlefield will be completely different from the past.

Writing in their article "Deliberations on the Subject of the Picture of the Battlefield of the Future," published in No 3, 1980 of 'Mysl Wojskowa', Col Dr Antoni Kowalski and Magister dyplomowany Jacek Pawlowski formulate just this conclusion, which is after all quite obvious, but the thing is not just this conclusion but the very interesting material before it too. The authors present various aspects of changes in modern weaponry, the availability of nuclear weapons, the continual search for new weapons (and in this connnection the progressive reduction of the "life cycle," or, to put it another way, the period of use of the new weapons systems.) Nuclear potential is no longer the sole threat, because now there is the neutron bomb, and attention must also be given to work on the laser "death rays."

Neutron radiation cannot be stopped by any shield except water. Eighty percent of the bomb's energy consists of streams of neutrons. The explosion of a neutron bomb with a nuclear charge of 1 kiloton will burn

a circle of earth several dozen meters in area. Life will be wiped out over an area of 1.5 square kilometers. Buildings and other installations will remain intact. As for research on the laser weapon, this work is being done to protect a given country from retaliatory nuclear attack. Military strategists are of the opinion that this will be possible by intercepting the enemy's rockets, but the speed of the antirockets are not adequate. Therefore, there was the idea of lasers. Laser rays, which have the speed of light, would be able to combat rockets flying at a speed of 12,000 meters per second.

The introduction of new weapons brings about changes in tactics, but this subject is very controversial. There are many views on the way to wage a battle, and they often conflict. For example, it is stated that the use of a nuclear weapon makes it easier to conduct combat operations, that it accelerates the rate of contact. At the same time, no less popular is the view that the use of a nuclear weapon can completely paralyze combat operations.

Even if no nuclear weapon is used in the future in warfare, according to the article the sides engaged in combat will still have access to firepower of great range and accuracy. In addition, modern detection equipment can detect even the best camouflaged objects. Under such conditions the speed of reaction will become a decisive factor concerning the outcome of the battle.

Our readers are certain to be interested in Antoni Kowalski and Jacek Pawlowski's reflections on the subject of the hypothetical picture of future warfare and the direction of changes on the modern battlefield.

Unspecified Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Mar 81 p 5

[Text] The dynamic quantitative and qualitative rise in the air forces of land armies and their favorable impact on these armies creates the need to define the optimal forms of their joint use. In all armies there are various concepts for using this aviation arm, which makes possible the effective realization of the vital needs of the land armies.

One of the forms of joint combat operations of land armies and the air force of the land armies consists of ground-air strike groups commanded by a combined-armies commander, the groups being taken as separate forces and means temporarily comprising a ground and air organizational structure for the purpose of carrying out joint combat tasks.

The most recent issue of "Mysl Wojskowa" devotes one of its publications to these problems of strike groups considered in this way. I encourage readers to familiarize themselves with its content, despite the fact that

the author's deliberations and proposals are controversial. After all this is still justified by the innovative nature of this grouping component, because although among those interested in this problem there is the predominant view in nearly all armies that it is worthwhile to create such groups, on the other hand opinions vary concerning the composition, goals, and principles of their operation. Major dyplomowany W. Michalak attempts to find an answer to some of these doubts "Concerning the Use of Aviation in Ground-Air Strike Groups."

In the attack, aviation in coordinated action with ground echelons can carry out many fire, reconnaissance, transport, and specialized tasks. Among them a special role is played by fire tasks which are carried out by combat aviation and assault helicopters.

After breaking down the defense and during the waging of the attack into the heart of the enemy's defenses, combat aviation and assault helicopters can support the ground echelon, paralyzing the newly detected centers of fire and reserves, particularly on the boundaries of the development of a counterattack. In addition, together they can protect and hide the landing of infantry by paralyzing and destroying the air defense measures on a flight down a road and in the region where the landing is to take place. Then they can support the combat operations of the assault landing force.

In a meeting engagement, when there are limited possibilities for the development and utilization of the firepower of the ground echelon, aviation can be used to land and support the operations of a tactical landing force controlling convenient regional boundaries and crossing water barriers. It can also hamper the development of major forces and reserves of the enemy, delay the movement of columns moving along sensitive ground points, and disorganize the maneuvering of his armies. The combat operations of airplanes and helicopters are directly related to the conditions under which the meeting engagement is conducted, and their tasks will coincide with the operations of the ground echelon.

In pursuit the need for fire support and assistance from aviation will usually be very great. This is because of the imbalance between the rapid speed of the movement of the armies and the possibilities for support in the form of the artillery's firepower. Reconnaissance planes will focus their efforts on tracking the enemy's retreating armies and the sapper development of a new line of defense. Along with assault helicopters, combat planes will hamper the enemy's organized withdrawal.

In defense operations, aviation detects and delays the enemy's oncoming armies. At the moment of contact, assault helicopters will damage tanks and armored vehicles in the area of the breakthrough. Transport helicopters can participate in mining areas in directions threatened by enemy tanks and thereby create conditions favorable for their destruction by assault helicopters.

The next part of the article is devoted to a discussion of the principles of operation and coordinated action between the air echelon and the ground strike groups.

Besides this, in the above-mentioned issue of "Mysl Wojskowa" one can find a rich assortment of various tactical subjects. Among them, for example, are the following articles: "Properties of the Organization of Night Combat Operations, Especially Combined Operations" (Major dyplomowany E. Gwozdz); "The Organization of Tactical Operations Combined With Aviation" (Col Dr S. Piotrowski and Major dyplomowany W. Michalak); "Reflects on the Subject of Giving Attention to the Undertakings of Radioelectronic Warfare in Command Decisions and Intentions" (Col Dyplomowany S. Lewandowski); "The Influence of Centralized Command on the Effectiveness of the Operation of the Air Defense System" (Major Dr Engineer E. Kolodzinski and Cpt Magister Engineer T. Pietkiewicz); "Mines and Detonators Used in Remote Mining" (Col Rez Docent Magister Engineer K. Dorenda and Col Magister T. Wianecki); "Marine Reconnaissance of Certain NATO Countries" (Cmdr Lt Dyplomowany T. Marszalek); "On the Use of Poisonous Substances in the Vietnam War" (Lt Col Dr Engineer J. Nowak), and "The Development of National and Internationalistic Content in the Military Doctrine and Science of Socialist Countries" (Lt Col Dr J. Kunikowski).

In the "Organization and Information Science" section, Cmdr Lt Navig K. Gawron brings up an interesting problem which is current. The only trouble is that its form is so narrow and pertains more to the effects (not the causes). The title of the article is "An Assessment of the Course of Correspondence as an Element in the Struggle Against Bureaucracy in the Army."

In the "Economics" section, we find the following subjects: "The Disciplinary-Monitoring Function of Standards in the Military Economy" (Lt Col Dr W. Ciesielski); "Controlling the Quality of Military Technical Manufacturing and Operation" (Lt Col Docent Dr Habilitowany Engineer H. Sajecki); "Some Problems of the Measurability and Assessment of Scientific Research" (Col w st sp Dr W. Zalewski).

No 3, 1981 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Apr 81 p 5

[Text] The combined-arms section of the March issue of "Mysl Wojskowa" is devoted largely to the methods and forms of action of staffs and armies under various forms of combat under contemporary conditions.

Col dyplomowany T. Galeski writes about "Methods for Preparing Calculations for Marches During the Planning of the Regrouping of ZT Armies." The method proposed by the author uses an electronic data processing program and makes it possible to obtain the necessary computations relatively quickly, but the collection and preparation of all the data needed will require a considerable period of time. So too the functions related to the execution of the basic march calculations should be simple, and the results obtained should be quite accurate and prepared in time. The experience gathered in this respect shows that essential march calculations which are rather accurate can be obtained by using a simplified calculation method. It consists of the application of rather uncomplicated mathematical models.

Major dyplomowany W. Lodziana takes up "The Influence of Nighttime on the Organization and Conduct of the Attack." Because the attack is carried out at night, it is a tremendously difficult undertaking, and its planning as a component of continuous operations should take place in the course of daytime combat. Here consideration should be given to the following specific requirements: the need for appropriate independence on the part of the units operating in the first echelon, the command decentralization necessary in a given situation, the need to narrow the zones of attack and avoid tasks which are overly involved, effective action aimed at the heart of the enemy's defenses, extension of the time of operation of the armies of the first echelon and appropriateness of simplifying the maneuvers, assurance of conditions for building up the thrust before daylight, the provision for adequate forces and means to withstand the enemy's counterattack, the organization of lighting, and provision for marking the battlefield and blinding the enemy.

Col pilot dyplomowany J. Caputa presents "Ways to Use the Aircraft of Land Armies." The fire tasks of these aircraft are basically carried out by combat helicopters.

In the "Organization and Information Science" section, I should like to encourage readers to familiarize themselves with the article by Doc Dr habilitowany Engineer C. Ciaston, entitled "Some Pathological Phenomena in Organization." The item is very interesting and is good background for reflection, although it is a pity that the author, who after all is well acquainted with the military environment and its problems has focused his work on the theoretical without translating the content into the concrete conditions of the army, because such work would have greatly enhanced the item's usefulness.

The current which runs throughout the "Economics" section of this issue is effectiveness. I will call these two articles especially to your attention. The first is by Lt Col Docent Dr habilitowany Engineer H. Sojecki: "The Effectiveness of an Analysis of Values in the Armed Forces." In it the author shares the results of several investigations conducted recently on the subject of the use of analysis of values. The solutions obtained through the research, in his opinion, should be inculcated right away.

The second article is by Col (Ret) Dr W. Zaleski and is entitled "An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Research in Qualifying Proceedings and the Selection of Scientific Undertakings With a Full Cycle of Development." The author begins with the assumption that at present technical-economic analysis and assessment of the effectiveness of future research is the weakest part of the procedure of qualification and selection of subjects for the research and development plan, and he presents proposals to adopt a relatively simple model for conducting such analyses.

Another article in keeping with the main theme is an article by Col Dr Engineer T. Lojka: "On the Methods of Retrospective Assessment of Scientific Research in the Army."

Other items in this section are devoted to problems which are presently very sensitive ones in our country, questions of energy and power. Dr J. Krzyzanowski writes about "Small-Scale Power Engineering for Emergency Defense Needs," and Col Magister U. Staniszewski has an article on "The Principles of Energy and Their Utilization."

I should also like to call attention to an article of very current interest by Col Dyplomowany Magister Z. Golaba published in the "Military History" section. It is entitled "Electronic War in Local Wars." The author analyzes the course of operations during the wars in Korea, Vietnam, and the Near East and draws conclusions from them.

No 5, 1981 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Recent events in the country, especially the severe economic crisis we have been going through, bring home economic problems not only to specialists professionally engaged in these questions but also all those engaged in any sort of managerial or leadership function. They cannot be uninformed on subjects like economic theory, economic analysis, value analysis, cost-effect analysis, and so on, because the rational management of any organizational unit is impossible without a knowledge of the basic economic laws and principles. In all its implications this statement applies to the army as well.

In connection with the above I should like to call attention to an article by Col Docent Dr Habilitowany T. Kaminski published in the economics section of the May issue of "Mysl Wojskowa." It is entitled "Economic Analysis in the Operations of Economic Departments."

After discussing the purpose of economic analysis in military units and the types of such analysis, the author describes the features of proper analysis, including concreteness, objectivity, comprehensiveness, timeliness, and suitability.

Concreteness consists of making the scope of the analysis coincide exactly with the purpose of the research being conducted. Therefore, each time the purpose of the analytical research must be specified very precisely, because knowing the purpose makes it possible to establish the proper scope of the analysis to insure that it is as complete and beneficial as possible.

The principle of objectivisim of its very essence requires a straighforward examination of the facts being investigated. Here it is important at the same time that an equally honest assessment be made of both the negative and positive facts. This is particularly important for an economic department, because what is under investigation involves very complicated processes which are accompanied by favorable and adverse phenomena. Extracting them and making a proper analysis insure that proper use will be made of the information provided by the economic analysis.

In analysis complexity should apply to all the spheres of its application, (from the macro scale, the army economy, to the micro scale, the economic department). In conducting an analysis of certain operations or processes, it is necessary to remember their relationships to the surrounding environment and the possibility of influencing that environment. If the interrelationships are great and can influence the course of the processes, they should be examined. Failure to do this keeps the results of the analysis from protraying the objective state of affairs. In research complexity is indispensable for undertaking rationalizing actions, for seeking untapped reserves in all stages of training, economic process, and so on.

Timeliness is an unusual virtue in analytical investigations but especially in economic analysis. The information gained as the result of analysis should be helpful in making decisions to undertake action to improve an existing situation. Therefore it must be supplied to management or the command by a given time.

The suitability of the results of the analysis is directly related to the previous principle, but it is worthwhile to point out that suitability is related to the usefulness of the information. In order for the information to be useful, it must be concrete and usable under the given circumstances.

Against the backdrop of the principles to which the economic analysis should correspond, there is the problem of the essential source information needed to conduct the analysis, information which should be recorded in the economic departments. Most necessary to economic analysis is cost information, but this information is not fully recorded in the departments, and this fact makes it difficult to conduct analyses.

Economic analysis in the economic department should represent an essential component of annual analyses of training, management, and the general over-

all shape of the economic department's activity. Only then can it serve its purpose and contribute to more rational management.

This section is filled out with articles by Lt Col Magister B. Jedlinski, "Economics of Defense and Economic Upbringing -- Today," and by Col Magister Engineer E. Marszalkowski, "Modernization-Investment Policy in Military Construction."

In the general military section, each reader can find a problem of interest to him. This section contains the following papers: "Program of Peace -- Yesterday and Today" by Col Dyplomowany E. Wojcik, "Properties of the Conduct of Combat Operations at Night in Forest or Mountainous Terrain" by Col Dr A. Kowalski, "Some Comments on Warding Off Counterattacks by Enemy Reserves" by Major Dyplomowany T. Bogusz, "The Creative Work of the Commander" by Col Dr R. Urlinski, "Some Aspects of Centralization and Decentralization in the Command of Land Forces Antiaircraft Defense" by Col Docent Dr T. Mirowski, "Elimination of the Effects of the Enemy's Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Recreation of the Armies' Combat Capabilities" by Lt Col Dr Engineer J. Pieta, "Scattered [narzutowe] Mining" by Major Dr Engineer J. Garstka, and "Electronic War in Western Countries' Navies" by Com Lt Magister Engineer K. Jakubowski.

There are three items in the Organization and Information Sciences section worth noting: "Decentralization -- Rights, Responsibilities, and Duties" by Doc Dr Habilitowany Engineer S. Gastonie, "Assessment of the Effectiveness of the Course of Carrying out Research and Design and Inculcation Projects in Information Science Bodies" by Cpt Magister Engineer M. Gnilka, and "Methods for Assessing the Utilization Parameters of Multiaccess Systems" by Lit Magister Engineer Z. Hrynkiewicz, Major Magister Engineer E. Kasprzak, and Major Dr Engineer M. Suskiewicz.

In addition, in the military history section we note an article by Lt Col Dr H. Herman about "The Alliance of Nations in the Fight Against Fascism During the Years of the Second World War," and in the section entitled "From Brother Armies" we can find summaries of articles by Lt Cand W. J. Slipczenki ("Development of the American System of Warnings of Nuclear Rocket Attack"), by Cmdr Lt H. Engelmann ("Operational Regime in the Marine Theater of Combat Operations"), and by Lt Engineer S. Nanasa ("The Technical-Material Provision for Training").

No 6, 1981 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Organization of One's Own Work

In undertaking each effort, intention, or task and in describing precisely the related goals, we should strive for rational, thrifty, disciplined implementation. It is a question of not dispersing efforts but focusing attention on necessary actions and achieving the best results

using the simplest methods. This is a scientifically proved view, which demonstrates the need for conscious organization of personal work and life.

This implies that in taking care of great problems and whole systems we should begin with ourselves, with a critical in-depth analysis and improvement of our own work, because practice shows that people in identical operations achieve different results. With some people, work is rhythmic and somehow "burns in their hands," while with others, despite good intentions, it is difficult for anything to get done. What are the causes, and what can be done about this?

In is June issue (6/1981), "Mysl Wojskowa" devotes one of the articles in the Organization and Information Science section to the problems of rational organization of personal work. The article, written by Reserve Col Z. Uszynski, is entitled "Selected Views of Rational Organization of One's Own Work."

At the outset the author presents the major causes which he believes to be behind inefficiency in one's own work.

The following are included among the most significant interior sources of inefficiency:

Sense of excessive personal responsibility in place of a logical division into responsibility and joint responsibility,

Lack of skill or desire to take advantage of professional advice and assistance of specialists and coworkers,

Overestimation and demonstration of one's own expertise (acceptance of jobs which are too difficult, those which exceed one's skill and knowledge),

The desire to take care of everything personally, going beyond the scope of one's jurisdiction, and the conviction that one knows everything better than anyone else.

The author lists the following external sources of inefficiency:

Imbalances between responsibilities and privileges (excessive responsibilities and insufficient authority for independent action) in the manner of operation,

Over-formalization of behavior and lack of necessary freedom,

Working style of superior (excessive centralization of decisionmaking),

Unplanned activity of superior and supervising institutions,

Too many centers of jurisdiction and excessive supervision.

After discussion the major causes the author goes on to certain sugggestions and proposals concerning preventive measures, among which are the following:

1. Proper organization of the work station. Here it is mainly a question of insuring logical consistency among the basic elements, that is, tasks, responsibilities, privileges, and duties.

2. Providing for operations in organizing one's own work. Here attention should be given to see that the group of tasks and undertakings performed are categorized as certain, expected, and unexpected. The first group consists of those tasks about which it is certain absolutely that they must occur in a given time and place. The second group contains those which are quite likely to exist. On the other hand, the third group is composed of all those which cannot be foreseen at all. Therefore, skill in predicting or successfully associating the signs and determining future actions are the basis for rational organization of work.

3. Rhythmic flow in one's own work. This is related to the repetitiveness of actions, that is, of those which are carried out at the same, fixed, regular time intervals. Under army conditions there are a relatively large number of repetitive tasks, but some depend on the preferences of certain persons and others do not. This means that the repetitiveness of the actions may be set in one's own area or imposed by higher echelons.

4. Motivation of one's own work. In summarizing the author's idea, we can say that the motivation of one's own work boils down to inspiring oneself to identify one's own interests with the purposes of the tasks being performed, of developing the proper attitude to the work in keeping with social expectations, and thereby deriving suitable satisfaction from the job.

In the second part of the article the author presents the basic methods and techniques for rational organization of one's own job with special emphasis on the planning, organization, and self-monitoring of one's own work.

In the same section is an article by Cpt Magister Engineer A. Stachny entitled "Problems of Estimating the Costs of Production and the Dimensions of Programming for SI."

Among the articles to be found in the general military section are the following: "Military Advantage the Basis of U.S. Foreign Policy" by Col Dyplomowany B. Kolodziejczak, "Shifting the General Military Tactical Union From Offense to Defense in Order to Repulse the Attack of Superior Enemy Forces" by Col Dyplomowany Retired Z. Wontrucki, "Conditions and Properties of Antiaircraft Defense of a Tactical Force Shifting from Offense to Defense" by Major Dyplomowany J. Glowacki, "Reconnaissance-Fire Groups" by Col Dr R. Urlinski, "Effects of Nighttime Conditions on the Operations of

Air Assault Forces and the System of Antiaircraft Defense" by Cpt Dyplomowany Engineer B. Zdrodowsks, and "Selected Theoretical Aspects of Diagnosis in the Realm of the Functioning of Spacial Structures of the Armed Forces" by Col Dr Z. Mondrzycki.

In the Economics section I should like to draw attention to an article which corresponds to a paper presented at the outset in greater detail: "The Improvement of the Organization of Office Staff Work Positions and the Processes of Military Training -- A Source of Economic Effectiveness" by Lt Col Docent Dr Habilitowany Engineer H. Sajecki, who presents the way in which staff offce work and training can be improved by using the values analysis method.

In the military history section, Col Retired Docent Dr Z. Stapor commemorates the 40th anniversary this July in his article "Armed Aggression of Fascist Germany Against the Soviet Union."

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REVIEW OF B. LEWANDOWSKI'S BOOK ON U.S. RADIO PROPAGANDA NOTED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 3, Mar 81 (signed to press May 1981) p 150

[Review by (a.z.) of book "Propaganda radiowa USA. Zastosowanie radia w propagandzie na kraje socjalistyczne" [U.S. Radio Propaganda. Use of Radio in Propaganda Against the Socialist Countries] by Bogdan Lewandowski, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe [PWN], Warsaw 1981, 279 pages]

[Text] Differentiating between ideological struggle and ideological aggression, the author writes that the former pertains to actions which affirm an ideology or a political system presenting the values of a specific style of life and justifying domestic and foreign policy of states. The socialist states conduct ideological struggle in this manner, as well as to a great degree, France. Ideological aggression, on the other hand, consists of organizing actions levelled at the internal affairs of other states aimed at maintaining or overthrowing the political system of a given state. In the first case, such activity pertains to those capitalist states where a potential exists for taking over of authority by the workers' class. The second case finds application in socialist states.

The main subject of ideological aggression is the United States, and the means for implementation are mass media, primarily radio. The author described the fundamental propaganda apparatus of the U.S., its history, aims, structure, sources, program, and methods (Voice of America, Radio in the American Sector, and others) as well as the special radio apparatus (Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty) and then analyzed their programs on the subjects of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, nationalism, and radio as an instrument for justifying American policy (Vietnamese conflicts, Middle East conflicts, disarmament, etc.).

CSO: 2600/312

CALL FOR INCREASED ATTENTION TO WORKERS' COMPLAINTS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 81 pp 7-10

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The continued development of socialist democracy, one of the basic goals of our party, particularly since the 9th party congress has recorded higher and higher heights with deep social-political importance. Actually, established through the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, socialist democracy insures the unlimited participation of the workers in the leadership act and in the creative and revolutionary implementation of the party's policy in all areas. An expression of the broad rights which the working masses have and of their freedom of opinions and action, socialist democracy, at the same time, is the more fertile framework of the uninterrupted improvement in social relations, being one of the important means for strengthening and deepening of indestructible ties between the party and the people and for raising all activity to new levels of efficiency.

An eloquent argument for the broad opportunities which the workers have to participate directly in solving some of the most varied problems in a deeply democratic spirit is also the activity of resolving proposals, complaints and requests which they make. An entire system and an institutional framework for carrying out this activity have been created and important documents have been worked out, ones which specify the tasks and the factors required to fulfill them. In their spirit and the spirit of the indications expressed by the party's secretary general, who is constantly concerned with increasing the workers' contribution to improving the leadership and organization of our socialist society and with utilizing their revolutionary combativeness, experience and ability, the direct responsibility for the specific leadership of all the activity of examining and resolving the proposals, complaints and requests of the citizens has been entrusted to the first secretaries of the county, municipal and city party committees, to the secretaries of party organizations, ministries, and leaders of enterprises, institutes and public organizations.

A New Quality in Resolving the Letters, Problems Raised in Hearings

As a result of the concerns with insuring an optimum framework for resolving the proposals, complaints and requests of the workers and deeper involvement of the factors in resolving the problems raised, a more and more striking improvement has been found in the activity specific to this area, naturally bringing an increase in the masses' faith in the party and in the organs called on to resolve the letters and problems presented in hearings. Actually it is a question of establishing a new, superior

quality in this area, too, which is closely connected with the increase in the concern and responsibility of the party organs and organizations toward the people and the receptivity and interest they show for the situations which appear in their life and work and for the proposals coming from them. The workers' problems in more and more cases are being solved during the incipient phase,in the spirit of the provisions of party and state laws and decisions, below--in the units and communes--while the conclusions resulting from checks on the letters and complaints are being generalizedto a greater and greater extent and carried out in decisions of broader interest, through the application of which not only the resolution of similar situations is insured but, implicitly prevention of others' appearing.

For example, if we analyze the letters, complaints and hearings through the prism of their content, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the RCP Central Committee Plenum of 25 March 1981, they are more and more strikingly a form for the participation of the popular masses in exercising control and in resolving various problems in our activity. A very large portion of these letters, complaints and proposals refer to the general flow of life and work, to production, to the way that various enterprises and institutions are headed or to the way in which the communists and leadership cadres work, which clearly shows the masses' concern with carrying out activity appropriately, reflecting the uninterrupted development of a civic spirit and the people's wish to be deeply involved in the process of our continuous improvement. Thus, if we refer to the proposals and complaints from 1980 and the first months of 1981 regarding social-economic activity, we see that, on the average, nearly 65 percent of them proved useful and well-founded and of real use for improving work in the industrial and agricultural units, in construction, transport, health protection and other sectors. For example, in industry the criticism to a large extent proved to be substantiated which aimed at the failure to use certain machinery and equipment at their capacity, the failure of steady supply to the jobs, the irrational use of the stock of working time,acts of indiscipline and disorder, insufficient concern with using recoverable materials, delaying the introduction of new technologies, inventions and innovations into production, the waste of fuel, energy, raw materials, the fictitious reporting of fulfillment of certain plan indicators, the lack of exactingness and responsibility, the professional and organizational incompetence of certain cadres in the units.

In this context, what is strikingly coming out as vigorous assertion of worker opinion is the concern of the party organs and organizations and various forums in the economy and state administration with using the conclusions and measures resulting from the letters and hearings as a means for improving leadership in all areas and sectors. In this regard, the leap produced in the activity of more and more party organs and organizations is eloquent,places where , on the basis of the conclusions resulting from on-the-spot checks of the letters and problems presented in the hearings, they are organizing prompt intervention and taking measures to generalize positive experience and initiatives worthy of interest, at the same time taking action to hurry and eliminate the shortcomings which made the workers address various forums. However, it should be said that there still are some party organizations which do not utilize the letters and hearings to the proper extent as a means of becoming informed and of political analysis and they do not give enough attention to this aspect of their own work. We still encounter situations where intervention is not made effectively to the critical signals with a view to solving the problems on the spot and enough action is not taken to promote the collective methods of work and leadership and communist discipline and responsibility, while in some organizations, particularly the agricultural production cooperatives, there even is a certain passiveness toward disorder, which means the workers continue to ask the aid of the higher party organs. That is why

there is a stringent need for adopting some decisive measures in these cases and for improving their own style and methods of work in all the party organs and organizations with a view to the insistent use of letters and hearings as an efficient tool, as a support of information on the real states of affairs, as a source of new ideas and solutions in social-economic activity.

The rise in letters and hearings for 1980 and the first quarter of 1981 is capable of making graphic arguments to aid the new quality recorded in general in this area. For example, during 1980, around a 27-percent reduction in complaints about shortcomings in areas such as agriculture, communal management and so forth was found compared with 1975, with this being explained mainly by the increase in measures taken during the five-year plan years to improve the situation in these particular sectors. Among other examples, also significant is the nearly 30-percent reduction in the number of requests for pensions, particularly as a result of resolving the situations with much greater efficiency by the very organs entrusted with them and broader popularization of the legal regulations on giving pensions.

At the level of the first quarter of 1981, the activity for resolving the workers letters and problems raised with the party leadership in hearings brings out an emphasis on reducing their number. Compared with the situation existing during the first quarter of 1980, significant reductions were recorded in areas such as health protection and social aid (by 48 percent), internal party and mass organization life (by 38.2 percent), transport and telecommunications (by 19.4 percent), industry, design, innovations (by 12 percent) and so forth.

Actually, it is a question of a general phenomenon which shows convincingly the qualitative aspects of the work with letters and hearings. Its source lies in the party leadership's consistent concern with having the party organs and organizations and the state and public organs insure competent, principled and effective solutions to the proposals, complaints and requests of the workers.Half-yearly analysis by the Political Executive Committee and quarterly analysis by the Central Committee Secretariat of the activity of resolving the letters sent to the party leadership, the annual discussion at the RCP Central Committee plenum of the report on work with letters and hearings and the personal example of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in solving the workers' problems of work and life day by day , at all levels, have enlivened the activity in this area and sustantially improved it.

An Important Means for Maintaining and Strengthening the Ties With the Masses

In his speech at the 25 March 1981 RCP Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that, along with faith in the party and the state organs hich the citizens have addressed themselves for the resolution of various problems, the existence of a large number of letters and complaints, at the same time, reflects a certain criticism being made of our party organs, our activity in general, and state organs, stressing that "if activity took place appropirately everywhere, there would no longer be a need for citizens to send letters and complaints." "For that reason," the party's secretary general continued, "we must draw the conclusion that we have to improve all our activity; in our daily work we should discuss directly the problems with the working masses, solve them on the spot, because it is better to do this right there rather than to wait to receive letters and then send people out to solve these problems."

The striking result is that the letters, proposals and complaints must be understood as ways to strengthen ties with the people and as means of having a dialogue, of actively cooperating with them to improve certain situations and eliminate some

shortcomings. In light of the criticism made by the party's secretary general, we must gain a new quality in this area , too, and continually improve ties with the masses. Of course, important steps have been made in this direction. Recently, the method has been extended to many counties of hearing citizens in the localities where they reside and at their jobs by the leadership cadres of the counties and municipalities. Also, the responsibility of the working collectives has been involved to a growing extent by discussions of the conclusions resulting from checks on certain states of affairs in the collectives and more and more frequently collectives coordinated by the leadership cadres are being organized with the right to make decisions directly on the spot when complaints are investigated which are of a more special content.

Understanding and using letters as a means of a link with the masses, at the same time, mean the existence of a lively dialogue with them and the requirements to answer any complaints and any signals coming from the workers. From year to year we find a rise in concern with resolving them within legal terms. For example, in 1980 the majority of counties achieved high percentages of solving letters on time compared with the preceding year. But, while the percentage rose from 83 to 98 percent in Iasi County, for example, and from 80 to 90 percent in Arges County, the percentage was lower than in 1979 in Vaslui, Vilcea, Teleorman, Dolj and Bihor. A unsatisfactory situation in effectiveness still persists at the Ministry of Machine Construction Industry and the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, which resolved only 66 and 72 percent, respectively, of the letters they received on time. Other times it happens that they are investigated superficially, in a hurry, without taking into account too much the person or persons behind the signature, or they are sent to be solved from above below, from step to step , with the particular factors declining their responsibility in an unpermissible way.

That is why we must curb such practices without delay wherever they are being demonstrated, we must strengthen control and responsibility in this area, too, and we must designate the most competent people, cadres invested with decision-making power in the leadership act for the activity with letters and hearing people who look after the proposals, complaints and requests of the workers in all seriousness. With the same goal, it is necessary to increase combativeness, to eliminate formalism, bureaucratic demonstrations and other shortcomings in the work with letters and hearings and to have complete respect for the laws, standards of socialist ethics and equity. In the base units and in the activity of the leadership cadres in enterprises and institutions--particularly in services which work with the public--more receptivity is required toward the proposals, complaints and requests presented to them, and they should be resolved with care and understanding , the direct effect of which would be to have a natural reduction in the number of citizens addressing the higher organs. Also, knowing that the party organizations, administrative leaders, trade union and UTC organizations in some enterprises and institutions as well as in some communes are not concerned enough with the people's personal problems by many times acting indifferent, we must insist on eliminating these shortcomings and discuss with citizens, have the workers commissions for letters and hearings in the party organization bureaus or committees be guided and checked appropriately.

At the same time, the workers' spirit of responsibility and combativeness must continually increase, and mass opinion should develop with a view to preventing deviations, and actions must be taken to have good knowledge of the laws and decisions and these are conditions of primary importance for gaining a superior quality for the activity in this area. Also necessary is intensification of concernwith creating the most

favorable possible atmosphere in all base units and organizations for utilizing the people's opinions so that they raise problems which can and should be solved then and there with more courage, on the spot. The optimum and responsible solution to the aspects of general interest together with the citizens contributes to deepening socialist democracy, to strengthening the tie of the party and the state with the masses, to mobilizing the workers to a higher degree to fulfill the party's decisions and raise our socialist society to new steps of progress and well being.

8071
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PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS YOUTH EXAMINED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 27 Jul 81 p 2

[Interview with Mircea Boharu, secretary ot the Dimbovita County UTC Committee, by Serban Cionof]

[Text] [Question] Continuing our series of material in which we present the concerns of the UTC organs and organization in the complex process of the formation and affirmation of the youth's scientific materialist convictions, today our speaker is Comrade Mircea Boharu, secretary of the Dimbovita County UTC Committee,and Dimbovita is a county where positive experience has been accumulated in this direction.

For a start I would like to ask you to present several of the particular features of the religious phenomenon in Dimbovita County, of course, with a specific emphasis on the penetration and persistence of mysticism among the youth.

[Answer] First I would like to state that in our county the religious phenomenon has not had extreme forms of obscurantism or fanaticism. And this does not mean that we are not giving it the proper attention. So, I would say that it gives a certain specific nature to this activity in our county which consists not merely in combatting but, primarily, in preventing the particular phenomenon. With the aid of Prof Rozalia Ionicioiu of No 1 Industrial Secondary School in Tirgoviste and under the guidance of the county's UTC committee, we established a team formed of pupils which proposes to have a multidisciplinary treatment of the religious phenomenon among the youth. Specific investigations already have been made in the field, in communes such as Razvad, Gura Sutii, Produlesti, Vacaresti and others, investigations which have resulted in useful conclusions for our future activity.

[Question] Please give a concise presentation of several of these conclusions to inform our readers.

[Answer] A first conclusion is that the religious phenomenon persists particularly among the village youth through tradition, we might say; the parents or gra dparents attend church and the youth follow them. The main thing, however, is not only if a young person goes to church but, rather, what he gets out of it and the way in which what he has learned during the cult practices is confronted with the knowledge obtained in school and UTC organization activities and, in the end, exactly which ideas have the most powerful force of conviction. The fact that some religious theses find an audience among the youth also depends on the particular mental structure of each young person separately and their cultural baggage and desire to know as much as possible or a certain apathy, a "reserve" toward the effort at knowledge and self-clarification.

I have dwelled on the rural areas precisely because the majority of young people attending vocational schools or who are becoming qualified directly in production come right from there, speaking at the county level. But we have observed that, having reached the big industrial platforms, spread out not only in economic share but also from the viewpoint of the worker personnel, the youth with such tendencies are lost sight of easily, are lost in the mass of the collective and are harder to discover so that the UTC organizations can do some work of regular advice with them, man to man.

[Question] Since you referred to this work of man to man, I admit that from the information we have available up until now, we can conclude that it still is not enough and also used inefficiently in the direction of the scientific materialist education of the youth. The same thing cannot be said for the activity of proselytism carried out by the cults and sects, some even outside the law. So, how do you view the concrete possibility of using this means of knowledge and education, of work man to man available to our oganizations more efficiently?

[Answer] Given the fact that we are to launch individual discussions in the UTC organizations in the coming period, I have indicated to the UTC committees in the big economic units to also follow up on this aspect, ones such as in the combine for special steels, SARO, Romlux, the Oil Equipment Enterprises, all in Tirgoviste Municipality, in the assembly construction enterprise, in the Moreni extraction field, just to give several examples. Of course, seeking to find the reasons and causes. We intend to concentrate our attention more systematically on the dormitories for young people, where, by the nature of the work, there is the opportunity to have the proselytising phenomenon be demonstrated more intensely. For this purpose we will use the group of lecturers from the UTC county committee with a view to diversifying the actions of scientific materialist education, proceeding from the exact knowledge of the level of preparation, the cultural horizons of the young people. In the villages, of course in the period in which agricultural work permits a broader flow of political-educational ctions, we will send collectives of specialist young people to meet with youths on subjects of dialectical and scientific mat rialist education but only after we have already have an exact representation of the religious phenomenon and the tendencies and forms of demonstration but, in particular, the cults which predominate from one case to another. Because, let us admit it, if we wish to obtain the anticipated efficiency in the activity of scientific materialist education as an integral part of the political-ideological work of forming the new man, we must proceed from the premise that we need a differential approach, by subject, to the problems of religion and religiousness, being much more concerned with an investigation of the psychological particular features of the youth.

[Question] This spring the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth organized a symposium in Piatra Neamt on subjects of the scientific materialist education of youth. It permitted a useful exchange of experience and ideas and we expect that it will not remain a single initiative. With this prospect, what proposals and suggestions could you make, ones which could be retained for a future symposium of this kind?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, the symposium organized in Piatra Neamt was particularly useful and instructive. But I must say that many of us still operate with abstract, vague concepts, even with confusion which, of course, considerably reduces the productivity of our activity, despite the good intentions. I think, then, that it is necessary to provide well-based instruction of the aktiv in this area, presenting both the methods and techniques of investigation and discussing the conclusions of

the investigations made and discussing the practical solutions resulting from them and also making a broad and competent report on the position of religion in the modern world, the sectarian phenomenon, the causes and substrata, leaving once and for all the didacticist and schematic method which some materials of this so-called scientific-atheist education have. It is not merely a formulation of politeness but I want to say that the journalistic initiative of SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in devoting a special page to this very important area in the educational work is a useful tool for orienting the youth and I want to hope that it will appear more regularly and aided more by us, by the cadres in the area of political-ideological work and by the Union of Communist Youth organs and organizations.

8071
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INDULGENT PARENTS OF PARASITES REPRIMANDED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Jul 81 pp 1,2

[Article by Dionisie Sincan and Gheorghe Cirstea]

[Text] There still are people who do not work and, yet, they still have bread on their table. How could this paradox be accomplished in a society like ours, where the principle of "no work without bread and no bread without work" is a basic law? Who are these people who are a burden to their parents, their spouses, our burden the burden of everyone, those who with an effort of blamable imagination shirk from the highest purpose for man: honest work for the use of everyone and the entire community? When, where and how are these human eclipses produced,what are the factors of this evil abandon, at what point in the lives of these individuals--in the family or in society--is the educational break produced, forcing public opinion to firmly ask application of the laws in order to reestablish the necessary balance?

We are starting a new series of social investigations, proceeding from these questions, convinced that you, our readers, will participate with us in establishing exact answers.

The most painful tears are the ones which do not appear in the eyes. The most disturbing tears are the ones which do not run down your face, but the ones which drop--like drops of molten lead--within your soul, not even allowing a cry of atrocious pain to come out. I guessed there were such tears in Elena Rosioru's soul, listening to her talk about her son, Nicolae Rosioru, now 30 years old but for her, still a child.

"He was our sun," the woman says abruptly."One of our purposes in the world. We wanted to make a man of him. He always had our example, the example of his parents and we always helped him. And yet, he does not want to work."

"Even as an adult?"

"Even. I don't know what happened."

Affection. A psychological phenomenon of delicate complexity, concentrating noble feelings of love, attachment, special warmth, selflessness up to sacrifice. When they concern relations between parents and children, they bring up many feelings hard to describe, but identified, however, as the pillar of resistance of the family structure.

"Affection is kindness first of all," says Comrade Lt Col Gheorghe Scarlat, a man who knows Nicolae Rosioru well. "But kindness is demonstrated in a million ways. I am strict with my children but my strictness originates in affection. They feel the affection under the cloak of severity which, actually, is my responsibility as a parent. They warm to my affection and recognize in it the responsibility which I bear for everything they do and have to do. Affection does not blind me but it makes me clearer in evaluating their qualities and helps me not to overestimate them. They are "daddy's children," but they must be prepared to enter into society on their own feet."

"Do you give them everything they want?"

"I give them everything they need, not more, which is rational--to give a child so that he understands that what he getsis the product of work and does not come from unlimited wealth. So he understands that his work, both at home and at school, is a necessity, a natural tradition of man, the oxygen of his existence as a distinct personality. Probably the importance of this was not explained on time to Rosioru and others. They could not be told later, like I told my son when he was thinking about a profession for which I well knew that he did not have the necessary qualities: "Gheorghita, from now on the plant will raise you! And if qualities appear which you imagine, then the plant will send you to utilize them!"

"He never lacked anything," Elena Rosioru confessed. "He got everything he wanted."

It is astonishing how this argument is reapeated like a moral relief in all the cases of human failures, some dramatic. And you ask yourself: why should you give him everything all at once, without making him understand gradually that each thing given, each wish fulfilled means first work, striving responsibility? Giving him everything hinders him from penetrating with understanding the basic purposes of man--work, responsibility. That is, precisely those values which will help him become a whole man and use all of society.

The hidden cracks in such an education were sharply broadened in Nicolae Rosioru's case by the vicious gang he entered even in the 10th grade. He did not get enough money from home. As he confesses, "I wanted more and fast and I told myself that by giving up school and becoming a lathe operator I would get this money, like my free-time friends had , who were handy with the cards." Soon he gave up his trade, too, because the money obtained through work was measured according to his wisdom and striving. So, he breaks this balance--a law of honest life--entering a shady area bringing on the psychology of a parasite, the one to whom work seems to be a thankless job, while an easy life , won through lack of honesty, is the only goal. The hidden cracks in the faulty education thus become completely visible. There still is an anemic justification from the parents who see their hopes dashed: "I don't know when I lost him!" And again you ask yourself: Is there truly one distinct moment when you lose your child, when he gets away from parental control without being noticed or does the moral break begin its evil process together with unmeasured affection, where the dose of indulgence has lost its necessary balance?

"N.B. is 13," Lt Maj Stefan Florian of the Service for Criminal Investigation in the Pitesti Municipal Militia tells us. "His father is an engineer. And he has 'everything he wants'. And, yet, this child committed 30 infractions. The parents are desperate. And we are sad. 'We lost him,' they say, 'and he got in with a bad gang .' It's too bad because N.B.'s intelligence deserved to be guided in another direction. He is called 'golden hands' in the crime circles. What an irony! With

real affection, full of balance, N.B. could have given another meaning to the expression 'golden hands.'"

What a brutal deviation from an honorable life of work, where each child, each young person should embark with all responsibility, of course not lacking all the joys of childhood and youth but increasing their thrill of beauty with the proper dose of responsibility for their own future! This child is an extreme case at such an early age but, at the same time, he is an example of what can happen at the end of a slower evolution--not less poisonous--of being spoiled, as things stand with Rosioru, a man who has reached 30, a failure, fleeing work, going the expedient way, feeling the lower depths of life, crime. Or the case of other "old children," protected by their parents precisely from the joy of the well-done job, the one done by their hands and minds. "I worked hard so he could live better!" The sorrowful argument, heard a thousand times, a false path in life taken by some parents, at the end of which they embrace disillusionment and desperation. Sooner or later, as happened with Nicolae Rosioru's parents. "I'm sorry and I'm ashamed,"he confesses and, for a moment, you think of a happy awakening to reality. "You see," he continues thoughtfully, "I cannot work too hard." "You have a qualification, you are a lathe operator." "I was. But I have hepatitis. At one time I had hepatitis," he corrects himself. "Maybe it was a light case."

He was offered more than 12 jobs! What else can we say?

At the beginning of our investigation, we mentioned the changes in mistakenly understood affection and its consequences, damaging for all of us in the end. Due to this affection deviated from its natural meaning, its complex meaning, for years on end children are kept like in a greenhouse, having reached adulthood and still preparing for their college entrance exams. "Daddy's boy, mommy's girl." They are offered everything--a home, free board, with an increase in food and money for the necessary relaxation after"hard work," which never is produced in a positive way. But they keep on in this situation, with a sturbbornness worthy of a better cause and all kinds of "bad lucks" are manufactured, actually covering the origin producing failures, weak people, without will, people failing, people in blamable acts, when the parents' material source dries up or is exceeded by "the needs" of the children. And then those painful tears appear, those pathetic questions: "How could this happen to him (or her) when he had everything?" Precisely for that reason! Because he had and has everything without understanding that the values he is consuming must be rebought with the noble effort of work and responsibility. Protecting the child or young person from these efforts, we weaken his power of resistance to life, we ourselves are cu ting off his rise toward the achievement we desire, toward the completion of their personalities and we are creating for all of society an evil against which it must mobilize its energies. An evil which is hard to fix, which is hard to heal. "Daddy's boy, mommy's girl" are the undeserved and unexpected "gifts" thrown on the back of our society, where the principle of "no work without bread and no bread without work" is law. And the law must have its say firmly so that our life of honest work, free and creative, can keep its harmony and beauty undefiled.

8071
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BRIEFS

OLD RITE VICAR-BISHOP--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that archdeacon Luchian Samoila is recognized in the position of vicar-bishop of the Old Rite Christian Bishopric, a post to which he was elected by the Grand Synod of the Old Rite Christian Church of the Socialist Republic of Romania on 23 June 1981. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 53, 25 Jul 81 p 2]

CONSUL GENERAL APPOINTMENTS--The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that Comrade Ioan Bochis is appointed consul general of the General Consulate of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Debrecen, in the Hungarian People's Republic; Comrade Carol Cozma is released from his position as consul general in Bratislava in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Comarde Ioan Murg is appointed consul general in Bratislava; Comrade Ion Dobricean is released from his position as consul general in Alexandria, in the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Comrade Ion Edu is appointed consul general in Alexandria, in the Arab Republic of Egypt. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 28 Jul 81 p 3]

CSO: 2700/357

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS DISCUSSED IN WESTERN PRESS

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 10 Aug 81 p 3

[Report by Christine von Kohl: "What Clerics Are Not Allowed To Sing--Yugoslavia's Unequal Church Policy"]

[Text] Belgrade--The profound unrest which has been noticeable below the surface of domestic political developments in Yugoslavia for some time has become particularly apparent in the relationship between state and church. Previously--that is, while Tito was alive--it was possible to observe an effort being made, by and large, to maintain a certain balance among the big religious communities. If, for example, the position of the Croatian Church was strengthened, or that of Islam--perhaps out of Yugoslav foreign political considerations--this also had a more or less automatic favorable effect on the other religious communities. Now this balancing system does not seem to be functioning any more.

In Croatia the party has been conducting a veritable campaign against the Catholic Church this year. The now no longer surprising verbal attacks by leading Croatian party officials have been complemented in the past few weeks by the sentencing--though only to fines--of three clerics. One of them is the editor-in-chief of the Zagreb weekly GLAS KONCILA.

They were indicted because, according to the court, the "socialist and national feelings of Zagreb citizens who were not believers had been offended" by the wording of church posters and brochures promoting the "250th pilgrimage of the City of Zagreb to Marija Bestrica." Since, according to the court, "Zagreb today is no longer the Zagreb of 250 years ago," the sentence--mentioned above--should have been amended accordingly. The court points out further that those responsible for the wording "are highly educated adult and intelligent persons who ought to know what they are doing and need not follow any kind of directives."

This was an indirect reply to a letter--which was not answered officially--by Zagreb Archbishop Franje Kuharic to the court. In it the prelate had stated that the wording which had been made the subject of prosecution had originated with him personally and that he was therefore responsible for it. He was not, however, aware of thus having violated any law.

If observers had been pretty much at a loss as to why this whole campaign was unleashed despite the fact--or because?--state-church relations in Croatia had

already reached a fairly relaxed stage, an indirect answer was supplied recently by as high a party official as Milutin Baltic. He stated publicly that the Catholic Church in Croatia should not think it could follow the example of the Polish church and make itself the spokesman or representative of the Croatian people, for whereas the Polish church together with the people had fought the common enemy in World War II, the church of Croatia had fought on the side of the enemy.

In other words, the Croatian party is reacting in its own way to the internal developments in Poland, which represent an important disquieting experience for every ruling communist party.

At the same time in Serbia just about the opposite kind of state-church relationship is developing--without a "polish" component but in the wake of the events in Kosovo, the autonomous province with an Albanian majority which forms part of the Serbian Republic.

The Orthodox Church in Serbia is leading a fairly retrograde, rather passive existence. Sometimes fairly frequently and sometimes more rarely, it is accused of advocating or supporting nationalist Serbian positions and maintaining contact with anticommunist emigre circles. The church and the regime know that the Serbs cling to their church for traditional patriotic reasons rather than out of actual religious conviction, and this very fact is the reason for the new situation in which the church finds itself in light of the tensions that have arisen in Kosov between Serbs and Albanians.

For every Serb, Kosovo, the seat of the patriarch at the height of the Serbian Kingdom, represents the source of Serbian consciousness. The fact that today more and more Albanians and fewer and fewer Serbs live there and that Albanians are allowed to "rule" there is almost intolerably painful to such Serbs--presumably the great majority of them. When a few days after the first demonstration a part of the old patriarchate in Pec was destroyed by fire in mid-March, it was a very dangerous moment. Eyewitnesses were sure that it was arson, intended as an anti-Serbian demonstration. Without being able to remove the existing suspicion of sabotage, an official committee after weeks of investigations cited a short circuit as the possible cause of the fire.

The church took a similarly equivocal stand in the matter. Church and political offices thus demonstrated their desire not to lend additional fuel on the Serbian side to anti-Albanian feelings. A visit by the patriarch in Pec to the site of the disaster received the attention of the mass media.

The most dramatic development, however, was Patriarch German being received by Prime Minister Veselin Djuranovic in Belgrade a few weeks ago. On that occasion the Orthodox ecclesiastical journal PRAVOSLAVIJA published a detailed list of the subjects discussed under the headline "The Church Is Concerned About the Safety of Its Faithful and Priests in Kosovo." The fact that the meeting was even covered in a brief television reportage was something of a sensation.

In addition to topical problems such as the migration of Orthodox priests and nuns from restive Kosovo and social questions affecting priests and seminary graduates,

the patriarch brought up the case of the two young clerics who had been given steep prison sentences in Bosnia a few weeks earlier. Their crime was to have sung so-called nationalist Serbian songs on the occasion of a family celebration. The sentence had caused great indignation in Serbian circles.

The meeting between prime minister and patriarch shows that at present--one may say, understandably--Serbian circles are also exercising great influence in the offices of federal authorities. The differences in the treatment now being accorded officially to the churches in Croatia and Serbia also show, however, that at present the centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia have become considerably stronger than they were a year ago. It remains to be seen whether this, over the longer term, means a step forward toward Yugoslav togetherness or a step backward.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1916

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1916

CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Improvements Cited in Army's One-Man Weapons
(Ulrich Lange; SPORT UND TECHNIK, Jul 81) 1

Improvements Sought in Army Technical Training System
(Paulus; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 3, 1981) 6

June 1981 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Martin Quill; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 Jun 81) 14

National Front's Structure, Sociopolitical Role Explained
(Werner Kirchhoff; EINHEIT, Jun 81) 15

Capitalist, Socialist Concepts of Individual Freedom Contrasted
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 5 Jun 81, EINHEIT, Jun 81) 22

West German Commentary
GDR Academician's Discussion, by Wolfgang Eichhorn

Artists To Focus on SED Economic Strategy, Ideology
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 5 Jun 81, EINHEIT, Jun 81) 32

West German Commentary
SED Culture Functionary's Discussion,
by Franz Hentschel

'Progressive' Aspects of Prussian History Illustrated
(Helmut Bock; EINHEIT, Jun 81) 40

New Interdisciplinary Series Reviewed
(Rolf Reissig; EINHEIT, Jun 81) 49

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(Manfred Banascheak; EINHEIT, Jun 81) 52

ERRATUM: In JPRS 78871 of 31 August 1981 No 1914 of this series in West German Appraisal of GDR Historiography, pp 1-3, change sourceline from 16 Jul 81 to read 16 Jun 81 on Table of Contents and p 1.

HUNGARY

Director of Academy Institute of Sociology Interviewed
(Kalman Kulcsar Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 4 Aug 81) 55

ROMANIA

Different Versions of Report of Writers Union Council Published
(SCINTEIA, 2 Jul 81, LUCEAFARUL, 4 Jul 81) 59

Party Press Version
Writers Union Weekly Version

YUGOSLAVIA

Satiric Comment Refers Indirectly to Recent Events
(Brana Crncevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 2 Aug 81) . 76

Decisions Issued on Closing Nine Consulates
(Editorial Report) 79

Briefs
Tetovo Subnor Official Resignation 80

IMPROVEMENTS CITED IN ARMY'S ONE-MAN WEAPONS

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 29 No 7, Jul 81(signed to press 4 Jun 81)pp 8-11

[Cover story by Ulrich Lange: "One-Man Weapons"]

[Text] In the past 3 decades there have been far-reaching changes in the military, so that it can be rightfully said that there has been a revolution in military science. Atomic weapons and rockets were introduced and also the effectiveness of conventional means of warfare has increased significantly. The system character of combat technology has become more and more pronounced—that means: the increasingly complex and at the same time more effective weapons systems, which can often be operated by collective groups of soldiers. One cannot help but think: does the individual soldier still play a role in this gigantic mass of weapons and weapons systems? Do his weapons, i.e. the machine pistol, the bazooka and machine gun still have a meaning on the battle field of modern war? Can he himself actually still accomplish something?

This thought is not easily dismissed, because many people, faced with a seemingly overpowering technology, think of themselves as being small and insignificant—a thought which can stifle initiative. The soldier is exposed to this more than any other. However, he must not hestitate even for a second on the battlefield, he cannot waver a moment. He must take the initiative, he must storm forward with his weapon, he must defeat the enemy--just as the Soviet soldiers did in World War II. That, he can do only if he knows: even today, it depends on him alone! He must know that his weapon is a highly modern, efficient weapon and that there are one-man weapons which enable him to destroy even powerful weapons systems of the enemy. And part of the knowledge of the high efficiency of his own weapon and its perfect mastery is the strong conviction that, above all, it depends on him, the motorized infantryman, whether or not the enemy will be defeated. The weapons of our NVA and of all allied armies are operated by such soldiers, who are courageous and trained to be able to stand their ground--who know why they do this, because they are loyal to socialism. They know that it depends on their ability to use complicated weapons systems as well as the simplest one-man weapons so quickly and surely that the enemy has no chance. To achieve this, however, it must be trained, continuously.

The Aerial Target in the Visor?

A paved depression in the sand of the practice area. A soldier, a motorized infantry soldier stands in it, his upper body extends over the concrete wall.

On the soldier's right shoulder rests the short tube of a one-man anti-aircraft rocket. Then the command resounds: "Aerial target." The soldier looks up, his eyes search the sky systematically. At the same time he plugs in the energy source of the rocket, a whistling sound is audible, the rocket is under voltage. Now a yellow-red glowing point races across the sky, it approaches. He adjusts the sights. Stay calm, stay calm, he tells himsllf, suppressing his excitement. I have to wait for the point of change, he thinks. So he waits two breaths for the moment when the approaching target becomes a departing target. A small green lamp flickers, indicating to the soldier that his rocket has registered the target. Now, check the guage for speed allowance and pull trigger. It explodes, smoke envelops the concrete depression. But it disburses quickly and the soldier sees how a glowing point pursues the small, yellow-red fireball, reaches it, hits. Then the soldier breathes deep and his tension lessens. It is done! He successfully engaged the aerial target with his one-man, anti-aircraft rocket.

The Pylon Is Also the Launching Ramp

This anti-aircraft rocket is a typical one-man weapon. It has been in service for a few years and, like most weapons systems of the socialist defense coalition, comes from the USSR. Its use demonstrates the role every individual aarrior plays in modern combat. Among the weapons which can be operated and used by one soldier are, of course, also older as well as more modern systems, systems which complement each other or the fire power of heavy weapons. The perfect mastery of these weapons demands from the soldier dedication and effort during training, it requires strength and endurance, as well as a high degree of technical and tactical knowledge.

During parades of the Soviet Army, the NVA and other fraternal armies, the most varied anti-aircraft rocket systems of our Air Defense were shown. In addition, there are anti-aircraft canons, anti-aircraft machineguns and interceptors. All of them are reliable means for engaging aerial targets of any kind. But one must not forget that NATO—with its concept of aggression against socialist countries—keeps an entire arsenal of planes on hand which, for example, are supposed to fly under our radar zone at lowest altitudes. Then, they would like to destroy tanks, APC's, SFL's and other vehicles with special means: the so-called surface weapons. The MBB enterprise in the FRG developed bomb coffers MN-1 for the F-4 Phantom II and Tornado, which handles up to 4,000 bombs of small caliber in 224 tubes. The one-man anti-aircraft rocket is an effective means against such aircraft or against combat helicopters. It can be carried along on any terrain vehicle, APC, tank or truck; it is quickly combat ready and needs no additional support. The pylon is at the same time the launching ramp.

With the Rocket Over the Attack Road

Before the soldier adjusts the simulator rocket on the aerial target at the conclusion of his training, he crawls and slides with it on his arm umpteen times over the ground until he has covered the entire attack road. With the more than 30 kg heavy transport box for the rockets, two soldiers pant through terrain, also through ditches, and water. A person has to be in condition! In the classroom, the soldier thoroughly learns all parts of the rocket complex--launching tube, rocket with infrared target-seeking guided warhead, external power source, pyto-cartridge, and launching mechanism. On the training field, the future anti-aircraft rocket

soldiers assume readiness posture 1 again and again, they bring the rockets from marching position into combat position: turn up sights, (circular foresight and slitted backsight), remove the breech, front and back, cock the weapon. If it has not become second nature, perhaps it cannot work in a real situation, and the aerial target would go unhindered on its destructive path.

The training equipment with which the rocket soldier practices picking up and tracking targets as well as operating the device is called planetarium by the soldiers. Here, the trainer can make targets suddenly appear and disappear, he can decrease and increase their speed, he can also program "errors" into rockers in order to simulate realistic combat situations. For these practices, not only good reaction ability are necessary, but strength, endurance and skill as well. There, the hard field training pays, because the practice rocket weighs approximately 15 kg, nearly as much as the original rocket.

One Soldier Did It!

The role of the individual fighter in combat has been significantly heightened in contrast to the time when the warrior fought with sword or lance. The step from muzzle loader to breech-loader was a big advance in weapons technology. Then followed the conversion to magazine rifles, which had five rounds in a magazine, as a rule. This significantly heightened the role of the individual soldier, he could now engage about 10 aimed shots per minute. Equipped with such rifles and carbines, the armies went into World War I and, in large part, into World War II. In the form of the carbine K-44, as well as the sharpshooter weapon 91/30, the NVA still had these weapons in its reserve in its founding year. They were at the time completely standard weapons. Of course, in NVA training in 1956 there were also one-man weapons with a higher rate of fire and greater efficiency than the carbines. There were, among other things, the submachineguns which, along with the carbine as well as the long rifle in various calibers and models, were used by all armies during World War II. The MPi Kalashnikov came into the NVA in place of the Soviet MPi 41 by 1959. It also replaced at the same time the K44 as well as the partially introduced self-loading carbine S, which is now only seen in parade units.

Today the Kalashnikov represents the standard weapon in the armies of the socialist defense coalition. The technical designer, Col Dr Kalashnikov, has repeatedly improved the original model AK-47. So emerged the KM and KMS, and from those the IMG-K (almost the same parts as in the MPi, only with longer barrel, 10 more rounds per magazine, 2 legs) and the PK/PKS heavy machine gun (with 2 legs or heavy 3-legged mount, shoots rifle ammunition.

Still, in World War I, five soldiers were needed to operate a machine gun. At that time the demand of the military grew for the construction of a light machine gun that needed two men for its operation. Two men were also necessary for the operation. Two men were also necessary for the operation of the heavy machine gun Maxim, which the Red Army deployed in World War II and which the NVA had in the beginning. Today's PK heavy machine gun, on the other hand, has a carrying handle and can supply a 100 round magazine instead of the 250 round magazine. One soldier can do that!

Also another one-man weapon belongs to the equipment of a modern army: the marksman's rifle. Here, the self-loading rifle SWD of Dragunov replaced the 5-round long rifle

91/30 in the socialist armies. After the first loading only the trigger needs to be operated. This makes it possible for the marksman to effectively engage several targets that pop up one after another: he no longer needs to load after every shot and now has 10 rounds in the magazine.

One Man Alone Against Tanks

It is interesting to compare once the armament and equipment of an NVA infantry squad of 1956 with that of a motorized infantry squad of 1981. At that time, the infantry squad consisted for the most part of an NCO and 9 soldiers. It was equipped with two machine pistols 41, one DP light machinegun, six 44 carbines as well as an RPG-2 anti-tank rifle. Today the motorized infantry squad consists of a squadleader and 8 soldiers. It has an armed armored personnel vehicle or armored personnel carrier, which is enclosed on all sides and protects against means of mass destruction. The armament of the squad consists of three machine pistols, one RPG-7 anti-tank rifle, one K light machine gun as well as four machine pistols.. The RPG-7, whose performance surpasses that of the RPG-2--one of the weapons developed after 1945, which was part of the NVA's initial equipment--serves as armor-piercing weapon.

The anti-tank rifle was meant for use against tanks from distances of approximately 150 meters, i.e. at close range. Its correct use demands from the soldier precise knowledge of the weapon and a lot of courage and skill. That, of course, is also true of the other means of anti-tank warfare, which are still just as efficient today as they were in the Great Patriotic War: mines, concentrated charges, bottle fire bombs. The anti-tank hand grenade, which exists in varied form and application, is still part of this. The motorized infantry has guided antitank rockets for anti-tank defense at greater distances. They can be placed on armored vehicles, but can also be used as portable complex. The specification provides that three men operate it together, i.e. jointly handle a knapsack with the distributor, and two knapsacks with the guided anti-tank rockets. But the rocket is guided directly to its target by one soldier only. He alone is responsible for hitting or missing the target.

Meanwhile here, too, development continued. Used in the socialist armies for some time has been a guided anti-tank rocket complex in which one tube serves simultaneously as transport container and launching ramp. The target and guidance installation were joined with the launching device--operation was simplified that way.

In a few socialist armies, rifle grenade devices are also used for anti-tank defense. It concerns an additional barrel head for the Kalashnikov machine pistol, with whose help small armor-piercing grenades can be fired.

There are also still flamethrowers, an effective weapon against fixed positions and bunkers, in the armed forces. Also, one man alone operates it.

The automatic grenade launcher AGS-17 from the USSR ranks with the newest one-man weapons. In contrast to the conventional grenade launcher, it is layed out as a sustained firing weapon. It utilizes the energy of the powder gases, which are released with the shot, for automatic loading. Soviet military literature designates the AGS-17 as a recoilless loader for short and long fire kicks as well as for continuous fire, with which the weapon combines the properties of a machine gun and of a grenade launcher in itself.

Hit With the First Shot

Every one-man weapon is of as much value as the soldier who operates it. The modern anti-aircraft rocket is of little use if the soldier does not use it at the right moment and in such a way that it has the greatest effect. On the other hand, a hand grenade can decide an action, if the soldier who throws it knows of this decisive strength and therefore acts daringly. It is not modern technology alone which ensures the high combat readiness of our armies and that of the fraternal armies, but the soldiers who master it, take care of it and use every practice in order to fully exhaust their deployment possibility--soldiers who know that the high combat strength of our armies makes peace more secure. Therefore, in all branches and units of the NVA, the combat collectives have made it their mission to master their weapons, their combat technology, and their equipment better and better. Their goal: hit with the first shot!

9328
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IMPROVEMENTS SOUGHT IN ARMY TECHNICAL TRAINING SYSTEM

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 3, 1981(signed to press 12 Mar 81) pp 118-120

['Education and Training' feature article by Lt Col Paulus: "Technical Training--Purposefully and Effectively Organized. Preparation of Instructors"]

[Text] The introduction of new weapons complexes of complicated design and significantly greater combat effectiveness also establishes new scales for the organization and implementation of combat training, increases the responsibility of each army member for performing his combat mission. The satisfactory operation and the effectiveness of combat technique depend increasingly on reliable actions of the group under the leadership of commanders, gun commanders or squad leaders. A prerequisite for this is an accurate knowledge of the internal, functional relationships and the beneficial conduct of tactics. Every instructor should be guided by this principle, even in his preparations for the training.

Technical training exerts a direct influence on attitudes and actions of army members. It must make significant contributions toward assuring constant tactical readiness. The object of this and several subsequent reports is to supply knowledge to inexperienced instructors used for technical training in the area of armored vehicles, and to give notes and instructions for the instructor's own training. The offered experiences should not be adopted schematically, but should all be adapted to the prevailing problem area. (Figures 2 to 6 of this article are found on the annex).

It will not always be possible to prepare the NCOs, sergeant-cadets or officers intended for armor training, in instructional methods, drills or courses of instruction by technical officers of the armor service in all planned training measures. Both the needed time and the organizational-technical expense will not permit it. Thus in practice, the individual or collective study of the instructor is the most important preparatory action.

The best sequence for proceeding corresponds in principle to the actions of a commander after receiving a task. The cornerstones are:

--posing the problem for armor training
--specification of training objectives
--fixing the training content
--working out the organization and methodic sequence of training
--direct preparation for training (Figure 2).

Even in the preparation phase, the level of training is generally specified. Thus, thoroughness, knowledge and resoluteness are needed.

1. Posing the Problem

In most cases, the instructor receives the training subject from his superior in accord with the training program and duty plan. Thus the subject, training time, primary training goals and content and possibly, notes on organizational and methodological structure, are specified. The problem should contain: Training personnel (number), special training status, location of training and provided armored equipment, any required "secondary instructors" (number, qualification, potential use) and scheduling (outline, confirmation, controls).

2. Specification of Training Objectives

According to Klingberg, personality development in the unit is founded on secure, scientifically founded and drilled knowledge, basic capabilities and socialistic convictions, properties of character and modes of behavior [1].

This applies in full force to armored training. Thus, each instructor should try to formulate a definite training objective in the initial phase of his preparations. Among this is: Objectives for information (knowledge, insights), development of ability (capabilities, abilities), development of qualities of conscience (attitudes, convictions) and development of conduct of trainees (customs, modes of behavior).

It is certain that qualities of conscience and conduct do not develop to perfection in only 45 minutes, but they can be influenced in that time. In this regard, information is the basic element. Only by means of knowledge can convictions and modes of behavior be engrained. Conversely, certain attitudes lead to refinement of intellectual abilities or to better, more active inclination to learn.

For example, how can the object be formulated for the following problem?

Subject of training: Tactical principles and tac-tech information on the 60 PB APC.

Objective:

The training shall provide an overview of the tactical potentials of the 60 PB APC in the GDR Army. The most important tactical and technical information shall be given. The general structure shall be demonstrated by using one such vehicle in order that the main parts, assemblies and systems are impressed on the trainees.

Organizational-methodological notes:

The subject stands at the beginning of armor training on the 60 PB APC.

The training is conducted at the Technical Training Center.

There are three 60 PB APCs with driver/auxiliary trainer available to support the instructor.

The training time is 90 minutes. The following outline is important for precise goal formulations:

...give...overview
...give...details
...demonstrate...structure
...impress...main components
...is at the beginning
...performed at the TAZ
...three 60 PB APC with drivers/secondary trainers.

Under consideration of the thesis that the training goal is a clear formulation of the intellectual, written, anticipated, desired, feasible result of training and instruction in the specified training segment, we can formulate the following:

The trainees know the tactical potentials, important technical and tactical information and can relate the information. They are able to name the main components of the 60 PB APC, its assemblies and systems and to point them out on the vehicle. The trainees know the significance of the APC as a primary fire weapon and combat vehicle of the motorized infantry squad. An interest develops in them for the technical design and use of the APC. They act in a disciplined manner and in accord with the instructions of the instructor. The trainees learn the first, most important safety regulations for handling this armored vehicle and they follow these regulations strictly.

It is visible that this training objective goes beyond the bounds of the problem description in its specifications on development of attitudes and conduct. But just this aspect of the training process is often inadequately planned in practice, thus it is conducted sporadically and inadequately. But for personality development, it is of equal importance as giving knowledge or abilities. Since consciousness qualities are internalized standards which determine the entire conduct and actions of man, they must be planned in each training segment and developed. One thus hears of so-called goals going beyond the subject or technical area.

3. Fixing the Training Content

By this, we mean everything that the trainee is to assimilate in the training process. The training content is a complex of pictures of objective reality. But in training, the content is also a needed information basis for the assimilation process. In this case, the training content forms the "training materials."

Parts of the training material are:
--facts, concepts
--laws, relations, theories, hypotheses, rules
--methods, techniques, algorithms
--principles, standards, illustrations [2].

The training material is the object of assimilation and forms the primary means for personality development in training. Like the overall training content, it is determined by the goal. Also belonging to the training content are: Motives,

goal-orientations, secondary goals which are given by the instructor for a useful organization of training; organizational and methodological instructions, guidelines and procedures for structuring the training into which the trainee is actively included, and preparation of estimations and evaluations both by the instructor and by members of the group etc.

In this regard, the training content represents the most important means of educating the trainee.

Proceeding from the training objective, the training content should be organized accordingly. The minor subjects or training questions should be fixed, and these can then be answered in detail by the training material. This organization must be simple, specific and in proper order. It should reflect the significant aspects of the training subject. The following organization could be used for the subject mentioned above:

0. Motivation of the training subject
1. Combat effectiveness of the 60 PB APC
1.1 Tactical principles
1.2 Tactical and technical information
2. Important safety precautions when handling the 60 PB APC
3. Design of the 60 PB APC
3.1 Main Parts
3.2 Assemblies and systems

Now the other elements of the Contents can be inserted until the entire training material is present. The instructor must compare the content with the training objective in order to close gaps or put items in proper order. At the same time, initial thoughts on organization and methodology of the training should be formulated. Additional items can be discovered by this method.

The training material for armor training is mainly contained in Duty Regulations and Instructions, or in the form of real equipment or mock-ups. In addition, each instructor should be familiar with other literature to have detailed or supplemental information. Included here are lexicons on definitions of concepts, including technical books and publications.

One possible way to work out the content of training question 1, the combat effectivenessof the 60 PB APC, is shown in figures 3 and 6. But they do not represent a complete Contents and are only examples for one possible manner for proceeding while showing the arrangement of training material. Consequently, the concepts, facts, relations etc. specificed in regulations and corresponding to the training goal, should be made visible and prepared for the training.

4. Organization and Sequence of Training

These are determined basically by the goal and content. The training goal specifies what is to be achieved, which personality properties are to be developed. The content specifies the object of training. The organization and methodology should specify under which external conditions and in which type and manner the training content is to be given and assimilated. Naturally there are reactions on goal formulation and content specification arising from the organization and methodology.

The methodological structure relates to the activity of the instructor and to that of the trainees (Figure 2). In [3] there is a detailed description of how to proceed in training preparations.

At our officer candidate schools, besides the organizational forms presented here, "Instructive-Methodological Training" (called ImA below) has proven very useful in armor training. With this method, the officer candidates receive maximum inclusion in the process of preparation and implementation of armor training and become able to act as trainers (station directors) in the subsequent, practical training. The officer candidates solve real, timed-study tasks; they repeat, reinforce and expand their knowledge and ability, become accustomed to their responsibility for themselves and the group, learn cooperation with tank or APC drivers/NCOs etc.

Preparation of ImA begins in the planning and organization stage by the instructor. The training objective, the content and sequence of subsequent practical training, e.g. a drill, must be viewed constantly. An example is presented below for the organization of ImA for a drill on: "The chassis of the medium tank."

Training objective (abbreviated form):

The officer candidate must:
- --possess knowledge on the design and operating principles
- --be able to estimate the technical condition
- --master algorithms for changing tracks
- --be able to perform assembly and disassembly
- --be able to act as instructors in armor training
- --be able to work in the group on tank mechanics
- --maintain security and order
- --be able to check and regenerate tactical readiness.

Training time:	ImA	90 minutes
	Drill	3 x 90 minutes
Technology:	ImA	four T 55 A
	Drill	six T 55 A

Our objective is to include each officer candidate through a real task for the drill. Thus, we select a special organization of a platoon strength of 25 officer candidates.

The following number of officer candidates is assigned to the six training questions:

Inspection and preparation of training areas -- 6
Disassembly of drive wheel and one road wheel -- 3
Disassembly of idler wheel and track tensioner -- 3
Assembly of road wheel and track tensioner -- 3
Assembly of drive wheel and road wheel -- 3
Inspection of status of track suspension and parking the tank -- 6
Drill director -- 1.

The "drill director" receives special instructions from the trainer.

His tasks are:
- --teaching the safety regulations, including working safety and fire prevention
- --assignment of crews (training groups) to the drill
- --preparation and implementation of a time plan for the drill
- --check the safety, order and quality of work on the tanks
- --organization of a competition between the crews.

At the beginning of training, only self-confident, capable and critical officer candidates are assigned this function in order that they act as an example for others.

In the ImA, preparation of the station director is on four tanks by using four trained and prepared instructors (preferably experienced tank drivers) who demonstrate the training questions to the officer candidates in the 90 minutes allowed.

Eight to fourteen days before the ImA, the officer candidates receive their assignments. They then prepare themselves through a study of the literature and by working out a rough outline for the ImA.

During the ImA, the instructors check and expand the knowledge of the candidates. The required abilities are drilled. Finally, the rough outline can be supplemented to become a complete training document.

The training questions are assigned to the four tanks as follows: Question 1; questions 2 and 4; questions 3 and 5; question 6.

As a rule, the ImA is performed 10 to 12 days before the "drill". The time in between is used for rewriting the hand copy, for checking it, for approval and evaluation by the technical instructor for armor training.

The platoon is broken down into six crews for the drill. For example, the first three crews may be assigned to officer candidates with questions 2 and 5, and the other crews to candidates with questions 3 and 4.

In crew A, the following tasks are performed by the four officer candidates:
- --inspection
- --disassembly of idler wheel and track tensioner
- --assembly of drive wheel and one road wheel
- --inspection of track suspension system.

At the half-way point of the drill, crews A, B and C give their dismounted components to crews D, E, F and vice-versa. This process continues on down the line.

This exchange is useful for the following reasons:

In a relatively short time (about 100 minutes), the idler wheels and track tensioners of three tanks, and the drive wheels with one road wheel each on the other three tanks, are disassembled (see training objective).

After the exchange, the candidates must repeat the sequence of actions for the new crew. They point out important items and refer to difficulties which they have had.

All dismounted parts shall be cleaned and placed aside in an orderly manner for the exchange (instructions in "order").

The crews bear full responsibility for the quality of work in the specified time; they must work in a planned and rational manner.

During the drill, the officer candidates/station director assigned to the tank are responsible for activities. The tank drivers help, advise, assure safety and evaluate both the activities of the station director as well as crew members according to the criteria specified by the driving instructor in accord with the training objective. This can be, for example: Adherence to safety regulations, technical accuracy of actions, military appearance of the station director, cooperation of crew members, order at the training area, discipline of the crew etc. The tank drivers receive evaluation cards for each crew.

In order to further enhance the educational effect of these drills, the officer candidates are assigned new study tasks before beginning the drill. These tasks arise from their training question and are to be solved in cooperation with the practical work and turned in the day after the drill. These tasks can be: Suggest a blow-up illustration of the chain tensioner, outline a blow-up (exploded view) of the attachment of the road wheel or the idler wheel bearing.

The primary objective of these tasks shall be to force the candidates into attentive observations when handling the tank. Like the hand copies, the evaluation cards and the estimates of the directing officer candidate, this work also forms a basis for evaluating the officer candidate for the drill "Chassis of the medium tank."

5. The Methodical Structure of the Logical Method

By "logical method" we mean the precise, well-founded, scientific thought process of the instructor and trainee. In armor training, primarily analysis and synthesis are applied. An example for this is the working out of main parts, components, systems, components and individual parts, the analysis of the armored vehicle by word and picture, and the subsequent thought synthesis in the consciousness of the trainee. This leads to knowledge or, in its highest form, to mastery of the design. It can be derived from tables and is also demonstrated in our descriptions of types of armored vehicles as chapter headings.

Application of the deductive method is more difficult, i.e. proceeding from the general to derive the specific. We use this method successfully in tank training, e.g. in the area of "Cooling and preheating system." For the officer candidate it is often complicated to recognize and remember the route of the often confusing cooling and preheating system of individual armored vehicles, e.g. the SFL 23/4 AA system. Even for the trainers, this is a methodic problem in spite of polylux pictures and roll-tables.

Deduction can help as follows: A general physical law states that liquids lose density when heated and expand. On cooling, the reverse occurs, and the volume decreases. In the cooling or preheating cycle, this process is supported by the particular coolant pumps. Consequently, stated simply: On cooling, the coolant is pumped from bottom to top through the cavities of the cylinder block into the

cylinder head where it is heated and flows as hot coolant from the top position of the engine out over the other components, through the lines and back to the coolant pump. It thus cools off again (especially in the water cooler or radiator), i.e. it gives off heat to the environment.

Now it is simple and reasonable to find all other coolant streams by taking the outlet point of coolant out of the cylinder head as starting point.

The preheating cycle can be handled in the same manner. This process can be supported by using a block diagram. Thus, by a simple display, the important items can be worked out. The officer candidates obtain simple, but useful relationships which are easily remembered.

6. Conclusion

The training level is determined by the preparation of the instructors. This preparation includes a clear objective, real, detailed contents and a planned organizational and procedural configuration which depend on the objective and training content. As a result of the preparation, the training document is produced. In order to have the most accurate information, the organization shown in Figure 4 is recommended.

Here, the different training points are just as important as the attendant action of the instructor, the trainee or the needed material means. Only when all data together forms a closed unit, can we speak of a didactic and methodically prepared training document.

FOOTNOTES

1. Klingberg, L.: Introduction to General Didactics. Reading. Berlin 1974 p. 109.
2. Ebenda, p. 118.
3. A 055/1/001. Didactics of Combat Training.

9280
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JUNE 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jun 81 p 4

[Martin Quill review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, June 1981, signed to press 13 May 1981, pp 513-624: "Performance Increase of a New Dimension." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] With the implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress we have entered a new phase of our work to which the highest political standards apply. It is ever more obvious that solving economic problems is the central issue of the great class confrontation, of the struggle to further strengthen socialism, for the welfare of the people and for a secure peace. In this respect the GDR, as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Central Europe, bears a particularly high responsibility. This is stated by Guenter Mittag in his article, "Combines in the Struggle for the Implementation of the Economic Strategy of the 10th Party Congress."

Explaining why the decision to continue the policy of the main task is of such great historic significance for our continued development, the author points out: "We have the strength and the potential, the opportunities and above all the militant determination to continue our very successful course of increasing our performance for the benefit of the people and for strengthening peace." Turning to the ten key points of our party's economic policy, Guenter Mittag declares that they outline a clear strategic concept that is in line with the standards of the 1980's and constitute the foundation of further work.

New work achievements that go far beyond the former targets are the convincing reply to the 10th Party Congress and a matter of honor for all trade union members, says Horst Heintze, a Presidium member and National Executive Committee secretary in the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), in another article. The FDGB, he declares, is making an all-out effort to implement the strategic concept of the national economy's future development.

The most important task of political-ideological work is to familiarize all citizens of our country with the wealth of ideas broached at the party congress and thus trigger new initiatives to comprehensively strengthen the GDR, writes Klaus Gaebler, chief of the SED Central Committee's propaganda department. He emphasizes: "The unity of party and people in thought, intent and action guarantees our future successes."

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NATIONAL FRONT'S STRUCTURE, SOCIOPOLITICAL ROLE EXPLAINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81 pp 525-530

[Article by Werner Kirchhoff, historian, candidate member, SED Central Committee; vice president, National Council, GDR National Front: "Affirmation and Action of All Citizens for Socialism and Peace"]

> [Text] The constructive cooperaton of parties and mass organizations has borne rich fruit, as was impressively confirmed at the 10th party congress. Under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the GDR people accepts the challenge of the 1980's with new initiatives for a great performance increase and with concrete actions for socialism and peace. Through its own work the GDR National Front helps turn the people's elections of 14 June 1981 into a convincing affirmation of our socialist fatherland and of the course and goal charted by the SED for future advances.

All our successes and accomplishments, as Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his central committee report to the 10th SED Congress, are the common effort of the workers class that leads our socialist society, of the class of the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working strata, which have formed a great alliance. "The formation and development of this alliance counts among the most important historic achievements of the SED. In this regard too we follow the universally valid laws of the socialist revolution in conformity with the concrete historic conditions in our country."[1]

In the GDR the political truth has been emphatically confirmed that the workers class can successfully fulfill its historic mission only under the leadership of a purposive, cohesive and militant Marxist-Leninist party closely affiliated with the masses. With the unification of the KPD and the SPD 35 years ago and the liberation of all society from exploitation and suppression, the cornerstone also was laid for this alliance policy which is reflected in the close cooperation of the parties and mass organizations in the democratic bloc and in the National Front. The continuity and vitality of this alliance have proven themselves again in the successful implementation of the ninth party congress decisions. Independent contributions to the implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, stemming from the constructive cooperation among the parties and

mass organizations, have borne rich fruit for all of society. And it conforms to the spirit of confident association that the important commitments and achievements by the members of the friendly parties and National Front committees received high tribute and recognition at the 10th party congress. Their activities through economic mass initiative and in the political-ideological and the intellectual-cultural fields, after all, attest to a high civic sense of responsibility and close bonds with our socialist fatherland.

Every citizen has ample opportunities to take an active part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Through confident association, with dedication and energy, party members and nonparty citizens, members of mass organizations, workers and cooperative farmers, employees, scientists and artists, craftsmen and tradesmen, men and women, youths and senior citizens, and people of diverse world-outlooks and religious faiths are working on the development of a society that is committed to the welfare of the people and to socialism and peace.

Approving the Course and the Goal

Proceeding from the concrete-historic conditions for the development of our country, and relying on the positive balance-sheet for what has been accomplished, the 10th party congress has staked out accurately the concrete requirements for our continued successful advances in the 1980's. From the new dimensions and higher demands placed on the management and planning of this complex, multilayered and highly interwoven social organism and from the altered external conditions, the task arises for all citizens to make conscious and initiative-rich contributions to our coping with our complicated requirements in all domains of public life. The intent and optimism of the party members and of millions of working people who do not belong to the SED to accept the challenge of the 1980's through new initiatives and ensure a great performance increase became evident at the 10th party congress.

At the session of the National Council of the GDR National Front on 27 April 1981, the representatives of the parties and mass organizations expressed their complete unanimity with the goals of the working class party concerning the further shaping of the developed socialist society, as presented in the SED Central Committee status report. On behalf of their members they stated that the domestic and foreign policy decided on at the 10th party congress deeply conformed with the interests of all social forces of our people. From that they derived the obligation to help through their work turn this year's 14 June elections into a convincing affirmation of our socialist fatherland and of its continued all-round strengthening, wholly in the terms of the ambitious objectives of the 10th party congress.

What has been created in more than three decades, especially during the 1970's, in the GDR irrefutably proves: only the political power of the workers class and its allies guarantees the freedom of the people, living conditions for all citizens in human dignity, and the freedom of personality. Its further consolidation therefore is an overall social concern and a precondition for further successful advances. Our workers and farmers state truly is a people's power of deeply democratic character. The further development and perfection of socialist democracy is the main trend along which our state power will continue to develop.

Citizens participating in public organizations (1980)

340,000 citizens, including 103,000 women and 40,000 youths, are members of 17,500 National Front committees

51,769 citizens work as elected lay judges in kreis and bezirk courts

54,290 citizens were elected to work on 5,237 arbitration commissions in communities, residential urban areas and production cooperatives

229,829 elected working people on the 26,085 conflicts commissions in the enterprises take part in ensuring socialist legality

233,168 working people are members of commissions, boards and committees of the Workers and Farmers Inspectorate

102,930 mothers and fathers in 5,818 parents' advisory councils and 555,683 mothers and fathers in 105,537 parents' activist groups support the educational work and teaching activity and study at the general education schools

130,556 volunteer functionaries are working on 15,092 sales outlet commissions of the consumer cooperatives

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In this it is the task of the National Front committees actively to help make the ties between the deputies, the tried and tested representatives of the people, with their voters still more intensive and vital, so that thereby the magnificent balance-sheet the 10th party congress was able to draw up gets still more effective and clear as the result of labor liberated from exploitation, as the result of what socialism can do. Through the status reports submitted currently by the deputies and the various forms by which candidates are introduced and thoroughly tested in the work collectives, important prerequisites are provided for further deepening the citizens' trust in their socialist state. This also deserves the greatest attention for the reason that the implementation of the social strategy decided on by the 10th party congress calls for a still broader involvement of all citizens in the management of social processes. That also implies a higher level of close cooperation between the National Front committees and the people's representations and councils, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions. Ideas, suggestions and the participation of ever broader circles of the population, after all, are required for the systematic improvement of working and living conditions, the measures of territorial rationalization, the efficient and economical use of all material and financial resources, the abiding by municipal and communal regulations, the beautification of residential areas, and the development of culture and sports.

Our socialist conditions provide the prerequisites by which all strata of the people can ever more effectively take part in solving overall social tasks. Led by its revolutionary party, the working class represents the basic interests of all working people. This precisely makes it possible to move ahead through the unified strength of all classes and strata. The identity of the vital interests of all the forces of the people acts as an important impulse for the citizens' commitment to the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. Millions of working people are politically active on a volunteer basis and, in conformity with the proven principle in our Constitution, bear special responsibility for the whole.

Affirming the Main Task Policy

The unanimous SED 10th congress decision unflinchingly to carry on the main task course, the unity of economic and social policy, to ensure and gradually extent the people's material and cultural standard of living, has met with a broad and positive response in all social classes and strata. That the effort had already started of fulfilling that decision by high performance improvements could be glimpsed from letters from industrial and agricultural enterprises, science institutions and schools, the armed forces and security organs, and all other domains of public life, to the 10th party congress.

Still during the party congress, many National Front commissions and housing communities likewise addressed affirmative statements and new commitments to its Presidium. That reveals not only the deep confidence in the policy of the vanguard of the workers class and all the working people but also the great willingness to take an active part in the further progress of our society. The present election debate includes meetings with work collectives in the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions, in residential areas and houses, and with members of the intelligentsia, women, youths, craftsmen, tradesmen, veterans of labor, and representatives of Christian circles. Meetings between deputies and candidates and their voters demonstrate that a thorough familiarization with the ten key points in the economic strategy for the 1980's is an important starting point for mobilizing for high achievements in the economy and in other public domains.

The extension of the broadest people's initiative in the history of our country in the residential areas follows the example of the continuing socialist competition in conformity with the new criteria by the working people in many enterprises. The 10th party congress directive on the five-year plan for the development of the GDR economy, 1981-1985, offers many opportunities and conrete handles for the economic mass initiative of the National Front. Especially a broad public debate also will bring up new ideas and suggestions on how the traditional "Join-In!" competition in conformity with local economic plans can still more effectively help improve the working and living conditions in the residential areas. It has been found suitable in this regard to explain projects politically, economically and socially in the competition programs. Often has the social value of the results achieved, and to be achieved, through the "Join-In!" competition become especially clear in regular family conversations with the citizens.

The focus is placed on supporting the housing construction program as the centerpiece of our social policy. The unity of new construction, modernization and maintenance of buildings is becoming ever more important for solving the housing problem. From the fact that the proportion of construction measures for reconstruction and modernization has nearly doubled compared with 1980 and repair work for buildings is meant to be increased by circa 125 percent, the inference may be drawn that we should also considerably boost what the population can do on its own in maintaining apartments and taking care of small and minute repairs. To promote civic initiative, state organs, housing industry enterprises and other VEB's have further expanded their "Join-In!" centers or furnished them better or even set up new ones. Our republic at present maintains circa 3,000 repair workshops, a solid material base for the citizens' increasing participation in the economic mass initiative.

We must also still more effectively support the completion of appropriate communal facilities in the residential areas within the scope of our comprehensive housing construction program. Equal attention has to be given to assisting in the reconstruction and renovation of schools, kindergartens, nursery schools, hospitals, leisure-time centers, youth club facilities and sports arenas.

Craftsmen and tradesmen are making an essential contibution to that. Through their great dedication, cooperative and private craftsmen, innkeepers and tradesmen have managed to improve further, in scope and quality, the supply, service and repair operations for the population. That has been due, not last, also to the National Front committees and their working teams of craftsmen and tradesmen where many members of these strata do dedicated and effective political work. They take it for a fact that their own fine example is of great importance for boosting their colleagues' activities. Last year, for instance, they performed, above and beyond the national economic plan, repair, service and supply activities at a value of more than M 79 million, building repairs in apartment buildings and public facilities for almot M 34 million, and services through the "Join-In!" competition of nearly M 12.5 million. For 1981 they have assumed still higher extra accomplishments. At the same time they intend to improve the quality of their work, reduce material and energy expenditures, shorten waiting periods, and contribute to the development of rapid repair services. That is why the 86,500 craft enterprises have given a broad and affirmative response to the announcement in the central committee report to the 10th party congress that they should come forth with suggestions for getting better supplies in tools, means of rationalization and materials. Worthwhile perspectives become apparent here as does the growing responsibility for supplying the population with many different daily supply commodities and services.

Active encouragement also is warranted for the initiatives by the members of the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Raisers and other small producers who from their gardens and family farms provide the population with extra supplies in crop and animal products such as fruit, vegetables, rabbit and goose meat, honey and eggs. In 1980 alone, the members of that union sold to the state commerce, among other things, 162,106 tons of fruit, 114,192 tons of vegetables, 15,212 tons of rabbit and goose meat, and 1,8 billion eggs.

The work of the rural National Front committees embraces their support of socialist agriculture, such as their assistance in the reconstruction of old stables, the beautification of villages and help in the modernization and new construction of apartments, so that the planned increase of 10,000 rural apartments annually is accomplished. Greatly important is promoting the population's own initiative so that in the next 5 years the households of another 400,000 citizens get access to the central drinking water network.

Also toward meeting the raw material requirements of the economy the National Front committees are going to make a growing contribution, together with the state organs and the competent enterprises, by improving the collection, and deliveries to residential areas, of secondary raw materials. All these examples demonstrate that the socialist people's movement will make important contributions to implementing our economic tasks between 1981 and 1985 as best it can.

The sociopolitical component of our main task, as one knows, embraces our material and cultural living conditions. These are two aspects of one and the same thing, belong together, indeed condition one another. Therefore the development of a vivid intellectual-cultural life, the promotion of physical culture and sports, the improvement of recreational opportunities and meaningful leisure-time activity, especially for youth, are among the priority tasks of the National Front committees and have to be carried out in concert with the Culture League and other cultural organizations. Here efforts have to be strengthened still because in the intellectual-cultural sphere needs also are rising fast. Reflecting the grown interest in socialist communal relations, circa 8,800 house clubs and other communal facilities have been organized, mostly on the citizens' own initiative and primarily in new settlements, which constitute a noteworthy expansion for a diversified intellectual-cultural life. In this sense the "Join-In!" competition is also oriented to setting up more small sports arenas in the residential areas. Furthermore the National Front is behind all efforts to make a more imaginative and effective use of the material base of culture and sports available and to utilize all suitable facilities in the residential areas, regardless of their accountability obligations, for the search for health, joy of living, education, recreation, accomplishments and well-being. This shapes further socialist morality and the socialist way of life.

The SED has always paid great attention to the development of the National Front as a socialist popular movement. Starting from the National Council of the GDR National Front, which has 285 members, down to the local and residential area committees the composition of the National Front organizations genuinely mirrors the political and social structure of our population on all levels. Recently we have managed to recruit another 7,000 citizens for joining the organizations of this socialist popular movement. Of the 340,000 citizens from all population strata who are active today, 43.9 percent are SED members, 20.4 percent members of friendly parties, and 35.7 percent nonparty. If all other forms and organizations engaged in social activities, in the enterprises, cooperatives and residential areas, are added to that, it can be said that one out of every four citizens in our country is somehow working for the common good on a volunteer basis.

More than two thirds of all houses have housing community managements. Thousands were set up while the 10th SED Congress was in preparation. In the many new settlements further National Front committees and housing communities are evolving constantly. The development and formation of the social forces go hand in hand with the dynamic overall development of our country. The National Front is a living organism, a perceptible factor in everyday life. Every town and community needs capabable National Front committees for the good of their citizens, and each initiative of a residential area is of benefit to all society.

Peace--The Highest Good

Our policy for the well-being, freedom and dignity of man is a policy of peace in the deepest sense. Safeguarding it is and remains the most important for meeting our tasks. Due to this understanding, which for the older generation is reinforced by its own experiences, the citizens of all classes and strata support the 10th SED Congress declaration to the effect that we fully and completely support the peace proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress, which meet the interests of all peoples. The

tested fighting alliance with the Soviet Union and with all countries in the socialist community always has proven the guarantee for our peaceful advances. Our people welcomes the fact that the GDR continues to pursue a clear peace concept while also doing everything necessary for the military defense of our socialist fatherland.

The significant 10th party congress decisions on the further implementation of its policy for the good of the people and on the GDR's contribution to the safeguarding of peace also have received great attention and support among church dignitaries and in Christian circles. After all, that is a course that coincides with the highest maxim of Christian responsibility for peace and the happiness of man. They have in particular backed the statement in the central committee report that the proven policy on developing objective, constitutionally guaranteed and sympathetic relations between the socialist state and the churches is being continued, based on the principle of the separation between state and church. Church circles rate the confident talks between representatives of the state and of the church as an opportunity for and expression of their greater degree of affiliation. So the National Front committees and their Christian circles working teams find more favorable conditions for attracting ecclesiastic dignitaries to pursuing our humanistic goals too and to a greater commitment to the preservation of peace.

In political discussions of the election appeal from the National Front citizens have time and time again expressed the realization that their everyday efforts on behalf of socialism also amount to their actions on behalf of peace. The joint struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and of peace, the firm trust in the domestic and foreign policy of the party and government leadership, the justified pride in the great accomplishments of socialism and the determination to defend them express our people's political-moral stability and at the same time act as strong impulses for deepening it further. We have all that is required to achieve a higher degree of overall social activity and to involve all the forces of our people still more effectively in the revolutionary process of political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural development. The elections for the People's Chamber, for the city-kreis assembly of our capital Berlin, and for the bezirk assemblies on 14 June will make an important contribution to it, once more demonstrate the unity and cohesiveness of our people and document our unanimous confidence in the National Front candidates. We shall do our best in every domain of our public life in following the slogan "High Performance Growth Through Increasing Labor Productivity, Efficiency and Quality--Everything for the Good of the People and for Peace!"

FOOTNOTE

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 122-123.

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CAPITALIST, SOCIALIST CONCEPTS OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM CONTRASTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 83, 5 Jun 81 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes 'Alternatives.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In its most recent edcition the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 6, 1981) has criticized the "alternatives" in the West because they often sought to dodge the "anti-imperialist struggle." The "worst results of the imperialist application of the modern productive forces" were generally being blamed on science and technology, and "industrialism" and "corporate technology," in fact economic growth as such, were being held up as the root of all evil. At the same time, "alternative modes of life" were being propagated that supposedly would ensure the individual development and self-realization of man independent of the development of the modern productive forces or even in blind enmity to scientific-technical progress by means of an "escape into a petty bourgeois individualistic sphere of life." That was "reactionary utopianism" which would in fact weaken the "anti-imperialist movement" and subject working man still more to economic recklessness.

GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81 pp 578-585

[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences and GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "The Individual and Society in the Class Struggle of Our Time." A translation of an earlier article on the subject by the same author is available under the heading, "Development of Personal Freedom in Socialism Discussed," in JPRS 69293, 22 Jun 77, No 1404 of this series, pp 105-118, followed on pp 119-127 by an item published under the heading, "Personal Freedom Discussed in Light of Scientific-Technical Progress," by Prof Guenter Kroeber. For additional related information see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Subjective Rights,' Personal Freedoms Essential to Socialism," 74723, 6 Dec 79, No 1744, pp 28-48; "Concept of Human Rights in Developed Socialist Society Discussed," 70919, 7 Apr 78, No 1520, pp 29-47]

[Text] The question about the place and development opportunities of human individuality in society is gaining increasing weight in the class conflict. Why is the deformation of human individuality a consequence of development of the productive forces under capitalism while their all-round development is a characteristic element of socialist society? What role does scientific-technical progress play in this? What does the tapping of all productive forces in the individual mainly amount to, and how is that being fostered by our party's economic and social policy?

The question about the place and prospects of the human individual within society has for centuries been the focal point of ideological party struggles, an issue that has become unusually exacerbated today, when the socialization of public life is advancing for everyone to see. What becomes of the individual now, of man's individual self-determination? Does a world with its dynamics and advancing rationality, shaped increasingly by science and technology, leave any room at all for human individuality and for lending a humanistic shape to life? Are under the conditions of accelerated social change any firm vital orientations left to the individual, are any secure and credible ideas of the sense of life possible at all any longer, or is there--as alleged in general by bourgeois ideologues today--a human "orientation crisis?"[1] What is the Marxist-Leninist view on that and what is its practical application in socialism?

By creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the conditions in our country, our party program has worked out a scientifically sound, realistic and, at once, revolutionary orientation aimed at a practical implementation. It was confirmed and, at once, rendered more concrete at the 10th SED Congress--proceeding from what has been accomplished and from the requirements for the 1980's. Our party will carry on its proven course that unites its economic with its social policy and serves the well-being of the people, the happiness of the individual and, not last, an enriched development of his individuality. The emphasis is placed here on coping with science and technology and combining their advances with mass initiative to achieve the finest economic and cultural results. It is imperative to develop more rigorously, and prudently employ, the collective and individual creative capacities of the working people, their knowledge and skills, their training and dedication. "For the real wealth," says Marx, "is the developed productive force of all individuals."[2]

The development of the "productive force of all individuals" also marks the focal point of the competition movement by which the working people are picking up the course of the party congress and are heading toward great efficiency improvements through increasing labor productivity, effectiveness and production quality for the good of the people and for peace. Thus throughout our practical life, in labor, in the struggle for maximal scientific-technical, economic, sociopolitical and intellectual-cultural advances, a convincing answer is given to the question about the place and development opportunities and impulses for human individuality in socialism, about the ways into meaningful life for all members of our society.

Deformation of Human Individuality in the Power Sphere of Capitalism

How dismal, on the other hand, is the picture presented in the crisis-ridden world of capitalism: declining take-home wages, more and more social insecurity, prolonged high and rising unemployment, increasing crime and drug addiction mainly among youth, intellectual and moral disorder, material and cultural misery in many developing countries--these are the results of the profit economy and imperialist mobilization. All this confirms the following remark in the 10th party congress report: "The profit drive, and not love for men, is the vital element in imperialist modes of thought and conduct. . . . Imperialism is pitted against the democratic rights of the people, human dignity and intellectual freedom, like a dam."[3] How correct has Karl Marx been who showed, in "Das Kapital," that the capitalist production would, to be sure, economize the use of constant capital but at the same time produce, more than any other mode of production, "a waste of men, of live labor, not only of flesh and blood, but also of nerves and brains, and the most immense squandering of individual development."[4]

That then is the picture there of social realities and of the individual development opportunities for the working people. Yet the political and ideological spokesmen for that order continue to allege, year after year, that socialism stifles the individual by collective organization, constrains individual freedom and kills individuality--in complete contrast to capitalism, where purportedly the dignity, inviolability and freedom of the individual hold sway. That is the logic of an upside-down universe! Its pugilists keep trying to wear out that reversal of concepts by their opinion manipulation through which they seek to indoctrinate men with the notion that all their lofty concepts depend on the power of capital. What people experience, however, makes them more and more aware of the contradiction between social reality and the pretense expounded, disintegrates the ties with capital, especially among youth in the capitalist countries, turning them increasingly against that power.

While some who represent that power, the reactionary-conservative forces, respond to it with concepts pervaded with authoritarian political theory, if not with police truncheons, others are looking for social-reformist replies. Thus, in the early 1970's the SPD made great efforts to prepare a basic document meant to set down the prospects for the freedom of the individual through equitable conditions, for the free development of each in mutual responsibility and helpfulness, and for free decisions by people having equal rights in the time up to 1985. This "orientation framework 1975-1985" was adopted at the 1975 Mannheim party congress, accompanied with much propaganda noise, and translated into many languages. What now has become of this promise of free individual development? As Herbert Wehner stated, already in 1979, based on undeniable facts, the document had, as an orientation toward further developments, strictly speaking left no trace.[5] And recently, the members of the former orientation commission found themselves induced to state the text "had fast been forgotten." In terms of the practical politics of the party, the value of the document had been, "almost equal to zero--to put it plainly," having "no importance to FRG policy," and "no noteworthy influence" on government policy, and so forth. The paper had, however, not been completely forgotten: some SPD educational activities abroad had dealt with it, local party conferences had referred to it, and the SPD women's group had dealt with it "with some thoroughness."[6]

The vast waste of individuality Marx remarked upon has assumed gigantic dimensions in imperialism the more science and technology developed. It is precisely this constantly deepening antagonism in the development of the productive forces and human individuality that turns the surmounting of capitalist exploitation and social relations into a compelling historic requirement. As long ago as in 1845/46 Marx and Engels observed that the point had been reached where "the individuals must appropriate the available totality of productive forces, not only to obtain their own personal activity but to secure their own existence altogether."[7]

Only socialism can initiate this new, qualitatively higher developmental phase of human productivity and individuality. The 10th party congress once again made clear that socialism needs universally educated and skilled, talented, efficient individuals. The creative and expert work of all, their initiative, their education, their political lucidity and farsightedness, and their intellectual-cultural richness become the necessary condition in this social order for individual and social upward development--in conformity with the sense of socialism. It expresses that socialism is the humanistic order of the present era.

Social Foundations for Universal Individuality Development

Bourgeois ideologues, from the conservative wing down to the social-reformist forces, oppose this by telling us there are no eternally valid principles for the relations between the individual and society nor individual rights and personality values hovering above the struggles between the classes and social systems in our time. Yet life itself provides us with this evidence: the relationship between the individual and society is historic in nature. Each economic era, each social system, impresses this relationship, and thus the developmental opportunities, impulses and criteria of the individual, with its particular stamp. Each has its own image of man, its own personality ideals.

Naturally, everything that happens in society and history—except for natural disasters--under all social conditions ultimately results from actions taken by individuals. Men always make their own history. But this they do, as Marx put it, not at will, not under chosen, but under given and traditional circumstances.[8] In conformity with the development of the productive forces they form their production relations which in turn determine the social and class structure, the class interests and the prevailing political, philosophic, artistic ideas and the political institutions of society. This means that human individuality can form only in the historic process, through labor, the class struggle, and the development of science and culture. The creative capacities and capabilities, the knowledge and skills, the modes of thinking and conduct, an individual has, as well as the opportunities for using these individual capabilities and capacities, are, in principle, shaped historically by the development of the productive forces and the social structures, by social and class impulses.

Sure enough, individualy also depends on someone's physical and psychological traits, the particulars of his education and culture, his temperament, and his particular circumstances in his work and life. But that which fundamentally constitutes human individuality grows out of social development, out of the effects of social impulses, out of the individual's active participation in the historic process.

Over long historic periods man's individuality could hardly develop or only to a limited extent. The inane developmental and socialization level of the material productive forces and the narrowness of personal dependency, exploitation and servitude relations caused that. Material conditions for a richer, fuller and more diversified development for individuals only arose with the rising bourgeois order. The bourgeois revolution freed the individuals from personal dependency and servitude relationships. Enormous productive forces were created through social labor, production was socialized and internationalized, the narrow constraint of previous social development was broken. That was, however, an antagonistic development. Capitalism turned the material productive forces, which as such made possible a great and rich development of human productivity and individuality, into means of imperialist exploitation and power politics which in the outcome deformed and destroyed all their human individuality and comes into the broad daylight precisely during the current crisis of the capitalist system.

These constantly exacerbating antagonisms lead to one inevitable historic consequence: the free, rich, universal development of the individuals, which had first become economically possible and necessary in history because of the development of the material productive forces, becoming itself an ever more important factor in productivity development, requires the socialist revolution of the workers class and its allies. To the extent that society, led by the workers class and its party, takes control of the modern productive forces, uses them for the benefit of the people, and rapidly augments them, and to the extent that the workers class shapes the totality of social relations more and more in conformity with its class goals and also shapes the intellectual life of society in conformity with the principles of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, that higher developmental phase in the dialectics between individual and society assumes reality which Marx had described as follows: "Free individuality, based on the universal development of the individuals and the subordination of their communal, social productivity, as their social capacity . . . "[9]

Many discussions are carried on in the developed capitalist states in Western Europe about "alternatives" for the developmental trends of industry, science and technology occurring under state monopoly conditions. Their subjecting scientific-technical progress to the designs of the military-industrial complex and the multinational corporations produces more and more devastating effects threatening the natural and social life sources of the nations and, ultimately, human life and civilization as such. Thus, in the outcome of the imperialist aggressive and high mobilization policy, NATO's military expenditures rose to more than $ 1.5 trillion over the last 10 years. Simultaneously, for example, developments in the EEC countries were marked by an enormous intensification of exploitation and social decline, there being already 24 million unemployed in the capitalist industrial countries by the end of 1980. All that forces the workers class, the peoples, all of working mankind, ever more strongly into anti-imperialist alternatives and eventually, to fight for the transition to the socialist mode of production. The need for it is inescapable.

But often the discussion of alternatives hides the intention to dodge the anti-imperialist struggle. The evil consequences of the imperialist application of the modern productive forces are blamed on science and technology as such. "Industrialism, " corporate technology," in fact economic growth as such, are being held up as

the root of all evil. Thus, "alternative modes of life" are being propagated that are supposed to ensure the individual development and self-realization of man independent of the development of the modern productive forces or even in blind enmity to the scientific-technical progress in our time by means of an escape into a petty bourgeois individualistic sphere of life. That is reactionary utopianism that in fact weakens the anti-imperialist movement and subjects working man still more to economic spontaneity.

Scientific-Technical Progress for the Good of Man

The economic strategy laid down by the 10th party congress makes clear that, to us, the scientific-technical revolution and the enormous dynamics of the modern productive forces in its train in no way vitiate the rich development of human individuality. On the contrary, they are the necessary bases for this development as economics all-around is the main field for our continuing social advances. That conforms fully with the insights by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. Marx in his ingenious farsightedness grasped the penetrating changes in the system of the material productive forces resulting as the necessary perspective from his investigations into industrial development and the technological application of the sciences, and he said in this connection: "In this transformation it is neither the immediate labor man performs himself nor the time he puts to work, but the appropriation of his own general productive force, his understanding of nature and his control over it in his capacity as a social entity--or, in one word, the development of the social individual--which appears as the great cornerstone of production and wealth."[10] Marx foresaw a development which is assuming concrete shape today--through the broad application of microelectronics and robot technology and altogether through a rapid technological conversion of data into targeted basic research. He considered the control over the development of the productive forces by the associated producers, the workers class in power leading all of society, the crucial prerequisite for the all-round development of human individuality. It is this conception on which the economic strategy our party has elaborated, in conformity with out own conditions, is based.

None of this has anything to do with a blind and uncritical faith in technology, which the bourgeois side often alleges the Marxists have, nor with the notion that scientific-technical progress could lead by itself, automatically, to social progress and personality development. Our party's economic strategy is concerned with an overall social control of scientific-technical progress, its conscious and planned use as the basis for a unified economic and social policy, through which scientific-technical achievements unstintingly serve the good of the people and their advances ever more deeply affect men's ordinary life and steadily improve their working and living conditions. Uneasiness and anxiety about the rationalization and broad application of science and technology therefore are alien to the GDR workers class and its allies. The working people's basic experience with the economic policy of our party and government is that here the struggle for rationalization, for accelerating our scientific-technical progress, makes for a greater certitude of the future, greater stability and social security, the improvement in working conditions and a higher level of creativity in our labor and in our intellectual-cultural wealth, whereby also the happiness of persons and their families is enhanced. And that is a solid basis for forming strong performance motivations on the part of the individual workers and their collectives.

This does not mean there are no problems in making scientific-technical progress prevail in the dimensions charted by the 10th party congress. Already it shows where contradictions arise and new problems are ripening in it. The great dynamics in the development of the productive forces, which increasingly of course also affects occupational structures, and the increasing complexity of management and planning processes require, for instance, that an individual acquire new experiences and knowledge all the time and must develop the ability and willingness to adapt himself and work himself into new fields. That cannot be done without efforts or without conflicts, nor does it exclude personal failures. Furthermore--however clear we may be about the main features of the scientific-technological revolution in our country--we cannot always predict in every detail which problems this process will give rise to in the foreseeable future, it being so tempestuous and affecting the working and living conditions so deeply. That can come only through a generalization of the various experiences by the working people themselves.

The development of the material productive forces and of social labor as the most important sphere for generating socialist personalities thus shows that individual development does not take place in a harmonious sphere that knows no contradictions. Exploitation and class antagonisms are eliminated in socialism. The productive forces of social labor no longer confront the working people as alien and hostile forces. Yet developing into rich individuality remains a contradictory process. Only these contradictions--and that is what is crucial about them--are no longer those of waste and destruction but those of growth in individual and collective creative capacities. They are being resolved through socialist activity and socialist collectivity, through a joint struggle for an accelerated development of the productive forces, for improving the working and living conditions, and for consolidating our order of peace.

In contrast to the notion widespread in bourgeois literature that the role of the individual, of his subjective capabilities and his decision-making will diminish as science and technology pervade life, socialism in practice confirms the tested realization in the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook that man is and remains the most important productive force. Even under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution the socialist cooperative efforts of workers and cooperative farmers with scientists and technicians, socialist competition, the skill and knowledge of the working people, and their initiative and dedication to their performance remain the chief creative capacity in socialist production. That is why the 10th SED Congress time and time again stressed the connection between scientific-technical progress and creative activity, skilled labor, and the higher demands placed on the initiative and capacity of the collectives and the individual working people.

Tapping All Productive Capacities of the Individual

The requirements for the 1980's also set new criteria for the struggle for the full development and use of the subjective elements in the productive forces. A solid foundation was laid for that under party leadership. The workers class has grown into a technically, politically and intellectual-culturally highly skilled force embodying an enormous production and progress potential. Almost 80 percent of all working people has completed training today. Circa 95 percent of the young people starting their work life has had vocational training. The proportion of university and technical school graduates has risen enormously in the economy.

Productive forces are growing up here the extensive, prudent use and maximal utilization and development of which acquire an ever greater importance for performance improvements, the boosting of labor productivity, and for scientific-technical and social progress.

This subjective productive force, which lies in training, in scientific-technical and economic education, in the cultural level, in the performance readiness and class-conscious discipline of the individual working people, as in their cooperation and collective competition, constitutes the inexhaustible growth and development source of socialist production. Its characteristic feature is that its proper use, conforming to the overall development of the productive forces, also amounts to its expanded reproduction toward qualitatively higher levels. The ability to take part in gaining science insights for future production and using possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution for economic performance and efficiency growth and for putting modern technologies into operation and so forth grows to the extent that it is called upon to be used. This makes clear what Marx had in mind when he said that the real wealth lies in the developed productive force of all individuals and that the full development of the individuals "being the largest productive force, affects in turn the productive force of labor."[11]

Yet even this vital productive capacity of our society can grow and become effective only through a lengthy process in which contradictions must be resolved and difficulties be overcome. Not all enterprises do as yet use all available training and educational potential effectively enough or stimulate its further growth in the interest of high achievements. There still are significant disparities between good and less good enterprise collectives. Discussions at the 10th party congress have brought out what has to be done to convey information on the plan tasks down to every single job, to involve the working people in considerations and decision-making and use their suggestions, while providing for a creative work atmosphere and high labor discipline, promoting working people initiatives and disseminating the experiences of the best workers in the competition. Especially the young generation must receive the necessary encouragement, and every young person must find the right place. It is especially important to spot gifts and talents at a good time and foster them systematically, noting that this as a rule involves personalities distinguishing themselves by a great wealth of ideas and thoughts, clarity about long-range matters, persistence in the solution of problems, stable interests and forming solid socialist motivations, through which they could become important models.

Important reserves for socialist society and the formation of a diversified individuality lie in the great opportunities for personality formation inherent in our society. They become effective when the people use them in what they are doing themselves. This greatly brings into play their insights, all their habits, feelings an inclinations, the mentality of an individual and his personal goals in life, and his concepts of the purpose of living. One must accept as a fact that this self-determination of an individual gains much greater and a qualitatively higher importance in socialism, for the social process as well as for individuality development, than ever before in history. That is inseparable from that socialism needs individuals and forms individuals who excel through productive capabilities, a genuine performance ability, technical skills, ideological firmness in the working class sense and a great variety of relations with the socialist order. Therein lies

one great advantage of socialism. "It becomes clear," the status report to the 10th party congress says, "what an enormous advantage it is for socialism to be able to rely on the conscious and voluntary initiative of the masses and their active participation in the exercise of power. That precisely is what clearly renders our socialist society historically superior to the capitalist."[12] The socialist character of our government and social order does not produce socialist modes of thinking and conduct mechanically. They must in the process that constructs the new society be consciously and puposefully shaped by the political-ideological work of the party organizations and all social forces on their side and by a politically responsible activity of all managers.

Individualism of any kind is incompatible with socialist modes of thought and conduct. That, after all, conforms to an attitude in life according to the saying that charity begins at home and to the desire to settle down in some hiding-place where one can indulge a nice living without doing any commensurate work for society, at the expense of others, an attempt to shunt oneself off from the demands of society and escape all social responsibility. Such a stance stems from the history, of thousands of years, of exploitation, thievery, private property, the ominous traditions of which the imperialist class enemy seeks to keep alive through all sorts of ideological influences. Thus it is all the more important effectively to promote the struggle for firm socialist modes of thought and conduct through fine management and planning in practice, the consistent implementation of the performance principle, the purposeful management of competition and the involvement of all working people, an effective labor organization and the further consolidation of the socialist legal order.

Real socialism in practice has provided our country's citizens with the experience that an individual can lend meaning, content and satisfaction to his life mainly by judging from the vantage point of the overall social importance of what he does and decides. To become active as creators and fighters, to take part where they are, according to their abilities, in having the advantages of socialist society take effect every more completely, to contribute their share to the coping with scientific-technical progress, augmenting the material and intellectual-cultural potentials of our society, and the strengthening of socialism and peace--in this, as demonstrated by our great competition movement, more and more working people in our country find the meaning of life in our era and our society. Such a position is worthy of a socialist citizen by creating mobilization capacities for great abilities and achievements, for a happy life rich in content.

FOOTNOTES

1. H. Luebbe, "Praxis der Philosophie--praktische Philosophie--Geschichtstheorie" (Philosophy in Practice--Practical Philosophy--Theory of History), Stuttgart, 1978, p 127.

2. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 596.

3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 15 and 17.

4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 99.

5. DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, Bonn, No 11, 1979, p 984.

6. Ibid., No 1, 1981, pp 4, 13, 15, 17, 12 and 6.

7. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 67.

8. Cf. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 8, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 115.

9. Karl Marx, "Principles . . . ," op. cit., p 75.

10. Ibid., p 593.

11. Ibid., p 599.

12. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 140.

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CSO: 2300/284

ARTISTS TO FOCUS ON SED ECONOMIC STRATEGY, IDEOLOGY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 83, 5 Jun 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Worries About Young Artists' Ideological Loyalty." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The SED is evidently worried about the ideological steadfastness of the young artists in the GDR. It could not be missed, the party organ EINHEIT (No 6, 1981) wrote, that quite some artists still had difficulties acquiring "productive rapport with reality and a Marxist-Leninist understanding of history." Therefore, "still more effective ideological work" among the young artists was necessary.

SED Culture Functionary's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81 pp 586-592

[Article by Franz Hentschel, deputy chief, Cultural Affairs Department, SED Central Committee: "Continuity of Socialist Cultural Policy." For various references to other items of related information see translations of previous EINHEIT articles by GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann and SED Academician Prof Hans Koch, respectively, published under the heading, "Aesthetic, Revolutionary Aspects of Socialist Culture Analyzed," in JPRS 78364, 23 Jun 81, No 1891 of this series, pp 48-62]

> [Text] Art and culture are inseparable from the economic and social policy aimed at the welfare of the people. In the closest interaction with a high economic efficiency improvement and with the formation of socialist personalities, demands placed on the quality and effectiveness of culture, art and art criticism are rising, the working people's cultural needs become more differentiated, art turns more to the questions of the value and dignity of man and his claim to happiness in socialism, a higher cultural level and a depicting of the workers class remaining key problems for further cultural progress.

As for all other areas of social development so also for the field of culture and art the 10th party congress has drawn up a balance-sheet and elaborated the next tasks for the further implementation of our party program throughout the 1980's. "It may be stated," the central committee report says, "that the cultural policy decided on by the ninth party congress is bearing good fruit. Art and culture are having an increasingly more effective influence on the development of socialist personalities and the molding of a socialist way of life. . . . By their achievements the creators of art and culture have a great share in that the values and ideals of socialism more and more permanently govern the thinking, feeling and conduct of the working people."[1]

The successful development of our socialist culture and art depends on our party's determined leadership in the struggle for the implementation of the main task. It therefore also is of fundamental strategic importance for our art and culture that the 10th party congress decided to carry on the policy of the main task in the 1980's even under more complicated conditions, to secure and gradually extend, that is to say, the people's material and cultural standard of living through high achievements. Ultimately the continuity of our party's cultural policy also is rooted in this strategic objective, this policy that is aimed at the welfare of the people.

Secured Positions

In puposefully carrying on the socialist cultural revolution in the GDR our party can proceed from secured positions. That includes above all that culture and art are more strongly understood and promoted as an inseparable component of the overall social processes in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. In the outcome of the ideological maturation process that has gone on since the eighth party congress and was strongly affected by the ninth, the party's responsibility has greatly increased for carrying on the socialist cultural revolution as part of the socialist revolution in the GDR. Of very special importance to it were the sixth central committee session (1972) and the Politburo resolution of 25 January 1977 on the Leipzig bezirk management report on the political-ideological management of intellectual-cultural life in Leipzig Bezirk. Their effective analysis has helped improve the quality of cultural policy management activity in party bezirk and many kreis managements. Good experiences have been gathered in the bezirks and kreises in the work with long-range conceptions for the development of socialist art and culture which now are meant to be continued for the 1981-1985 period.

The higher quality of cultural policy management activity is crucially responsible for a more substantial, diversified and stimulating intellectual-cultural life. Far-reaching impulses emanate from it which enrich both the personality development and the molding of a socialist way of life. In this, the interrelations between the management of competition and the promotion of intellectual-cultural life in the socialist work collectives have become far closer. Working class influence on the development of culture and art has grown further. There are many indications that the relations between ethics and aesthetics are assuming novel features under prevailing social conditions. Artistic discoveries and effects have become an irreplaceable component of intellectual life in our socialist society.

Through their works the writers and artists prove themselves reliable alliance partners of the workers class, conscious and creative coshapers of the developed socialist society. So the 10th party congress was able to state: "Our party's close ties with the writers and creators of culture are a precious good and the basis for the successful further development of our socialist national culture."[2] Life itself has confirmed this experience: nothing or no one can disturb, let alone destroy, this alliance. It has a long tradition and far-reaching prospects.

Among the secured positions finally also is that we have reached a qualitatively higher level in our cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. This cooperation enriches our intellectual-cultural life and our creation of art, promotes the further development of the internationalist character of our socialist culture and art, and enhances their power of international radiation in the sharper class struggles of our time.

Higher Demands

Proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the results achieved, the 10th party congress has emphatically pointed out that in the 1980's "the demands placed on the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art will rise further."[3]

That follows, first of all, from our focus on high economic efficiency improvements. The economy constitutes the centerpiece in our party's social policy because there mainly the decisions are made on further advances in the shaping of the developed socialist society. So it is imperative to strengthen and deepen the understanding of the creators of art and culture of the requirements in our party's economic strategy for the 1980's. This above all calls for a deep understanding of the interrelations between greater economic efficiency and an improved quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art. For one thing, the material preconditions for culture and art can develop only in line with general economic performance improvements, because it is also true here that we can only consume what has first been produced. And then again, advances in culture and art in turn affect the tempo of our economic performance improvement. Much as economic performance improvement depends on the possibilities of our scientific-technical revolution, decisive is and remains man's creativity, his dedication and readiness to use these possibilities fully and combine them prudently with the advantages of socialism. And especially art and culture can help greatly "release the creative in man and enhance the pleasure of work and the working people's sense of well-being in socialist society."[4]

So it is a matter of shaping further the kind of cultured atmosphere in all public domains of our socialist society in which man can develop and prove himself as a personality. That includes the propensity for ideological education and technical training as much as popular cultural and artistic production, dealing with the arts, the appropriation and dissemination of our cultural heritage and the promotion of entertainment and sociability. Because, after all, this involves all of man, the entire wealth of his relations with nature and society in history, the present and the future. And in all this, higher demands for quality and effectiveness in our socialist culture and art also are due to the high educational level of the people in our country.[5]

The last five-year plan gave us 1,184,100 successful secondary school graduates. Each was offered an apprenticeship or an enrollment for studies. In the same period, 244,700 regular university, college and technical school graduates started jobs in the economy. There were 310,400 working people who acquired specialists' skills. and 75,000 specialists earned their foreman-credentials. More than 1.5 million working people took part annually in some form of advanced training. We are more and more dealing with educated readers, viewers and listeners whose rapport with art and culture is becoming more demanding, critical and sovereign. This again has nothing to do with elitist tendencies. Rather, the rising educational level gives rise to a greater differentiation in cultural needs which in turn becomes an impulse for the development of a diversified, substantive and stimulating cultural life.

Higher demands for the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art also arise, not last, from the further exacerbation of the international class conflict in the 1980's. Experience demonstrates that culture and art have become a major battleground of the international class struggle. The ruling circles of the FRG, above all, constantly seek to use culture as a vehicle of their revanchist policy. Their thesis of a supposedly unified German culture merely expresses their efforts to keep the "German question" open. But nothing is any longer open in this regard. An imperialist culture rules in the FRG, confronted by elements of democratic and of socialist culture. In the GDR there develops the socialist German national culture, the character of which was defined by our party's Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker in his important speech during the conference with creators of culture and art on 22 June 1979 as follows: "It is shaped by the goals and ideals of the revolutionary workers class and is a culture of the whole people. It is rooted in the progressive traditions in the culture of our people and of all mankind. It is closely tied in with the cultures of the Soviet Union and of the other countries in the socialist community of states. And it is open to all valuable accomplishments in humanistic culture all over the world."[6]

The successful development and increased international radiation power of our national culture is a crucial factor in the struggle for safeguarding peace, which is and remains the most important thing. A rich intellectual-cultural life bolsters the superiority of socialism as a social order of deep humanity and human dignity, and the only one that can resolve the vital problems of mankind.

Unity of the Material and the Cultural

The 10th party congress has once again reiterated that it is an accepted fact to us that in harmony with the material standard of living we are also raising the cultural because we seek a meaningful and beautiful existence for all in socialism. It is always a matter of developing both sides. Neither must be neglected because only the targeted promotion of all conditions of life--the material as the cultural--can ensure the all-round development of the socialist way of life. Securing a material standard of living is and remains decisive, of course. As Friedrich Engels said in 1883, the developmental law of human history consists of the simple fact that "men above all must first eat, drink, have a place to stay and clothe themselves before they can engage in politics, science, art, religion and so forth, in as much as the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and

any given economic development stage of a people at that, or of a historic period, forms the basis out of which the state institutions, the concepts of law, the art and even the religious ideas of the people concerned have developed."[7]

Securing the material conditions of life has always been the basis for human existence. Under the conditions of the worldwide class conflict between socialism and imperialism it becomes the political issue par excellence. It is the dynamics, continuity and efficiency of our economy from which the knowledge and sense of social comfort and the confidence in our future arise.

Securing and gradually raising our material standard of living affects the development and satisfaction of new cultural needs as, vice versa, the cultural standard of living likewise affects the development and satisfaction of material needs in life. That has become more and more visible above all in the fulfillment of our housing construction program. Since the eighth party congress, 1.4 million apartments have been newly built or modernized. Thereby housing conditions have improved in the last 10 years for approximately 4.25 million people. Housing and residential areas are gaining greater importance for our intellectual-cultural life. Every new apartment generates new opportunities for the development and satisfaction of cultural needs. That is reflected, if not solely, certainly also by the fact that the purchase of books, tape recorders, art objects and so forth has noticeably risen in recent years. During the last five-year plan the book trade turnover has risen by 32 percent, while our state's art trade has more than doubled. To be sure, a higher material standard of living leads not automatically, or spontaneously, as it were, to cultural needs and habits of life that conform with the socialist way of life. Their development calls for constant conscious and systematic promotion by our party, our state organs and all social forces.

Focus on the Workers Class

Our chief cultural policy task is to improve the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for higher performance and for the formation of socialist personalities further. For that reason our party pays special attention to raising the cultural level especially of the workers class and its achievements for the development of socialist culture and art. That follows from the growing role of the workers class in the process of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. As the producing class that exercises power, it has a decisive influence, together with the other working people, on the progress of culture in the GDR.

Bookings in Culture and Club Houses According to Type

	1970	1975	1980
Total	317,348	461,805	558,479
Lectures, discussions and so forth	168,020	166,666	199,964
Art events	91,203	98,111	107,618
Exhibitions	4,234	6,171	6,692
Dances and social affairs	53,891	90,638	130,098
Other events	-	99,219	114,107

Attendants of Events in Culture and Club Houses in Terms of Subject Groups (per 1,000 persons)

	1970	1975	1980
Social sciences, politics, economics	4,259,9	4,869,0	5,136,6
Natural sciences	372,1	371,4	419,9
Art and literature	620,5	643,0	622,3
Other subjects of general education	2,658,6	2,277,6	2,581,1

That is especially reflected in the desire to work, study and live socialistically. In the struggle for the honorific, "collective of socialist work," high achievements by the working people through socialist competition combine with various activities in their intellectual-cultural life which complement and enrich each other. In many work collectives the need for ideological education, vocational training, cultured working conditions, meetings with art and artists, participating in popular culture activities, and interesting social experiences has already formed in a big way. The culture and education plans of the trade unions take care of that more and more. Holding enterprise festivals in cooperation with the given territories has been found useful. In recent years there have been more than 3,000 such festivals attended by more than 10 million annually. High points will continue to be the GDR's workers festivals, which have turned into exhibits for the creators of culture among the workers class.

An essential concern lies in further improving socialist work culture. This is a matter of lending cultural shape to working conditions, of creating the kind of atmosphere that encourages a broad spread of working class creativity. Through its firm alliance with the other working people, the GDR workers class is coming up with great achievements in socialist culture and art. That goes all the way from the dissemination of our scientific world-outlook to creating favorable conditions for developing culture and art. It embraces its own achievements in creative culture as much as its alliance with writers and creators of culture, public commissions and a masssive appropriation of works of art coming out of contemporary socialist production and from our progressive cultural heritage.

The Effects of Art

Considering that the arts occupy an indispensable and irreplaceable spot in the life of our society, the 10th party congress has further defined the role and tasks of art in socialism.

Art, as one knows, affects all of man, his ideas and feelings, his moods and passions, his social conduct and his creative imagination. "Art has the special ability, which differentiates it from science, to take hold of the whole person and enter into him even if he himself is not aware of it."[8] Our party respects and promotes art in its particular aesthetic quality and efficacy. That has often been emphasized in the resolutions, especially since the eighth party congress. And here it is mainly those works that are making an important contribution to socialist personality formation and the development of the working people's creativity which recognize and treat in an artistically accomplished fashion the processes, full of conflict, in revolutionary social development from realistic positions that are close to the workers class. Viewed that way, great ideological effects come from art, in particular from literature, which must still be more comprehensively used for our political, world-transforming tasks. Also in this respect we are in fundamental agreement with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the most recent congresses of other fraternal parties in socialist countries.

The 10th party congress has paid high tribute to the art of socialist realism concerned with picking up and responding to moving issues of our time. Authors and artists have turned their attention to the whole breadth of vital manifestations in socialism. Their special interest lies in the questions of socialist morality and ethics. These are questions about the value and dignity of man and his place in society, about freedom and responsibility and the claim to happiness and the chances for its realization under socialism. The internationalist content of our art has become more prominent. An important aspect in our works of art is given to the historic experiences of our course. Socialist art also proves itself in confronting views and attitudes that are alien to our socialist society. That calls for firm socialist positions as points of departure. We shall always turn back resolutely any attempts at spreading hostile ideologies dressed up as art and aimed against real socialism and our party policy.

The builders of socialism expect intellectual stimulation and enrichment of art, impulses for coping with the demands of our time. In dealing with art we seek intellectual, moral and philosophic gains.

Depicting the workers class is and remains the key problem in the further progress of art. The aggregate of workers' characters has undoubtedly been enriched in our art of socialist realism in recent years. That is true of movies and television as of new novels and stories, for the visual arts as well as theater. And still much remains to be done for convincingly presenting the workers class in its most important sphere of life, in the exercise of its political power and the coping with the scientific-technical revolution.

The 10th party congress supports the desire of the artists associations to conduct the discussion of new artistic achievements more from the vantage point of the principles of socialist realism. "Party-mindedness, affinity with the people and content in socialist ideas are and remain the criteria mainly deciding the value of a work of art."[9] In this regard, literary and art criticism ought to become more effective. During the realization of the Politburo decision on the tasks of literary and art criticism, the ideological-aesthetic level of many reviews has undoubtedly risen. Much more, however, it should be worked out in literary and art criticism what the value of new insights and opinions is that are derived from new works of art. And here one should be quite frank too about weaknesses or mistakes.

It cannot be ignored that along with many outstanding achievements there are also some new works of art that do not live up to the high intellectual, moral and aesthetic demands of our time. Art needs a public, and so it also needs a frank and public literary and art criticism. That presupposes two things, of course: the artists' understanding for the complicated nature of the social processes, firm, party-minded and people-oriented positions in this struggle, and society's understanding for the complicated nature of the process of artistic creation and respect for artistic talent. "Artistic talent is indeed rare, and so it is and remains a firm principle of our party's cultural policy to deal carefully with it and encourage it attentively."[10]

That holds true in particular for the training and education of the young generation of artists. At present there are circa 7,000 artists below 35 years of age

at work in the various fields of art production in the GDR. The number of students at art colleges has risen to almost 3,000. Since the eighth party congress a total of 8,200 young artists has been trained. Many of them play already a considerable part in developing their particular fields of art. It must not be overlooked, however, that there are still quite a few young artists who have difficulties acquiring productive rapport with reality and a Marxist-Leninist understanding of history. That calls for still more effective ideological work among the young artists, whose best representatives already contribute an important part of the socialist realist art in our country.

A crucial condition for the further successful development of our socialist national culture is further deepening the leading role of our party, not last by consolidating the cohesiveness and strengthening of the party organizations in the artists associations and the cultural and art institutions. It will be an important task in following the 10th party congress directions further to elevate the level of intraparty life and of the political-ideological effectiveness of those party organizations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 105.

2. Ibid., p 106.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Cf. ibid., p 107.

6. Erich Honecker, "Our Party's Cultural Policy Is Being Implemented With Success," "Unerschuetterliches Buendnis zwischen Partei und Kulturschaffenden" (Unshakable Alliance Between Party and Creators of Culture), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 58-59.

7. Friedrich Engels, "The Funeral of Karl Marx," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 335.

8. Johannes R. Becher, "The Poetic Principle," "Gesammelte Werke" (Collected Works), Vol 14, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, p 407.

9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 108.

10. Ibid, p 107.

5885
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'PROGRESSIVE' ASPECTS OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY ILLUSTRATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81 pp 593-600

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Bock, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "About the Beginning of the Bourgeois Revolution in Prussia: On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Death of Reichsfreiherr (Baron) vom und zum Stein." For various references to other items of related information see translations of East and West German articles published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Clausewitz Accepted as 'Reformer and Patriot' in German History," 77538, 9 Mar 81, No 1855, pp 10-21; "Prussian History To Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage'" and "Importance of National, Local Patriotism Explained," 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823, pp 16-34 and 35-39, respectively]

> [Text] Reichsfreiherr vom und zum Stein was the top head among those progressively oriented men who started a work of liberal reform in Prussia, against the resistance from the reactionary aristocracy, after the defeat by France and the Diktat peace of Tilsit (1807). Thereby they initiated the transition process from the feudal to the capitalist society. The historic distinction of the Prussian reformers like Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Boyen, Clausewitz and many others is that they objectively helped the bourgeois revolution of the German people to break through.

From the bourgeois revolutions in England and France came that world historic change which first transformed all of Europe, and thus also the German states, from feudalism to capitalism. Along with many other famous contemporaries it made one man stand out who, in the age of the French Revolution, attested to the insight and adaptability of some Prussian politicians while also to the determination by those nationally conscious patriots to preserve their identity. Friedrich Engels recalled him when he judged the years 1808 to 1813 to have been the start of the "bourgeois revolution" in Prussia.[1] Nor was this man unknown to Lenin who praised "some handfuls of noblemen and some small groups of bourgeois intellectuals" making history among the German people at the time of Emperor Napoleon's predatory wars.[2] This is Karl Reichsfreiherr vom und zum Stein, whose work illuminates the historic experience that patriotic movements generated within the international field of tension of revolutions are committed to political and social progress.

The French Revolution and Haute Bourgeois Results

The Third Estate which rose in France in 1789 against the ruling class, the nobility and the clergy, upset the privileges of the right honorable and reverend sirs under the banner of enlightened reason and bourgeois freedom: all ideas, forms of life and institutions were to be placed before the judgment of reason either to be justified or to be thrown onto the trash heap of history. Superstition was to give way to eternal truth, injustice to perfect justice, servitude to assured human dignity. Reason, having recognized the equality, by nature, of all men, demanded a new social order where "freedom" and "equality" were to be guaranteed as inviolable human and civic rights.

The course and essential outcome of the French Revolution is known well enough. Late feudal absolutism had to give way to the constitutional monarchy, it, in turn, to the bourgeois republic, and that republic, again, radicalized itself into the Jacobinic revolutionary-democratic dictatorship--all these merely steps in rigorously enforcing a progress which under the objective conditions of that era could only produce the capitalist social order. On the wreckage of the feudal aristocracy and the bodies of the murdered Jacobin leaders there triumphed the bourgeoisie. The revolution, called the Great Revolution, ended with the coup d'etat by the Thermidorians,* the establishing of the haute bourgeois Directorate, and the military coup of General Napoleon Bonaparte.

How much had political reality departed from the hopes and promises of the Great Revolution in the first decade of the 19th century--only 15 years after the revolution had begun! The hereditary empire of Napoleon I scratched the concept of human rights from the text of the new French Constitution. He replaced a National Assembly for the whole country by the voting machinery of one man, the self administering organs of the revolutionary masses by the prefectural system of a bureaucracy militarily organized, and the civic equality of all loyal republicans by another hereditary privilege of the imperial merit aristocracy On the day of his coronation (1804) Emperor Napoleon, the military dictator or the haute bourgeois type, had the crown, sword and scepter of Charlemagne borne ahead of him. This abolition of the republic with all that it implied induced Ludwig van Beethoven to revoke with an angry stroke of his pen the dedication to the general of the revolution Bonaparte on the score of his Eroica symphony.

The German states became objects of haute bourgeois hegemonial politics. To ensure France's supremacy on the continent, Napoleon completed the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine and abused the larger feudal princes' greed for land as an axe by which to deal the brittle entity of the old German empire its fatal blow, because those princes canceled their fealty to their Hapsburg Emperor and joined, under Napoleon's protectorate, in the Confederation of the Rhine (1806). This protector then used the confederation of states in his competition with England.[3] Liberal reforms in the new French establishments, such as the Kingdom of Westphalia, the Grand Duchies of Berg and Frankfurt, but also in the principalities preserved in South Germany, were to help make available more and higher taxes, conscript soldiers and war materiel by way of abolishing feudal privileges and enforcing bourgeois equality under law. No one else there was but Napoleon Bonaparte to whom these

*Thermidorians--adherents to the counterrevolutionary change of 9 Thermidor (27 July) 1974 in the French Revolution, named after the month of Thermidor (heat month), the 11th month of the French Revolutionary Calendar.

state administration measures, bent on despoliation, yet pioneering in their way, could be traced, which also initiated the quality-change from feudalism to capitalism in Germany. They pushed ahead the solution of the main socioeconomic contradiction of the era. The military power and occupational bureaucracy of France brought with them the Code Napoleon. It also proclaimed to the Germans the articles of liberalism which settled the social relations among individuals on the basis of capitalist private property.

But as Napoleon, the supreme representative of haute bourgeois military despotism, exploited the people's broad working masses at home or bled them to death on Europe's battlegrounds, he subjected the foreign nations to semicolonial dependency. The weapons of his armies, spoilt by victory, were coercive tools of an oppressive and conquering power. The code of legal equality cast the shadow of bourgeois class power and alien rule.

Against it arose the growing resistance of many nations bent under the destructive economic warfare, haute bourgeois trade monopoly and military alien rule of France. Napoleon's troops soon no longer fought against cheap mercenaries and dull serfs of the feudal system, propped up by financial injections from the London government. Different than before, changed enemies now rose up against them who started to appropriate the liberal results of the French Revolution by reforms and also adapted its military innovations. National independence movements rose against the regime of a country that had rated as the birthplace of "freedom" and "equality" but had now reversed the great ideas of 1789 into insanity and inhumanity.

The Prussian State Crisis

Among France's neighbors Prussia was a land where already for nearly two decades an antifeudal unrest had been fomenting among the citizens and peasants, the lower middle class and the early proletarians. But not until the military defeat against France and the imposed peace of Tilsit (1807) were Frederick's state and Prussia's feudal society thrown into an acute disintegration crisis. Now the historic question arose whether a force could be found that would use the increased misery and the latent rage of the people's masses to force the country into revolutionary change.

The bourgeoisie was the historically appointed class to enforce capitalist progress and establish the liberal state. But because in this concrete situation it lacked the economic and political maturity of a leadership class, it also lacked the ideological and organizational ability to lead the people's masses against the tottering regime. Furthermore, it had drawn but consistently negative lessons from the French Revolution. Misinterpreting and rejecting, since the contemporary experience with the Jacobinic dictatorship, any people's revolution as an "anarchy" by destructive masses, the bourgeoisie, as a propertied and exploiting class, gave up any claim to any expression of revolutionary intent.

Yet one force there was, determined to initiate the bourgeois revolution in Prussia on moderate tracks: civil servants, officers, land owners, intellectuals who, in class terms, came from the progressively minded noblemen and members of the bourgeoisie and who made up that portion of the civil service, the army and the educational system which would provide the ruling class of Prussia with "the reason it

required to rule."[4] They understood the collapse of the old Prussian monarchy as a bankruptcy of outdated ideas and institutions, recognized the bourgeoisie and the popular masses as impulses for social development, but desired to be governed by an enlightened monarchy. Most of them regarded France as a country with too radical a political revolution whose proclaimed goals had furthermore been discredited by Napoleon's empire. So they looked for their model in England and favored the example there of a social transition from feudalism to capitalism which ultimately was brought about as a compromise between the noble aristocracy and the bourgeois propertied estate. The historically unavoidable transformation in Prussia was to come about by way of a reformist government policy based on the authority of the monarch with approval from the aristocracy willing, as these reformers wished, to look for libertarian consent from the citizens and peasants.

Bourgeois historiography makes a great deal of the fact that this reformist trend was allowed to come forth with some reform ideas even before the 1806/07 war, from people like Hardenberg, Stein and Scharnhorst, but it is as a rule most reticent in reporting on the policy of Frederick William III and his reactionary cabinet councils that let any genuine reform attempt die on the vine. This way the historic truth is hidden that it was only France's force of arms which became catastrophic for Prussia and confronted it with the need for a bourgeois revolution. In the Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Westphalia, Napoleon had bourgeois reforms proclaimed. Those were thus "two spurs he pushed into the flanks of the Prussian state,"[5] forcing Prussia itself to adopt reforms and the king, to appoint suitable top government officals for handling them.

The Strategy and Policy of Stein's Reform Ministry

In the summer of 1807 the King of Prussia charged new government commissions with his temporary government administration. Their members were primarily East Prussian civil servants whose views of the world had been shaped by bourgeois experiences in practice and theory: the early maritime trade of their province with England, the liberal free trade doctrine of the Scot Adam Smith and the Koenigsberg enlightenment ideas of philosopher Immanuel Kant as well as of the national economist Christian Jakob Kraus. They proposed to their monarch a reform of property relations as a crucial measure for promoting bourgeois welfare, increasing tax revenue and, thus, surmounting the government's financial crisis. The various bills had nearly all been completed when Stein arrived at the monarch's residence in Memel, on 4 October was appointed chief state minister and, through his personality, enhanced East Prussian liberalism by another element supporting the reform movement.

Stein stemmed from a baronial family with its roots in Nassau/Lahn for half a millenium which had lost its independence due to the policy of Napoleon and the Rhine Confederation princes. Baronial and imperial patriotic freedom ideas had kept alive in this minister as a sharp thorn against absolutistic princely power as much as against Napoleonic bureaucratism--but they merged here too with modern experiences and liberal insights. Those he had gained as a student at Goettingen University, which was strongly under the influence of English Enlightenment, on study tours through Britain and, above all, as the supreme president of the Westphalian chambers dealing with the commerce and mines of those Prussian lands. Stein advocated the freedom of personality. But in contrast to the East Prussian liberals, he did not absolutely adhere to the bourgeois-individualistic free trade

doctrine, particularly because he held the conviction that legal barriers should have to be erected, on behalf of the common good, to the boundless individualism and the selfishness of the propertied and educated.

Stein wanted to preserve the three estates of nobility, citizens and peasants as the principal pillars of a new order freed from feudal privileges. By means of sensibly reconstituting those electoral bodies that even back in the Middle Ages had represented the estates of a country vis-a-vis the princes, but also by means of reconstructing the urban and rural communal representations, free proprietors now were to learn to organize and administer their circumstances of public life under their own joint responsibility. Estate parliaments and self-administration organs, which would in part confine or complement, if not render superfluous, the activity of the government bureaucracy, were to establish the "harmony between the spirit of the nation, its views and needs and those of the government authorities." Stein's Nassau Memorandum (1807), where these ideas are set down, outlines a reform program meant to introduce the transition from feudal absolutism to a bourgeois constitutional state through a graded arrangement of representative corporate bodies: from bottom to top there were to emerge the free communities, the kreis assemblies, the provincial assemblies all the way up to the imperial estates for all of Prussia, and the final, still unclear, goal was the rebirth of a German empire.

Right after assuming office, Stein had to decide on the contradictory property reform bills. On 9 October 1807 there was issued for all of Prussia the "edict concerning an eased ownership and free use of landed property and the personal circumstances of the rural population." This "October Edict" proclaimed the "free disposition of goods" by releasing landed property from all feudal restraints on sale and purchase, allowing citizens and farmers to acquire estates but also the aristocrats to enlarge their estates or to move to town to engage in some bourgeois occupation. At the same time the institution of serfdom was abolished as of 11 November 1810. "After the Martini Day of 1810 there are none but free people," the significant statement says which was meant to mobilize the peasant masses for their fatherland's life-and-death issues.

In proclaiming the free mobility of landed property, the October Edict initiated the lengthy process of a social quality change which also in Prussia led from feudal to capitalist property relations. But in contrast to the French Revolution, which had expropriated the feudal lords, discounted indemnities for them and distributed the land, in lots, to free peasants, the reform edict established no revolutionary, democratic land reform. The land remained the property of landed proprietors, and the peasant, though "free" as a person in the formal sense of the law, who was settled and cultivated the land of the landed proprietors, had to continue his old statute-labor and dues for those proprietors for making use of the land. Furthermore the landlords retained their privileges of patrimonial jurisdiction and local police power because they rated as part and parcel of estate ownership. The land reform--the key issue of the bourgeois revolution--thus was introduced in Prussia by a legislation which did not destroy the economic and political power of the aristocracy.[6]

This outcome characterizes the opportunities but also the limits in the work of the reformers under the concrete conditions of 1807. Stein himself advocated economically strong small-scale farms by his estate-oriented reform ideas, and thus

a certain measure of peasant protection, especially as he had wanted to turn precisely these peasants through the land reform into tax payers for the state, corporate representatives of the planned representational organs, and patriots of the fatherland. But he had to yield to the liberal doctrine of his associates who, following their English model, sought a rationally operated agriculture based on estate ownership. All the reformers together were kept in check by the resistance of the reactionary landed aristocracy. It agitated especially against Stein as someone who through improved reforms intended to abolish the still existing dependency of the peasants, the tax rights of the nobles, patrimonial jurisdiction and the police power of the estate owners. From the October Edict to Hardenberg's Regulatory Law (1811), which justified the peasants' acquiring land, the reformers struggled against the tough resistance of the aristocracy in all Prussian provinces. It could not prevent the capitalist development of agriculture, to be sure, but forced it into a Procrustean bed, which Lenin termed the Prussian way,[7] the undemocratic mode of land reform.

By two other reforms Stein sought to realize his ideas more successfully. A new mode of organization of the civil service was to do away with the provincial fragmentation by centralization and subject specialization. So he set up, as the king's supreme organ, a government which--following the model of French constitutionalism--was composed of department ministers for interior, finance, justice, foreign affairs and war. The territory of the state was subdivided into provinces, and they in turn into government districts and counties, with their administrative organs structured accordingly. This reorganization of the state administration was ratified on 24 November 1808 by royal decree. Being a declared opponent to bureaucratism and the omnipotence of the state, Stein hoped to be able to supplement the administrative setup by populist counterweights. The civil service on all levels was to be complemented by corporate assemblies and communal self-administrations.

Only in the towns could this principle be enforced. Thus far the towns, the major tax sources, had been under the administration of the feudal state--the tax council and the garrison commander exercising their authority over the citicenry. But local self-government was introduced by the "Decree for All Towns of the Prussian Monarchy" of 19 November 1808. On the principle that a free community must be the basic form of political freedom in the state, municipalities were granted autonomy in matters of budget and taxation, welfare, church, school and health affairs. These legal requirements gave rise to a wealth of antifeudal innovations, such as the voting right for forming municipal assemblies and city administrations. The municipal order took over elements of the French municipal constitution--which therefore became Stein's most prominent borrowing from the French Revolution. In granting Prussia's bourgeois classes a communal policy under their own responsibility, it subsequently strengthened patriotic consciousness considerably.

Military affairs constituted a fourth field of reform. After the peace treaty the king charged a reorganization commission with the task to rebuild the smashed army. Its chairman became Maj Gen Gerhard Johann David von Scharnhorst, who had deduced the need for an army reform from the victories of the French Revolution and its heir Napoleon. Its central task was to place the people under arms on the basis of general conscription. That meant no less than a complete transformation of military affairs from Frederick's feudal army of bought mercenaries and drafted peasants into

an army of free bourgeois soldiers with all the innovations in army organization, war strategy and combat tactics. In the struggle for this conception which likewise had to be fought for against the obstruction by the reactionary nobility, Scharnhorst was joined by the equal-minded officers Neidhardt von Gneisenau, Hermann von Boyen, Karl von Grolman and Carl von Clausewitz. As the chief minister of state Stein took part in the deliberations and decisions of the military commission.

Although the king and the nobility opposed the introduction of general conscription, they had to approve the abolition of recruiting mercenaries, whereby the principle won that only Prussian citizens should henceforth be allowed to serve in the army. That created an innovation which, together with the other reforms, blew up Frederick's military system. For the October Edict implied two other consequences in military policy: first, the Prussian soldier, no longer either serf or mercenary, had to be considered a legally free person--which caused the abolition of the dishonorable practice of running the gauntlet and other physical penalties. Secondly, with the nobility's losing its privilege over landed estates, it in principle also lost the privilege to occupy all the officers ranks—an educated citizen now had to be legally admitted to officers careers. These innovations were introduced on the 3rd and 6th of August 1808 by royal cabinet orders.

The army reformers who took over the organization and combat methods of the Napoleonic army, saw in the French Emperor the main actor of a military despotism forcing the European nations under his tutelage and with it, driving them into a permanent war against England. Thus, by the side of Stein, they pursued the goal to regain the independence of Prussia and of all other German lands by means of the reforms. Theodor von Schoen, Stein's associate, documented these intentions as follows: "We were absolutely unanimous about having to shake off the French yoke and gaining independence and about our state having to abandon its rotted institutions and make adequate arrangements for progress and reviving the nation." Against Napoleon's conception of bourgeois progress and national suppression it was precisely here in Prussia where the counter-conception arose of bourgeois progress plus national independence.

Stein's Ouster and Historic Legacy

In the spring of 1808 the people's uprising took place in Spain, and now the national wars of independence began which ultimately brought about the ominous defeat in Russia (1812) and the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig (1813) through which Napoleon's hegemonial system collapsed. Spain was the signal that encouraged the Prussian reform party to get set for an uprising in all of northern Germany. Stein, Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in August that year harassed their monarch to adopt the policy of national liberation.

The most capable of them now turned out to be Gneisenau, who formulated a national policy alternative in opposition to Napoleon's Rhine Confederation policy under alien rule. In a magnificent memorandum to the king he fought for a conception which sought the formation of a German bourgeois national state: "It is proper and nationally prudent at one to give the peoples a fatherland if they are powerfully to defend a fatherland." That was the basic patriotic idea that grasped the connection between the social and the national question. By means of the bourgeois

reforms that had started, a "free constitution," a "more simply structured administration," a libertarian municipal setup and a new army organization were to come into force in Prussia, which also would make it desirable for other Germans to fight for the "liberation of their common fatherland" under Prussia's crown. This progressive objective was in line with an unequivocal rejection of any war of conquest. The national liberation struggle against Napoleon of France was to produce an international peace in which the nations could "prosper through their interdependence" and future wars be avoided.

Gneisenau's conception counted on a national uprising by vast popular masses under arms. Led by a nationally conscious and reform-minded prince, even revolutionary means were to be used ranging from a democratic solution of the land problem via the proclamation of a libertarian national constitution all the way to the overthrow of the prevailing Rhine Confederation dynasties. Ideas were effective here that stemmed from the experience in the French revolutionary period. They conformed with the objective tendency of the processes occurring in historic eras and intensified the confrontation between the class forces in Prussia. All reactionary nobility factions spotted in the upsurge of the patriotic movement the clear danger that the antifeudal measures of the reform party would become radical in case of a people's war of liberation. They concentrated their intrigues on the person of the chief minister of state and brought about events through which Stein's reform ministry was brought down: a bunch of letters, uncoded, ... in which Stein praised the Spanish people's struggle as a model for Germany and even gave details about preparations for the revolt in the Rhine Confederation states, was denounced to the French. They arrested the courier, found the compromising letters and sent them to Napoleon at once.

If King Frederick William III had been a monarch to have encouraged Stein and his reform circle as energetic excutors of his own state policy convictions as such, the Emperor's rage should not have intimidated him. Actually, however, he had only tolerated the reformers as a force he feared as much as he needed it so they would drag the state and the Hohenzollern dynasty out of the acute crisis. But now the contradiction split open between the king's interests, solely aimed at preserving his dynasty, and the bourgeois national consciousness of the reformers who wanted the liberation of the German people. Frederick William yielded to the demands from Napoleon and the reactionary in the Prussian nobility, had Stein submit his resignation and dismissed him from his office on 24 November 1808. Napoleon, declaring the reformer a personal enemy of France and of the Rhine Confederation, ordered him arrested. But Stein escaped into Austrian emigration. In 1812 he accepted an invitation from the headquarters of the Russian tsar where he, heading a committee for German affairs, also made a point of the pioneering deeds of Russo-German comradeship-in-arms in the struggle against Napoleon: the formation of the Russo-German legion, the signing of the famous Tauroggen Convention, the insurrectionist arming of the popular masses in East Prussia, and the signing of the Prussian-Russian treaty on the 1813 war of national liberation.

Stein's ouster and the isolation of many of his associates interrupted a reform project with goals far transcending the innovations already made. It was then up to Hardenberg and Scharnhorst to carry on the revolutionary change begun, a few years later. When Friedrich Engels later, looking at the totality of these reforms, spoke of a start of the "bourgeois revolution" in Prussia, he designated

the historic nerve center where the revolutionary development of capitalism ended in the lap of feudalism but the revolutionary qualitative change in Prussia's state and society began. The subsequent transition process that took circa six decades from the feudal to the capitalist order produced a bourgeois revolution starting with the liberal reforms (1807/13), the decisive battle of the epochal class struggles with the bourgeois-democratic national revolution (1848/49) and found its undemocratic conclusion with the "revolution from the top" (1866/71). The end cannot obscure the achievement of the beginning. Stein, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau and many other Prussian reformers were pioneers who objectively helped the bourgeois-democratic revolution of the German people to break through. Bismarck, on the other hand, fought for a "counterrevolutionary progress strategy" that was meant deliberately to prevent a recurring and, in that case, triumphant revolution of the popular masses. That is a differentiation that may be of service in paying tribute to the progressive heritage that entered into German history through the work of the Prussian reformers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "Supplementary Preliminary Remarks of 1870 About the 'Peasant War in Germany," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 513.

2. V. I. Lenin, "The Main Task of Our Days," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 149.

3. The dialectics of Napoleonic warfare and the system of the continental blockade cannot be dealt with here in detail. Cf. Helmut Bock, "Reform and Revolution--Placing the Prussian Reform Ministry of Stein in the Center Between Progress and Reaction," MILITAERGESCHICHTE, No 5, 1980, pp 600-601.

4. Franz Mehring, "Prussia Restored," "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Writings), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 264.

5. Franz Mehring, "1807 to 1812--From Tilsit to Tauroggen," Ibid., p 176.

6. As the complicated process of Prussian farm legislation cannot be presented, we again refer to the text and literature references in Helmut Bock, op. cit., pp 605 ff.

7. V. I. Lenin, "The Agrarian Program of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907," "Werke," Vol 13, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 236.

5885
CSO: 2300/284

NEW INTERDISCIPLINARY SERIES REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81
pp 616-617

["Scientific Communism--Theory and Practice"--Review by Dr Rolf Reissig, deputy director, Institute for Scientific Communism, SED Academy of Social Sciences, of first four issues (titles follow) of new series published since 1980 by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, at request of Council for Scientific Communism: "Die entwickelte sozialistische Gesellschaft--Ergebnis und Aufgabe des Kampfes der Arbeiterklasse" (The Developed Socialist Society--Result and Mission of the Struggle of the Workers Class); "Die Lebensfrage der Menschheit" (Humanity's Vital Question); "Der Internationalismus der Arbeiterklasse" (The Internationalism of the Workers Class); and "Wissenschaftlich-technischer, oekonomischer und sozialer Fortschritt im Sozialismus" (Scientific-Technical, Economic and Social Progress in Socialism)]

[Text] "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus" is the title of a new series published since 1980 by the Dietz publishing house in Berlin. At the request of the Council for Scientific Communism it is being published by a collective made up of scientists of the SED Academy of Social Sciences, Karl Marx University Leipzig, Humboldt University Berlin and Technical University Dresden. Four issues have thus far come out. In preparation are: "Zum Gegenstand und zur Methodologie des wissenschaftlichen Kommunismus" (On the Subject Matter and Methodology of Scientific Communism) and "Die Arbeiterklasse in der Welt von heute" (The Workers Class in the World of Today).

The series is interdisciplinary in design--which conforms to its purpose. Even in the issues thus far, economists, philosophers and historians joined authors in the scientific communism field. Continuing the cooperation with representatives of scientific communism in the Soviet Union, noted Soviet authors will also be published in this series. The editors address a wide circle of readers, propagandists, circle leaders, functionaries, teachers of basic Marxist-Leninist courses and, above all, the rapidly grown number lately of teachers and students in the field of scientific communism and the history and civics teachers. In treating particular, relatively self-contained subjects, on the basis of the college textbook "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus," which is a systematic work that includes the main fields in this discipline, the series aims to improve the level of theoretical research and the uniformity and efficacy of teaching. It wishes to contribute to the further development of research in scientific communism and to its further political, theoretical and methodological delineation as a component of Marxism-Leninism. More

deeply penetrating the real processes in social development, picking up newly ripened issues, extending the empirical base, more accurate knowledge and systematic absorption of the results of the science disciplines that are closely aligned with scientific communism, and a target-directed search for advances in knowledge--these are the decisive interconnecting links for scientific communism to meet its higher requirements.

The basic substantive requirement is derived from the 10th SED Congress documents, the central research plan for the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the GDR, 1981-1985, and the research plan of the Council for Scientific Communism that is based on it. In its long-term conception and proposed topics up to 1985, publications on the basic theoretical and practical questions in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR under the changed conditions of the 1980's have first priority.

In preparation are studies on socialism as the real humanism in our era; the further development of the political organization of socialism; the political leadership and management of social processes in the process of the shaping of the developed socialist society; the relationship between individual and society in socialism; and the relations between social conditions and the development of the socialist way of life. We are looking for answers to questions like these: Which are the crucial inevitabilities and impulses for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and how can they be made still more effective under party leadership? Wherein lies the interaction between the internal development of socialism and the international class conflict in the 1980's? What tasks and consequences result for the further development and perfecting of socialist democracy? Which long-range effects does intensively expanded reproduction have on shaping the working people's condition of living and way of life?

Another major subject area lies in the contributions to research into the inevitabilities of the revolutionary world process and its chief currents under the changed conditions of the international class conflict, and into the struggle for consolidating the unity and cohesiveness of the communist world movement and its practical and theoretical effect in the struggle against imperialism and for peace, democracy and social progress. Much attention is warranted here to the creative application and further extension of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and an effective and convincing confrontation with misrepresentations and distortions in this field. One project, scheduled for 1982, for instance, will deal with how and by which means real socialism affects the further change of the international power ratio, and what model effects are derived from it today for the struggle by the broad popular masses in the nonsocialist world. Outstanding importance attaches to concretely working out the various consequences resulting from the fact that the struggle for peace and disarmament has become the cardinal issue of the international class struggle and the crucial condition for the progress of humanity.

A publication scheduled for 1984 will deal with the basic issues in the development of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory today. This involves the following important practical and theoretical considerations which have not yet been dealt with much in the literature of our republic: What is the nature of the process that forms the sociopolitical prerequisites for anti-imperialist and socialist transformations in the nonsocialist world, and which consequences result from the

altered objective and subjective conditions for our struggle for the communists' struggling for unity of action in the workers class and broad democratic alliances? This also involves questions about the communists' strategy and tactics, the practical-political and theoretical relation between the revolutionary workers movement and the state and power issue, and about democracy and power concepts among the non-communist leftist and democratic forces in imperialism. That monograph will also pay attention to the connection between democratic reforms, the working people's struggle for antimonopoly transformations and the socialist revolution. Another publication is going to deal with the specific place of the national and social liberation movements within the revolutionary world process in the 1980's and the formation of revolutionary vanguard parties.

Deeper penetration of social practice and improving the theoretical level, quality and social efficacy of research, further elaborating our world-outlook of dialectical materialism and presenting it in its unity of scientific method and revolutionary spirit--these criteria, as set by the 10th party congress, are demands of the highest political rank for all involved in the series. Orienting all our further work on them is a decisive basis for helping clarify the inevitabilities on which our social development processes are based, militantly contending for Marxism-Leninism against any slanderous attacks from bourgeois, revisionist and ultra-leftist ideologues, and disseminating our tried and tested party policy in massive effectiveness and relevantly.

5885
CSO: 2300/284

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 6, Jun 81 signed to press 13 May 81 'Resumes' addendum

Resolutely and With Firm Steps

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banascheak, department chief, SED Central Committee; chief editor, EINHEIT; pp 515-524]

> [Text] Tribute is paid, from the vantage points of the historic place this party congress occupies in the socialist revolution and of the political creativity of the Marxist-Leninist party, to the resolve by the 10th SED Congress to continue our general line, confirmed by life, even under more complicated conditions. Economic strategy as a scientific-theoretical achievement in creatively perfecting the socialist planned economy and the demands resulting from it for concretely organizing a great performance improvement and our mass-bound ideological work.

Combines in Struggle for Implementation of 10th SED Congress' Economic Strategy

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs; pp 531-542. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Mittag Urges Combines to Economize, Raise Production," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Through the economic strategy issued at the 10th party congress, our party has a cohesive conception that conforms to the criteria of the 1980's. Its purposeful implementation in industry and construction, transportation and communication demands of the combines that they fully exercise their economic responsibility. Which experiences have the progressive combines gained and how can they be used for tapping great performance reserves? Growing importance to the struggle for higher effectiveness in the future attaches to a still better theoretical and practical control of reproduction theory.

Competition Aimed at Highest Efficiency

[Summary of article by Horst Heintze, social scientist, economist, member, SED Central Committee; Presidium member and National Executive Committee secretary in Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); pp 548-553]

> [Text] New deeds of labor, far transcending all previous targets, are the working people's assured response to the 10th party congress resolutions. Under the new competition slogan they are struggling for performance improvements at new dimensions. Wherein is the variety of these initiatives found, and how are they aimed at continued intensification? How does one manage to combine the struggle for high achievements with the perfecting of working and living conditions? Initiative enterprises are presented with respect to this, and from what they have done inferences are drawn for conducting our competition.

Microelectronics in Our National Economy

[Summary of article by Gerhard Tautenhahn, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 554-562. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Economic Effects of Microelectronics Development Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Based on a strategic conception by our party leadership, the GDR today has achieved efficient capacities in the field of microelectronics and, thus, good starting positions for further accelerating its development and application and reaching international top standards in selected areas. Which are the most important tasks in years ahead for employing microelectronics in their full breadth--while also, and particularly, rigorously developing and using robot technology--and for achieving through a purposeful management of the innovator processes an optimum economic benefit and social effects?

Topical Lessons From 22 June 1941

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research; vice president, GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation; pp 563-569]

> [Text] Proceeding from the war aims by German imperialism against the Soviet Union, from the world historic victory over Hitler fascism, and from the fact that our people--in picking up the antifascist traditions in German history--has learned the lessons of 22 June 1941, the article shows that the importance and topical relevance of the lessons of that day are increasing with respect to the struggle against

war preparations and for peace and security in view of the confrontation course by the most aggressive forces of imperialism which are striving for military superiority and are seeking to undermine the influence of the peace offensive by the Soviet Union and its allies.

On the Ideological Work After the 10th Party Congress

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Gaebler, member, SED Central Committee; chief, Propaganda Department, SED CC; pp 570-577]

[Text] With the SED Central Committee report to the 10th party congress we possess the scientific concept for coping with the challenges of the 1980's, for the sake of implementing our general line, which is aimed at the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace. The most important concern of our ideological work is to familiarize the communists, the working class and all the people with the great theoretical-ideological wealth of ideas of the 10th party congress and to mobilize them toward strengthening socialism, mainly through actively and consciously coping with our economic performance improvements, and for the struggle against imperialism and the dangers emanating from it.

Bulgarian Communists Plot Course for 1980's

[Summary of article by Dieter Grehl, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 601-607]

[Text] Despite more complicated international conditions, the last decade became a fuitful developmental phase in the history of socialist Bulgaria. Proceeding from such a positive balance-sheet, the 12th BCP Congress, in the sense of the policy of Dimitur Blagoev's and Giorgi Dimitrov's party, which aims at the well-being of the people and at peace, has issued the tasks for the continued construction of the developed socialist society in Bulgaria for the 1980's.

World of Capitalism in Crisis

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Hoehme, economist, deputy director, main department, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 608-615]

[Text] After the 1974/75 crisis, which marked a caesura in the development of the capitalist world economy and, due to being intertwined with manifestations of the general crisis effective long range, reversed itself but slowly, the imperialist countries have once again landed in another cyclical crisis, which is analyzed in the present contribution. Its social effects will be the most serious since the 1930's. The more long range contradictions and disproportions coming with it will harm capitalist economic development far beyond the effects of a cyclical crisis phase.

5885
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DIRECTOR OF ACADEMY INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY INTERVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Aug 81 p 4

[Interview with Kalman Kulcsar, director of the MTA (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Institute of Sociology, by Denes Kovacs: "The Scientific Mirror of Society"]

> [Text] Sociology is among the newer social science disciplines. The activity of the Academy's Institute of Sociology has become consolidated after several years of searching for the right path--as a result of debates, often sharp ones, related to sociology--, and has become the center of domestic sociological research which has trained a whole line of young sociologists. Its research as well as its researchers have earned international reputation. It not only participates in internationally coordinated programs but also directs some of these. We talked with Kalman Kulcsar, the Academy's corresponding member and the Institute's director, about the results and problems of their work in the recent years, and about the tasks ahead.

[Question] Evaluation has recently been completed in the Institute. What is your opinion about the successes and shortcomings of the work done in the last 5 years?

[Answer] Our prime efforts in the last plan period were aimed at concentrating our research work on truly the most important tasks, and helping to satisfy the domestic social needs by the questions we pose, as well as by the results of our studies. I can say in general terms that the Institute's work satisfies these requirements at least for the most part, and that our researchers have achieved many results some of which are also suitable for practical application, by discovering quite a few phenomena in our society, not to mention the internationally recognized theoretical and methodological results of our research. Our studies have significantly contributed to being able to form a picture about the fundamental processes of Hungarian society, about the most important interrelationships of the class- and strata phenomena, about the nature and roots of some of the social problems, and about the conditions, limitations and opportunities of consciously shaping our society. This is so even if we ourselves are most familiar with the difficulties and shortcomings of our research work.

Our activity is closely connected to some of the main directions of long range research plans, such as the efforts aimed at laying the foundations for improving the government, researching the questions of the socialist enterprises, evaluating the

economic and social demands related to the public education system, research projects related to the economic policy, and the studies examining the various social conditions and consequences of scientific and technological development. Medium-range research projects such as, for example, examining the class- and stratum structure of today's Hungarian society, and the changes in the socialist way of life, also tied down significant portions of the Institute's resources; these projects were initiated by the party's appropriate organs.

[Question] These seven topics you listed--it seems--contradict the requirement of concentration in the case of an institute in which fewer than 40 sceintific researchers are working.

[Answer] Obviously, not only our institute is working on the topics mentioned, but a whole series of research facilities and researchers in close cooperation with each other and this also satisfies the requirement of being interdisciplinary. We--as the basic institution--have special roles in two topics: in researching the social interrelationships of technological progress, and in researching lifestyles. This means that in these two areas the institute organizes and coordinates the investigations conducted at various locations. However, it is one of the shortcomings of topic specialization that these fields of research include very broad areas, and thus each institute developed the areas of concentration it deems most important. Nowdays, when the interest in sociology includes that the cooperation of sociologists is requested more and more in the most diverse research topics--and not only in ones dealing with the social sciences--, it is harder and harder for our institute to concentrate the research projects. But there are not enough trained sociologists in the country for these requirements, and therefore this "pressure" can also be felt in the institute's work. But in spite of all this I must say that in comparison with earlier years we have made progress in specialization, thanks in part to the fact that we have greatly decreased the number of investigations the institute may initiate, and on the other hand we have attempted to organize our research projects in such a way that our findings could be utilized in several areas of research.

[Question] The improper utilization of social science findings and thus also of sociological research, is a constantly recurring problem in our scientific life. How do you see the difficulties existing in this area?

[Answer] The results produced by our institute take shape mostly in research reports, and in various publications and studies; that is, their use itself depends very little on us. But there is also a good example for direct use: in making preparations for the party's 12th congress, the results of our research on lifestyle were used in the congressional documents. But the conclusions drawn from facts we discovered can be recognized also in some important socio-political decisions: one such case is, for example, is the consolidation of the industrial branch ministries, and the concepts of long range planning.

However, the way the results are received can be disturbed by several circumstances. I will mention just two of these: in practical applications people often define the needs too generally, and the concretization by the institute, and later the results thus obtained may be directed at something else. Or: acceptance of the results is especially difficult if the research findings draw attention to negative social phenomena, or if they confront deeply rooted views which reality has already passed by. In any case, we also consider it a recognition of our work that recently the

Council of Ministers assigned us the job of working out the overall--unified--social policy concept.

[Question] Among the institute's areas of research listed earlier, one of the areas generating the most interest is the study of the lifestyles and the basic characteristics in socialist Hungary. What are the most important conclusions defined on the basis of this research?

[Answer] I must note here also that under the direction of our institute, in addition to our workers, several other institutes of the academy and other institutes, and many other researchers also participated in this study. The research work started out with two goals: on the one hand we wanted to provide a comprehensive picture of the way of life in today's Hungarian society, and on the other hand [we wanted to provide a comprehensive picture] about the place and role of those factors which influence and determine how style develops. We summarized the results obtained in both areas in a final report, and by using and analyzing the various data sources, new data collections and other documents we were finally able to show how Hungarian society lived in the second half of the 1970's. The research exposed, and the report did not circumvent the contradictions experienced in our society today, such as, for example, the one which exists between the ideal lifestyle which has developed and the demands that have arisen on the basis of it, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the opportunities corresponding to the level of development of the production forces. One aspect of this is that for significant groups in our society, it is not yet possible at the present time to fulfill the demands generated by the ideal lifestyle which corresponds to the accepted system of social values with the earnings paid for work done within the regular working hours and under regular employment circumstances. The contradictions are smaller in the various component areas of lifestyles, for example, in food consumption, and in the supply of durable consumer goods; however, the difficulties in obtaining separate apartments, or the deficient supply of health care hinder the consolidation and dissemination of certain characteristics of socialist life. The research has also pointed out that the shortcomings which exist in some areas also have an effect on the development of lifestyle as a whole, and this unfavorably influences the public sentiment, and causes some groups in society to behave in a manner contrary to the socialist standards.

[Question] How successful will we be in applying what we have learned from the experience of recent years to research plans begun this year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. How will our tasks change in the coming years?

[Answer] The character of our activity and the main areas of our research work will not change significantly in the future. But we will exert greater efforts to further concentrate our work and to make better use of our modest resources. In accordance with this we placed the research of such topics on our agenda for the 1981-1985 plan period based on previous research and which are included in the long range national research plans, and also such topics where the political and national government considers research an urgent and timely task. In this manner we will continue to participate in the comprehensive scientific study of improving public administration, or more precisely: within this we will conduct mainly organizational studies--the main goal of which is to research the interrelationships and reasons for the various bureaucratic phenomena--, and we will also study the effectiveness of statutory provisions.

We will continue our research into lifestyle, with particular attention to the effects of the economic changes which took place in the second half of the 1970's had on the way of life. For the most part, the selected topics have special significance in the development of lifestyle as a whole. For example, the study of health care services, or the research into lifestyles of those disadvantaged in more than one respect; we will also continue to deal with the effect housing areas have on lifestyle. Especially important is the investigation program I mentioned before, with the goal of developing a comprehensive socio-political concept and to clarify the principles related to this, as well as working out the organizational conditions. In addition to this, the new research assignment for which we laid the foundations in several respects in recent years is very important because it serves to examine the adaptive and innovative capabilities of our society and to discover the social factors which affect the community. This research work views the factors which appear on the levels of the individual consciousness, the organization and the aegis, the "macrostructure" of society, paying particular attention to their interrelationships.

In summary: I have emphasized several times that new requirements and conditions are appearing in the development of our society, factors which cannot be ignored and which must be taken into consideration in making decisions. We try to thoroughly familiarize ourselves with them, and we must consider that in a given case our analyses may question some other scientific findings or also obsolete ideological viewpoints. Only in this way can we achieve those scientific findings which can expose the phenomena of changes in our society's basic processes. Thus with the methods and tools of sociology we can more effectively promote scientifically founded concrete social, political and economic decisions.

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DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF REPORT OF WRITERS UNION COUNCIL PUBLISHED

Party Press Version

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Jul 81 p 2

[Abridged text of the Report of the Writers Union Council]

[Text] Appreciating right from the very beginning that the writers of the country benefit from the general climate of democratization of our society, in the report it stressed that the decisive political event that marked the period being analyzed, May 1977 to the present, and that will serve as the sign for the years to come, was the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. Of great significance for the lives of all our people, the report said, the congress also shaped the future of our culture, and implicitly of literature. Through the decisive contribution of comrade secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, the congress also opened for the people working in culture and art a new stage in the process of creative work and in defining their role in the life of the nation. Together with all the people, the writers have firmly expressed their adherence to the Romanian Communist Party's Program for the revolutionary transformation of our society.

The socialist concept of humanism stands at the basis of all political, social and cultural actions. As a well-defined idea it also acquired the idea of socialist democracy as an expression of participation and involvement in the history of all the people. The path from idea to practice is, naturally, a path of contradictions and permanent clashes between the old and new, and is the path of creating a better, wiser, more sincere man devoted to fellow man. This is the path endorsed by the party's program.

There is no doubt that the statements in the conference's Theses and in the Program for the Development of Literature, as pointed out in the report, are also the very principles that have guided us and will guide from now on in our activities. From their point of view, we will review certain characteristic aspects of Romanian literature today.

Numerous contemporary writings have deeply penetrated public awareness. Many of their writers can today be proud of having produced a well-done work that has a distinct nature and forms the object of a variety of critical analyses, that

are themselves sought out and appreciated. A strong group of talented young people have come to strengthen the ranks of the writers. A good portion of the books written in past years is studied in schools and universities and instills in the young people respect for work, the truth and right, for culture, socialist patriotism and the high ideals of communism.

The report stressed that this fact is the result of the new, favorable climate created by the literary works of the party, especially after the Ninth Congress, releasing so much spiritual energy.

Emphasizing that truly up-to-date literature reveals still insufficiently explored aspects of reality, illuminates new situations in social and individual existence and points out the problems that are truly interesting to the people, the report continued that the effective current nature of our writings is verified precisely through their ability to be of precious assistance to the party in this direction. One cannot reveal the contradictions of life and one cannot usefully militate through literature, that is, through art, for their resolution without a high and generous ideal. The revolutionary spirit of literature is directly tied to the committment for the cause of the revolution and for the carrying out of communism, of the ages-long hopes of humanity for a better and more just world and of a militant artistic attitude.

Prose, the report pointed out, recorded important successes in past years, and is on a full and solid upswing. Clear proof can be seen in our historical prose, that is prose conceived and conducted on historical themes and the great events of the social and national liberation struggle. There is hardly an unimportant stage of this tragic and heroic accomplishment that has not found its way in past years into artistic versions. In our books, stories, novels and plays, the current nature of the themes and immediate structure and the efforts of the majority building socialist values are represented more and more substantially and significantly on the thematic, conceptual and artistic level.

As in other types of works, the report noted, in poetry there have been new elements, significant changes, deeper and richer activities during the last 4 to 5 years. At the end of this decade, we assisted in the appearance of certain poetic works of great significance written both by certain authors with a broad activity and by others with a mature background in poetry. A fact that should be remembered is also the appearance and molding of a new promotion of poets. Pausing upon the themes and means of expression in poetry, the report noted at the same time that love for the country is a noble and profound sentiment in poetry as well as in life, serving as an endless and rich source of inspiration for poets. Valuable patriotic poetry must be promoted with all our energies.

In the context of developing all of literature, the report continued to say, dramaturgy recorded a powerful problematical extension and an increase in modern expression. Man's thoughts are today presented in new plays with a remarkable

philosophical sense. Historical drama has had new achievements stimulated by the happy circumstances in the life of the nation, achievements which illuminate ordinary events and people from the perspective of the present and the sentiments of the present. In recent years, there has been an assertion of the category of political theater. There has been a diversification of dramaturgical forms, from chamber pieces to a social fresco, from ironic comedies to political pamphlets, from monodramas to ontological tragedies. Through the contributions of the writers from all the generations, of all nationalities and from all over the country and through the public's massive following and the new interest of the publishing houses, art institutions and specialized critics, we can state that our national dramaturgy is living a remarkable creative moment.

The report then referred to the literature for children and young people, which has in recent years experienced a clear increase in quality and its varieties in the direction of thematic areas and the most diverse age groups. Currently, a literary area is being formed worthy not only of the interest of the over five million young readers, but also of those of a specialized literary opinion. The interest for scientific research and the effect of this research have massively influenced the writings aimed at the younger generations.

Then referring to the translations of literature by other peoples, the report mentioned that the number of special successes in the field of translation regarding poetry, prose and drama is extremely great. Recently, fundamental critical and essay works have come to complete this imposing review, contributing to the process of raising the cultural level of the Romanian reader and giving him the opportunity to acquire high cultural values, a phenomenon characteristic of the complex formative process of socialist humanism. In the spirit of our party's policy, the translations tend to involve the entire map of world culture. We are interested in the cultures from every continent and we can state with satisfaction that we have brought into our culture the works of numerous worthy authors from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In discussing the value criterion that must stand in the center of our writers' attention, the report said that through several imposing contemporary works our literature has attained an esthetically high level and everything that will be done from now on will naturally take these new high points into consideration. Unfortunately, there is still publication of poor literature, stories of irrelevant facts, commonplace findings in prose or compositions lacking emotion in poetry.

The free exercise of criticism, the report pointed out, and the confrontation of different evaluations permit readers to form their own opinions that are as close to the truth as possible and ease the triumph of literature. The important idea here is the responsibility in criticizing writings without any concessions to the interests that oppose the progress of our literary, political and social affairs. Our criticism must be, to a greater degree, present in the ideological-esthetic disputes of the contemporary world, promptly and argumentatively taking

positions against those concepts that tend to separate art from humanist ideals and to propagate social obscurantism and indifferentism. Through this combative statement on the field of the great confrontations of ideas, our criticism has the opportunity to contribute to the spread of the humanist message in Romanian culture beyond our borders.

During these years, there has also been an imposing development of the historiography and literary theory sectors. It is necessary to recognize the growth in the professional scientific competence in this field. Beginning with the theories of materialist historical esthetics and with the recommendations of the party documents regarding the criteria for the critical use of our literary legacy and amply and usefully combining the traditional methodologies with the modern ones, literary historiography has succeeded in creating valuable works that have resolved questions of great national scientific interest in a relatively short period of time.

The fate of the Romanian language is naturally in the hands of the writers, more than anyone else, feeling in a certain way responsible for its destiny. We writers have the duty to work, through our writings, for the development and improvement of the Romanian language, just as we have the duty of protecting it. This task was left to us by our great predecessors and moves us to create our books, promote our culture and love our country.

A distinct place in the report was held by the literature of the coinhabitating nationalities (Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Ukrainians and in Yiddish). The evolution in recent years attests to the furthering of the effort to reflect the social-political life in our country, the common homeland, where the unrestricted affirmation of values contributes to the strengthening of fraternal feelings through spiritual closeness and mutual understanding and esteem.

In reviewing the different activities of the Writers Union during the period analyzed, the report stated that one of the fields in which there was a clearer expression of the tendency towards acquiring a new quality was that of communicating with all the categories of workers, communication achieved in the most varied forms with an unprecedented scope and a substantial increase in efficiency. The source of this welcomed upswing is found in the initiative of affirming the revolutionary humanism in our socialist culture for the current stage, an initiative representative of the profoundly original thinking of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and expressed in the establishment of the National Festival of Work and Creativity "The Song of Romania."

The union council and bureau stimulated and sustained the participation of the writers in cultural affairs in factories, schools, cultural centers from the cities to the villages. Meetings with readers, under their different forms - literary clubs, symposia, discussions about their own books and conferences and discussions regarding literature and the process of literary creation - in response

to the urgings of the party leadership there were hundreds of writers taking part, totalled over 3,000 during the 1977-1981 period, involving over 9,000 writers presentations and over 500,000 lovers of literature. One especially significant form of integrating the writers into cultural activities is giving the writers union and associations the mission to provide competent and unified guidance for literary circles and clubs.

Our union's council and bureau tasked the operational group and the "Cartea romaneasca" [Romanian Book] publishing house to complete and publish anthologies containing proofs of the writers' attachment to the party's policies. Thus, in a relatively short period of time the following works appeared: "Presedintelui tarii - omagiul scriitorilor din Romania" [The President of the Country - A Tribute from the Writers in Romania], "Izvoare nesecate" [Never-ending Springs] - in which the poets pay tribute to the liberation of the country, "Perspective comuniste" [Communist Perspectives] the writers' pledge for the 12th Romanian Communist Party Congress and "The Romanian Communist Party - 60th Jubilee."

In the 4 years to which we are referring, the work of the elected organs was led in a collective and democratic spirit. There was an effort to achieve a democratic climate of high principles, collegiality and respect. As was pointed out in the Theses of the National Conference, in literary affairs disputes appeared that were generated, naturally, by different artistic views and by sometimes divergent critiques of published books and trends stemming from creative work. But, there was no useful contribution to literature made by unprincipled expressions, intolerant criticism, personal squabbles and slanderous campaigns against certain members of our group.

Numerous times and even in today's message, the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out that the writers in our country, the members of the Writers Union must unite their forces in order to produce the great literature worthy of the times in which we are living. Disagreements have no place on the literary front in socialist Romania, a front where principled relations, collegial relations of mutual respect must provide the atmosphere we need both to produce our works and to ensure a worthy place for the creators of literature to hold in our socialist society. At a time when all the Romanian people are closing ranks around the Romanian Communist Party, its leadership and the secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the writers in our country cannot but unite their forces.

According to the directives issued by the party leadership and in the spirit of substantially democratizing our literary affairs in order to discuss the problems of creative work and to reveal certain concepts and trends stemming from a clash of opinions, conferences were instituted by type of literary work. Thus, there were conferences on critiques, dramaturgy, poetry, children's literature, translations and universal literature.

An area of great significance in the activities of our union's council and bureau, the report went on to point out, is the guidance and the analysis of the activities of the literary publications and the "Cartea romaneasca" publishing house. In the union's publications, in the central and local press and on radio and television, writers were continually present through poems, prose, articles and essays which showed their full involvement in public affairs.

Pausing upon some of the problems related to the editorial process, problems discussed in meetings organized with the directors of the publishing houses, as well as in working conferences organized with the secretaries of the writers , associations in Sibiu and Bucharest, the report stressed the need to improve the system for establishing the size of the printing run and to resolve other problems related to the editing of books.

In the area of international relations, the activities of the Writers Union in foreign affairs was directly on a priority basis towards achieving certain priority objectives: broadening the writers' areas of contact with organizations, cultural institutions and persons in this field and with publications in the socialist countries and in the other countries of the world for the purpose of a more active exchange of spiritual values; propagating and distributing Romanian cultural and literary values in order to contribute to an ever larger understanding and appreciation of the achievements made in this field by socialist Romania; and, easing contacts between Romanian writers and those from abroad.

At the same time, the Writers Union carried out a sustained activity to propagate, distribute and translate Romanian literature into foreign languages. Special issues were produced of certain foreign magazines devoted to the most important problems of our contemporary literature, and volumes of Romanian poetry and prose were published in popular languages.

In the report it was pointed out that, in a material sense, all the actions of the Writers Union were supported from the incomes earned through the work of the writers and through literary activities, in the spirit of the principles of self-management and self-administration.

Under discussion in our conference was the "Program for the Development of Literature in Romania During the Next Four Years." In this program, it points out that the Writers Union, its working organs and organisms and all the writers will dedicate their energies in the future to carrying out the party's policies in the field of art and in culture in general, filling and ever more active role in resolving all the problems facing them, in stimulating the writers to deal with the great themes of creative work and in urging fruitful discussions capable of contributing to the real progress of contemporary Romanian literature. It is necessary for the Writers Union to pursue and more closely guide the

activities of the publications that they produce, permanently ensuring a climate appropriate for fruitful work and giving the necessary importance to the sector dealing with criticism and to the discussion that are carried out and their ideological orientation, objectivity abd principled integrity. The Writers Union also has significant obligations with regards to the political and professional training of young writers and the development of these writers in the spirit of socialist ethics and equality.

Through all their works, the writers understand how to contribute to the education of all the people in the spirit of humanism and patriotism and limitless love for the country in which we were born and in which we work and live. This represents a lofty duty of patriotic and revolutionary awareness for us and all writers to respond to the country's and communist party's call through an activity at the peak of the era in which we are living and through works that reflect the beauty and inner richness of these people, people involved in the uninterrupted raising of the level of material and spiritual civilization of the people. Under the sign of this responsibility and beauty, we will unite our forces in order to serve the socialist present and the communist future of Romania.

Writers Union Weekly Version

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 4 Jul 81 p 2

[Abridged text of the Report of the Writers Union Council]

[Text] Pointing out that the decisive political event marking the period that has passed since the last National Writers Conference is the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Part, the Report began by emphasizing that together with all the people the writers firmly expressed their adhesion to the Romanian Communist Party Program for the revolutionary transformation of our society.

At the last National Writers Conference, the Report pointed out, in his speech comrade secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "The party, state and people are waging a consistent and decisive struggle for the continued improvement of all the facets of economic and social life. Art and literary creative work must accurately represent this struggle of the people in order to overcome shortcomings and contribute to their elimination. Criticizing and uncovering shortcomings and combating the elements of the old that might still be encountered in different areas of society and in the people's awareness, literature must express itself, by using its specific means, as an active factor in the struggle against all negative phenomena. It is necessary, however, for us to be careful in this field, like in all fields, that because of deadwood we will not see the great and healthly forests and how our country develops and prospers."

From the perspective of this balanced view, we can conduct a review with a deep analytical spirit and a feeling of self-criticism of our work at the writing desk and of the state of the Union and the entire complex of circumstances that lead to the writing of books, the publication and then their movement into the public awareness.

Contemporary Romanian literature, the Report said, has won its superior status today effectively and intensely stating the current situation. This is a notion that the fruitful experience of the past years asks us to conduct a thorough amount of thinking.

Is it perhaps just the fact that it appeared during these years, or does the simple fact of being the place of action during the last decades give a book its current relevancy? Absolutely, no!

Authentic current relevancy is a much more complex quality. It involves laying out the deep implications of the era in the intimate existence of individuals and the observation of the unmistakable manner in which current historical, social and moral circumstances are influencing people and even changing their mentality, behavior and language.

And, the writings inspired in the past have awakened a lively, non-archivistic interest, in cases where it has proven to be of current relevancy, through an original, contemporary approach in comtemplating history.

Genuine current relevancy belongs to a distinct problem type. Simple views of current life say too little as long as they are not illuminated by a reflection capable of making sense precisely of our meaningful human experience. Contemporary literature worthy of this name explores those areas where the specific problems of the era spring forth. It fulfills an irreplaceable civic task, showing with the great revealing power of art the deeds, behaviors and phenomena upon which society must focus its attention. Valuable, truly militant literature for the cause of improving socialist construction and building communism is not thanked for illustrating known things and for repeating in an imaginery form, no matter how shining the work may be, that which has been said in a theoretical form countless times and more precisely, more exactly.

Literature that truly has current relevancy uncovers aspects of still insufficiently researched reality, illuminates the new situations of social and individual existence, or, in a word, brings up those problems that people are truly interested in.

True current relevancy is the breath of the man who does not want to fall into a fixed type of writing, since he has endless variety in life itself. His identity with the world and our times gives him the fact that he is a constitutive part of this, and at the same time the author and his work and the problems of contemporary life closely and permanently involve him.

The manner in which this man, as an expression of the affirmation of a superior human personality, becomes a literary personage serves as the source for several imperatives of the contemporary literary effort and the literature that is today being written in Romania. First, it must be observed that the man of whom we are speaking is developed in time and space and lives during a certain moment of historical events and in a certain place in the world. He belongs to a grouping that exists for its part in spatial and temporal coordinates. He is part of a history and he has a country. He thus has roots that fix him within a certain framework and a generater of characteristic spiritual expressions. And, if the literature that we write wants to remain faithful to its fundamental realism, it cannot do this except by reflecting in many ways this necessary relationship.

The living presence of the patriotic sentiment in important lyrical poetry, along the lines of a great and consistent literary tradition from Mihai Eminescu, Tudor Arghezi, Lucian Blaga and Octavian Goga, is the result of the same natural roots of the true man in the world to which, through destiny, he belongs. Its common cause is in deep levels and it keeps in mind history, ethos, language and traditions in culture and civilization, with all this decisively working in our structure as individuals in our way of viewing and understanding the process of life. Since patriotism cannot be merely an experience mastered through the frequency of certain symbols that transmit externally the idea of country and national awareness, but rather is an internal calling and an intimate feeling pumped into our being through the fact of belonging to the world in which we live and to the people whose sons we are. Patriotism is defined by that which we have deeply and lastingly imbedded in us, since it expresses our identification with the ideals and beliefs that involve us not just as casual individuals, but also as the conveyors of a message of spirituality of a long-term value. Certainly, the past, the relationship to great moments and history in the major sense are naturally a presence in this sphere, but we must speak thoroughly about broadening the perspective, about the need to incorporate new elements and about what we could call the socialist dimension of patriotism. Living here and now, we adhere to the values of the present, and we are taking part in the building of a world that is ours and fully expresses us. Much has been done in our literature in recent years - in novels, poetry and theatrical plays - to put to use the significance of the past and to reveal those dimensions that place us in the perspective of a rich continuity. The fields of the present, however, have remained less explored, especially those elements of living that have the power to contribute proofs about patriotism as a current experience in a socialist country.

Further, the Report uncovered some characteristic traits of literary development during the recent period.

In years past, prose recorded important successes, and is now on a full and solid upswing.

One clear evidence is our historical prose, that is, the literature conceived and written on historical themes about the great events of the social and national liberation struggle. There is hardly an unimportant stage of this tragic and heroic accomplishment that has not found its way in past years into artistic versions and views capable of constituting a "parallel history" of artistic essence.

A good understanding is the foundation of remembering. At the basis of both, the prose of the previous years made a valuable contribution. Proof can be seen in the interest with which the readers have greeted these attempts to scrutinize the path travelled by our people, in a relation where "the truth of art" has precisely proven to be a reverse success for "the truth of life."

It is no less true that our prose is still clearly recognizing its duties, especially with regards to the closest segments of this same "contemporary history," those from which the present is created and through which the future is made. But, it would be wrong if we did not show the successes obtained by our prose writers in this important sector.

In our books, stories, novels and plays, the current nature of the themes and immediate structure and the efforts of the majority building socialist values are represented more and more substantially and significantly on the thematic, conceptual and artistic level. It is a phenomenon that is occurring under our eyes and it must be sustained by all means.

With regards to those forms, techniques and styles that the prose of recent years has promoted, we can note with satisfaction the presence of a great variety. This variety of forms and styles represents a significant advance for all our recent literature. It can be easily recognized in the "art of the Romanian prose writer," an art capable of proving the validity of the most diverse osmoses between real and ideal, common and exceptional, daily and fantastic, lucid and romantic, dry and visionary. And, what is worthy of being shown, in the realm of certain esthetic compatibilities, remains the opportunity for all these forms and formulas, styles and types - ultimately diversified in so many ways that personalities explore them and ise them - to be saturated with a political, social and philosophical substance capable of giving them socialist unity and Romanian uniqueness. The lively interest of so many readers for the "true stories" which our writers are capable of writing requires a constantly larger awareness and responsibility. Literature that is constantly confronted by a public so interested and exacting finds it appropriate to fully respect and to honor their attitude with greater and greater books.

As in other types of works, in poetry there have been new elements, significant changes and deeper and richer activities during the last 4 to 5 years. Certainly, such a short period cannot make claim to be characterized as a stage in the process of a so-called artistic renewal. And, nonetheless, the end of the eighth

decade conincided with several important phenomena within the makeup of current Romanian poetry and was left to outline a corner of the future lyrical poetry picture.

Any attempt, even if it is tenative, to characterize the current moment of literature, and therefore, also for poetry, must keep in mind before anything else the existence on the literary level of a natural and useful "collaboration" between generations. In literature, it is very natural for the voices of the poets from all the generations to meet on some common wavelengths. These wavelenghts are the feelings of belonging to a spiritual space and to an historical era. There does not exist today in Romania a single true poet who can ignore our national roots and the ancient traditions of poetry in this corner of the world, for whom the country and the land does not represent a spiritual matter capable of giving him the security and pride to participate in an original, specific world. Nothing that is from this land of ours can be foreign to the poet. At the same time, all poets are aware of the giant revolutionary changes that our country has experienced since its liberation.

At the end of this decade,we took part in the appearance of certain poetic works of great significance written both by certain authors with a broad activity and by others with a mature background in poetry.

One fact that should be remembered is the appearance and shaping of a new promotion of poets. Whether this promotion will be considered by future literary history as a new generation or not is not too important in the review represented by this Report. But, the presence of young and very young talented authors cannot leave us indifferent.

Good poetry, like, we believe, that being written today in our country, is judged through the prism of two main elements: the major nature of the concern and theme and the variety of the means, combining the courage for the new with a thorough understanding of local and universal traditions. With regards to the first element, it must be said that only a poetry capable of reflecting the profound and complete spirituality of man - man as such, but also man from these lands - meets the passing of time. Poetry in our country appears to us to be such a mirror. This fact does not mean the encouragement of a discrimination of the type which, fortunately during a now-dead era, divided the subjects of poetry into two categories: an appropriate one where the poets were given motives, regulations and even the expressions that their poetry had to keep in mind, while in the other one other motives, regulations and expressions were excluded. We state that love for country is a noble and profound sentiment in poetry as well as in life, serving as an endless and rich source of inspiration for poets. Valuable patriotic poetry must be promoted with all our energies. If today no one denies, in contrast to the years of dogmatism, that poetry about love, elegy, eclogue or idyll is a variety just as legitimate as a hymn and an ode, it is no less true that we could sometime find certain tendencies to disregard one type or another and to renounce quality.

In the context of developing all of literature, dramaturgy recorded a powerful problematical extension and an increase in modern expression. In a general way, factology and illustrativism were mastered and successes were obtained in dealing with current activities through means of broad generalization. The thoughts of today's man is present in the new plays with a remarkable philosophic sense. Historical drama has had new achievements stimulated by the happy circumstances in the life of the nation, achievements which illuminate ordinary events and people from the perspective of the present and the sentiments of the present. In recent years, there has been an assertion of the category of political theater, putting into discussion the relationships of the individual with society, the problems of power and the relationships between social classes and parties in today's world in other countries, as well as trends of thought. Some plays, through impressive constructions, express the Romanian point of view on certain moments of world history.

Significant achievements were made in summing up the current state of morale and the complex phenomena which go into building the personality of man during our times. Also due to the continuing changes, even if they are relatively slow, in the new talent, some of whom come from other fields of writing, there has been a diversification of dramaturgical forms, from chamber pieces to a social fresco, from ironic comedies to political pamphlets, from monodramas to ontological tragedies. We can appreciate that through the contributions of the writers from all the generations, of all the nationalities and from all over the country and through the public's massive following and the new interest of the publishing houses, art institutions and specialized critics, national dramaturgy is living a remarkable creative moment.

In referring to the problems of literature for children and young people, the Report noted:

The children and young people of today are being formed within a renewed framework of existence. Their imagination is stimualted by other elements of life that, not too many years ago, did not exist because the changes in the environment are truly extraordinary. The exploration of space, satellite stations and space ships sent to far-off planets are realities in our times. The five year plan of the technical-scientific revolution has produced a certain ambiance in which are children are growing up, and the means of audiovisual communications, right at their fingertips, puts them in direct contact with these amazing achievements. The interest in scientific advances and the effect of these advances on human relations have massively influenced the writings aimed at the new generations. In recent times, science fiction has gained great popularity and has taken all types of styles, from philosophical speculation to social satire, recording not just a few valuable works, including some awarded international recognition.

In the best works for children and young people, we abandoned old literary gimmicks and boring, childish plots that attempted to mime the children's language. The works that still use such "techniques" have not completely disappeared.

These should be continually discouraged, as well as cheap stories, shallow improvizations and ostentatious and annoying writings that have results contrary to the formative intentions that children's literature strives to have.

No culture can exist locked within the limits of its own national values. Contacts with other types of spirituality stimulate the creative forces of a people, opening to them the horizon of universality.

During the years of socialism, through planned activities we have produced cultural work that we can be proud of. Numerous writers who know well different foreign languages and have the gift to be able to translate - a true and precious talent, have allowed us to have today important works from the world literary treasury translated into a Romanian version.

The number of special successes in the field of translation regarding poetry, prose and drama is extremely great. Recently, fundamental critical and essay works have come to complete this imposing review, contributing to the process of raising the cultural level of the Romanian reader and giving him the opportunity to acquire high cultural values, a phenomenon characteristic of the complex formative process of socialist humanism.

In the spirit of our party's policy, the translations tend to involve the entire map of world culture. The public in socialist Romania has stopped being aware of just some literature that monopolized general concern at one time and dictated tastes and styles. We are interested in the cultures from every continent and we can state with satisfaction that we have brought into our culture the works of numerous worthy authors from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today's world is the theater of a powerful confrontation between the new and the old and that also occurs on the level of artistic ideas, motives and forms. Translation cannot ignore ethical, ideological and esthetic criteria that are appropriate to our ideals. Works will be brought into Romanian culture that for a long time and in every corner of the world have illuminated the flame of humanism, but we will reject writings that propagate a lack of faith in man, that hint at dissolvent ideas, that cultivate lowly instincts and that exalt barbarism, cruelty and obscurantism.

The report spoke about the penetration of current literature into the broad public's awareness and about the fact that this literature, especially in recent years, has acquired great credit among the ranks of its readers. This status is due to the most part to the artistic values, since in the absence of these values everything that we have pointed out that constitutes specific aspects would be uninspired work.

Through several imposing contemporary works our literature has attained an esthetically high level and everything that will be done from now on will naturally take these new high points into consideration. Unfortunately, there is still

publication of poor literature, stories of irrelevant facts, commonplace findings in prose or compositions lacking emotion in poetry. Very frequently these expressions of literary incompetency seek their justification in thematic opportunities and in the fact that they respond promptly to certain requirements of the moment. But, what opportunities can be found in art lacking quality, what other effect than the irreparable compromise of certain noble goals?

Due to the criticisms made we must carefully discern between value and imitation, between talent and non-talent, doing this in a clear and rigorously objective spirit.

Destined to be read since only in this way can it exercise its formative actions upon the minds and souls, literature is vitally interested in the esthetic level of the masses. This has increased considerably along with the vast process of raising the workers' awareness and with the general spread of the educational environment, the spread of culture to the villages and the modernization of all production activities through the mastery of the advances of the technical-scientific revolution.

The improvement of the quality of the literature that is published brings along with it an elevation of society's tastes. To an equal degree, as the esthetic exigencies of the masses increase so is literary production obligated to higher artistic achievements.

In order for this dialectic interaction to operate normally, the exercise of literary critique must not be obstructed. Intimidations, pressures, the monopolization of opinions and the division of praise and insults according to group interests tend to impose pseudovalues, negatively influence the public's taste and, in the end, bring down the level of literature overall.

The free exercise of criticism and the confrontation of different evaluations permit readers to form their own opinions that are as close to the truth as possible and ease the triumph of literature.

The important idea here is the responsibility in criticizing writings without any concessions to the interests that oppose the progress of our literary, political and social affairs.

The opportunities for the objectivity of criticism to grow and for imposition and improvization to find its difficult position are influenced by a serious strengthening of the bases that serve the judgement of values and characterization in literary works. Furthermore, we are living during an era of unprecedented prosperity for literary theory. World and Romanian criticism have reached important clarifications in this field and today benefit from more rigorous and more exact methods and means to examine literary works.

Our criticism must be present to a greater degree in the ideological-esthetic disputes in the contemporary world, promptly and argumentatively taking positions against those concepts that tend to separate art from humanist ideals and propagate social obscurantism and indifferentism. Through this combative statement on the field of the great confrontations of ideas, our critcism has the opportunity to contribute to the spread of the humanist message in Romanian culture beyond our borders.

During these years, there has also been an imposing development of the historiography and literary theory sectors. It is necessary to recognize the growth in the professional scientific competence in this decade. Beginning with the theories of materialist historical esthetics and with the recommendations of the party documents regarding the criteria for the critical use of our literary legacy and amply and usefully combining the traditional methodologies with the modern ones, literary historiography has succeeded in creating valuable works that have resolved questions of great national scientific interest in a relatively short period of time.

This effort must be continued with greater perseverence. It is appropriate that attention be directed upon the exegeses regarding today's writers, whose works have crystalized and require an encompassing analysis.

The fate of the Romanian language is naturally in the hands of the writers, more than anyone else, feeling in a certain way responsible for its destiny. The national language is a living thing, the plasma from which our creations take shape. It cannot but hurt us when it is mistreated, sometimes in the mass media (the press, radio, television) or even in certain literary books. We writers have the duty to work, through our writings, for the development and improvement of the Romanian language, just as we have the duty of protecting it. This task was left to us by our great predecessors and moves us to create our books, promote our culture and love our country.

Further, the Report dealt with the problem of the literature of the coinhabitating nationalities. Its harmonious, encompassing development is a natural result of our party's policy in the nationality problem. The active presence of all the generations of writers from the ranks of the coinhabitating nationalities, the variety of the literary types and styles and the affirmation of specific traditions have become possible only in the climate of democratization of political, social and cultural affairs in our country, which has given an equal chance to all citizens regardless of their language and nationality. Under this same revolutionary humanist ideal, the literature in Hungarian, German, Serbian, Ukrainian, Slovakian and Yiddish has constituted an incontestable historical reality. The evolution in recent years attests to the furthering of the effort to reflect the social-political life in our country, the common homeland, where the unrestricted affirmation of values contributes to the strengthening of fraternal feelings through spiritual closeness and mutual understanding and esteem.

Due to the inalienable right of the unrestricted use of one's material language and of the cultivation of one's own traditions, in addition to the known phenomena in the development of poetry, prose and literary history and criticism in Hungarian, German, Serbian and Yiddish, in recent years there has also been a gratifying development of Ukrainian literature, as well as the appearance, for the first time, of works by Slovakian writers in Romania. It should be noted that the period to which we are referring has represented for German literature in Romania an especially productive period in which, in addition to the older writers, an entire group of talented young writers have vigorously worked.

Recently, translations from Romanian into the languages of the coinhabitating nationalities have had a superior quality compared to previous production. Their selection is more judicious. A sustained effort is needed to further this noble action by returning to certain important works that have not been translated or that were part of a less successful version.

Despite the fact that the translation of works in the literature of the coinhabitating nationalities has become more systematic, both in the selection and translation by showing competence and exigency, it is regrettable that many of these valuable books do not get the attention of the critics. It would be desirable, then, for the translations into Romanian of the new written works in Serbian, Ukrainian and Yiddish to enjoy increased attention on the part of editors.

If we try to outline some of the characteristics of the literature written in the languages of the coinhabitating nationalities, we should first of all accentuate the depth of the ethic message of the most successful works, the committed, active humanism, the firm base in the social-political structure, the accentuation of human dignity and mutual respect between peoples and the cultivation of ideas of patriotism as an expression of the quality of the artist's work and his civic duty. It is certain that these realities will lead, naturally, to the affirmation of new talents and to the achievement of new valuable works and the opening, by consistently applying the party's policy, of new horizons in the development of the literature of the coinhabitating nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Continuing, the Report presented broadly the expressions and actions organized for the purpose of an ever broader participation of the writers in the country's cultural and social affairs and in the carrying out of the National Festival "The Song of Romania" and the celebration of certain great events and personalities. Similarly, the Report also presented the administrative and organizational activities of the Writers Union during the last 4 years, as well as of the Writers Association, the magazines and the "Cartea romaneasca" [Romanian Book] publishing house. The Report then referred to the Union's foreign affairs and the distribution of Romanian literature abroad.

Reflecting the dynamics of revolutionary changes, the Report said in conclusion, the process of changes that have occurred in the people's awareness gives literature the job of contributing to the creation of a superior man, the creator of high civilization and the conscious and enthusiastic builder of the socialist and communist society in our country.

The writers, through all their work, know how to contribute to the education of all the people in the spirit of humanism and patriotism and limitless love for the country in which we were born and in which we work and live. This represents a lofty duty of patriotic and revolutionary awareness for us and all writers to respond to the country's and communist party's call through an activity at the peak of the era in which we are living and through works that reflect the beauty and inner richness of these people, people involved in the uninterrupted raising of the level of material and spiritual civilization of the people.

Literary creative work has been, is and will always be a profound act of solidarity and an action of man filled with revealing significance. To offer spiritual nourishment to a people, their fellow man and those who will follow after us, is not only a work full of responsibility, but also of incomparable beauty. Under the sign of this responsibility and beauty, we will unite our forces in order to serve the socialist present and communist future of Romania.

8724
CSO: 2700/352

SATIRIC COMMENT REFERS INDIRECTLY TO RECENT EVENTS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1596, 2 Aug 81 pp 70-71

[Commentary in form of mock letter to editor by B. C., presumably Brana Crncevic]

[Text] Letters to the editor, for one reason or another, have taken on a significant position in Yugoslav journalism. Hardly a week goes by without some reader showing his brilliance, jotting down some extraordinarily daring idea while professional newspapermen blush with shame. They, too, would have said that if they were readers, but--alas!--they are not. Their responsibility is heavier.

Here is what I would write, if I were a reader, under the initials B. C. (address known to the editors).

Esteemed Comrade Editor,

The question of crime and punishment has always attracted me, yet pondering about sin and forgiveness has often deprived me of time. I realized long ago that, in a happy society, crime is bound to precede punishment, for there is surely no justice where a penalty is first imposed and then a matching person and matching crime looked for.

So far as sin and forgiveness are concerned, my ponderings are still more muddled. Sin ought to precede forgiveness, of course, yet all sorts of things have happened in the marvelous history of the human race: in the main, the human flock has been forgiven for what it has not done--except insofar as this same innocent flock has been punished for one reason or another. Forgiveness has always been more popular than punishment. Traders in forgiveness (confessors) would soak up with inquisitive ears the sin that the believer confessed, whispering or choking, and would then prescribe some modest punishment (an enigmatic prayer with a secret connotation) before passing out forgiveness.

So people became accustomed to the forgiveness of sin. Even when people know that they are not blamable, they gladly stand in line for an indulgence. Far better to be forgiven, surely, than punished for an evil that you did not commit.

Yet when arrogant human beings rejected religion and God in person, when they took everything into their own hands, they were unable to reject--even if they had wanted to--crime and punishment or the still more muddled artifice of sin and forgiveness.

So far as sin and the forgiveness of sin are concerned, the ideological churches have muddled slightly further a matter that was already muddled. Confession, as an act, has remained but has lost its mysterious significance. The sinner does not confess to God's agent whispering and choking, he begs forgiveness not from God but from human beings who are as mortal and sinful as he is. If for the moment we substitute the term "self-criticism" for "confession," and refer to the old-fashioned term "forgiveness of sin" as "criticism," we shall find ourselves on the trail of the old, familiar story.

Public confession (otherwise a very good idea), or self-criticism, determines the degree of the guilty party's sincerity in the eyes of his temporary, human jury. If you admit all your weaknesses in front of some gathering--if in desperation, for example, you say "I am shit"--two things may happen to you. They may agree that you are shit and reject you as shit; on the other hand, they may tell you that you are not shit because you admitted that you were. Moreover, if the sinner is adroit, if he manages to affect his jury with some touching sentence from the depths of his soul, he may shift the consciousness of the gathering in the direction of total sincerity. Several other speakers will rise to admit that they have committed similar, if not identical, acts. Thus your confession (self-criticism) may be transformed into your triumph.

Man is mortal, and sinful, and fragile; various byways await man on every road. Today you sin, tomorrow I will; I forgive you that I may be forgiven.

And that does not bother me: it is hard for a person to run away from his nature.

What bothers me is the unnatural (therefore intentional, contrived, artificial) link that has been drawn between crime and punishment and sin and forgiveness of sin.

Crime may be transformed into sin (if you are adroit, if you confess at the right time and in public, if you are--in a word--self-critical), and since we are all--alas!--sinful, we are inclined to forgive the sin. Once we have transformed crime into sin, why not transform punishment into criticism, into the forgiveness of sin?

For example: those who were obliged to look were not looking! Those who were supposed to prevent things were not preventing anything! Those who were bound to be alert were surprised!

And, already accustomed to public confessions, we say: what can you do, the folks did't see, they didn't prevent things, they were surprised, that's no crime, that's a sin!

And none of your newspapermen, rebuked from this quarter and that quarter, dares any more (dear Comrade Editor!) to investigate the possibility that some folks might have seen something, that they might not have wanted to prevent anything, and that they were not surprised!

By the logic of things, the enemy is capable of anything except surprising us.

But if we are surprised, that is naturally no transgression, that is only a sin.

That is why, so as not to be guilty, so as to be only sinful, we are surprised.

And now we ask the enemy to be honest, to speak out honorably, decently: "I am your enemy, I surprised you!" Instead, we obtain answers on the order of "I am surprised too!"

I want to say that, as I read the latest news (in your publication and others), I have been considerably surprised. For that reason (eventually if not right away), an offense against the state ought not to be transformed into an ideological sin. And vice versa, dear Comrade Editor; and vice versa.

Respectfully, your reader B. C. (address known to the editors).

CSO: 2800/334

DECISIONS ISSUED ON CLOSING NINE CONSULATES

[Editorial Report] The No 43, 7 August 1981 issue of SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, the Belgrade official gazette, publishes (pages 1124-1125) 21 May 1981 decisions "temporarily" closing the Yugoslav consulates in Luxembourg; in Marseilles, France; Calcutta, India; Izmir, Turkey; Goeteborg, Sweden; Karachi, Pakistan; Alexandria, Egypt; Ravensburg, West Germany; and in Linz, Austria.

CSO: 2800/331

BRIEFS

TETOVO SUBNOR OFFICIAL RESIGNATION--The main subject of the 5 August 1981 meeting of the presidium of the Tetovo Opstina Council of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] was the report on the political-security situation in the opstina. In Tetovo ideological-political action is increasing in the identifying and prevention of actions arising from Albanian nationalism and irredentism in which the veterans of this area are directly and actively involved. It was stressed that the enemy has become entrenched in certain areas and that there is a tolerant attitude in areas which are designated as the center of actions based on Albanian nationalist and irredentist positions. Also stressed was the need for greater commitment by all citizens and working people and especially SUBNOR members to accelerate the process of differentiation through concrete and personal example. The meeting unanimously accepted the resignation of Cemal Hajrulari, member of the Opstina SUBNOR presidium who, as a member of the presidium of the "Dzeladin Zekiri" cultural-artistic society bears responsibility for the removal from a bus of two pictures of Comrade Tito during the 1980 tour of this society around Albania and for changing the main program of this society's performance [there]. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 81 p 4]

CSO: 2800/331

END

JPRS 78947

10 September 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1917

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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10 September 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1917

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Antonov An-72 Airplane Described
(Jan Cech, Tomas Hyan; LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA, May 81) 1

Briefs
Soviet ATS-59G in Romanian Army 8

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Council of Ministers Issues Statute for Youth Affairs Office
(GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, 31 Dec 80)... 9

New Equipment for Armored Forces Developed
(W. Kopenhagen; VOLKSARMEE, No 29, 1981) 15

Academicians Analyze Significance of Prussian History, Culture
(BERLINER ZEITUNG; Various dates) 17

Relevance of Prussian History Studies, by Horst Bartel,
Promotion of Art, Militarism; by Hannelore Lehmann
Power Politics of Frederick the Great, by Ingrid Mittenzwei
People's Role in 1813 Uprising, by Heinz Helmert,
Prusian Cult and Nazism, by Klaus Scheel
Prussia's Dissolution, Legacy, by Siegfried Thomas

New Law on Resident Registration Stiffens Penalties
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 29 Jul 81; GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN
DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, 22 Jul 81) 32

West German Commentary
Text of Law

Training for Air Defense Radar Personnel Described
(MILITAERTECHNIK, No 4, 1981) 47

New Mobile Workshop for Chemical Forces Described
(P. Kunkel; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 4, 1981) 50

HUNGARY

Minister Discusses State of Agricultural Education
(Lajos Denes Interview; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 2 Aug 81) 55

POLAND

Officials Discuss Crime, Police Actions
(KURIER POLSKI, 3, 19-21 Jun 81) 59

Comments of Justice Official
Comments of Defense Official

ROMANIA

Errors in West German Article on Romanian History Cited
(Ligia Barzu; REVISTA ECONOMICA, Jun 81) 68

Historian Objects To Review of His Book
(Tahsin Gemil; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Jun 81) 80

YUGOSLAVIA

Crnobrnja Notes Gap Between Decisions, Implementation
(Bogdan Crnobrnja Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
12 Jul 81) 85

Decline, Prospects of Rural Cooperatives Traced
(Zaharije Trnavcevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 26 Jul 81) .. 92

ANTONOV AN-72 AIRPLANE DESCRIBED

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 9, May 81 pp 340-342

[Article by Jan Cech and Eng Tomas Hyan: "An Airplane This Is Being Talked About: the Antonov An-72"]

[Text] The "72" is the latest known design of one of the most renowned Soviet designers, Oleg Konstantinovich Antonov, who became 75 years old this year. Even as a student of 18 he built a glider, and he stayed with motorless aircraft for several years. By 1939 the Soviet Union had produced more than 5,000 gliders designed by Antonov, including sports, training, cargo and airborne assault models. They were also used to supply the troops during the Great Patriotic War: for example, during the second glider assault in Polotsko-Lepelskaya Oblast in 1943, A-7 gliders carried about 250 tons of materiel and 472 troops.

Later Antonov devoted himself to motor-powered aircraft, among the best known of which we may mention the Evergreen An-2, a multipurpose biplane which went through more than four versions and is still produced today; the An-24, An-26 and An-32 transports, the An-10, An-12 and mighty Antaeus An-22 freighters and the like. With the last-mentioned machine, Soviet fliers have set 22 world records for speed and ceiling with loads from 32 to 100 tons, while Aeroflot has used the twin-motor An-24 to carry more than 300 million passengers. This economical aircraft has been bought by carriers in 23 countries.

When in 1932 the Romanian physicist Henri Coanda applied for a French patent on his invention, in which the exhaust gases of a jet engine were blown across the wing section, no one paid attention. As late as 1949, the famous Czech designer Eng Pavel Benes called this patent "odd." The fact that in the 1970's both Oleg K. Antonov and the Boeing company resorted to it, in the An-72 and the YC-14 respectively, indicates what roundabout routes technical progress may take.

In 1979, Antonov's An-72 stopped at Ruzyn near Prague on its way to the Paris Air Show. We now give an account of this aircraft, which we had a chance to inspect.

The Antonov An-72 is the first turbojet aircraft from Antonov's design bureau and the first Soviet aircraft to use the Coanda effect. On first look, one's attention is arrested by the engines, which are unusually mounted on the upper sides of the wings. They are turbofan engines with a high bypass ratio, the first of their type to be developed in the Soviet Union. They are also used on the Yak-42 and

are designated the D-36 (designed by Lotarev). They have powerful thrust reversers which make up the entire rear part of the engine nacelle.

Now let us turn to the Coanda effect itself. The new generation of high bypass ratio engines, which produce large quantities of relatively cool, high-speed exhaust gases, brought back the idea of blowing these gases across the wing section and producing lift on it even when the aircraft has zero velocity. Antonov and the Boeing company both decided to use the Coanda effect in the same way: they placed the engines ahead of the leading edges of the wings on their short-takeoff-and-landing aircraft.

The An-72 is a high-wing aircraft. The wing has Fowler flaps divided into two sections (each with its own guides). The inner parts of the flaps, behind the engines, have two slots and can be controlled separately (probably only in the prototype). The outer flaps are three-slotted. The flap guides and controls are adopted from the Tu-154. The wing has a slot on the leading edge and is a multispar design, as in the IL-76. The aircraft has a fuselage of circular cross section ending in a loading ramp. The design is patented not only in the Soviet Union but advanced capitalist countries as well: the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Italy and Sweden. The ramp doors are hydraulically controlled and are similar to those on the An-26. The cargo area has seats for 32 passengers which can be folded against the walls. The floor will be quipped with a roller track for easy loading and handling of cargoes on pallets or in containers measuring 1,900 x 2,438 x 1,460 mm. The cargo space of the prototype has a crane track with four hooks. It is 9,000 mm long, 2,1000 mm high and 2,200 mm wide. The maximum payload is about 2,500 kg, but the cargo space can be modified to carry 21 patients with attendants.

The pilot's cabin has instrumentation for two pilots and a nose seat for the flight engineer. The instrument panel has the usual navigation instruments and engine gauges of an entirely new design which have never before been mounted on a Soviet aircraft for Aeroflot. The middle panel is taken up by columnar temperature, pressure and fuel gauges with cylindrical scales. The other engine instruments are of the usual types. The engine starting levers are on the central console between the pilots, which also holds the spoiler control at the captain's right and the controls for both flap sections and the slots at the copilot's left. This nontraditional arrangement can also be seen only in the prototypes. The onboard equipment also includes a weather radar screen, the antenna for which is located in the nose under a plastic cover.

The prototype which was in Prague and Paris is named the "Eksperimental'nyy" and is designated the SSSR-83 966 (this was the second prototype; the first was designated SSSR-19 774). The two prototypes differ considerably from each other. The first has a box containing a drag chute above the cargo doors and two stabilizers at the rear. In addition, the rudder of the second modification has been changed. The taper to the top of the tail surfaces area is different: it is now longer and slimmer. The engine nacelles are also altered. Some in-flight photographs of the first prototype showed a Pitot tube mount forward.

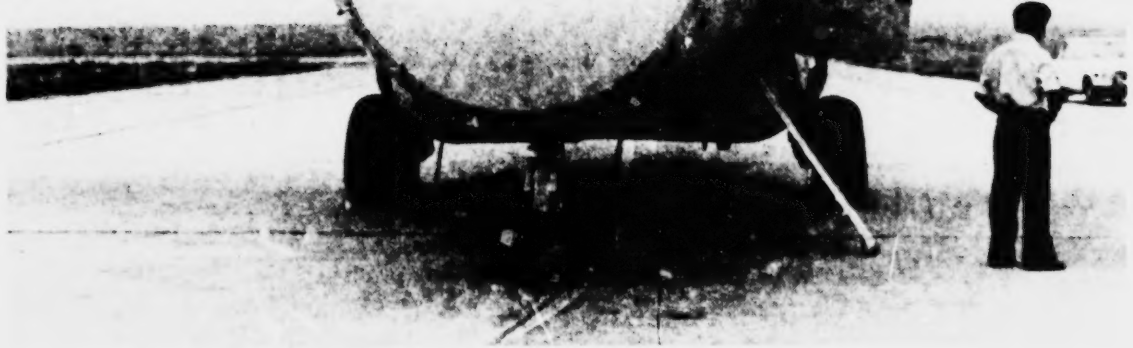
The aircraft has retractable undercarriage of the tricycle type. There are four main undercarriage legs, and each wheel, with a low-pressure pneumatic tire, is

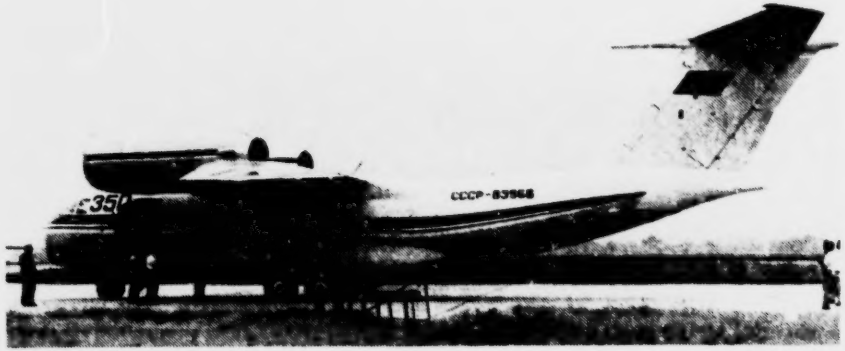
mounted on one leg. Between the legs of the main landing gear, the SSSR-83 996 had a mechanical load indicator. This type of undercarriage enables the aircraft to operate from unimproved airstrips. In order to prevent foreign objects from entering the engines, they were mounted on the upper sides of the wings, which gave the design team the idea of using the Coanda effect.

The first prototype was flown on 22 December 1977 and the second a month later. At the time of the Paris Air Show, both had flown more than 1,000 hours in 300 flights, according to Oleg K. Antonov's statement at a press conference in Paris. But development of the aircraft has not yet ended. The Soviet flight organization Aeroflot plans to introduce the "72" into areas with difficult accessibility where its capability for short takeoffs and landing on unimproved airstrips will show to advantage. The Soviet foreign trade enterprise Aviaeksport recently included the An-72 in its export selection. The advertising material also stresses the ease of handling of the aircraft, which is said to be no more demanding then the An-24 and An-26.

Technical Data on the An-72

Wingspan	25.83 meters
Length	26.58 meters
Height	8.24 meters
Maximum takeoff weight	30,500 kg
Maximum payload	7,500 kg
Maximum cruising speed	750 kph
Engine thrust	2 x 63.8 kN
Ceiling	11,000 meters
Range	
with maximum payload	1,000 km
with maximum quantity of fuel	3,200 km

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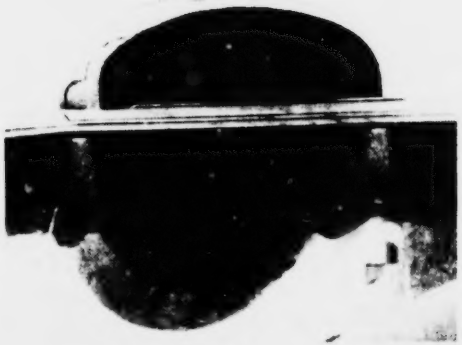

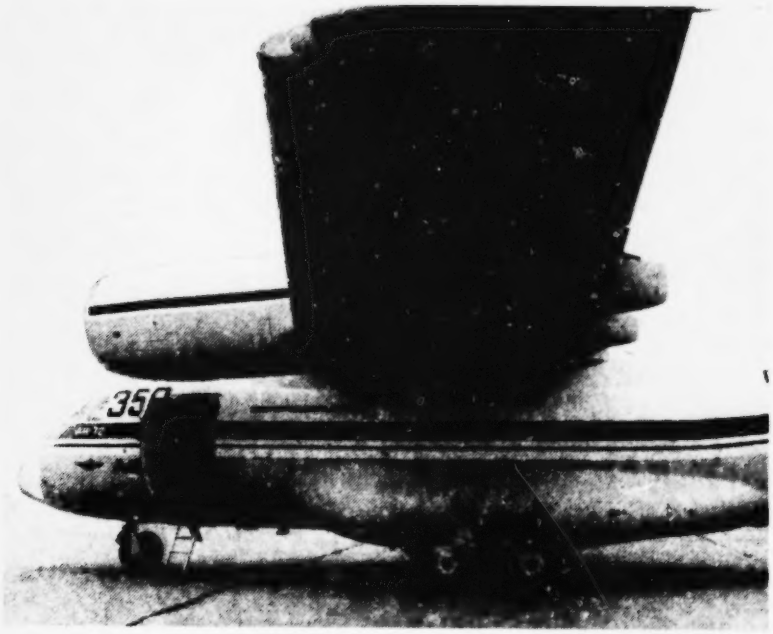

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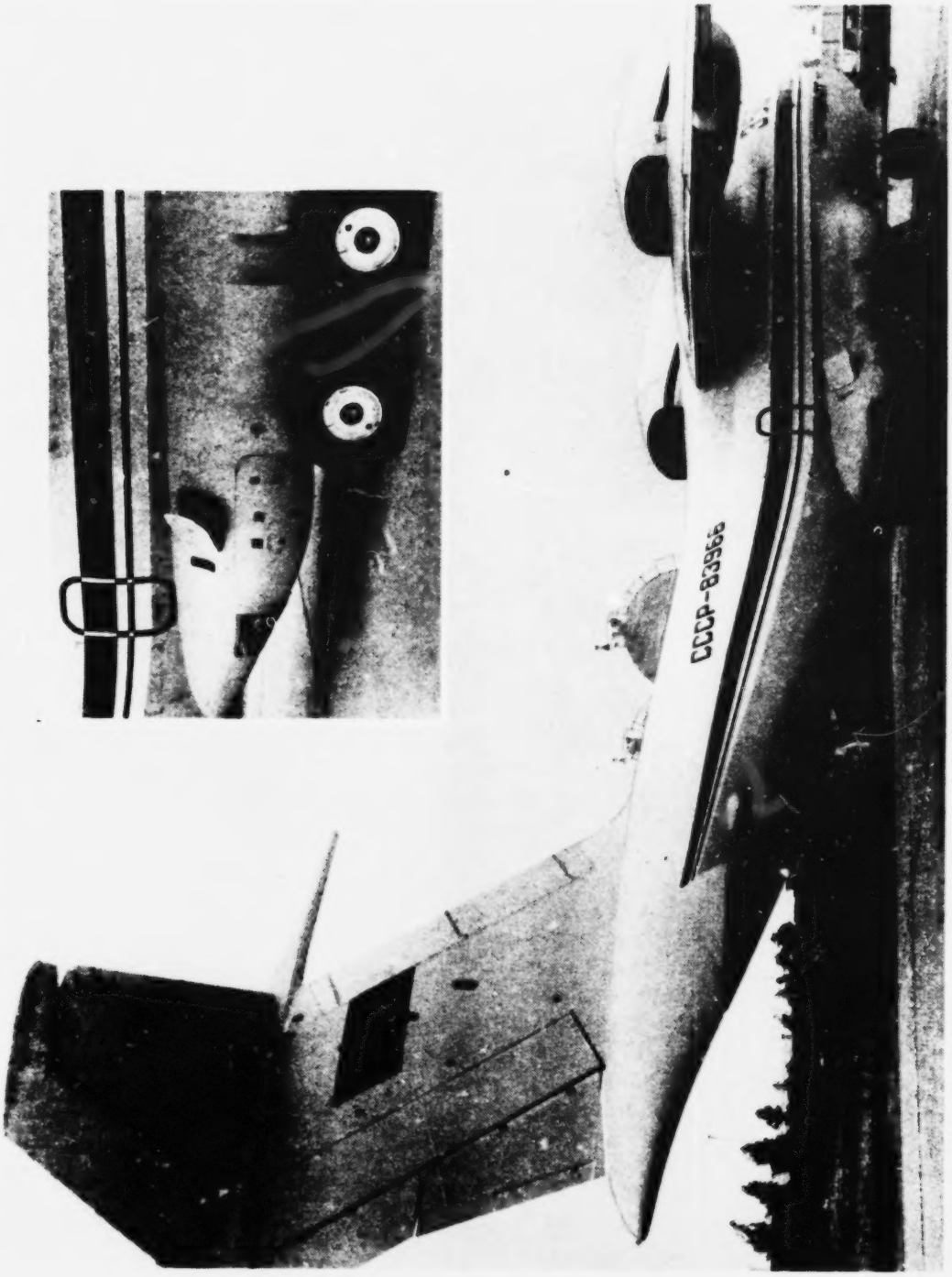
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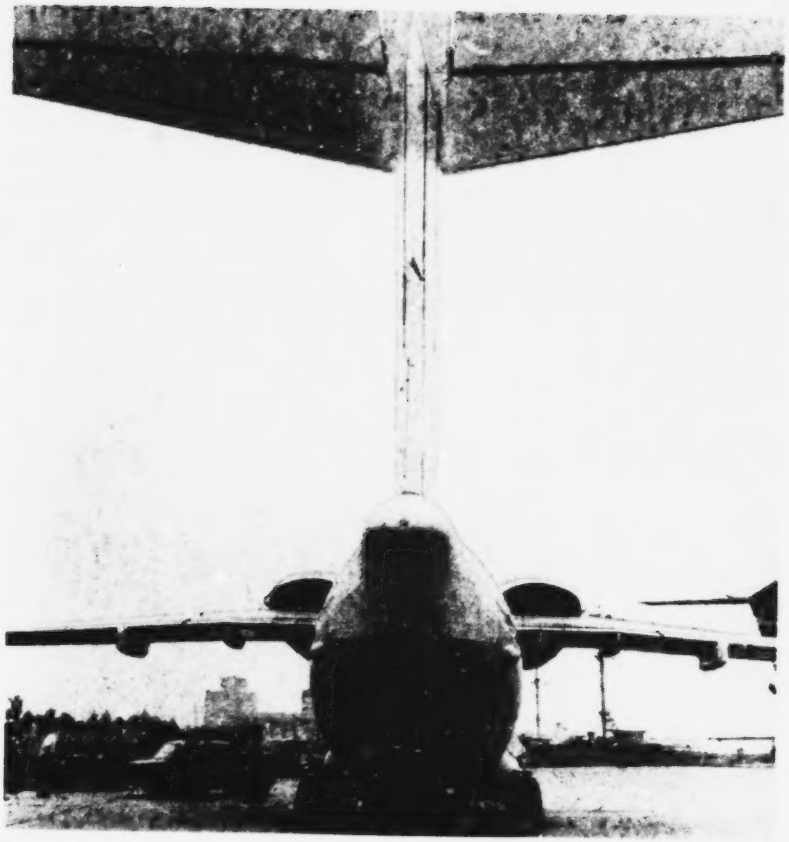

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CSO: 2400/215

BRIEFS

SOVIET ATS-59G IN ROMANIAN ARMY--The Soviet ATS-59G artillery tractor has also been introduced into the ground forces of the Romanian People's Army. Our photograph [not reproduced] shows Romanian soldiers servicing an ATS-59G on a wash ramp. The tracklaying artillery tractor weighs 13.75 tons, and can carry a 3-ton load and tow up to 14 tons. The vehicle has a diesel engine with 221 kW (300 hp) at 1700 rpm. Top speed with trailer on unpaved roads is 22 to 27 km/h; range with trailer is 500 km (also see issue 4/76, p 178). The forward driver's cab seats four soldiers. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 24 No 7, Jul 81 p 395] 8545

CSO: 8020/1706-C

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ISSUES STATUTE FOR YOUTH AFFAIRS OFFICE

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 36, 31 Dec 80 pp 369-372

[Official text of "Statute of the Office for Youth Affairs of the German Democratic Republic Council of Ministers--Council of Ministers Resolution--dated 1 December 1980," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Article 1

(1) The Office for Youth Affairs of the German Democratic Republic Council of Ministers (henceforth referred to as Office for Youth Affairs), as an organ of the Council of Ministers, ensures the implementation of state tasks in socialist youth policy. It fulfills its tasks on the basis of the decisions by the workers class party, the GDR Constitution, the laws and other legal provisions, in close cooperation with the Central Council of the FDJ.

(2) The Office for Youth Affairs relies in its work on the decisions of the FDJ. It ensures coordination with the FDJ Central Council in preparing decisions for the Council of Ministers that affect the life of youth and in supervising the implementation of the GDR Youth Law and the state tasks of socialist youth policy.

(3) The Office for Youth Affairs aims its activity at the main concern of socialist youth policy, the communist education of all young people. To that end, it exercises an influence on the political-ideological work of the state and economic functionaries with youth, the promotion and development of economic activities of youth, its socialist cooperative work and scientific-technical creativity, its comprehensive participation in management and planning, its military policy education and training, and its military service preparation, including long-term provisions for new military career generations, and its intellectual-cultural and sports and tourist activities.

(4) The Office for Youth Affairs, as charged by the Council of Ministers, controls and analyzes the implementation of the GDR Youth Law and generalizes proven experiences of the state organs in the implementation of socialist youth policy. On behalf of a uniform solution of state tasks in socialist youth policy, it prepares appropriate decisions for the Council of Ministers. The Office for Youth Affairs submits suggestions for setting down youth policy tasks in legal regulations or decisions by the Council of Ministers.

(5) The Office for Youth Affairs recommends measures to the Council of Ministers for implementing the GDR Youth Law. It has the right to ask the competent central state organs and bezirk councils for recommendations and position papers on it. The Office for Youth Affairs exercises influence on the preparation of youth promotion plans and on conducting the Week of Youth and Athletes.

(6) The Office for Youth Affairs works together with the central state organs and the bezirk councils. It has the right to supervise the activity of the central state organs and the local councils in the implementation of the Youth Law and the preparation of decisions by the Council of Ministers. Exempted from that are state organs and their institutions as specified by the Council of Ministers.

Article 2

(1) The Office for Youth Affairs is directed by the head of the Office for Youth Affairs in accordance with the principle of individual direction upon collective consultation about basic issues. The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible and accountable to the Council of Ministers for all the work of the Office for Youth Affairs. A staff is available to him as a consultative organ.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs issues orders and implementation regulations within the scope of his competency.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to him in the field of national defense including civil defense and internal order and security.

(4) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in conformity with the Youth Law, ensures close cooperation with the FDJ Central Council and coordination with the managements and boards of other social organizations, particularly the FDGB, the DTSB of the GDR, and the GST.

(5) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs has to inform the Council of Ministers and its chairman on basic issues in the implementation of state tasks in socialist youth policy. He has the right to make recommendations to the Council of Ministers about receiving reports from ministers, heads of other central state organs, and chairmen of local councils.

(6) Agreement from the head of the Office for Youth Affairs is required for legal regulations issued by the ministers and heads of other central state organs which contain stipulations for the implementation of state tasks in socialist youth policy.

(7) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in cooperation with the state secretary for physical culture and sports, ensures the direction and supervision of the bezirk council members and department heads for youth affairs in physical culture and sports. He has the right to give them instructions within the scope of his responsibility. With the local council members and department heads for youth affairs, physical culture and sports, and with concurrence from the state secretary for physical culture and sports, he arranges for advanced training and courses.

Article 3

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures that the state tasks in socialist youth policy are a component of long-range planning, of five-year planning and annual planning and of the accounting given for them. To that end, he cooperates with the State Planning Commission and other central state organs and the bezirk councils and submits appropriate recommendations.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, upon concurrence from the FDJ Central Council, submits recommendations to the competent central state organs on including tasks and objectives in their planning. He assists the central state organs and bezirk councils in the planning of state tasks in socialist youth policy.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, together with the State Planning Commission, the competent central state organs and the bezirk councils, prepares for the Council of Ministers the long-term plan for youth facilities and youth accommodation as an element of central planning.

Article 4

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council, the FDGB National Executive Committee, the Presidium of the Chamber of Technology, and the central executive board of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, focuses on the fundamental tasks for the development of the movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs directs the central working team of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. He coordinates and supervises the activity of the central state organs developing the movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and in preparing and conducting the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow. To that end he cooperates with the central managements and boards of the social sponsoring organizations.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is accountable to the Council of Ministers for preparing and conducting the Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

Article 5

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for assuming central state tasks in developing youth tourism. In concurrence with the FDJ Central Council, he ensures the measures necessary in support of the youth travel bureau of the GDR, "Jugendtourist."

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council, sets down requirements for the development of youth tourism facilities. He directs, controls and supports the activity of the local councils in implementing state tasks in the field of youth tourism.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the registration of youth tourism facilities with the Office for Youth Affairs.

Article 6

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the direction and control of the central state organs and local councils in preparing, correlating and funding the material, financial and personnel tasks for the development of youth tourism facilities as an element of five-year and annual plans and their implementation.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for preparing and implementing the investments in the Office for Youth Affairs. The central organization staff in the Office for Youth Affairs handles the tasks of the investment applicants.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in cooperation with the competent central state organs, ensures the preparation of standards for the construction, maintenance and furnishing of youth tourism facilities. He exercises an influence on preparing model and standard projects and their application in youth tourism facilities.

(4) Studies and projects for the reconstruction and new construction of youth tourism facilities require the concurrence from the head of the Office for Youth Affairs.

Article 7

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs coordinates the activities of the central state organs in preparing and implementing the vacation activities of pupils and apprentices. To that end he cooperates with the social sponsoring organizations, the FDJ Central Council, the FDGB National Executive Committee, the DTSB National Executive Committee, and the GST Central Executive Board.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is the chairman of the central committee for vacation planning at the GDR Council of Ministers. In concurrence with the central managements and boards of the social sponsoring organizations and the heads of the competent central state organs, he ensures the direction for implementing the vacation activities of pupils and apprentices. He settles the responsibility and principles for the vacation planning committees under the local councils.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs analyzes the development of the vacation activities of pupils and apprentices and informs the Council of Ministers about results and experiences.

(4) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council and the competent central state organs, lays down the requirements for the development of central pioneer camps. He supervises the activity of the competent central state organs and local councils in developing the camps as an element of five-year and annual planning.

Article 8

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the state management of youth research in the GDR.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the analysis of research results. He assists the central state organs and local councils in using the results of youth research.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs passes on the statute of the Central Institute for Youth Research as an institution within the Office for Youth Affairs.

Article 9

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for developing relations with the competent state organs of the socialist states in the field of youth policy.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs in cooperation with the competent central state organs ensures the exercise and implementation of the rights and obligations arising in the field of the state tasks of socialist youth policy from international law treaties and the GDR's membership in the United Nations and its special organizations.

Article 10

The head of the Office for Youth Affairs, in cooperation with the FDJ Central Council, submits to the chairman of the Council of Ministers, in conformity with legal regulations, recommendations for awarding youths and youth collectives and paying tribute to state and economic functionaries in recognition of outstanding distinctions in the implementation of the socialist youth policy. His responsibility, according to legal regulations, jointly with that of the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee, is to examine the recommendations for state distinctions for youth collectives, youths and persons who greatly distinguished themselves in the communist education of youth.

Article 11

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible, within the scope of his competency, for strictly abiding by plan and finance discipline and ensuring highest effectiveness in the placing of material and financial assets.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the planning of material and financial assets and the personnel requirements in the Office for Youth Affairs and its subordinate facilities and controls their effective use. He ensures the orderly preparation and implementation of the budget of the Office for Youth Affairs and the budgets of its subordinate facilities.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs passes on the job slots in the subordinate facilities of the Office for Youth Affairs and controls their being observed in conformity with legal regulations.

(4) In conformity with the FDJ Central Council, the head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the use of funds on the central account of young socialists in accordance with legal regulations.

Article 12

(1) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs has two deputies. The secretariat of the FDJ Central Council proposes their appointment to the Council of Ministers. The Office for Youth Affairs has a departmental structure. The structure and job slots in the Office for Youth Affairs are confirmed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

(2) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the rational structure of labor organization in his sphere of responsibility, for ensuring order and security, and for enforcing the socialist thrift principle. He is responsible for the direction and supervision of the executive associates subordinate to him and exacts accounting from them regularly. The head of the Office for Youth Affairs has the right to issue instructions to the executives and associates in the Office for Youth Affairs.

(3) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs is responsible for the selection, development, education and advanced taining of the personnel. He ensures the employment of the personnel in the Office for Youth Affairs and the formation of an employment reserve. He appoints and dismisses the executives in the subordinate facilities and starts and terminates the employment contracts of the associates in the Office for Youth Affairs.

(4) The head of the Office for Youth Affairs ensures the direction and supervision of the executives in subordinate facilities and has the right to issue instructions to them.

Article 13

(1) The Office for Youth Affairs is a juridical person and budgeting organization. It has its seat in Berlin, capital of the GDR.

(2) The Office for Youth Affairs is represented in legal matters by the head of the Office for Youth Affairs or, in his absence, by a deputy or a person delegated for that purpose by him. Associates of the Office for Youth Affairs or other persons may, by written authorization from the head of the Office for Youth Affairs, represent the Office for Youth Affairs.

Article 14

(1) This statute goes into effect on 1 January 1981.

(2) It supersedes:

--The 17 May 1962 decree on the statute for the Office for Youth Affairs (GBL, Part II, No 42, p 367); and
--the 8 May 1975 resolution on providing the head of the Office for Youth Affairs with juridical authority (GBL, Part I, No 24, p 434).

5885
CSO: 2300/288

NEW EQUIPMENT FOR ARMORED FORCES DEVELOPED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 29, 1981 signed to press 13 Jul 81 p 8

[Article by Lt Col W. Kopenhagen: "Purposefully Oriented Toward Main Tasks; Notes From the Innovator Conference of the Tank Services"]

[Text] The innovator conference of the tank services in mid-May 1981 was able to determine that the innovator movement in this area has continued to grow in the last 5 years. Thanks to numerous initiatives on the part of its members, the tank services have, for example, increased the number of exhibits at the formation fairs by 30 percent and for years have regularly shown eight to ten significant innovations in the exhibition section of the NVA [National People's Army] at the ZMMM [Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow] in Leipzig, which corresponds to about 15 percent of all NVA exhibits. Statistically seen that is an encouraging picture. Still, much more important is this: Most of these innovations are produced collectively according to plan, that is, purposefully oriented and concentrated toward fulfilling main tasks in training, utilization, maintenance and repair, as well as material and technical safekeeping.

Innovators also face a number of interesting and tricky problems during the next few years. In the future there will be no more training time available than now. More efficiency is needed to assure the mastery of a number of new systems and components. The innovators are to help guarantee that the latest findings of scientific and technical progress are very rapidly transferred into military practice.

What tasks result therefrom specifically for the task services? As before means and methods of purposefully improving technical and driver's instructions for tanks constitute a very extensive field of activity for innovation. In this regard the main consideration is to develop vivid and realistic means of instruction that will contribute to illustrating particularly complicated technical operations. Examples in this area are the driving trainers already introduced into training installations and work shops for BMP and tanks, the training stands and functional small tanks, along with a series of replicas and cut-away models for entire vehicles as well as individual components such as, for example, tank cannons and gas turbines.

Innovations with a direct benefit to training have also come into being in the units and the schools for noncommissioned officers. Included are devices for shutting off engines for driving instructors and training turrets for the SPW (armored personnel carrier)-60PB and the SPW-PSH.

All told the innovations have led to an increase in training efficiency of about 15 to 20 percent. A further focal point for future activity by innovators consists in perfecting the maintenance and repair processes in the units, in repair units in the formations and in the tank repair shops. Of concern in this regard is the organization and technological improvement of processes as well as the production and use of new methods and equipment. The goal is to increase work productivity and further improve job quality, further reduce the time required for maintenance and repair in the troop, and to make maintenance and repair work under field conditions even more economical and efficient. In recent years 56 percent of all suggested innovations submitted for the tank services dealt with improving the use and repair of tank technology or with increasing work productivity in the repair installations. Representative of the many innovations would be the set of special tools for mechanics developed by the collective of Lieutenant Colonel Hermann. In conjunction with the 1980 ZMMM this collective was recognized by the minister of national defense.

Such innovations as the welding table by Private First Class Pech and the engine block capable of disassembly by Sergeant First Class Pomowski and the civilian Kohl rationalize repair under field conditions. Both objects have been incorporated in the equipment.

These and other suggestions contribute to increasing work productivity at an annual rate of about two to two and a half percent. In this regard the collectives for innovation should continue to seek solutions, according to leading officers in the tank services.

An equally extensive field of activity for innovation consists in increasing the readiness for action of tank technology and in reducing the time required to achieve combat readiness. Many problems have already been solved in order to improve preventive measures guaranteeing the reliability of tank technology, in order to reduce the time needed to put away tank technology following troop exercises, or in order to assure an orderly utilization of armored vehicles.

To name just a few examples: The valuable ideas of several innovator collectives contributed to the development of testing equipment with which the compressed air system in tank technology can be tested installed. With the aid of this equipment valuable time can be saved that would otherwise be spent in disassembly and assembly of components along with their inspection at test stands. An innovation by the collective associated with Comrade Engineer Pohl for the electric transfer pump MZA-3 saves time and prevents TS losses. The introduction of compressed air start filling equipment as well as systems to aid in starting and extraneous current feed into the armored vehicles fulfill further prerequisites for decreasing starting time.

Many suggestions and proposals by innovators have gone into all of these measures. In the final analysis they led to a decrease of a total of 12 percent over the last 5 years in the time required to put tank technology into operation. In this area as well the innovators in this service can continue to contribute with their ideas and suggestions in fulfilling future tasks.

Another word concerning the prosessing time: Those responsible see in the more rapid forwarding of suggestions for innovation the point of departure for reducing this time by about 15 percent. But the innovator himself can reduce the processing time by providing complete and substantive suggestions which will make further inquiries and extra work unnecessary.

9746
CSO: 2300/278

ACADEMICIANS ANALYZE SIGNIFICANCE OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY, CULTURE

Relevance of Prussian History Studies

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Mar 81 p 9

[First of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Prof Dr Horst Bartel, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Our Picture of History Has Sharp and Valid Features--Basic Outline Drawn by Our Classic Forerunners --Tasks of Today's Historians"]

> [Text] Beginning today BERLINER ZEITUNG publishes a series of contributions to the history of Prussia from the end of the 17th century to the dissolution of the Prussian state in 1947. The authors are scientists at the Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences. The introductory contribution deals with the theme, "We and Prussia."

Why are we dealing now so intensively with the history of Prussia?

That, or something like that, is the question that is often being asked. As an historian, one is tempted to respond, in amazement, with a counter-question: Have we dealt less intensively with Prussian history in previous years? Actually, it never was a side track in Marxist-Leninist historiography. Granted, dealing with Prussian history today is important not only for an historian but especially also for a broad public in connection with the question about our relationship with our historic heritage, and thus gains interesting and new topical aspects.

This issue has in recent times become ever more clearly subject to sharp ideological confrontation between the two German states. Many more people thus find themselves confronted with the topic of Prussia than some 15 or 20 years ago. There can, furthermore, be observed generally a growing interest in history in the GDR. Quite assuredly that has something to do with the process of penetrating intellectual-cultural changes taking place along with the further construction of the developed socialist society. That process makes possible--indeed, it demands--an ever more comprehensive creative-critical relationship also with the history of our people. Prussian history is part of it. On account of the place and role of Prussia, it is an essential component of that history.

Confrontation With Reactionary Prussianism

The direct confrontation with reactionary Prussianism was a very important task in the early postwar years in surmounting the fascist and militaristic ideology. But it was not only a matter of an intellectual reorientation. After 1945, the Junkers and monopoly capitalists were rendered impotent in the GDR territory, which destroyed the social pillars of Prussian-German militarism and of Prussianism. Through the antifascist-democratic transformation, the establishment of the GDR and the construction of socialism, a radical break was made from the reactionary past. That included the break from reactionary Prussianism. Precisely for these reasons we can today speak and write more leisurely about the history of Prussia, from the standpoint of socialism, which has taken deep roots among us in the GDR.

Part of Our Historic Legacy

Certain events and the attention given to the topic of Prussia in contemporary intellectual life induced some people to raise some questions. But the thesis propagated by certain circles abroad of a new image of Prussia in the GDR is pure nonsense.

We have no reason to revise the picture of Prussia as it was drawn in its sharp and valid outlines by Marx, Engels and Mehring. That image of history retains its validity in its basic structure.

But why should one not continue to reflect about one thing or another?

For a long time Prussia was the largest and most important German territorial state. Since the end of the 17th century it had a great influence on the history of the German people, even of Europe. And are we not confronted with the history of Prussia to this very day? Be it residues of history legends about the "Old Fritz," legends of bourgeois-reactionary coinage, or influences by Western propaganda or local traditions which are relatively prominent in some areas, mainly in the former Mark Brandenburg. Prussian history also confronts us in literature, in the works of Fontane and Kleist, for example. And what would our beautiful old Berlin be without the monuments of high artistic rank built under the regency of Prussian kings?

Many threads thus connect our present with the past, regardless of the way we look at it.

Prussian history is a part of our historic legacy. We are facing that legacy while the position we take is clear, of course, and unmistakable, that of the victorious workers class.

We accept as a fact that the history of Prussia is not identical with that of the Hohenzollern or of Prussianism. The issue taken with Prussia by Marx, Engels and Mehring--and by all other representatives of the revolutionary workers movement--always concerned the reactionary policy of the ruling classes and the manifestations suggested by the concept "reactionary Prussianism." We mean by that the reactionary domestic and foreign policy of Prussian Junkerdom and its representatives, the Hohenzollern kings, and the ideologially embellished basic stance by the

ruling class in Prussia, its effects also showing in the middle class, the peasants and other strata: pride of place, nationalistic arrogance and a spirit of aggression, submissiveness, blind utter surordination, cant and subjective devotion. All progressive forces in German history in bitter struggle opposed this Prussianism, which carried on despotically within and aggressively to the outside.

But there still was a "different Prussia." Our sharp indictment of reactionary Prussianism by no means makes us blind to the progressive elements existing in the history of that country. The at times rapid development of the Prussian state, its economy and its culture is inconceivable without the achievements of the people, the peasants, the lower middle class, especially the young workers class, the intelligentsia, and even parts of the bourgeoisie, even, indeed, of individual forces within the Prussian nobility.

The founders of our world-outlook never ignored the progressive propensities and tendencies in the history of Prussia. From our watch tower in social development, and furnished with the knowledge of many newly tapped historical sources, we can be still more discriminating in looking at our historic legacy without, while doing so, surrendering positions achieved.

Further Elaboration of the Image of History

The GDR historians consider it a necessary and interesting task further to elaborate the image of Prussia in history, while confronting in principle the history of the Prussian state and of its ruling classes. This they do, for example, by emphasizing the great progressive achievements of the popular masses, the cultural and scientific values accomplished and the at times especially rapid development of the productive forces in that country. This concern also applies to a more discriminating assessment of individual rulers or ruling classes and their representatives.

In this sense, the article series about Prussia starting today is meant to contribute to the further development of its image in history.

Promotion of Art, Militarism

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Apr 81 p 9

[Fourth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Hannelore Lehmann, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "'Athens' and 'Sparta' in Conflict--Brandenburg-Prussia as Feudal Military Camp"]

[Text] In his "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg," King Frederick II compared the reign of his grandfather with that of his father, the "soldiers' king," and wrote: "Under Frederick I Berlin was the Athens of the north, under Frederick William it became Sparta."

As in the ancient city state, general trade and architecture, art and science blossomed toward the end of the 17th century in the court and the capital. All that germinated under Elector Frederick William. It all blossomed under the aegis of Eberhard von Danckelmann, who came from a bourgeois Westphalian family, educated the elector's heir Frederick and, after he had come to the throne, became the chief statesman in Brandenburg-Prussia. Also the highly cultured wife of the elector,

Sophia Charlotte, encouraged Berlin's cultural rise. The Arts Academy was established there in 1696, the Society of the Sciences in 1700, and its first president was the great universal scholar Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. In 1710, they started the Charite Hospital.

Elector Frederick III Becomes the King of Prussia

Berlin found a competitor in Halle which for a while became the center, way beyond the empire, of progressive doctrines and aspirations through the university founded there in 1694 and the Francke Foundations, a large-scale pedagogical and commercial enterprise of progressive-religious provenance. There were close relations with Tsar Peter I and his circle. Noted artists and scholars, such as Brandenburg-Prussia could hardly produce itself at the time, came to these towns, finding places to work and shelter from religious persecution. The ingenious architect and sculptor Andreas Schlueter was in Berlin from 1694 till 1713 where he adorned the court of the armory with 21 highly expressive masks of dying warriors and created the equestrian statue of Elector Frederick William, the central part of the Charlottenburg Palace and many other outstanding works.

Students rushed to Halle to hear the jurist and philosopher Christian Thomasius. He gave lectures, not in the customary Latin but in German, and fought in words and by his pen against the practice of torture. Still more famous was the mathematician and philosopher Christian Wolff, who in his works promoted the spread of the early enlightenment through large parts of Europe. The Enlightenment was an all-European emancipation of bourgeois thought from the fetters of the feudal ideology. It took hold in Brandenburg-Prussia, initially on soil alien to it, but even in its early phase left inerasable traces.

For Elector Frederick III, the arts and sciences hardly meant anything more than means to satisfy his superficial ostentatiousness. His supreme desire was to adorn himself with the royal title. Danckelmann, who rejected that plan, incurred displeasure and was confined in the fortress. In 1701, this personally insignificant ruler, with the Emperor's agreement, crowned himself the king of Prussia in the capital of his sovereign Duchy. He thus did not become the king in the total area of the Hohenzollern territories, but could add this high-sounding title to his other titles and, manipulated by a parasitical clique of nobles, started a waste out of all proportion with his revenue, which invoked a state crisis. For the successors of King Frederick I the new title became a dangerous spur for stronger power politics.

King Frederick William I in 1713 rigorously stopped the court's wastefulness but also the promotion of the arts and sciences. Goethe's great-uncle Johann Michael von Loen, visiting the court of Berlin in 1718, praised its good manners and thrift. In view of the accumulated funds, he wrote, with reference to the monarch: "What still matters now only is what he is going to do with them. They are the best means to provide blossoming prosperity for his ample estates and to improve the meagre acres by his lush dung, as it were."

Reality, however, left no doubt in this visitor either that those treasures were chiefly intended for army concerns.

Berlin--as Frederick II wrote in his "Memoirs"--had turned into a "Martian camp." No longer did it remind one, in its sobriety and military cut, of Athens, but of the ancient military state of Sparta. All of Brandenburg-Prussia resembled Berlin. In 1714, at the end of the Spanish War of Succession, army strength was up to 40,000 men. It was not reduced, which was against all custom. On the contrary. The soldiers' king quartered his recruits in the country and furthermore started a wild coercive recruitment to enlarge and improve his total strength. Terror and resistance spread through the population. The king had to become delicate about it but held to his line. When he died in 1740, army strength was up to 81,000 men.

Finally it had come to the point that Brandenburg-Prussia had, next to France, Russia and Austria, the largest army in Europe though in terms of land area it ranked the 10th largest and in terms of population, only the 13th largest.

This extreme army strength could on the long run be maintained only if one placed on the people, in addition to material burdens, the burden of military service which would only end at old age or through disability and was feared and hated because of its cruel penalties and degrading drill methods. That was done by means of the so-called canton system.

Every regiment was assigned a certain area (canton) for recruiting, made lists of the peasant lads and enlisted them as soon as they were old enough. Because the native nobility, in obedience to the will of the king, had to provide the officers' caste, the hostile contrast between commanding and whipping manorial rights and reluctantly obeying submissive peasants was reproduced in the army in the relations between the officers corps and the enlisted men. That put a mark on militarism in Brandenburg-Prussia that was exceptionally reactionary.

Double Burdens on Obedient Subjects

Uniform organization, constant drill and a targeted introduction of military innovations turned the Prussian army into a highly functional and dangerous machine. During the lifetime of its creator it hardly ever went into operation, however.

Frederick William I concentrated on domestic policy. His idea was to conserve the prevailing social order as a basis for a taxation and defense setup and to stabilize it through further population growth and reforms. That was served by municipal and guild reforms, edicts against the expropriation of the peasant proprietors, the settling of religious refugees from Salzburg and Bohemia, the letting of domain lands, the protection and monopolies for manufacturing enterprises, canal construction, amelioration, the setting up of chairs in economics and so forth. A reorganized civil service apparatus, accurately calibrated, served these measures importantly.

With the stick and with pious maxims the absolutistic state brought up obedient subjects eager to serve and pay taxes. They bore the twofold burden of reaction and restricted progress.

Power Politics of Frederick the Great

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 30 Apr 81 p 11

[Fifth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Prof Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "A Conservative Pays Homage to the New--What Were the Aims of Prussian King Frederick II?"]

[Text] About no other Hohenzollern king are there as many legends as about Frederick II. The reasons for that are likely to be found in the contradictory nature of that monarch, who was a military man and an aesthete at once, as well as in the later development. Liberals as well as reactionaries referred to the king. The liberals, because they thereby sought to protest against the intolerance in matters of the "freedom of the mind and of the press" that started under Frederick's successors. The reactionaries, because the power politics of Frederick II offered them many handles for their own aggressive intentions. One must penetrate all these legends to find the actual core in this tradition if one wants to deal with the person, politics and effectiveness of this Prussian king.

Through Annexation Into a Big European Power

Acceding to the throne in 1740, the 28-year old monarch staked out the whole range of his future policy in the first half year already of his reign. Willingness for reforms domestically, as long as the boundaries of the prevailing order remained untouched, came coupled with a clearly aggressive foreign policy program. "I move from land to land, from conquest to conquest and, like Alexander, always plan to conquer new worlds," he had announced.

The death of Emperor Charles VI, and the conditions of the Hapsburg lands in disarray, induced the young prince, who tended to make hasty decisions, to invade and conquer Silesia, which was part of the Austrian monarchy at the time. Thereby Frederick II started the War of the Austrian Succession which lasted until 1748 and involved, in addition to England and France, still other teritorial states which, like the Prussian king, sought to benefit from Maria Theresa's inheritance.

The conquest of Silesia raised the rank of the Prussia of Frederick II to that of a big European power, even though the smallest of them. What his predecessors had sought to achieve in vain, this glory-craving Prussian king accomplished at once. Not only his people and his country had to pay a high price for it.

Stirred by the act of aggression form this "upstart," a "grand coalition" was formed (of France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Saxony) intending to partition the Prussian monarchy and reducing it to the scale of the Mark Brandenburg. In 1756 Frederick II dealt a preventative strike by which he sought to bust the "grand coalition" and make his own aggressive aims prevail. The Seven Years' War (1756-1763) led Prussia to the brink of disaster. It extracted immense sacrifices from the people in the Prussian provinces but also in the other states overrun by the war, mainly Saxony, Bohemia and Moravia. Settlements destroyed, human lives snuffed out, an economy in ruins and social misery was the price for holding on to Silesia.

The consequences of the Prussian act of aggression ranged into the far distant future. Brandenburg-Prussia maintained its supremacy. Its population, territory and financial income increased by circa one third through the annexation of Silesia. That altered the power ratio in the Empire. The Hapsburgers now had to face an equally strong rival, in Prussia. The Prussian-Austrian dualism resulting from that continued into the late 19th century. It affected the urgently needed solution of the national question. But that Frederick II never thought about when making war because his thinking was dynastic, not national in concept.

Only when one starts with the aggressive foreign policy of Frederick II, the next victim of which was the Polish state in 1772, can one properly assess the domestic development of Brandenburg-Prussia between 1740 and 1786. The monarch wanted to strengthen Prussia, turn it into a country whose name other nations would pronounce with respect and fear. But that he could only do if he did not close himself off from innovations in the economic and cultural field, which emanated from more developed countries, the Netherlands, England and France.

And so a phase in the development of the state began in Europe with Frederick II which French contemporaries would call enlightened despotism and later historians, enlightened absolutism. They thereby pointed to some new manifestations in the policy of absolutistic rulers, an increased willingness to adapt to new inevitabilities coming in with manufacture capitalism growing strong in Europe.

Frederick II lived in a transitional period. When he came to the throne there were already two social orders in Europe. He himself became an "eye-witness" of the American Revolution, and 3 years after his death the great revolution of the French initiated the era of capitalism. The change in preparation did not fail to have its effects on the feudal world. Europe's crowned heads reacted to it, provided they were sensitive enough, like the Prussian king, to perceive the changes.

Attempts at Adapting to New Developments

First the monarch's answer to the new manifestations was ideological. He absorbed suggestions by Germans and Frenchmen of the early Enlightenment and developed his conception of the state with reference to the history of the Netherlands. In 1739 he had expressed his intention to make his people "happy." A "contented people will never think of rioting, a happy people fears the loss of its ruler." To strengthen Prussia's power politics, accommodate it to the new developments and to reign in such a way that no cause for revolt arises--that was the goal the monarch had adopted.

Frederick II was a thoroughly conservative man who wanted to "conserve" what existed. That he could no longer do, however, without paying tribute to what was new. This he mainly did in the fields of culture, science and jurisprudence. His reviving the Academy of Sciences, the brief suspension of censorship for some Berlin newspapers, the loose handling of censorship later in cases not affecting the vital interests of the state, the moderation of the penal code, the abolition of torture, except for lese majesty, the tolerance in religious matters, which his predecessors had already practiced, and the codification of existing law, limited though all that was, did win him the sympathies of many progressive representatives of the bourgeois intelligentsia. Already hopes were being fed that it should be possible to make social changes with the help from enlightened rulers.

Protecting the Privileges of the Nobility

But ultimately those hopes were deceived. Frederick II, to be sure, on behalf of his power politics, sought to strengthen Prussia economically, for which reason he encouraged manufacturing, not always through effective means, and at times enforced innovations in agriculture against the will of the nobility. But he curbed his own endeavors by simultaneously doing everything to preserve the prevailing order. Frederick II protected the privileges of the nobles; let them keep the land monopoly and thus the right to exploit the peasants in feudal bondage.

When he died in 1786, Prussia was a military power feared by others. Commerce and manufacturing flourished, the middle class grew strong. Yet the country still was in a crisis. Absolutism, even the enlightened variant of it, could no longer meet the demands of the new era.

People's Role in 1813 Uprising

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Jun 81 p 9

[Eighth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Heinz Helmert, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Revolt and the New Start of 1813--When the People Took Up Arms Against Napoleon's Foreign Domination"]

[Text] A Cossack detachment under Colonel Tettenborn, coming from Pankow, had entered Berlin on 20 February 1813 but, being fairly weak, could not hold out against the French garrison--Berlin was under French occupation--and had to withdraw again the same day. Impatiently the Berliners were waiting for the arrival of stronger Russian forces.

In January the news had spread of an agreement which General Yorck, commanding a Prussian auxiliary corps of the Napoleonic army, was said to have negotiated with the Russian General Diebitsch in a mill near Tauroggen near the Russo-Prussian border. Men and women were convinced the hour had finally come for Prussia and the German people to rise up resolutely for their national liberation. Their hatred aimed against the yoke the French Emperor Napoleon had imposed on them after the defeat of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstedt and the peace of Tilsit in 1807.

"Now again the time has come," General Bluecher in those days wrote to General Scharnhorst, the military head of the reform party, "to do what I recommended in 1809, to call the whole nation to arms, and if the princes do not want it and oppose it, to chase them all out together with Bonaparte."

As a matter of fact, the liberal reformers around Baron von Stein and Gerhard Scharnhorst had been working since 1808, and especially since 1809, for an uprising by the Prussian monarchy against Napoleon, the whole people behind it. To achieve success they were not afraid to use Jacobinic measures, while they were of course also seeking a war alliance with the Russian tsar, the Austrian emperor and the British cabinet.

Only a People's War Could Break Napoleon's Power

Favorable circumstances resulted from the raids against Napoleonic power by insurgents in the kingdom of Naples, Portugal and Spain, which had started there in 1806, 1807 and 1808 with uprisings against Napoleon's governors. Austria too, after hasty reforms in military affairs and the government administration, sought to regain the territories it had lost in its conflict with France by a war in 1809. The attempt was popular enough. After all, Beethoven had dedicated his military march in F, No 1 (which later became well known as the Yorck March) to the Bohemian militia. But the Austrian strategy lacked all dash and fire. The Austrian monarchy gave up even before all forces assembled had met the enemy in a concentrated fashion. The resurrections sparked by that war in Tirol and northern Germany failed because of it and because of being so isolated. It became evident in 1809 that that Corsican's immense power could be broken only by a people's war.

Attack on the Tsarist Empire Ended in Helpless Flight

To consolidate definitely his sway over the largest part of the continent and, at once, deal a fatal blow against his capitalist competitor, Great Britain, Napoleon Bonaparte in the summer of 1812 attacked the tsarist empire with his Grand Army. He had put up half a million soldiers, many Germans, Italians, Netherlanders and Poles among them. Almost against the will of the tsarist court the Russian people and army turned the war against Napoleon into a patriotic war, dismissed any thought of surrender when he nonetheless occupied Moscow and finally forced him to withdraw. The resolute pursuit by Field Marshal Kutuzov's troops and partisans turned that into an unholy rout. Puny remains of Napoleon's Grand Army returned, among them the Prussian auxiliary corps under Yorck's command, undefeated.

Napoleon fled to Paris to make plans, in the Tuileries, about continuing his war because he did have strong reserves through which his losses could in part be made up. Also between the Oder and the Weser and in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine considerable forces assembled covering the French deployment and taking part in the counter-offensive. That lent the Prussian provinces a strategically decisive position.

In Prussia the resurrection against Napoleon spread slowly but all the more surely. Brandenburg villages put up a militia of their own, volunteers followed the Russian troops, and in March 1813 Russian troops, with Prussian troops following them, liberated Berlin and many other places. The Prussian court was terrified, to be sure, obstructed the popular uprising and delayed the cooperation of its own army with the Russians, but it could not dispose of the insurrection once it had started, since even army leaders were calling for war against France. Scharnhorst and his fellow-combatants enforced long overdue reform measures they needed for the approaching uprising by the people's forces against Napoleon.

The Court and the Junkers Used the Victory for Their Own Ends

Young men and mature men, peasants, craftsmen, pupils, students, wage laborers among them, volunteered in hurrying to the assembly points. Enlisting, equipping and training them, the whole mobilization in fact, took place under the most difficult circumstances, which could be coped with only through the voluntary sacrifice of all of one's property. In spite of all that the Prussian and Russian forces

remained small, considering the tasks, even though they were supported by popular uprisings and guerrilla detachments between the Elbe and the Rhine. The allies suffered two defeats, at Grossgroeschen and Bautzen, during their spring campaign, which required their withdrawal to the Oder and advised a truce with Napoleon early in June.

Gradually the enormous efforts, which were still increased, made themselves pay. Reserves joined the Prussian field army, among them mainly the militias that had been formed in all parts of the country and impressively embodied the people under arms and the popular resurrection which the people itself had insisted on. With respect Franz Mehring wrote that its 1813 uprising had been "a struggle conducted with incomparable heroism" which to commemorate the workers class had every reason. At the same time, however, the 1813 fall campaign also started as the war of a coalition of reactionary monarchies which, in addition to Russian and Prussia, was also joined by Austria and Sweden, and which would exploit all victories for its own end. The campaign had its ups and downs until the allies won in mid-October in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig. Napoleon's power declined and disintegrated in 1814 and 1815 in France as well.

Prussia had liberated itself outwardly. The court and Junkers, however, used the people's victory to restore their feudal domination and suppress the people once again.

Prussia Cult and Nazism

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Jul 81 p 9

[Thirteenth of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Klaus Scheel, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Iron and Blood in New Form--The Potsdam Marriage of Fascism With Old-Time Reaction"]

[Text] At 12 o'clock sharp on 21 March 1933, the glockenspiel of the garrison church in Potsdam sounded its tune, "Ueb immer Treu und Redlichkeit" (Abide by Faith and Honesty). That day it tolled for an act of state which propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels had staged. Even the choice of the date had been carefully considered. On 21 March 1871 Otto von Bismarck had summoned the German Diet for its opening session in the Prussian House of Deputies in Berlin. "Iron and blood" were the midwives of the second German Reich. They also fathered the Third Reich on 30 January 1933. Potsdam was to make evident that it was all over with the "spirit of Weimar."

In a speech in April 1932, Goebbels had offered the Nazi party's allegiance to "Prussianism" and affirmed without reservation: "Prussian militarism! Prussian utter subordination! Prussian discipline!" Now the "Day of Potsdam" was to set a marker for mass agitation. The town was wrapped in a sea of swastica banners and black-white-red flags of the Empire. Only a few days before they had become the flags of the Reich, doing away with the black-red-gold flag.

The Spectacle in the Garrison Church

In the garrison church, above the vault of the Prussian kings, there sat, in the uniform of an imperial general field marshal, Paul von Hindenburg, officiating for the last 8 years as president of the Reich. Next to him, the former corporal and now Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler, the "Fuehrer" of the Nazi party.

Hindenburg invoked the spirit of Prussia in his speech. He glanced at the Hohenzollern box, where an armchair was being kept vacant for William II. The former emperor had sent the former crown prince in his stead, however. Hitler's speech praised the splendor of the olden days and lamented the disintegration of the Reich. Now, however, Hitler exclaimed, "the marriage was performed between the symbols of old greatness and young strength." By "young strength" he meant the Nazi party which had been handed the power on the insistence of the most aggressive segment of German finance capital.

An expression of this "marriage" was that Prince August William of Prussia had reported in the brown uniform of an SA upper group leader, while the Hohenzollern Princes Eitel Frederick and Oscar of Prussia stood there in field grey, in an honor company, ready for full marching order. The parade in front of Hindenburg brought units of the army, the SA and SS, the police and the "Stahlhelm" together.

Seizing Power by Murder and Terror

Recalling "Prussia's gloria" was meant to help consolidate the fascist dictatorship. For weeks a pitiless terrorist campaign had been raging against communists and honest antifascists. The strong parliamentary faction of the KPD had been disbanded in violation of the Constitution. The conservatives readily supported that demarche and on 23 March 1933 voted for extraordinary powers to be given to Hitler, in the Diet. But he, even then, frustrated their hopes for reintroducing the monarchy, declaring that intention to be out of consideration entirely. In the course of the elimination of all local opposition, Goering was appointed Prussian Prime Minister and then the Prussian ministries were merged with those of the Reich, and the provincial diet was put out of action. The eagle on Prussia's code of arms got a swastica attached to his breast.

When some high SA leaders were shot on 30 June 1934, some conservative politicians and the generals von Schleicher and von Bredow also were murdered. The SA leaders around Ernst Roehm wanted more power and had to die for the benefit of the alliance of the Nazi leadership with the army general staff. To get rid of the SA leaders competing with them, the generals had given their blessings to the murder operation in good time. The monopoly bosses likewise, for the sake of bigger armaments business, approved the bloody action against those the regime had found unaccommodating. SS leaders of the Prussian nobility held an exposed position during the strike against the SA. Among the victims as well as the murderers there were men who claimed to be Prussians. As noisily as the Prussian "virtues" were being propagated--they did not mean a thing to the reactionary forces when it came to more advantages, power and profits.

KPD Fought Against Reaction With Fortitude

The KPD fought resolutely against the disastrous policy of fascist German imperialism. In his article, "Germany Under the Spell of Blood and Iron," Wilhelm Pieck wrote in 1936: "Fascism is leading the German people toward war, driving it into disaster."

There were only few in the ruling class with any scruples about the adventurous nature of the war course and the barbaric subjugation and exploitation policy. Only few made their way toward struggling alongside the vanguard of the workers class.

The turning point in World War II, gained by the Red Army in 1943, and the setting up of the Free Germany National Committee, on KPD initiative, became important road signs to a better future. The National Committee was also acknowledged by generals and officers of the Prussian nobility and the middle class who had come to recognize while in Soviet captivity the need for the struggle against fascism. They devoted themselves actively to the preservation of the progressive Prussian traditions and recalled, e.g., the spirit of the wars of liberation and the German-Russian comradeship-in-arms.

Ready to Cooperate

The great-grand-nephew of field marshal Helmuth Count von Moltke, Helmuth James Count von Moltke, met in his mansion with anti-Nazi officers and politicians. Some of these members of the Kreisau Circle were ready to cooperate with the National Committee and the KPD. Other men too, from the progressive wing of the 20 July conspiracy, took that course. Yet the reactionary wing around Col Gen Beck and Carl Goerdeler only wanted to preserve through Hitler's overthrow the class domination by German imperialism.

The Cult of Prussia Sacrificed Millions of People

After the conspiracy against Hitler on 20 July 1944 had failed, fascist terror raged. Its victims as well as its perpetrators included men whose allegiance was with Prussianism. Field marshals like Rundstedt and Keitel and tank general Guderian were members of a "court of honor" that kicked the conspirators of 20 July out of the army and had them decapitated or hanged. Famous names of members of the Prussian nobility were among the victims of Nazi justice, while others remained loyal to the criminal regime. Also the glorification of the spirit of submissiveness and the obedience to duty, "to the last drop of blood," remained important elements of Nazi propaganda to the end of the war. The deliberate kindling of the cult of Prussia made millions of people lose their lives.

The destruction of fascism opened a way to a definite settling of accounts with Prussianism.

Prussia's Dissolution, Legacy

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 30 Jul 81 p 9

[Last of 14 articles of 'Prussia--Legend and Reality' series, by Dr Siegfried Thomas, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Prussia Ceased to Exist--Allied Conctrol Council Decided on Dissolution--But What About the Old Spirit?"]

[Text] Almost 2 years after the end of World War II, on 25 February 1947, the Allied Control Council, the supreme organ of the four-power administration in Germany, passed its law no. 46. It dissolved the state of Prussia, its central government and all its subordinate authorities.

At the first glance this Control Council law seemed a superfluous act to many. The state no longer existed anyway, and even as a geographic concept Prussia had ceased to exist in 1945. The area from which it had once derived its name and the eastern territories its rulers had conquered in the 18th century had been given to Poland or the Soviet Union. Their loss came at the expense of the power politics of German-fascist imperialism which had its own roots, not last, in the reactionary Prussian military state.

Bitter Experiences Urged Measures

Laender had arisen out of what had been left as provinces in Germany--Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, in the east, Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, in the west.

The dissolution of Prussia the Control Council had decreed was, to be sure, more than just the legal fixing of a fact. There should never again be a Prussia because that state--as the preamble to law no. 46 put it--"always has been the base of militarism and reaction in Germany." Its dissolution proclamation was among those measures by the four occupation powers that were meant to serve the preservation of peace and the democratization of Germany. It was an aspect of the policy decided on in Potsdam for the demilitarization, de-Nazification and democratization of Germany.

Incidentally, there were representatives of the western powers who during World War II had most persistently called for the territorial dismemberment of Prussia. At the "Big Three" meeting in Teheran in 1943, the British Prime Minister Churchill called Prussia the rotten core of Germany, the notorious trouble-maker and destroyer of the nations. Quite that strong also was the anti-Prussian bias in Roosevelt and the head of the provisional government of France, General de Gaulle. So it was no coincidence that the designs contemplated by Britain and the United States for a complete dismemberment of Germany also focused on the territorial disintegration of Prussia. Responsible West European and U.S. politicians were not unfamiliar with the realization that there was a close connection between reactionary Prussianism, German militarism and fascist power politics.

That understanding contributed not a little to finding a common basis for dealing with defeated Germany among the main anti-Hitler coalition powers.

Contra Prussia--Or With Ulterior Motives

As far as Prussia was concerned, however, the Soviet partner in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam needed not to be persuaded about the ominous influence of its reactionary traditions on the policy of fascist Germany. As Marxists, the statesmen of the USSR were thoroughly familiar with the particulars of German imperialism, its Junker-bourgeois and military character. In its negotiations with the Western powers, however, the Soviet side started from the conviction that the dismemberment of its territory could not prevent further German aggression. They favored eliminating the evil with its roots, as it was finally set down in the Yalta and Potsdam resolutions.

There was no one in occupied postwar Germany in 1945 who would openly have said anything in favor of Prussia. That name had become discredited too badly. Even in the newly established bourgeois parties, a pronounced anti-Prussianism was de rigueur as an expression of antifascism. Not a few bourgeois ideologists and politicians, outspoken representatives of the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie among them, came forth with resolutely anti-Prussian protestations.

Thus Wilhelm Roepke, one of the founding spirits of the FRG, found the roots of the deformation of the German national character and of the formation and political and economic structures that had eased fascism's way to power in Prussia and the Prussianization of Germany. Konrad Adenauer likewise regarded the Prussian-German Empire as the precursor of the fascist dictatorship. But both at the same time rejected any responsibility for that development by the monopoly bourgeoisie. As early as in 1945, the demand for a dismemberment of Bismarck's empire came combined with the call for forming a federal or confederate state which originally was intended to be confined to the territory in the Western zones of occupation.

The proponents of a federalization of Germany, by and large identical with the advocates of a separate West German state and opponents to a centralized united state of Germany, finally argued that only a federal state structure could guarantee a genuine democratic development for Germany and would ensure the security of its European neighbors.

But this was all only talk. In truth, as KPD Chairman Wilhelm Pieck disclosed as early as in early 1946, these people wanted to sneak away from the bankruptcy Hitler had left behind and "save forces of German imperialism from destruction at least in parts of Germany."

Already in 1947, the United States together with Great Britain and France began to fashion a German state out of the three Western zones of occupation. Doing so, they endeavored to make the impression as if that policy still conformed with the Potsdam resolutions and the state they projected had nothing in common with its precursor, the imperialist German empire and its traditions.

The official text makes it appear that something entirely new in German history was created in the FRG. Not rarely one can read the opinion that the FRG actually is the antipode of the authoritative Prusso-German state.

The Old Spirit Behind a New Facade

At the first glance the FRG has little resemblance with the German Empire of Bismarck's coinage. But if one takes a closer look, the continuity becomes unmistakable. Behind the state's bourgeois-parliamentary facade the same class forces have the say-so as before 1918, 1933 and 1945. The power structures remained unchanged, only the forms of government were switched. With a reorganization of social conditions failing to materialize after 1945, and with the swiftly starting restoration of the imperialist system of government, it turned out that there are by no means few reactionary features of the past that are giving shape to the state and society in the FRG. This is most evident in the continuity of the state's power organs--the bureaucratic apparatus, the police, the legal system and, especially, the FRG army. Especially the early decision on remilitarizing the FRG led to a quick revival of militaristic traditions and chracteristic features which go back directly to the Prusso-German past.

The Prussian state has been dead for more than three decades. Prussian spirit and Prussian traditions, however, have survived in that part of Germany where, unlike the territory of the GDR today, the evil has not been eradicated from its roots. The FRG's more than 30 years of history and its domestic and foreign policy visibly demonstrate that the Prusso-German passed, never coped with properly, is still fairly alive.

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NEW LAW ON RESIDENT REGISTRATION STIFFENS PENALTIES

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 111, 29 Jul 81 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Increases Fines for Violations of Compulsory Registration--Penalties for FRG Citizens Are Being Doubled." A translation of the East Berlin GESETZBLATT decree cited below follows this report]

[Text] The East Berlin Council of Ministers has drastically raised, partly, the fines for violations of compulsory registration. According to the new decree, that goes into effect on 1 September, a fine up to M 500 (thus far: M 300) can be levied on someone who fails to report an apartment move to the police or who, as owner or caretaker of a house, "neglects his duty to keep the house registration book." In addition to residents, GDR citizens who stay longer than 3 days with relatives or friends also have to enter their names in that kind of registration book. Persons entering the GDR, FRG citizens for example, have to register that way within 24 hours. Otherwise they incur a fine the upper limit of that has been doubled, to M 300. (GESETZBLATT, Part I, No 23, 1981)

Text of Law

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 23, 22 Jul 81 pp 281-287

[Official text of "Third Decree on Resident Registration in the German Democratic Republic--Registration Order--29 May 1981" signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of German People's Police. This decree, which explains the changes in registration procedures and requirements, is followed by the text of the entire new version of the law, incorporating these changes into the registration decrees of 15 July 1965 and 15 June 1972]

[Text] In amending the 15 July 1965 GDR registration decree--registration order--(MO) (GBL, Part II, No 109, p 761) in the version of figure 7 in appendix 1 of the adjustment decree of 13 June 1968 (GBL, Part II, No 62, p 363), and the second, 15 June 1972, GDR registration decree--registration order--(MO) (GBL, Part II, No 39, p 443), the following is decreed:

Article 1

Article 2 section 1 figure 1 is amended to read as follows:

"1. Aliens who have diplomatic identification, consular identification or other identification documents issued by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs."

Article 2

Article 3 section 3 is amended to read as follows:

"(3) Heads of communal accommodations in enterprises, universities, colleges, technical and engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions are authorized to register persons who stay in such accommodations, in conformity with articles 7 and 8."

Article 3

Article 7 section 4 is amended to read as follows:

"(4) Persons obligated to register can, for reporting in or out, be represented by a member of their household, who must identify himself, or by the person who keeps the house registration record book."

Article 4

In article 11 section 1 the last sentence is deleted.

Article 5

(1) Article 14 section 3 is amended to read as follows:

"(3) Persons charged with keeping the house registration record book in terms of section 2 are entitled to have deputies keep the house registration record book and must submit their names to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or People's Police kreis precinct and exercise influence on the house registration record books being kept in proper order."

(2) In Article 14, the following section 4 is inserted:

"(4) When the obligation to keep the house registration record book is transferred to some other person, the book itself has to be handed over to such a person. If that is not possible, the house registration record book has to be handed over to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or the People's Police kreis precinct."

(3) In Article 14, the previous sections 4 to 9 now become sections 5 to 10.

Article 6

(1) The heading of Article 16 is amended to read as follows:

" Staying in communal accommodations"

(2) Article 16 section 1 sentence 1 is amended to read as follows:

"For persons who have registered in accordance with article 7 and stay in communal accommodations of enterprises, universities, colleges, technical or engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions, up to one year, the heads in these communal accommodations have to register them in or out within 3 days."

(3) Article 16 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) If the stay extends above one year, the registration obligation falls under the regulations of articles 7 and 8. This registration can also be made, in accordance with article 3 section 3, by heads of communal accommodations."

Article 7

(1) Article 17 section 1 sentence 2 is amended to read as follows:

"The registration forms, when filled in, must be checked for agreeing with the data in the personal identification card or a passport authorizing entry or residence, or other personal documents."

(2) Article 17 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) Aliens who have not yet been granted the right to stay in the GDR or who have no registration receipt or indication that they have registered from the protocol department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs must present their passports or other personal documents to the German People's Police when they present the registration form of the places in which they are accommodated."

(3) Article 17 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(3) The German People's Police must be informed immediately when the presentation of a passport or of other personal documents, or the filling out of the registration form, is refused."

(4) Article 17 section 6 sentence 3 is amended to read as follows:

"Aliens who have a document made out by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs must fill out registration forms of the places in which they are accommodated."

Article 8

(1) In article 28 section 1 the last two lines are amended to read as follows:

" . . . may be given a warning or fined from M 10 to M 500."

(2) Article 28 section 2 is amended to read as follows:

"(2) He who deliberately avoids being entered or signed out in the house registration record book within the registration time frame may be warned or fined from M 10 to M 300."

(3) Article 28 section 4 is amended to read as follows:

"(4) In minor law violations in accordance with sections 1 and 2, the authorized members of the German People's Police, and in violations in accordance with article 23 section 1, also the authorized members of the local councils, have the right to issue warnings with fines from M 1 to M 20."

Article 9

The Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police is authorized, on the basis of this decree, to promulgate a new version of the registration decree with its changes in designations in the GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK.

Article 10

This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

Decree on Resident Registration in the German Democratic Republic --Registration Order--(MO)--15 July 1965 (GBL, Part II, No 109, p 761) in the Version of the Second Decree of 15 June 1972 (GBL, Part II, No 39, p 443) and the Third Decree of 29 May 1981 (GBL, Part I, No 23, p 281)

The following is decreed on the reorganization of resident registration:

I

General Provisions

Article 1 -- The Range of the Registration Obligation

(1) Persons residing in the GDR have to be registered in accordance with the provisions of this decree.

(2) Housing management regulations are not affected by the fulfillment of the registration obligation. From the fulfillment of the registration obligation no claim can arise to be provided with housing.

(3) Housing in the meaning of this decree is any place used for dwelling or sleeping.

Article 2 -- Exemption from Registration Obligation

(1) Exempted from the registration obligation are:

1. Aliens who have diplomatic identification, consular identification or other identification documents issued by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs;

2. Aliens who show an indication in their passports that they have registered by the protocol department of the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

(2) The Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police can order other persons also to be exempted from the registration obligation.

(3) A boarding-school type residence in barracks and schools of the armed organs of the GDR is not subject to compulsory registration.

Article 3 -- Persons Who Must Register

(1) Registration must be made in person unless deputation is authorized in line with the provisions in this decree.

(2) For children up to the completion of their 14th year of life, parents or guardians, for persons declared legally incompetent, their legal representatives have to fulfill the registration obligation. If such persons under registration obligation are not at the place where the registration has to be made, or if they are prevented from registering themselves, their landlord has to do so for them.

(3) Heads of communal accommodations in enterprises, universities, colleges, technical and engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions are authorized to register persons who stay in such accommodations, in conformity with articles 7 and 8.

(4) If the person authorized to deputize in accordance with the provisions in this decree cannot provide the information required for meeting the registration obligation, it may be demanded that documents be presented or that the person under registration obligation appear in person.

Article 4 -- Meeting the Registration Obligation

(1) Registration must be made in the precincts of the German People's Police as referred to in this decree.

(2) The Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police can order the registration obligation to be met also in other official places.

Article 5 -- Presenting Documents in Meeting the Registration Obligation

(1) In meeting the registration obligation, a personal identification card or a personal document authorizing entry or residence must be presented.

(2) If the fulfillment of the registration obligation is deputized to others, the documents for the persons under registration obligation as referred to in article 1 must be presented.

Article 6 -- Receipting the Fulfillment of the Registration Obligation

The fulfillment of the registration obligation in accordance with articles 7, 8, 9 and 10 has to be receipted by the German People's Police in the personal identification card, the personal document authorizing entry or residence, or in a supplement to such documents or by some other receipt.

II

Reporting In and Out

Article 7 -- Primary Housing

(1) When someone moves into an apartment, he has to register within 7 days at the German People's Police registration office or the People's Police kreis precinct in his place of residence.

(2) Newly born need not be registered if after their birth they are accepted into their parents' apartment.

(3) When someone moves out of an apartment, he has to report out at the German People's Police registration office or the People's Police kreis precinct at the latest on the day he moves while announcing his new apartment or future residence.

(4) Persons obligated to register can, for reporting in or out, be represented by a member of their household, who must identify himself, or by the person who keeps the house registration record book.

(5) When one moves within the area of a People's Police kreis precinct or the capital of the GDR, it is not necessary to report out.

(6) The German People's Police must report persons out who have neglected their obligation to do so in accordance with section 3.

Article 8 -- Secondary Housing

(1) Persons registered in accordance with article 7 who for reasons of vocational training, their occupation or their studies acquire secondary housing must register at the place of their secondary housing unless the provisions in accordance with article 16 apply.

(2) Persons who are registered in accordance with article 7 and use a summer residence as secondary housing, must register at the place of their secondary housing. The summer residence rates as secondary housing if during the summer it replaces the primary housing as principal residence. In cases of doubt, the German People's Police will decide whether one must register in terms of this provision.

(3) For moving into our out of secondary housing, the provisions of article 7 apply.

Article 9 -- Visitors

(1) Anyone registered in accordance with article 7 who visits relatives or friends for more than 30 days who do not put up guests in line with their business, must register his visit within these 30 days at the German People's Police registration office or, if there is no such registration office locally, with the Sector Agent of the German People's Police, and report out before he departs.

(2) In reporting in and out, a visitor under such registration obligation may be represented by a person who must in turn identify himself.

(3) If a visitor stays longer than 6 months, the registration obligation in accordance with article 7 applies. If housing is being kept, a special point of that has to be made in registering.

Article 10 -- Registration Obligation for Persons Who Enter the GDR

(1) Persons who enter the GDR and are not registered in accordance with article 7 must personally register with the People's Police kreis precinct at every place they stay within 24 hours and report out before they depart.

(2) GDR citizens who have their permanent residence abroad and aliens not registered in accordance with article 7 have met their reporting in and out obligation when they report in at their first place of residence.

(3) For persons entering the GDR on an invitation from state organs and institutions or social organizations, or as tourists, the registration obligation can be fulfilled by the state organ, institution or social organization inviting or taking care of them.

(4) For persons staying in commercial or social places of accommodation (e.g. hotels, inns, tourist homes or guest houses) and at facilities of religious congregations, the registration obligation may be met by the manager of such places of accommodation.

(5) If the visit lasts longer than 6 months, the registration obligation in accordance with article 7 applies.

Article 11 -- Registration Obligation at the Time of Military Service

(1) Persons summoned or enlisted in active military service or organs that make up for such active military service have to report out by showing their draft order, enlistment receipt and service certificate and report back in within 7 days after the end of their military service.

(2) If at the time of reporting out for military service or during that service the premises of article 7 apply, the obligations resulting therefrom have to be met apart from reporting out for military service.

Article 12 -- Registration Obligation for Inland Navigators

(1) For inland navigators and the members of their household, who have no housing on land, the vessel rates as their housing.

(2) For inland navigators and the members of their household who do have housing on land and are registered there in accordance with article 7, the vessel rates as secondary housing in accordance with article 8 section 1.

(3) Inland navigators and the members of their household can meet their registration obligation also at the German People's Police registration office closest to their docks.

III

Special Registration Obligations

Article 13 -- Secondary Registration Obligation

(1) In addition to the persons under the obligation to report in and out, a secondary registration obligation exists for

1. Proprietors, owners and caretakers of a house, for all residents of the house who have a lease;

2. Landlords, for all persons who reside in or visit his place;

3. Heads of communal accommodations, for the persons accommodated there.

(2) A person under secondary registration obligation has to check, when time frames for registration have ended, whether there is a receipt from the German People's Police for the fulfillment of the registration obligation in accordance with article 6. When such a registration obligation has not been met, the competent office of the German People's Police has to be informed within 3 days.

(3) A deputy can handle the secondary registration obligation if the person so obligated is prevented from doing so or cannot meet it personally because of the volume of his registration obligations.

Keeping House Registration Record Books

Article 14

(1) House registration record books have to be kept for every apartment building or communal accommodations.

(2) Keeping house registration record books is the duty of proprietors, owners or caretakers of apartment buildings. In communal accommodations, it is the duty of the manager of such accommodations. Through agreement with the housing community, a delegate named by it can also be charged with keeping the house registration record book.

(3) Persons charged with keeping the house registration record book in terms of section 2 are entitled to have deputies keep the house registration record book and must submit their names to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or People's Police kreis precinct and exercise influence on the house registration record books being kept in proper order.

(4) When the obligation to keep the house registration record book is transferred to some other person, the book itself has to be handed over to such a person. If that is not possible, the house registration record book has to be handed over to the competent registration bureau of the German People's Police or the People's Police kreis precinct.

(5) The chiefs of People's Police kreis precincts can arrange with local councils that in communities with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants a joint house registration record book is kept by the mayor or a person delegated by him for all or several apartment buildings.

(6) In communities other than the ones referred to under section 5, the chiefs or the People's Police kreis precincts may authorize the keeping of a joint house registration record book for several apartment buildings.

(7) As house registration record books only the printed forms are to be used that are published by the Ministry for the Interior. In communal accommodations a file may be kept in place of the house registration record book which has to include the same data as the house registration record book.

(8) The house registration record books have to be presented only, upon request, to the security organs and other authorized persons. Unauthorized persons are not entitled to receive information in the house registration record books. The German People's Police can confiscate house registration record books temporarily.

(9) The competent local councils are entitled to check that the house registration record books are properly kept and may temporarily confiscate them in concurrence with the chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts.

(1) A loss of house registration record books must immediately be reported to the German People's Police.

Article 15

(1) In the house registration record book must be entered, by presenting the documents referred to in article 5:

1. Persons under registration obligation in accordance with articles 7 and 8, within 7 days;

2. Persons reported in accordance with article 7 who stay longer than 3 days with relatives or friends who are not commercially accommodating guests, or visit them, within the first 3 days of their visit;

3. Persons who have entered the GDR, within 24 hours.

(2) The newly born likewise have to be entered in the house registration record book.

(3) When one changes housing, the new address has to be entered in the house registration record book.

(4) When a person has his name changed, his new name must be entered in the house registration record book.

(5) The persons entered in the house registration record book have to confirm those entries by their signature.

(6) Persons under the obligation to be entered in the house registration record book may let themselves be represented, for doing so, by their landlord.

Article 16 -- Staying in Communal Accommodations

(1) For persons who have registered in accordance with article 7 and stay in communal accommodations of enterprises, universities, colleges, technical or engineering schools, and schools in enterprises and state institutions, up to one year, the heads in these communal accommodations have to register them in or out within 3 days. The heads of communal accommodations can appoint deputies for taking care of this registration obligation when they are busy or cannot take care of it personally because of the volume of registration obligations they have to handle.

(2) If the stay extends above one year, the registration obligation falls under the regulations of articles 7 and 8. This registration can also be made, in accordance with article 3 section 3, by heads of communal accommodations.

(3) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts have to announce how, when and where registration has to be made at a German Poeple's Police bureau.

Article 17 -- Staying at Lodgings

(1) Managers or owners of enterprises that are commercial or social places of accommodation (e.g., hotels, inns, tourist homes or guest houses) and the managers of facilities of religious congregations are obligated to keep a guest record on the persons accommodated and report them to the German People's Police on the registration forms of their places of accommodation. The registration forms, when filled in, must be checked for agreeing with the data in the personal identificaiton card or a passport authorizing entry or residence, or other personal documents. The report has to be made within 12 hours after the guest's arrival.

(2) Aliens who have not yet been granted the right to stay in the GDR or who have no registration receipt or indication that they have registered from the protocol department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs must present their passports or other personal documents to the German People's Police when they present the registration form of the places in which they are accommodated.

(3) The German People's Police must be informed immediately when the presentation of a passport or of other personal documents, or the filling out of the registration form, is refused.

(4) Persons obligated to register can delegate the fulfillment of their registration obligation when they are too busy or cannot do so personally because of the volume of registration obligations they have to handle.

(5) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts have to announce how, when and where registration has to be made at a German People's Police bureau.

(6) For aliens who have a diplomatic or consular identification document, made out by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, no registration forms from their places of accommodation are required. All that is needed for such aliens is to be recorded in the guest registry. Aliens who have a document made out by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs must fill out registration forms of the places in which they are accommodated.

(7) Room referral directors are under registration obligation in accordance with sections 1 to 6 in providing private accommodations. The lessor of rooms has the duty to keep the guest registry.

(8) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts may also extend the disposition of the registration obligation according to sections 1 to 6 to other persons who accommodate travelers or vacationers.

(9) If a visit exceeds 6 months, registration obligation according to articles 7 or 8 applies. If the previous apartment is kept, a special point has to be made of it when registering, in accordance with article 7.

Article 18 - Registration Form for Lodgings

(1) Registration forms for lodgings have to correspond to the model in the appendix.

(2) For every person a registration form has to be made out. For couples, a joint registration form suffices. Children below the age of 14 are to be entered by number on the registration form of the person they accompany.

(3) Persons accommodated have to sign the registration form personally and identify themselves by the document referred to in article 5. In the case of couples, the signature of one spouse suffices.

(4) For the accommodation of tourist groups the participants of which are registered in accordance with article 7 and are escorted by state organs, institutions or social organizations, it suffices that the head of the group makes out the registration form for himself and lists the other participants by number. The same entries have to be made in the guest registry.

Article 19 -- Guest Registry

(1) The guest registry is to be kept in the form of a book, notebook, ledger or file and has to supply the data called for in the registration form for lodgings (Appendix).

(2) The guest registry is to be presented for inspection to the security organs on their request. Entries have to go back 3 years.

Article 20 -- Staying in Vacation Homes and Youth Hostels

(1) Heads of vacation homes of the social organizations, state organs, institutions and enterprises and youth hostels and other accommodations serving tourism, sport and hiking, are under the obligation to keep a guest registry on all persons accommodated, in accordance with article 19 section 1. The same applies to the contractual partner of such facilities.

(2) In hikes by the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization it is sufficient for the pioneer leader to enter his personal data.

Article 21 -- Boarding Schools

The directors of the schools of parties and mass organizations must keep a registry on all boarding pupils, in accordance with article 19 section 1. Students that are non-boarding have to register in accordance with articles 7 or 8.

Article 22 -- Staying at Public Health Facilities

(1) Heads of public health institutions must keep a registry on all persons staying in them such as explained in article 19 section 1.

(2) Persons above 14 years of age who have no valid personal identification card of the GDR must immediately be reported to the German People's Police.

(3) Heads of public health institutions can have deputies take care of their registration obligation if they are too busy or cannot take care of it personally because of the volume of registration obligations they have to handle.

Article 23 -- Staying on Camping Grounds

(1) Persons coming to stay at camping grounds have to report at once, at the latest before noon of the day subsequent to the day of their arrival, to the person put in charge of the camping ground by the competent local state organ. Some other person, who must identify himself, can take care of this registration obligation for them. The competent local state organs have to make sure that the registration can be made on the camping ground or near-by.

(2) The local state organs in charge of the camping grounds have to keep a guest registry in accordance with article 19 section 1, into which are entered all persons under registration obligation as per section 1 who stay on these grounds in tents, motor vehicles, trailers or other accommodations.

Article 24 -- Registration Obligation for Persons Who Move in Vans From Place to Place

(1) Persons who move from place to place, in circus enterprises, or persons and their employees traveling by van in their line of business, must immediately, no later than at noon on the day subsequent to their arrival, report to the registration bureau of the German People's Police in charge at their place of stay. The registration form calls for the data required for lodgings (Appendix). The next place they intend to visit must then also be announced.

(2) If there is no local registration bureau of the German People's Police, one must register with the Sector Agent of the German People's Police.

(3) The registration obligation as per section 1 can also be carried out by a member of the household, properly identifying himself, or by the head or owner of an enterprise or establishment, for the persons employed by him.

(4) Irrespective of the registration obligation called for in section 1, the persons must be registered in accordance with articles 7 and 10.

IV

Transfer of Control Authorizations for Abiding by Registration Provisions

Article 25 -- Rights of Delegates of Housing Communities

Housing community delegates are entitled:

1. to inspect the house registration control books in the apartment buildings belonging to their housing community;

2. to exercise control over the fulfillment of the registration obligation and inspect the German People's Police receipts, as per article 6, on the fulfillment of the registration obligation;

3. to ask persons who have failed to register to do so at once;

4. to procure information from the competent registration bureaus of the German People's Police on the status of the registration obligation of the persons who reside or stay in the apartment building.

Article 26 -- Controls by Authorized Persons

(1) The chiefs of the People's Police kreis precincts are entitled to authorize persons to ask to be shown the house registration record book in supervising an orderly handling of the registration obligation.

(2) The authorization must be made out in writing and be shown before the house registration record book is presented for inspection.

V

Measures in the Case of Infringments of the Registration Order

Article 27 -- Arrests

The German People's Police may arrest persons who have failed to take care of their registration after being asked to do so in writing as per articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 23 and 24.

Article 28 -- Penalty Provisions

(1) Someone who deliberately or negligently

1. fails to comply with his duty to reporting in or out as per article 7 sections 1 or 3, article 8, article 9 section 1, article 10 section 1, article 16 section 1, article 23 section 1 and article 24 section 1,

2. as a proprietor, owner or caretaker of a house or as head of communal accommodations fails in his duty to keep a house registration record book or fails to report the loss of a house registration record book to the German People's Police,

3. as the manager or owner of enterprises serving commercial or social accommodation, as room referral director or a private lessor of rooms, or as head of facilities of religious congregations

(a) keeps no guest registry or does not enter persons accommodated in the guest registry, though he is committed to keeping such a guest registry,

(b) fails to submit to the German People's Police the registration forms of lodgings within the time frame set down after the arrival of the guest,

(c) fails to inform the German People's Police immediately about facts as per article 12 section 3,

may be given a warning or fined from M 10 to M 500.

(2) He who deliberately avoids being entered or signed out in the house registration record book within the registration time frame may be warned or fined from M 10 to M 300.

(3) The administration of the penalty procedure is incumbent on the chiefs of the German People's Police bureaus.

(4) In minor law violations in accordance with sections 1 and 2, the authorized members of the German People's Police, and in violations in accordance with article 23 section 1, also the authorized members of the local councils, have the right to issue warnings with fines from M 1 to M 20.

(5) In the administration of the penalty procedure and the levying of penalties, the 12 January 1968 law on fighting against law violations--)WG-- applies (GBL, No 3, p 101).

VI

Final Provisions

Article 29 -- Reducing Registration Time Frames and Setting Down Other Measures

When required for the maintenance of public order and security, the Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police may

1. reduce the registration time frames for certain regions, kreises or communities;

2. make the signing out in certain areas by the police or the signing in at such areas by the police dependent on a special authorization.

Article 30 -- Implementation Regulations

Implementation regulations are issued by the Minister of the Interior and Chief of the German People's Police.

Appendix to the Present Decree

Day of arrival	REGISTRATION FORM FOR LODGINGS	Room No.
Day of departure	Lodging:	

Name (also maiden name) First name Occupation

Date of birth Place of birth Kreis Family status

Citizenship Place of residence, Kreis, Street No. Country (if foreign)

Personal identification/Passport No. Place of issue Date of issue

Given name of accompanying spouse First name Date of birth

Place of birth Kreis Citizenship

Personal identification/Passport No. Place of issue Date of issue

Number of accompanying children: _____

Signature

Data in the registration form can also be printed in Russian, English and French

5885
CSO: 2300/293

TRAINING FOR AIR DEFENSE RADAR PERSONNEL DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1981 signed to press 14 May 81 pp 175-176

["MT introduces" feature: "Franz Mehring Officers' College of the Air Force/Air Defense Command, Radar Technical Department"]

[Text] The radar technical troops are a branch of the service within the armed forces section air force/air defense of our National People's Army, which is responsible for assuring radar control of combat actions involving all service branches of its armed forces section. Members of the radar technical troops solve this problem in close cooperation with their Soviet comrades-in-arms. In small collectives they perform a very important job. They continually observe the air space over our GDR, register all moving flying objects on their viewing screens and identify them. They are rightfully called the "watchful eyes" of the air defense of our country and the other socialist countries. For this responsible mission the radar technical troops were equipped with the most up-to-date radar stations and with automated directional and guidance systems.

The radar technical troop section of the Franz Mehring Officers' College is responsible for the training and further development of officer cadre, who receive solid political and specialized knowledge in the instruction areas "officer for panoramic radar stations and altimeter" and "officer for automated directional systems." Together with their collectives, our graduates are able to locate and continually follow or convey and process all necessary data for flying objects within the covered area. They can also describe the aerial position for timely and effective action by fighter pilot forces and antiaircraft rocket troops. They work at the control levels leader or station engineer in a radar technical company. Thus they begin their carriers as officers at a radar station or automated directional and guidance system.

Solving the problems in an on duty air force/air defense system requires more from an officer than just mastery of combat technology. To be station leader at a radar station or officer at an automated directional system is inseparably associated with the recognition of his responsibility for the protection of our air space. It includes constant striving for political and military mastery and requires great mental and physical endurance. Therefore, training in politically responsible thinking and action is the center of the entire training program of our section.

Consequently, only he can become an officer of the radar technical troops who:

--equipped with an extensive and practical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism instructs the soldiers and noncommissioned officers of his crew in being class-conscious, resolute fighters in the defense of the socialist fatherland,

--is able to use his military, military tactical and technical knowledge and ability to operate, most favorably utilize and maintain the most up-to-date radar and automation technology under all combat conditions,

--based on his political, educational and psychological knowledge and ability knows how to develop, shape and lead combat collectives as commander under all combat situations.

That also shows clearly that during the 3-year instruction period both officer candidates and instructors must live up to high standards.

Requirements for the acceptance of students in the department for radar technical troops are a secondary school diploma and completion of professional training in the area electrical engineering/electronics. Candidates having completed study at an all-round poly-technical secondary school with a corresponding certificate as specialist are brought up to the university level in a 1-year course of instruction.

As preparation for his troop service the officer candidate receives extensive instruction in the social sciences and military sciences (tactics, gunnery and defensive training). He also receives instruction in mathematics and natural sciences, technical principles, languages and sports in accordance with his specific military activity.

The teaching staff of the radar technical troops department gives the officer candidates the special knowledge of a tactical and technical nature necessary for their later mission, with emphasis on the second and third year of instruction. The line of training "principles of radio location" deals with the various procedures for locating flying objects [missiles], and with the construction, working principles and the general cooperation of radar stations. The same applies to the line of training "principles of automation and arithmetical technology" with reference to automated directional and guidance systems. In the subject "tactics of radar technical troops" the officer candidates learn the most appropriate forms and methods of combat service, in order to be able to prepare and lead actions by their units.

Instrument theory provides them the required knowledge of the construction, the interplay of components and phases, and the physical mode of operation of the controls of a radar station or automated directional and guidance system, where they begin their work as officers in the troop. In the line of training "engineering technical control" the officer candidate acquires the needed skills in the operation, maintenance and repair of radar stations or automated directional and guidance systems.

Knowledge and ability in all tasks for future officers of radar stations and automated directional systems is imparted in the area of training "combat service."

Here the future officers acquire the skills to command as commanding officers of their station crews during reconnaissance of air space and to establish radar control during combat operations by fighter pilot forces and antiaircraft rocket troops. They learn and practice the proper use of the working systems of their combat technology, in order to be able to solve every combat problem under all conditions and to make the right decisions in the given aerial situation. This line of instruction also prepares them to train their noncommissioned officers and soldiers.

Training in the radar technical troops department takes place under the direction of qualified officers with experience in troop service. The department has an up-to-date training base with extensive teaching and classroom materials. It was created in a common effort by officer instructors and officer candidates. Numerous suggestions for innovations and rationalization went into it, and it is constantly being modernized and improved in accordance withggrowing requirements.

Most of the officer candidates take part in military science circles under the supervision of officer instructors. Here they examine independently selected subjects from tactics, combat action and engineering technical control. There are numerous opportunities for the officer candidates to practice useful operational sequences with combat equipment and in training areas. They use the aerial position simulators especially intensively, and they acquire further skills and abilities in judging the aerial situation and making decisions.

Summarizing I can say that during a three-year course of study the graduates of the radar technical troops department are taught and trained by the faculty officers in cooperation with the officers of the training companies, the immediate superiors of the officer candidates, to be well-trained military cadre and specialists in their wing section. That is verified by the progress of many former officer candidates of our department in the units and formations of the radar technical troops.

9746
CSO: 2300/276

NEW MOBILE WORKSHOP FOR CHEMICAL FORCES DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, 1981 (signed to press 14 May 81) pp 218-219

[Article by P. Kunkel, engineer: "Combined Radiological-Chemical Workshop Supports Troop Maintenance"]

[Text] The combined radiological-chemical workshop (KRCW) created a modern basis for the fulfillment of the increased demands, under combat conditions, on troup maintenance of special Ch technology, devices and agents of the Chemical Forces.

The KRCW can be deployed as a complex. It is operated by 22 men. Along with the development of the KRCW, various new types of equipment have come into existence. These elements can also be used in permanent maintenance installations.

1. Structure and Purpose

The KRCW has its own energy supply and a synchronized assortment of testing devices, tools, spare parts and maintenance materials. The easily manageable coffers (LAK II) are very useful. All pieces of equipment are arranged in order, clearly visible and easily accessible. The KRCW consists of 3 modified coffers (see Table 1). They are made of unsaturated polyester reinforced with fiberglass. They are divided into four 10 mm ring-shaped segments which are connected with each other and are attached to the frontwalls. The segments are strengthened with C-shaped bands. These consist of noncorrosive aluminum. Pieces of equipment, such as workshop furniture, tables, cabinets, separating walls etc. are attached to the bands. Doors and windows have been constructed in such a way that the inside of the coffers can be hermetically sealed.

The coffer floor consists of a wooden floor with a glued-on floor cover. Individual parts can be removed. At the lowest point of the coffer floor, a short feed pipe was installed, through which water or other fluids can be drained. In addition, there is a sucking device with which all fluids can be removed from the coffer floor.

The three workshop types are: the workshop for KC-clearing devices (WKCA), the workshop for protective equipment (WPSA), and the workshop for special Ch technology (WPsT) with Ch spare part storage.

The workshops can also be used as permanent maintenance bases. For this purpose, the coffer structures must be removed from the transport vehicles with proper means (those used for container vehicles), with the help of cranes. It is planned to introduce a separate releasing gear for the LAK II.

Each coffer is equipped with an FWUA-100 N-24 filter ventilation device. It is operated and monitored from inside the coffer.

Every workshop has a 4-kVA electric generator set. But the power can also be generated by a 20-kVA electric generator, i.e. it can be taken from the local power supply. In this case it is advantageous to connect the coffers of all workshops with each other with the appropriate cables, because the entire energy consumption can be covered by the 20-kVA generator, i.e. the local power supply.

The 4-kVA generator should, if possible, be operated outside of the coffer because vibrations and noise would interfere with the sensitive measuring and testing equipment, i.e. the maintenance process.

The difference in basic equipment can be seen in Table 2.

2. Advantages of Mobile Coffer Structures

Mobile coffer structures for mobile chemical workshops have proven themselves useful in practice. They have a number of advantages over the older type, permanently mounted structures. The following examples are to show this: when the carrier vehicle requires maintenance, the coffer can remain with the unit and can be used temporarily for maintenance under stationary conditions. The opposite is true for maintenance of the LAK II. The carrier vehicle can then be equipped with a replacement coffer, assuring continuous maintenance of special Ch technology under combat conditions.

The coffer's outer casing, consisting of unsaturated, fiberglass-reinforced polyester, lends great durability to the LAK II. Compared with past coffers, maintenance costs, above all, have been reduced. In addition, there is practically no corrosion with fiberglass-reinforced plastic.

3. Different Uses of LAK II

Workshop for KC Cleanup Devices (WKCA)

The individual WKCA can also be used as part of the combined radiological-chemcial workshop (KRCW). It offers room for 5 men inside, and for 2 men in the attached tent. Work done in the coffer consists primarily of measuring, testing and maintenance work on chemical clean-up devices, on nuclear measuring the electronic components and installations of CH special technology, as well as mechanical work.

Workshop for Protective Equipment (WPSA)

This workshop also is manned by 5 in the coffer and 2 in the attached tent. In the coffer, mostly the repair of protective masks, sewing, scanning and adhesion work are carried out. In addition to personal protective equipment, devices for special treatment, as well as canvas, bags and other equipment can be repaired.

Workshop for Ch Special Technology (WPsT)

The WSpT can also be used as individual workshop or in connection with the Ch replacement part storage, or as part of the KRCW complex. Spare parts necessary for maintenance must be entered centrally when used as individual workshop. The coffer has room for three men.

In the WSpt, working parts can be rotated, drilled or milled. There is also equipment for welding, cutting and soldering.

Ch special technology is maintained primarily out in the open. The dismounting or mounting of individual components can also occur in the attached tent. After maintenance and appropriate cleaning, it is possible to touch up the paint with a paint gun provided for this purpose.

Ch Spare Parts Storage

The Ch spare parts storage consists of a wagon with trailer and supplies the individual workshops and the KRCW with spare parts and maintenance materials. It requires one man for operation. The attached tent can be used for interim storage while loading and unloading.

4. Variations in Use

Different variations are possible for troop maintenance, thus increasing maintenance capacity. They can consist of several workshop complexes, individual workshops of one kind, or a combination of individual workshops with the Ch spare parts storage.

Figure 1 shows a standard variation for the deployment of the KRCW. It represents a nearly total ideal variation for organized technological maintenance. Should such a variation not be possible under combat conditions, a variation which assures maximal performance must be attempted.

The modern equipment of the combined radiological-chemical workshop, the greatest variations in maintenance work, but also the technology and equipment of the chemical forces, which are more complex to maintain, require qualitatively higher standards from maintenance personnel. These increased requirements must always be taken into consideration during training.

Table 1--Coffer Structures and Carrier Vehicles

Designation	Coffer Structure	Carrier Vehicle
Workshop for KC-clearing devices (WKCA)	LAK II A 1	W 50 LA/A/C
Workshop for protective equipment (WPSA)	LAK II A 1	W 50 LA/A/C
Workshop for Ch special technology (WPsT)	LAK II A 1	URAL 375 D/C/K
20-kVA electric generator type 662 6376/104	-	1-axle trailer, type Fl 51
Ch spare parts storage:		
Storage truck	LAK II C 1	W 50 La/A/C
Storage trailer	LAK II C 2	2-axle trailer type HL 50.78 T 15

Table 2--Basic Equipment of the KRCW

Designation	WKCA	WPSA	WSpT	Ch Spare Parts Storage Truck	Ch Spare Parts Storage Trailer
4-kVA electric generator 220/380 V Type 6-B316 with release gear	1	1	1	-	-
Filter ventilation FWUA-100 N-24	1	1	1	1	1
Heating and ventilation system Type 255.10	1	1	1	1	1
Attached tent	1	1	1	1	1
Portable outdoor oil heater Type 266.03	1	1	1	1	-
Folding chair for transport of 1 man during travel	1	1	1	1*	-

*Can be moved to trailer

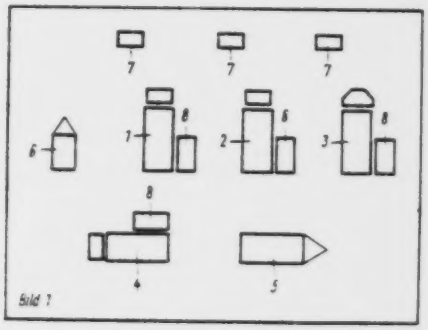

Fig 1--Variation of the KRCW

Key:

1. Workshop for KC-clearing devices
2. Workshop for protective equipment
3. Workshop for Ch special technology
4.+ 5. Ch spare parts storage
6. 20-kVA Diesel electric generator
7. 4-kVA electric generator (portable)
8. attached tent

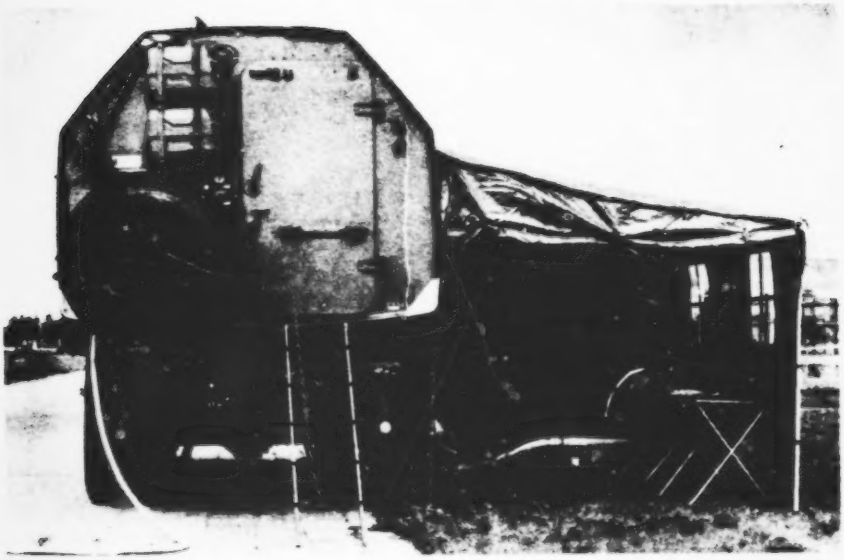

Fig 2--Workshop for KC-Clearing Devices With Attached Tent, Two Folded Down Job Sites and Portable Outdoor Oilheater

9328
CSO: 2300/275

MINISTER DISCUSSES STATE OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Aug 81 p 5

[Interview with Dr Lajos Denes, deputy minister of agriculture and food industry, by Ivan Gador: "Theory and Identification"]

[Text] Dr Lajos Denes was born in Oroshaza in 1927. After completing the University of Veterinarian Science in 1960, he worked in that field as practicioner, then in 1965 he became a staff member of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry [MEM]. In the meanshile he earned a specialty diploma in agricultural engineering and also graduated from the MSZMP's Political College. He has been deputy minister since 1978; he is in charge of trade education, research, animal health care and crop protection.

> The significance of higher education in agriculture can hardly be questioned, since the more and more specialized technologies of Hungarian agriculture increasingly require highly trained experts. The six universities under the MEM's control, and the six college departments of the universities, plus the three independent colleges each year graduate more than 1,700 students in the daytime programs alone. Another 3,200 professionals earn their diplomas each year in the evening and correspondence programs, and by working as special engineers. This sizeable organization has undergone a number of changes recently; the decentralization of earlier years was followed by centralization. Of course, simultaneously with the organizational changes a number of changes in contents were also necessary. Our reporter Ivan Gador talked aboutthis with Dr Lajos Denes, deputy minister of the MEM.

[Question] Why did the structure of agricultural higher education have to be changed twice in just a few years?

[Answer] Because we had to admit: good intentions alone are not enough. In earlier years the extensive process of decentralization took place practically spontaneously, and was greatly helped by the fact that the managements of a number of cities and smaller cities felt that in order to perk up intellectual life, it is indispensably necessary for the community to have an institution of higher education. One can hardly argue with this point of view. However, it is a fact that meritorious research work cannot develop without the proper intellectual background, just be repainting the sign on the front of the building. Unfortunately, little

else happened at most of the institutions of higher learning springing up all over the place like wild mushrooms, a few years ago since the teaching staff did not change at all, or only minor changes took place. There were some notable exceptions, but here--I am referring to the College of Veterinarian Sciences--which has an internationally recognized tradition of over 150 years supporting it.

[Question] These reasons seem so logical that one finds it hard to understand why they were ignored in the past?

[Answer] As I said before, basically this process was kept moving by good intentions. And, of course, there were also some positive aspects to consider. The college staff organized in Kormend, for example, attracted the area's young people. Since this higher school faculty was eliminated, we find it practically impossible to find students from that area, especially for schools in more distant parts of the country. Even though we made it possible after the mergers for several higher educational institutions to enroll students from the entire country, most of them are unable to take advantage of this opportunity. One example for this is that we are unable to enroll students from, let's say, Eastern Hungary, for Kaposvar where animal stock raising is taught at a very high level. The situation is the same in Sopron with the Forestry and Lumber Industry University, where there are hardly any students from Eastern Hungary.

[Question] Perhaps one reason for this is that there are very limited traditions of forestry management in the Lowlands.

[Answer] The forester is not a mountainist [sic]! I know that there is such a prejudice as you mentioned it, but let us finally acknowledge that a number of producer cooperatives and state farms operating in the Lowlands which manage forests, but whose primary activity is in the lumber industry. If there is any place where forestry management can and must be improved, then that place is precisely the Lowlands. And this requires professionals. People with a sense of obligation, who were born there and who will return to their native lands after graduating from the university. Of course, this is valid not only for forestry but also for all agricultural branches without exception.

[Question] I am told with regard to college dormitory spaces, the agricultural higher edication is doing pretty well. Perhaps more effective [recruiting] propaganda would help?

[Answer] Naturally propaganda is necessary, but unfortunately we cannot expect it to provide the solution because the reasons for this situation must be sought much deeper than from a few printed propaganda items or even a well-made film could change. There are agricultural universities in practically all regions of the country. Debrecen, Godollo, Keszthely, and Mosonmagyarovar, just to mention the four major university centers. We can provide good quality dormitory spaces for 70 percent of the students, and the institution even takes care of those who per chance could not get into the dormitories: they have a number of sublet apartments where they can place 3 or 4 students per apartment. Thus even this is no more expensive than the dormitory. I hardly consider it a tragedy for a child to be taken out of the family nest at the age of 18 or 19 years for 3 to 5 years, to join a community and learn some independence. I also do not think that this would place significantly greater financial burdens on the family than if the child were living at home during these years. And yet: most families choose the college or university the child should attend on the basis of proximity and whether he can commute.

[Question] So you also share the opinion that the family, and not the child, makes the career decision. Why is this so?

[Answer] Because it can be no other way in our present school system and enrollment system. That is, the child would actually have to decide at the age of 13, in seventh grade, what career he chooses. What an impossibility! Because it is not immaterial what kind of specialized secondary school he attends, since if he decides on the college or university of another area after high school graduation, he will start out with a big disadvantage in comparison with those who attended the specialized high school corresponding to the professional discipline. This is why most parents--at least the ones with foresight--try to send their children to general high schools. The time for decision can be postponed by this. To gain time!--this can be the only realistic goal. Because up to this day the convertible [highschool] diploma can be obtained only in a general high school. But most children are not given this opportunity. They attend a specialized high school, then an institution of higher learning corresponding to the area of specialization. And for many of them--for too many of them--the consequences are tragic. Perhaps what I say appears to be an exaggeration. But selecting the wrong career is the source of psychological and intellectual dissatisfaction, and of personality problems. I am not stating by this that most people finally do not find their places in society. But they pay a great price for it, too great a price. It is obvious that we have to modify the enrollment system.

[Question] What kind of modifications are you thinking of?

[Answer] We should concentrate much more on the basic subjects, on providing the students with significantly broader general education at the secondary school level. This way the acceptance committees could evaluate the level of general knowledge.

[Question] On this basis it can hardly be decided who is suitable to become an architect, and who for agricultural engineer.

[Answer] I know of no method by which this could be decided about an 18-year-old man within the framework of any entrance examination. Two theories have been in conflict with each other on this question for a long time. According to one of these theories almost no profession is taught during the entire time of university training, only general knowledge is disseminated at a higher level. In contrast with this, believers of the other theory would like to teach specialized professional information almost exclusively. We--since we are a small country--need people with flexible professional knowledge, thus we have to find our way somewhere between the two paths. General topics should be taught in the first 2 or 3 years at the university, and by then it can be decided which professional direction really suits which child. I also would not consider it a tragedy after 2 or 3 years the student transferred to another institution of higher learning because he discovered that he could not identify with the university's professional areas. Why should we be afraid of losing perhaps a year or two in this manner, when the alternative is perhaps 5 suffering years study, and then a dissatisifed life.

[Question] Of course, the question is whether the present educational capacity would be sufficient to do this?

[Answer] This is a false problem. If we made acceptance into the colleges and universities easier, if we accepted 20 or 30, perhaps 50 percent more students than we do today, then we would have an excellent opportunity for weeding some of them out after the first years, and even for changing careers if it became necessary. If this would open up the opportunity for good selection, we could even set higher and more differentiated requirements during the training. And while the young people were gaining high quality general education, they would be guaranteed of earning their diplomas to practice in a professional field to which they were suited, and with which they could identify.

[Question] Even today higher education is often accused of being too highly theoretical, and that the young diploma holder are unable to adjust to business life because they lack practical experience. Aren't you afraid that these complaints would be even more justified in the system outlined here?

[Answer] A basic distinction must be made between training a plant engineer in a college, and training engineers in universities. Naturally the plant engineers must primarily be taught practical information, trade, management know-how, since they will be the first-line leaders in the agricultural operations. But a different thing is involved at the universities. The entire future life and work of an agricultural engineer is determined by the depth of biological, life science, genetic, and last but not least, by the language knowledge he acquires. Because, if you like, this is the sole of the shoe onto which the upper part will be sewn later, with the acquisition of practical information. And it will be the upper part he needs for his work. Of course, in no case must it be expected of a fresh graduate to replace the experienced, older professional after only a few weeks on his new job. The apprentice system which has great traditions in agriculture should be revived on a high level.

8584
CSO: 2500/334

OFFICIALS DISCUSS CRIME, POLICE ACTIONS

Comments of Justice Official

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 3 Jun 81 p 3

[Interview with Docent Dr Habilitatus Adam Strzembosz of the Institute for the Study of Judiciary Law, Ministry of Justice, by Elzbieta Otefinowska: "Perhaps the Militia Is Working More Effectively"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] We are confronted with two sets of papers: one containing alarming information concerning a 26-percent increase in crime this year, issuing from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the General Public Prosecutor's Office as presented to the members of the Sejm; another containing a declaration by lawyers--and undersigned by 125 persons--questioning the reliability of the information given in the press on this subject. And still another text: the proceedings from a Sejm meeting of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice. The delegates have judged us journalists severely. They criticize us for our failure to make a clear presentation of the problems of crime. They say that we leave them hanging in midair.

Thus, I was all the more eager to have the scholar, Docent Dr Habilitatus Adam Strzembosz of the Institute for the Study of Judiciary Law from the Ministry of Justice, grant us an interview to explain this discrepancy in the evaluation of the situation from his point of view.

[Question] Docent, as you read the press, listen to the radio and watch television, do you feel threatened by crime?

[Answer] I would feel threatened if I were not a criminologist who, by virtue of his profession, must know how to make use of statistics and must also know the machinery behind the making of police reports. It is a fact that selective information, the generalization of individual matters and the repetition of this subject all create a climate in which something of late seems suddenly to have happened to cause a manifold increase in the number of murderers, robbers and the worst kinds of scum of society. I do not contend that there has been no increase in criminality in certain categories of crime or that this phenomenon should be ignored. However, this is something incredible in all of these alarms.

[Question] Namely, what?

[Answer] Their tone: the random nature of data, the superficiality of evaluations and the sensitizing of people to danger, in a word: the way the issue is presented. You know if the number of criminal offenses increased 26 percent this year over the same period last year, that this is an important sign. But a year ago when the statistics showed an increase of murders alone by 27 percent in comparison with the first half of 1979, no one sent out an alarm because of this. It was evident that no one cared about it. But today, when the general data are given it is not stated that the number of murders for the period under consideration has decreased, although an honest evaluation of the situation should also present the positive facts. Likewise, the fact that a decrease of 16 percent has occurred in the number of inquiries held in conjunction with active assaults against public officials has been passed over. And these data are basic. They prove that the aggressive attitude of society toward the police has not at all intensified, as may seem to be the case in the light of official statements. Lawyers know these data. Thus their conviction that the statistics on inquiries may be used in whatever way one may wish, to serve one's immediate ends.

I do not mean to say by this that the situation has not become worse in any category of crime. I would even be surprised if this were the case. Every crisis--and our present crisis began before this year--must engender such a phenomenon. On the other hand, I would like to persuade you of the fact that the matter of crime is too important and too complex for one to throw out alarming statements without examining all of the elements of the phenomenon, without a factual, responsible commentary upon what is happening in this sphere.

[Question] And what else is happening that must be mentioned in conjunction with the publication of an increase in the general number of offenses?

[Answer] The type of offenses must be characterized honestly and the social background of the new manifestations of these phenomena must be carefully analyzed.

For example, it may become evident that, given our new sociopolitical situation today, MO [Citizens' Militia] functionaries, aware of the increased possibilities that their work will be checked, work better than formerly. Perhaps their more intensive efforts enable them to detect a greater number of crimes. Perhaps they have departed from the practice of not accepting reports of "uncomfortable" crimes.

[Question] Pardon me, what kinds of crimes ?

[Answer] Crimes where we may anticipate that the perpetrator will be really difficult to find, e.g., a pickpocket.

In the past, reports of such crimes went unrecorded. A case which does not conclude with the determination of the perpetrator of the deed encumbers the detection statistics and, in turn, the measure of evaluating the police. Thus, in many instances, it is explained to the owner of a cellar which has been robbed that the MO handles thefts committed from the first floor up, or he is clearly given to understand that the report will be accepted if the victim of the crime will eventually be able to identify the perpetrator.

If the police today do not so often refuse to accept difficult cases, then this makes the statistics look worse, even though the situation is not at all the worse from the point of view of society. It is also possible that, at present, more law-abiding methods are used to reach the truth. If, in the past, there were instances of beatings of suspects for the purpose of coercing them to admit their guilt, and today such practices are frowned upon, then, in spite of this, the decrease in detection due to this reason would again be a positive phenomenon from the societal viewpoint. As far as I know, such broad analyses of the problem have not been made.

[Question] Docent, your conception is based on the optimistic premise that the police are using more law-abiding methods.

[Answer] Because there are grounds for such an idea. The police feel that they are beginning to be supervised, that they are beginning to be subject to the workings of the law. Such an awareness brings about the limitation of reprehensible attitudes. As you know, citizens today who have the support of new mass social organizations, especially "Solidarity," feel more sure of themselves in the attainment of their rights. They confront MO functionaries with the demand that the MO operate within the framework of finding principles and that they meet their obligations with regard to society.

[Question] Docent, as I listen to you I still have mixed feelings. While I am clearly interested that no policeman should fail to consider that he should never violate the rights of any citizen, if however, under the influence of psychological pressure or out of fear of eventual reproach for the violation of these basic principles, he refuses to use brutality where necessary to capture a bandit, then I as a citizen do not feel at all secure. On the contrary, I feel threatened, if only from one side.

[Answer] Clearly, force used against criminals cannot be eliminated. And society, convinced that the MO respects law-abiding methods of acting, will not blame the MO for using severe measures sometimes when unavoidable. The criminal world is not always receptive to the use of persuasion. However, the fact of the matter is that this should occur within certain ramifications and it should have its limits which may not be exceeded. And it should be clearly stated, for example, with absolute certainty that the usurpation by the prosecuting apparatus of the right to mete out punishment is only a step in the direction of impunity. And such practices have been observed. I have encountered them personally.

Once I called a policeman over to a drunk who was creating a scene. At first he reacted appropriately, sharply lecturing the man and warning him. Then, when the facts were determined, he very unceremoniously asked the man being held: "Well, which will it be, the banana [billy club] or the college [hearing before one's peers]?"

"The banana!" said the drunk. "But only once, Officer."

And perhaps this was a less painful punishment for the hooligan, but such a practice is dangerous when those who do not have a calling to the meting out of justice are in this position. Society does not approve such practices, nor do these practices create the proper foundation for building confidence in the prosecuting apparatus. Such trust is indispensable for the suppression of crime.

[Question] Docent, as a criminologist, what are the tasks that you deem indispensable for the attainment of this goal?

[Answer] A whole array of tasks if necessary.. Together they must establish the conviction among the people that the law is the law, always and for all people. They must inculcate the idea that those who are called to protect society against lawlessness themselves likewise act according to obligatory rules and prohibitions. And something else: the implementation of these tasks must bring about a situation in which behavior which is out of line with the law will universally be taken as blameworthy and deserving of censure because it is not in accordance with obligatory legal standards and...with the conscience of man. Then, it will not be necessary to place a guardian of public order behind every citizen as some would like. But here I would also like to express the conviction that our society as a whole has shown proof of its exceptional self-control. Throughout all of the troubles which have fallen upon us, despite empty stores and long lines even though rationing cards have been introduced, despite the price increases which have, in fact, come about and the resultant reduction in the living standard, not to speak of continuing political pressures, we have maintained peace and equilibrium.

[Question] In concluding our conversation I would like to ask you a personal question. You are a lawyer. You know the contents of the lawyers' statement. Would you sign their statement?

[Answer] I already have.

Comments of Defense Official

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 19-21 Jun 81 p 6

[Interview with Col Dr A. Slowik, deputy director of the MO Criminal Bureau Main Command, by Wlodzimierz Slowinski: "Are They Our Whipping Boys?"; date and place of interview not given]

> [Text] Some say that the number of crimes has suddenly increased of late, while others hold that the increase is the result of the manipulation of statistics and propaganda. Some consider the MO [Citizens' Militia] to be immune, while others feel that their job was never so difficult as it is now. We are speaking about these issues with the deputy director of the MO Criminal Bureau's Main Command, Col Dr A. Slowik.

[Question] What is you estimation of the value of the propaganda campaigns in the press and on radio and television disseminating the information that crime is on the upsurge at nearly a daily rate, and we find ourselves in the very eye of a hurricane. The provocation of such stresses and fears among society, which has reasons to feel threatened in other ways, is dismaying. Both as an ordinary television viewer and as an expert who knows what underlies these matters, what is your opinion of these things?

[Answer] Can this be called a propaganda campaign? In actuality, for a certain period of time several publications have appeared which present the current state of criminal offensiveness. On the other hand, there are published items, such as the one entitled "Perhaps the Militia Is Working More Effectively" (KURIER POLSKI, No 108) in which the subject of your interview places particular stress on the fact

that there is a specific tone associated with the threatening state. We have thrust upon us the presentation of randomly selected data and superficial evaluations as well as an increasingly dangerous situation. Then again, other publications, except for printing dozens of captions and slogans, do not contain any legitimate arguments. There are many such publications. At the same time, the reliability of statistical measurements is being shaken, but nothing real and objective is proposed in their place.

[Question] How, then, do we measure the threat?

[Answer] There must be some sort of gauge, at least to arouse prosecuting officials to better, more effective work. In our circumstances this is represented by the statistics on crime. They are not, as some say, police reports and statistics; they are police-prosecutor's office statistics. May I remind you that several years ago a joint order from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Office of the General Prosecutor was issued concerning the keeping of statistics on crime. There is also another kind of statistics--judicial statistics. But using such statistics in order to evaluate the current crime rate may be fallacious. The total volume of such statistics often includes acts which were committed much earlier (than the related case reached the courts).

It is a shame that no more objective measure has been developed to date. In this regard I am of the opinion that we should not rely exclusively on statistics; we should also poll public opinion and study the basic feelings of society in this domain. It has happened, after all, that the statistics have been excellent and yet in a given region there was still a perceptible threat of banditry or hooliganism. We likewise are confronted with the accusation that recently there has been a flood of information associated with situations that threaten.

[Question] And is there something to all of this?

[Answer] The truth is that, in reality, prosecuting officials, including the police, now have more possibilities for presenting data, including unfavorable data.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] First, because there was not such a great need in the past. At least it seems so to me In the past, I did not encounter so many people who were interested in the state of crime as I have of late.

However, we should not accuse the police, and particularly the Criminal Bureau, with "manipulation" of statistics on the state of crime. I would like to note the fact that in 1979 the Criminal Bureau of the MO Main Command made a "Report on the State of Criminal Offensiveness and Methods for Battling Crime." We based this report on many years of research encompassing the past 18 years. I know that this report reached people who influenced the policy of penal prosecution. The report reached the government, the Central Committee, the general prosecutor and the organs which administer justice. Even then, in 1979, we warned of the development of negative phenomena and trends. These prognoses of ours are proving true--and much more violently than we predicted--because they are occurring within a specific societal situation.

[Question] The report was known in 1979. As far as I know it was opened in secret. Revealing its contents today, in my opinion, smacks of manipulation, since our society is already in enough unrest as a result of the situation of our country. This additional information serves definite propaganda arguments.

[Answer] I brought up the matter of the report for two reasons. First, I wanted to prove that our disquiet goes back much further than recent days. But primarily I wanted to point out that the notion of the exclusively random, fragmentary presentation of data is just not true. Furthermore, those who make mention of such practices are the ones who are guilty of such behavior.

But to return to the report--we revealed such fragments as applied to the specific topics taken up by the means of mass communication. Are there more such fragments to be published? Yes, but the climate is such that in many fields of social and economic life there now arise issues having a negative connotation (vide licensing and investments decisions and the like). We have still not published the whole report. I could give many examples of sexual murders and their lurid details. Many subjects have still not received an objective explanation. I refer to the curses of alcoholism, drug abuse and the lack of proper security for public property.

[Question] Colonel, let us be honest--has crime increased, or not?

[Answer] On the basis of our raw statistics and working with data from 4 months of this year, we have ascertained a marked increase in criminal offensiveness by more than 26 percent. For more serious crimes (murders, rapes, robberies and serious break-ins into public and private buildings as well as theft of these buildings), the increase is still higher.

Sex-related murders have also increased, but let us keep in mind that, to a certain extent, the situation in rapes and prostitution also has an effect on this increase. For this reason, I cannot agree with the position that makes light of the meaning of these acts, as did a journalist in ZYCIE WARSZAWY. We also ascertain an increase in accidentally caused deaths (over 22 percent) and an increase in bodily injury by more than 12 percent. Moreover, the number of individual and group actions of rowdyism have also increased. I can give you numerous examples.

[Question] Colonel, your academic title is proof of the fact that you do not believe that crime has suddenly shown a phenomenal increase that grows daily because we have all suddenly had a desire to play at being policemen and thieves. You must realize that this is the result of many years of demoralization and of putting blinders on society in order to limit their access to ideas which truly serve human development. Today we are manifesting the consequences of this and we tend to forget its causes. Do you agree?

[Answer] Yes, I think so. Too little is said about the genesis of crime, its etiology. And we almost never speak of how we should go about coordinating our efforts to counteract crime. No one talks about what we should do. Show me some published materials of any value which state that scholars and practitioners are deliberating jointly on what should be done. We should coordinate the efforts of prosecuting officials and officials who administer justice. But not only this. We should indicate what every citizen can do in his own self-defense. I am not calling

for the police to be replaced. But just look at other countries (the United States, the FRG, the USSR), how much emphasis they place on matters associated with the self-defense of citizens, with the protection of children and with the security of property, automobiles and the like.

[Question] For all of this we need the cooperation of the police and society. When I was witness to the happenings in Otwock, I saw--although I was already aware of it--just how isolated the police are and how poorly society regards them. And it is not only a question of Otwock. This is the case throughout the whole country. We must think now what should be done in order to make such cooperation possible. What should we do to mend this rift which only grew and grew in 1968, 1970 and 1976?

[Answer] I think that for various reasons Otwock is not the best example of the idea you have set forth. I am not a politician. I have worked at my profession for 27 years. On the basis of my experiences I have the authority to say many things. I have been able to view various phases of my work. Keep in mind that I joined the MO before 1956. I experienced all of those important, in many ways, tragic dates on the calendar. The events of 1956 were critical for me, as were those of March 1968--I was in Warsaw at the time. I lived through the events of 1970, and those of Krakow in 1976. I must say that one thing surprises me, and I say this from a professional point of view. At this time we have conditions which are more unfavorable for work than any other time. It is a puzzling thing--I suspect that by now we are experiencing the cumulative effect of certain factors which have piled up over the course of many years and many happenings. Hence the especially intensive character of what is now occurring...

[Question] But before this time was the crisis never so profound as now in other fields of life?

[Answer] No, as you are aware, in the respect that it is particularly disturbing that when the facts of the perpetration of a crime are evident--and I could give many such examples of late--the police are unable to summon the support of the people for their actions at the moment of their intervention. I find it absurd that Zielenski says in ZYCIE WARSZAWY (despite the many other solid arguments in his article) that a policeman who desires to hold a malefactor must first conduct practically a whole judicial proceeding on the street. Zielenski says something to the effect that: "The citizen will offer support to a policeman--if he is convinced that the suspect is really guilty." Try to imagine such a pressing situation on the street...

[Question] Nonetheless, I believe that the policeman must have the trust of the citizen. Then things will not develop into such a situation. The citizen must have the sense that the profession engaged in by the policeman serves his interests. And he doesn't feel this way. And we constantly have examples of cases in which the militia is the tool and the object of manipulation of enigmatic political forces. Take the Bydgoszcz affair, for example. And the arson in Bialystok and many other places. This, instead of building confidence, builds up higher walls. Sometimes I think that the leadership of the militia is made up of people who are working toward their own detriment. And this is likewise irritating because they thereby work toward my detriment, toward the detriment of the citizen who will be left defenseless against hooligans on the street because of a militia made powerless due to the lack of confidence of society in them.

[Answer] I can only tell you this: that we, MO officials are fully aware of the need for societal support and trust. We are also interested in the ultimate clarification of all of the matters of which you spoke. We believe that this would clear the air considerably, but by chance do not examples of several other marginal matters excessively cloud your picture? Please remember that in the course of a year we conduct several hundred thousand criminal proceedings. We undertake hundreds of thousands of instances of intervention of various kinds. If, in our work, there are also incidental matters to which we have an unequivocal attitude, then how can you immediately pose the idea that the militia in general does not operate in a law-abiding way?

[Question] But regardless of what you or I want, such a consciousness does exist as a social fact and we here, as we sit at this table at the MO Main Command, cannot help that attitude.

[Answer] Let me tell you something else, even though what I say may smack of bitterness.

[Question]...I'd be surprised if you had none...

[Answer] But please observe what is happening. There are discussions of the subject of law and order among the proper commissions in which the militia is spoken of, often without a familiarity with the facts and without the presence of an MO representative. They speak of people engaging in a certain profession--and I do consider this a profession--not taking into account whether this profession is engaged in well or poorly, but the one whose interest is in the profession does not participate in the discussion. And perhaps we would have a persuasive argument. Isn't this possible?

A concept should be developed which would reconcile the fundamental principles of the work of our service with the interest of every person. The following matters are essential here: one's being disposed to be a policeman, the issuing of orders, work adaptability and the like. Society expects us to act. The planned law concerning trade unions includes the statement that certain professions may not organize and strike. We are mentioned, among others. There are also various conflicting statements in other regulations.

[Question] Today the laws are not unshakable...

[Answer] They are not unshakable, that is true. However, the militia is a paramilitary institution. Each of us has some rank and we are bound by the element of the issuing of orders and leadership. And this would have to be taken into consideration.

I should also add that, in recent times more than ever before, there arises the need to protect the official himself. Policemen, even local policemen, work under very difficult conditions (I am glossing over certain matters here, of course, which are of a degenerative character). Officers in the criminal service are in a state of constant readiness. They work odd hours, on holidays and on days when others are off. They are often in danger of losing their lives and imperiling their health. From this viewpoint, we must consider combining the elements which are characteristic of the trade union with the elements which issue from the specific nature of policework.

[Question] Colonel, at this time I notice another phenomenon which perhaps has contributed to your embitterment. That is, that the political and administrative officials to whom you are subordinate are being purged whether to bring about a change in personnel or a change of face as well, and you become the whipping boys. Hence ther is much bitterness and unrest within your ranks. Perhaps it seems paradoxical, but is the militia beginning to be left defenseless?

[Answer] The often occurring bitterness, it seems to me, does not issue from the fact that someone has been purged, that personnel have been replaced, that a change of faces has been made. Among valuable militia employees, it is the consequence of the lack of appreciation of their work and their efforts, and likewise of the good results of their detective work. It is the consequence of the lack of support of their useful service and of the general censure of all of them because of their ostensible lawlessness. I have also perceived--and I have had years of experience--that here, as in other areas, we need certain organizational-structural changes to streamline our work. But these changes should be effected quietly and with due consideration. With regard to the expressed fear of defenselessness, I can assure you that we still have available the means of which no one has dispossessed us.

[Question] Means--in what sense?

[Answer] There are legal means. There is also the human potential of people who are well prepared, who take their profession seriously, who have good morale and who are effective in their actions against criminal offenders. But for these means to bring about the anticipated societal effects, they must also have the combined support of citizens and state officials.

[Interviewer] Colonel, thank you for the interesting conversation.

8536
CSO: 2600/260

ERRORS IN WEST GERMAN ARTICLE ON ROMANIAN HISTORY CITED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian Jun 81 pp 1176-1182

[Article by Ligia Barzu: "Several Explanations Regarding the History of the Romanians as Reflected in Foreign Publications"]

[Text] The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG is publishing a series of articles regarding the origins of the Romanian people written by Dr Andreas Jonas and professor Donald Mckay. Normally, such articles would not deserve, immediately, a response within a scientific magazine. The prestige of the newspaper within which these articles are appearing, the groups being addressed and the scientific and academic titles of the two authors presented to the public, as well as the circumstances that their ideas are not missing from more recent allegedly scientific works, constitute sufficiently serious reasons for discussing the opinions they have formulated. The main idea that runs through the three articles is the south-Danubian origin of the Romanian people in a restricted area around Lake Ohrida. From there, as a result of the nomadic migrations of Vlachian shepards, the territories were occupied that, later, yielded historical records of their presence.

The arguments that are used are known as part of the arsenal presented by R. Roesler and those who follow his ideas:

1) the existence in Romanian and Albanian of certain common words;
2) the presence of certain Romanian geographic names in the Balkans;
3) south-Slavic words in Romanian
4) the absence of Old Germanic words in Romanian;
5) the non-Romanian origin of names for important cities and rivers in Transylvania;
6) archeological digs have not confirmed the north-Danubian origins of Romanians;
7) the Romanian's dependence, until 1767, upon the jurisdiction of the bishop of Ohrida, and so forth.

In addition to these ideas, which eventually can be brought into the limits of a scientific discussion, there are a series of phrases whose aggressiveness do not need to be emphasized. We are speaking of "the theory-dilemma of the Daco-Romans, through which the Romanians hide their Balkan origins" and of the "story" about the "Daco-Roman theory" which "has always been rejected by scientists as unfounded." One also reads a phrase from Stadtmuller in which we are reminded of the "exacerbated infantile chauvinism" and so forth.

What is shocking, first of all, in the arguments of these two is the fact that they feel they can avoid any responsibility by invoking names and ideas that they list in an over-elablorated disorder. Historians of the modern era (S. Dragomir) and linguists who have never for one moment shared the thesis of a south-Danubian homeland (Alex. Rosetti) are quoted in a manner that clearly aims at throwing off track the unwary reader. In this same category, we also find the allusion to the "careful recording by the Byzantine chroniclers" of the migration of the Vlachs from the middle of the Balkans towards the Danube.

They also try to obtain a favorable impression by mimicking up-to-date information, quoting from recent editions of certain works that appeared either at the beginning of the 20th century (D. Densusianu) or during the inter-war period or at the beginning of World War II (Al. Rosetti, G. Stadtmuller).

What also is surprising is their failure to mention a single historian or linguist who has taken an opposing position. This is probably because people like Th. Mommsen did not appear to them to be important enough. First of all, we can note Romanian historians such as D. Onciul, A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga, V. Parvan, N. Banescu, G. Bratianu, S. Dragomir, I. I. Nistor, C. C. Giurgescu, C. Daicoviciu, R. Vulpe, Gh. Stefan and I. Nestor, who in summaries and studies have demonstrated the continuity of the Romanians north of the Danube and the unfounded nature of the arguments regarding their Balkan origins.

Not all foreign historians have declared their acceptance of the thesis of a south-Danubian homeland, as Mr A. Jonas claims. We have already mentioned the name of Th. Mommsen.

To this, one can add other names, such as L. Ranke, V. Duruy, J. Jung, J. L. Pic, V. Chapot, Franz Altheim, F. Lot or R. Paribeni. Furthermore, shocked by the very contradictory points of view of certain neighboring historiographies, F. Lot was to state "Where else could you locate the Daco-Romans? The Hungarians, Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks all agree that not under any circumstances in Transylvania, in Serbia, in Bulgaria, in Macedonia or on Mount Pinde.

"Nevertheless, they did not fall from the sky or spring up from hell. These unanimous feelings against the Romanians urge one to adopt the thesis of Daco-Romanian continuity north of the Danube" (RHSEE, XX, 1943, p 52).

And, R. Paribeni concludes volume I of this work "Optimus Princeps" with the following statements: "The minting of money bearing the inscription Dacia Provincia in the year 112 reminds us that at that time the vast program was largely completed. Through this program, Trajan managed to establish a Latin civilization in Eastern Europe, just as Julius and Augustus Caesar had established one in the West. So vivid and profound was the imprint of Romanism that the course of many centuries and changes did not succeed in destroying it. The Roman occupation of Dacia lasted a little more than a century. However, the intensive Roman culture in Moesia Minor

did not last much longer, only three or four generations in all, yet, despite centuries of unheard of misery, disgraceful servitude, brutality, reversion to an uncivilized state, the end of every source of life and richness, destruction of culture and intellectual pursuits and the loss of contacts, even religious ones, with the ancient motherland, it maintained the noble flame of its Romanism in a vivid and intact manner, finding in it the final defense against perishing. From a vague memory of having been a Roman state, faced with Slavic, Tartar, Hungarian and Turkish violence and having restored national dignity among a diverse group of Slaves, even today in the Danubian lowlands and in the mountains of Transylvania, Roma Aeterna, the grand, powerful and benificent motherland, is acclaimed with trembling passion" ("Optimus Princeps," I, in the Storica Principato Library, Messina, V, 1926, pp 339-340).

With regards to the main arguments upon which their position is based:

I. 1) The problem of reconstituting the pre-Latin substrata of Romanian is not so simple. The main reason is that we do not have direct documents that allow us the understand the maternal language spoken by the people on both sides of the Danube during the period prior to the Roman conquest. Illyra did not leave us a single written document and Thrace only a single short inscription (Ezerovo) that can be understood only from a phrase made up of three words, with two of them representing proper names. Anthroponomies, toponymies and hydronymies of Thracian or Illyran origins do not offer sufficient elements to understand the structures of these languages. This situation is not unique. It is also a phenomenon in other cultures where the Roman civilization was superimposed over the native one (for example, Gallia and Comata).

This simple finding shows that the categorical statements made in this field of research are always risky.

2) On the other hand, the research of numerous generations of linguists (Fr. Miklosich, H. Schuchardt, G. Meyer, C. Treimer, Th. Capidan, S. Puscariu, Alex. Grauer, I. I. Russu, Vl. Georgiev and so forth[1]) has allow us to arrive at certain conclusions with regards to approximately 160 to 170 Romanian words that stem from this substratum. The first important achievement is separating the common Romanian and Albanian words (approximately 70) from those that belong solely to the Romanian (approximately 90 to 100 words). The second important finding is that these 70 common words to Romanian and Albanian are not exchanges resulting from a Romanian-Albanian coexistence on the shores of Lake Ochrida, but very probably stem from a source common to both languages - Traco-Daco-Moesic or Daco-Moesic (Em. Petrovici, Vl. Georgiev, I. I. Russu, I. Coteanu).

It is also a significant fact that, in comparison to Daco-Romanian, some of the dialects spoken by the south-Danubian Romanians contain a smaller number of common words with Albanian, despite their more frequent and longer contacts with them.[2]

3) Finally, one cannot ignore the fact that the Romanian language has a large number of words from the pre-Latin stock that cannot but come from the Daco-Moesic substratum and that are not in common with Albanian.[3] Their existence in the language has no other value than to stress the individuality of Romanian among the romance languages, since after a period of Daco-Roman bilingualism Latin eliminated the Dacian language from use, taking a small number of words that it transformed in accordance with its own phonetic laws.[4]

An explanation must be made that the archeological research during the post-war period has made fundamental contributions in proving the two phenomena that are responsible for the particular structure of the Romanian language: the continuity of the Dacians in the provinces and the Daco-Roman symbiosis. There is no need for too numerous details, since it is sufficient for us to point out the circumstances that 87 villages have already been identified as belonging to the Daco-Roman population, with many of them containing older settlements from the pre-Roman period. A significant number of cementeries were examined containing the remains of the Daco-Roman population, such as, for example, the cemeteries at Locusteni, Enisala, Soporul de Cimpie, Obreja and so forth. Similarly, proof has been given of the existence of Dacians in Roman camps and settlements of an urban nature. Already, in nine Roman camps and eight urban centers numerous and important proofs have turned up attesting to the presence of a Dacian population. This reality must be correlated with written information (Ptolemy, the Peutingerian Tablet) that mentions an unusually large number of settlements whose names are undoubtedly of native origins. The 27 toponymies of pre-Latin origins, including 22 that are surely of Dacian origin, can only be explained by the Romans' acceptance of these from the local people.

Finally, there is at the moment a sufficient number of archeological discoveries that attest to the continuity of the Dacian substratum in the provinces in the Brata-type complexes, in cemetery No 1, Sighisoara "Dealul Viilor," Harman, Verbita and Gropsani, until the fourth to fifth century A. D.

The identification of the cultural complexes belonging to the free Dacians, as well as the analysis of the impact of the Roman conquest and the intensification of the influence of the Roman civilization, are, likewise, exceptional achievements of post-war archeology. The research by R. Vulpe at Poienesti, Gh. Bichir at Padureni, Poiana Dulcesti, Matasaru and Scornicesti and so forth, and by I. Ionita and V. Ursachi at Valeni, where the most extensive cemetery was discovered (over 1,000 graves), by S. Morintz at Chilia, M. Constantiniu at Militari and Straulesti and by I. H. Crisan and S. Dumitrascu in the region of the free Dacians in the west, as well as the appearance of certain summary works, such as that by Gh. Bichir regarding the Carpic culture, which has also appeared in an English translation in London, have substantially modified the understanding of the Romanization process.

Faced with such a reality, the statement that Donald Mekay uses to conclude his letter to FAZ appears ridiculous: "At the current level of linguistic knowledge, and from archeological digs, the western Balkans and not the former Dacia (Transylvania and the Banat) are the country of origin of the Vlachs (the Romanians)."

II. The explanation for the absence or extremely few words of Old Germanic in the Romanian language must be sought, first of all, in the form and duration of the early German settlements north of the Danube:

1) Recent archeological research corroborated with literary or epigraphic sources requires us to reconsider concepts of the 18th and 19th centuries regarding the fate of Dacia after the Aurelian withdrawal.

a) The Visigoths appear to have settled between approximately 313-319 (when the military power of the free Dacians in Moldavia was eliminated)[5] and 332 (the date of concluding the foedus with Constantin).[6] They primarily settled in compact groups to the east of the Siret and in the east half of the Wallachian Plain, and pressed up against the Danube.[7] We do not know of settlements or cemeteries in the former Roman Dacia (Transylvania, the Banat and Oltenia) or to the west of the Transalutan region,[8] with the exception of a small group that infiltrated, perhaps in 350,[9] into the upper Mures Valley.

They moved en masse to the south of the Danube in 376-377, while in 381 the traditional group led by Atanarich departed.

b) The Ostrogoths, archeologically shown to be present between approximately 420/430 and 488, appear to have represented a very weak leading stratum.[10] They abandoned their settlements in Pannonia in 488 and moved into Italy.

c) Like the Ostrogoths, the Gepidae had their political center to the west of the Western Carpathians. The settlement of certain more important groups of the Gepidae in Transylvania took place after approximately 568. Monuments belonging to them stop being erected between approximately 630 and 650. This movement did not affect the Banat and the extra-Carpathian regions.

Therefore, in Transylvania the only more significant Germanic group was the Gepidae.

The picture drawn earlier results from separating the material cultures representing the diverse Germanic waves (Cerneahov for the Visigoths, the series of royal monuments for the Ostrogoths and the Bandu-Bratei group and cemetery No 3 for the Gepidae) from that of the native, Daco-Roman population (Bratei, cemetery No 1,[11] Harman,[12] Verbita[13] - Gropeni,[14] Baleni, [15] Costisa[16] for the fourth and fifth centuries, and Bratei[17] - settlement, Sighisoara, [18] Ipotesti-Cindesti-Ciurelu-Botosana II [19] for the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries).

2. The contacts between the two population groups were, without a doubt, made difficult by"

a) The closed nature of the Germanic communities, organized according to their own laws and traditions;

b) The different level of social-economic development, political organization and spiritual traditions;

c) Although reciprocal contacts and influences were made,[20] the early German's resistance to assimilating the material aspects of the Roman civilization, among other things, and the adoption of the Arian rite Christianity[21] did not favor a Daco-Roman-Germanic symbiosis and, as a result, the exchange of language components.[22]

III. With regards to the toponymic and hydronymic arguments, they have doubtful value, especially since they generalize certain realities that are valid for Transylvania for the entire Romanian region.

D. Mckay forgets or does not know (although he is an expert in the history of Central Europe) that the lack of continuity in the names of certain cities in Transylvania is explained by:

a) The end of urban life at the beginning of the fifth century and the complete ruralization of life in the former province;

b) The reforming of urban life in Transylvania was late and closely tied to the progress of the authorities of the Hungarian crown and the Saxon colonization;

c) The refounding of cities, as a result, produced new names;

d) This situation is not identical in the extra-Carpathian regions where we do not have a Hungarian or German colonization and where we encounter typically Romanian city names.

For the rest, it has been long demonstrated,[23] beginning with chancery documents, that a great many Hungarian names merely represent a simple translation of certain older toponymies.

Furthermore, microregional studies have proved that in the names of localities the Romanian stratum is the oldest, most important and most stable, which demonstrates that the Romanians are the creators of these toponymies.[24]

2. With regards to hydronymies, without a doubt, despite the difficulties in reconstructing the exact stages of phonetic evolution,[25] the Romanian language preserved the names of pre-Latin origins (accepted from the local people by the Romans and, later, the Slavs) for certain waterways, such as the Mures, Somes, Olt, Arges, Siret, Prut and so forth.

Undoubtedly, for D. Mckay these waterways are not sufficiently large to enter into the category in which he works.

IV. The dependency of the Romanian church upon the archbishop of Ochrida is an old Roeslerian argument whose value can be considered from two points of view:

1) The value of the information upon which this supposition is based. In this regard, it was long ago proven that the tradition of the 17th and 18th centuries, relative to such a dependency, deals with only certain south-Danubian relations[26] based on three novels from the chancery of Vasile II the Bulgarocton between 1019 and 1020, regarding the organization and jurisdiction of the Bulgarian church after the elimination of the czardom and the reestablishment of Byzantine rule throughout the Balkan Pennisula.

Furthermore, it is strange to bring back into discussion an argument whose inconsistency was emphasized in a series or works or studies[27] that appeared 40 years ago. In addition, a study that recently appeared[28] presents the current state of the problem, mentioning that the aforementioned tradition reflects a a reality of very short duration during the fifth decade of the 16th century. Moreover, with the approval of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the two Romanian countries organized their own metropolitan seats in the 14th century, under Nicolae Alexandru in Wallachia in 1359 and, after long negotiations conducted by a number of musadins, under Alexander the Good in Moldavia in 1401. And, the dependency of certain churches in Maramures (the Peri monastery) upon the same patriarchal seat was recorded in 1391. In addition to this, we know of the support given to the Orthodox church in Transylvania by the rulers of the two Romanian countries and these two metropolitan seats.[29]

This dependency is clearly stated in the alliance treaty concluded between Sigismund Bathory and Mihai Viteazul on 20 May 1595: "And, all the Romanian churches under the rule of His Serenity will be under the jurisdiction and disposition of the Archbishop of Tirgoviste, according to the guidance of the church law and the regulations in this country" (I. Lupas, "Destituirea unui episcop roman din Ardeal la anul 1574" [The Dismissal of a Romanian Bishop in Transylvania in 1574], in "Studies, Conferences, Reports," I, Bucharest, 1928, pp 112-115).

One could even add that this tie between the Patriarchate in Constantinople and the metropolitan seats in the Romanian countries cannot be separated from the efforts to counterattack Catholic propaganda and, later, reformed beyond the mountains. At the same time, one cannot pass over the support given by the Romanian rulers to the entire Eastern Orthodox Church, support that went so far as to directly intermix in the affairs of the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Fr. Pall, "Vasile Lupu's Relations With the Eastern Orthodox Church and Especially With the Patriarchate of Constantinople," Balcania, VIII, 1945, p 66 and later). These data are sufficient to show Mr A. Jonas' integrity when he speaks of a dependency upon the Archbishopric of Ochrida until 1767.

Further, such a dependency is also disproved through the formal act of 20 March 1701, through which Anastasie broke any ties with the Ungro-Valachic Metropolitan: "From this day forward, I break all correspondence and exchanges through letters and friendship with the heretics and ruler and King of the Romanian countries, and I will have no answer for them from this time forward. Nor will I recognize any more my archbishop and bishop in Bucharest, and I, together with my entire synod, will submit to the archbishop of Estergom. He will be the bishop I recognize, this I can do, as a greater bishop than Vladicul, and I will listen to him. And, instead of showing writings to the King of the Wallachian countries first, I will show them to my theologian and my adviser" (I. Lupas, "The Severance of the Church of the Transylvanian Romanians," in the volume "Studies, Conferences, Reports," I, Bucharest, 1928, p 231 and later).

2) The value of the religious jurisdiction in judging an ethno-linguistic problem. It appears to us that the argument is childish because it is very difficult to presuppose an absolute tie between the country of origin of certain beliefs and the location of the head of the church. Beginning from such an argument, one can arrive at absurd conclusions of the type of the Italian origins of African Catholics by virtue of their dependency upon the papal seat or the Greek origins of all Orthodox members dependent upon the patriarchy in Constantinople.

V. There is not Byzantine text that speaks of a march by Romanians from the region of Lake Ochrida to north of the Danube. Here, Mr Jonas is telling a fable when he states that this movement was "carefully recorded." It is even curious how such a move, which involves a vast area (between Epir-Thessalia and the Northern Carpathians), is not recorded by the Byzantine chancery or the Bulgarian one or the Hungarian one. How is it possible that such a exodus of people not be recorded in any way, not even by the most bureaucratic administration, the Byzantines? Does this not appear to be reasons for meditation for these two supporters of the theory of "the long march?" Just as it is very curious that neither of these two experts of history of the beginnings of the Romanian people was struck by the fact that all the information that we have available, be it of Byzantine sources (Kekaumenos)[30] or of Western sources (Franscian Letters), it demonstrates to us that:

a) The Daco-Roman origins of the Romanians in the Balkans are not a secret, since the time it was recorded in detailed by Kekaumenos;

b) The direction of the Romanians' movement was from the north to the south, even from Pannonia towards the Balkans, and not the reverse;

VI. The supposition of the nomadic pastoralism of the Romanians is refuted by:

1. The 72 geographic names quoted by Donald Mckay, after S. Dragomir, attests to an existence for a long duration in the same place, which cannot be the case for certain nomads. Furthermore, it is especially known that nomads rarely leave behind

geographic names. The Romanians must have stayed there if they gave these geographic features names and these names were preserved over the centuries.

2. Chancery documents and other sources mention villages that have existed for hundreds of years, as well as the presence of Romanians in communities of an urban nature.[31]

3. The archeological discoveries made throughout Romania and which date back to the fourth to fifth centuries and the 10th to 11th centuries show us a population having a mixed economy, not a pastoral one.

4. Ethnographically speaking, among the Romanians there are only those who moved with their flocks of sheep, not nomads.[32]

5. Clearly, no one is contesting the historical reality of certain important movements of peoples in the Balkan Pennisula. Merely that these migrations have no ethnic value. They were caused by great invasions or by the progress in the process of feudalization and affected, to an equal degree, all the peoples in the Balkan Pennisula.

6. Finally, it is very difficult to quietly ignore the fact that three independent sources - Moise of Choreni's Armenian Geography,[33] the "Oguzname Turkish Chronicle"[34] and the "Chronicle of the Anonymous Notary" - note the existence to the north of the Danube of certain Romanian political formations during the ninth and tenth centuries.

VII. With regards to the region of the formation of the Romanian people, no linguist or historian reduces it to the current borders of Romania. The presence of Romanians to the south of the Balkans is explained by this reality and through the "long marches" made from the north to the south.

It is very probable that the events that took place during the seventh century (the penetration of the Slavs and, later, of the proto-Bulgarians) broke the linguistic continuum that tied together the groups of Romanized peoples on both sides of the Danube. From this moment, one can speak of a parallel, but independent evolution of the two Roman peoples. The continuity of the Romanians north of the Danube is proved not only by archeological discoveries, but also by the wealth and variety of folklore traditions.[35] Just as the breaking away of the southern branch and its different historical evolution explains the absence in the Aromanian folklore of such a characteristic element as the doina.[36]

VIII. It appears that Mr Donald Mackay forgot that we are named Romanians and that our country is called Romania. Other people named us Vlachs or Valachs, and, over time, the term has begun to take on a pejorative nuance. For a specialist in the

history of Central Europe, the failure to understand or take into consideration this distinction appears even more than surprising. And this is even more so since throughout the entire article he did not forget to place the name Romanian in parentheses. He probably forgot that one of the complaints of the Romanians, expressed on the Field of Liberty, was for no one to any longer address them by the name of Valachs.

It seems to us that two things need to be mentioned in concluding these observations:

1. Mr A. Jonas considers the Daco-Roman origins of the Romanians to be a dream. If this refers to the beliefs of the authors of the Supplex and the Memorandum that they can find good will by knocking at the doors of the empires and supporting their cause with historical arguments, then we can agree that we are speaking of dreams. Because history has demonstrated that righteousness is not on their side, but on that of Horea and Avram Iancu.

2. The result is that the level of scientific information and integrity is not always directly proportional to the stated scientific and university titles. Some people with opinions have even had the intelligence or prudence to hide these two defects behind a pseudonym.

FOOTNOTES

1. For the history of the problem one can consult: I. I. Russu, "Native Elements in the Romanian Language. The Common Substratum in Romanian and Albanian," the Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1970; idem, "The Language of the Thraco-Dacians," the Scientific Publishing House, Bucharest, 1967; a more recent position in I. Coteanu, "The Origins of the Romanian Language," Scientific Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981, p 18 and later.

2. Sextil Puscariu, "The Romanian Language," I, Bucharest, 1940, p 269.

3. I.I. Russu, "The Language of the Thraco-Getae," p 216 and later.

4. Idem, "Native Elements," pp 110-116; I. Coteanu, op. cit., pp 27-28.

5. Gh. Bichir, "The Carpic Culture," Bucharest, 1973, pp 153-154; idem, "The Free Dacians," in the volume "2050 Years," Bucharest, 1980, p 153 and later.

6. Ibidem, p 153.

7. L. Barzu, "Discoveries of Later Roman Materials," in volume "2050 Years," Bucharest, 1980, p 161 and later.

8. B. Mitrea - C. Preda, "Necropolises in the Fourth Century," Bucharest, 1964; I. Ionita, "Contributions Regarding the Sintana Culture at Mures-Ceaneahov," in "The Archeology of Moldavia," IV, 1965, p 189 and later.

9. K. Horedt, "Some Problems Regarding the Spread of the Sintana Culture at Mures-Ceaneahov," SCIV, 4, 1967, p 577 and later.

10. R. Harhoiu, "The Later Roman Component in the Cultural Horizon of Pietroasa," in volume "2050 Years", Bucharest, 1981, p 183 and later.

11. L. Barzu, "The Continuity of the Native Population in Transylvania," Bucharest, 1973.

12. M. Marcu, new research regarding the fourth century at Harman, "Cumidava," V, 1971, p 45 and later.

13. D. Berciu, "Diggings at Verbita," SCIV, III, 1952, p 161.

14. Gh. Popolian - M. Nica, "Diggings at Gropsani," MATERIALE, 1979, p 155.

15. Information from the author of the project, L. Musca (unpublished).

16. Dan. Gh. Teodor, "The East Carpathian Territories," Iasi, 1978; I. Mitrea, "The Central Region of Moldavia," CARPICA, XII, 1980, p 55 and later.

17. Unpublished research by L. Barzu.

18. R. Harhoiu - Gh. Baltag, Report to the Institute of Archeology, Bucharest, 1980.

19. Dan. Gh. Teodor, op. cit., loc. cit.

20. Gh. Diaconu, "Einheimische und Wandervolker im 4. Jahrhundert u. Z. auf dem Gebiete Rumaniens," DACIA, N.S., 8. 1964, p 165 and later; Idem, "Uber die Scheibegedrehle Keramik," DACIA, N.S., 12, 1968, p 311 and later; Idem, "Uber die Fibel mit umgeschlagenem Fuss," DACIA, N.S., 15, 1971, p 239 and later; V. Palade, "Workshops for Making Combs From Bone," ARHEOLOGIA MOLDOVEI, 4, 1966, p 261 and later; Idem, CARPICA, 2, 1969, p 233 and later.

21. V. Simonetti, "L'Incidenza dell' Arianesimo nel rapporto fra Romani e barbari," in "Atti dei Convegni Lincei," 45, Rome, 1980, p 367 and later.

22. I. Coteanu, op. cit., pp 48-50.

23. N. Draganu, "Toponymy and History," Cluj, 1928; Idem, "The Romanians in the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries," Bucharest, 1933; Idem, "The Ancient Times and Expansion of the Romans," BALCANICA, VI, 1943, p 423 and later; I. Iordan, "Romanian Toponymy," Bucharest, 1963; T. Capidan, "The Geographic Names of Romania," in LANGUE ET LITTERATURE, IV, 1948; Em. Petrovici, "The Daco-Roman

Continuity and the Slavs, " in TRANSYLVANIA, 73, 1942; Idem, "The Vestiges of the Slavic Speakers," I, BALCANICA, VI, 1943, p 498 and later; II, BALCANICA, VII, 1, 1944, p 474 and later; III, BALCANICA, VIII, 1945, p 228 and later; I. Patruti, "Official and Popular Toponymy," in SMO, I, p 80 and later; Em. Petrovici, "Hungarian Toponymy," TRANSYLVANIA, 74, 1943.

24. I. Dan, "Toponymy and Continuity in Northern Moldavia," Iasi, 1980.

25. I. Coteanu, op. cit., pp 25-27.

26. M. Lascaris, "Joachim, Bishop of Moldavia and the Relations of the Moldavian Church With the Archbishop of Pec and the Archbishop of Ochrida in the 15th Century," the Romanian Academy, BULETIN, XVIII, 1927.

27. Gh. Bratianu, "An Enigma and A Historical Miracle: The Romanian People," Bucharest, 1940; Idem, "The Problem of the Daco-Roman Continuity," RHSEE, XX, 1943, p 46 and later; Idem, "Roman History As Written by Hungarian Historians," I, RHSEE, XX, 1943, p 95-97; Th. N. Trapcea and I. I. Nistor, "The Ties With Ochrida and the Ruler of the Region," BALCANICA, VII, 1945, p 248 and later.

28. Stelian Brezeanu, "Comments on the Works of Andre du Nay," in REVISTA DE ISTORE, No 10, 1980, p 2001 and footnote 81 on page 2001.

29. I. Lupas, "The History of the Unification of the Romanians," Bucharest, 1937, p 68 and later.

30. Kekaumenos, "Advice and Stories," in FONTES III, pp 20-45; G. Dragomir, "The Primitive Homeland of the Romanians and Its Historical Borders," BALCANICA, VII, 1, 1944, p 63 and later: G. Bratianu, "Hungarian History," I, pp 161-162.

31. St. Brezeanu, op. cit., p 1991 and later.

32. R. Vuia, "Types of Herding Among the Romanians," in "Studies in Ethnography and Folklore," II, Bucharest, 1980.

33. A. Decei, "The Romanians of the 9th to 13th Centuries," in "Romanian-Eastern Relations," Bucharest, 1978, p 15 and later.

34. Mehmet Ali Ecrem, "An Unpublished Comment About the Romanians in the Ninth Century, S.C.I.V.A., 2, 1980, p 287 and later.

35. O. Birlea, "Romanian Folklore," I, Bucharest, 1981, pp 24-25, 26-27.

36. Idibem, p 26.

8724
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HISTORIAN OBJECTS TO REVIEW OF HIS BOOK

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Jun 81 pp 1193-1196

[Article by Tahsin Gemil: "Several Explanations Regarding a Review"]

[Text] It is known that a worthy evaluation of an object, done responsibly and on the basis of certain solid specialized knowledge with regards to certain scientific requirements, has significant effects both for the improvement of the object in question and for the progress of the research involved in the problem under discussion.

Unfortunately, Radu Constantinescu's review was not carried out from such an objectively scientific position and with such constructive intentions, as published in REVISTA DE ISTORIE, No 1/1981, regarding my book "The Romanian Countries in the International Political Context, 1621-1672" (Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, 231 pages).

Keeping in mind the broad audience of this prestigious publication in which the review was published, I feel obligated to give several explanations with regards to R. C.'s observations, especially to make things clear for those readers who did not have the opportunity to consult my book, which was published in a reduced number of copies.

Although R. C. feels that the book "represents undoubted progress," "a serious work" and even "a model for the chapter on general foreign policy" in a "future book" on Romanian history, nonetheless his observations demonstrate a superficial reading and a surprising misunderstanding of the problems dealt with in this book.

The review begins with the statement that the book's title is "deceiving," designed, in R. C.'s opinion, "to attract." The reviewer ignores knowingly, however, the fact that the first page of the Introduction states that the book deals with the political configurations in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Furthermore, the initial title of the book was "The Romanian Countries in the International Political Context in Eastern and Southeastern Europe (1621-1672)." I decided not to use the final part of it for editorial-technical reasons, having been considered too long.

In this same introductory portion of the book, I also explain as clearly as possible the fact that the political situation of the region, and implicitly the international position of the Romanian countries at that time, was determined by the evolution of Ottoman-Tatar-Polish relations. Emphasizing that the foreign political orientation of Transylvania and the Romanian countries was tied on a priority basis to the Habsburg Empire, when "Moldavia sought - until the end of the 16th century - the necessary support on a foreign level, first of all, in the power of Poland" (p 12), I clearly pointed out that "Moldavia was vitally interested in the evolution of relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Royal Republic and was, at the same time, much more involved than the other two Romanian countries in carrying this out... This is how we also explain the fact that our main attention was directed upon the explanation of Moldavia's position in the international political context during this time, without this meaning that it could be viewed as isolated from the other two Romanian countries. On the contrary, the emphasis on the organic correlation between Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania constitutes a constant factor in the entire book. This is even more true since the 17th century brought forth a clear development of a unity of ideas of the three Romanian countries" (p 12).

Actually, an objective and informed reader can easily see that the book brings to light both the key points of Moldavia's international position and the Eastern and Southeastern European dimensions of the political initiatives of Transylvania and the Romanian countries. The new elements brought into discussion and the multilateral view of the analysis reveal not only the unity of action between the three Romanian countries, but also clarifies a series of problems that had remained unsolved or erroneously evaluated until now regarding the international political situation of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. For that reason, I feel that R. C. avoided or purely and simply did not understand exactly the political context in which the Romanian countries evolved during this period, since otherwise he would not have been able to propose modifying the book's title to read "The Moldavian-Tatar Relations During the Era of Turkish-Polish Balance of Power, 1621-1672."

The book does not follow the policies or foreign affairs of the Romanian countries, but tries to fix the place and role of the Romanian countries in the complex evolution of the international situation in the region. And, with the key points (without going into further detail) of the political configuration in Eastern and Southeastern Europe during this period not being appropriately revealed in historiography, it was first of all necessary to establish and reconstruct the international political directions, processes and events. Only in this context does the placement of the Romanian countries in the general context acquire a clarification absolutely indispensible to following the political developments. The view in dealing with these developments is not unilateral, as has been the case, especially up to now, but one constantly changing depending upon the interaction of the factors involved and in direct relation to the weight of these

factors in determining the general political status. Because of the movement of the main concerns of the great powers in other directions, the Tatar factor (and later the Zaporojean factor) played an especially important role in the evolution of the overall political situation in Eastern Europe during this time.

But, in R. C.'s view the Crimean Khanate is merely "a political grouping that is so lax that we can barely define it as an independent entity." R. C. thus proves that he is not up-to-date with the current stage of research on the worldwide level, which has already brought to light the real status of the Crimean Khanate regarding the Ottoman Empire. It is sufficient for me to note in this regard the evaluations of certain reputed specialists in this field who have recently published the valuable volume of documents "The Crimean Khanate From the Archives of the Museum on the Palace of Topkapi," the School of Higher Studies in Social Sciences, Paris, 1978: "In addition, through the consistent errors of dealing with the Khanate that have presented an 'Ottoman-centralist' view of a Tatar state that is a loyal and submissive vassal protege of the Ottoman Empire, with a sort of 'colonial' dependence, its institutions, ideology and foreign policies have been incorrectly and mistakenly reflected as those of the Sublime Porte" (p 1). Such errors, which are also made by R. C., persist because of prejudices and a failure to understand historical reality. They have impeded our historiography from making the expected progress in showing the place and role of the Romanian countries on an international level in the 16th to 18th centuries.

R. Constantinescu then states that "The book's bibliography, and even its Romanian one, is sufficiently weak, especially if we keep in mind that not all the works quoted were actually used." In the case of such a serious statement, the basic sense of responsibility requires R. C. to correctly indicate the sources and works that he has in mind. R. C. could not do this, however, since this book is based upon the entire existing bibliography referring to the subject under consideration. A simple perusal of the book is more than sufficient to reveal the gratuitous nature of R. C.'s statements.

In his attempt to slander a scientific work done in an honest manner, which required overcoming many difficulties, R. C. does not back away from stating, contrary to the evidence, that "since T. Gemil's linguistic abilities are practically reduced to only the Turkish language, his principal sources are Ottoman ones, especially neglecting Italian, German, Polish, Russian and Hungarian sources, written in Latin or the modern national languages." This objection of R. C. is not only gratuitous, but also denotes an inexplicable malice.

Since we are speaking of a political context dominated by the Turkish factor and keeping in mind that the Ottoman and Crimean documents were not used simply because the researcher did not have the "linguistic ability," it was natural for the author to stress these sources, which are basic to the study of this particular subject.

At the same time, the book is also based upon the use of all important European sources, a fact that can be easily seen by going through the introduction and the footnotes. Apologizing to those readers who can make this simple check, I, nonetheless, feel obligated to mention that in researching this subject I began with the systematic study of our monumental collection of foreign documents, known under the name of their initiator, "Eudoxiu de Hurmuzakai." As one who has returned many times to the documents in this collection, especially in completing the collection of texts that he recently published, R. Constantinescu knows very well that the sources in the volumes of "Hurmuzakai" are published in "Latin or the modern national languages." In order to write the book under discussion, I effectively used at least 10 volumes of the abovementioned collection, giving special attention to the diplomatic reports and the Italian and Austrian confidential reports.

Similarly, in addition to the known volumes of the documents published by N. Iorga ("Documents and Fragments...," "Studies and Documents...") in which, as is well known, there are many foreign documents published in their original language, my book was also helped by the massive collection of documents written by Polish historians: "Acta Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia," Vol II-III, Cracow, 1880-1881; "Relacye nuncyuszow apostolskich i innych osob o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690," II, Berlin-Poznan, 1864; "Elementa ad Fontium Editiones," Vol XXVIII, pars III - Vol XXIX, pars V, Romae, 1972, and so forth. At the basis of the book, at the same time, are the volumes of documents published by I. Hudita ("Report on the Documents Concerning the Diplomatic Negotiations Between France and Transylvania in the 17th Century," Paris, 1926; "Recall of the Documents Concerning the History of the Romanian Country Taken From the Archives of France, the 16th and 18th Centuries," Iasi, 1929), the renown collection of international treaties by J. du Mont ("The Worldwide Diplomatic Corps...," Amsterdam-La Haye, 1726-1739) and the Russian and Soviet historical works (Smirnoc, Kostomarov, Novoselski and so forth) in which documents from the Russian archives were used first of all, as well as the precious writings from the era of "Samovidet," Chevalier and Mezeray, as published by A. Veress, of which I used volumes IX, X, and XI. There is no need, certainly, to cite other elements from the bibliography which, according to the evaluations of specialists who had the good will to review this book right from the manuscript phase (see p 34), is especially rich and varied and nearly exhaustive.

If with regards to the form, structure and documentary base of the book, R. C.'s "criticism" os reduced to insinuations and unfounded accusations, when we turn to the books content the reviewer reveals not only his lack of knowledge of the subject being discussed, but also his misunderstanding of the basic characteristics of the relations between the Romanian countries and the Ottoman Empire.

Although the title of the book clearly shows that we are speaking of placing the Romanian countries within an international political context, R. C. pretends in a bizarre way to find "even here, roughly speaking, an evocation of the profound changes in the Moldavian agricultural and commerical structure." Then, he tries

to deny not only the demonstration and conclusion of this book, but also a proven historical reality of the overall documentary proof of the era. R. Constantinescu feels that in my book one encounters "the easy traditional explanations, unsubstantiated through arguments, which presuppose either a European policy for these rulers that are so subordinate to the Ottoman Empire or hegemonic trends, trends that were not, however, more than specific manifestations of the means of meutralizing certain military areas, yes even the unlikely (sic!) hopes for independence and other types of illusions of this nature."

It is truly strange to see R. C.'s attempts to minimize the history of the Romanian countries during this era and to annul through his pen the efforts made by these countries to preserve their political being and to reacquire freedom, at a time when even his recently published sources ("The Struggle for the National Unification of the Romanian Countries, 1590-1630. Foreign Documents," Bucharest, 1981, 384 pages) are making additional arguments in the direction of the results of my research.

Further, from the desire to disregard my book and, by extension, our entire specialized historiography, R. C. allows himself to make such worthy evaluations as: "Certainly, their foreign policy (the Romanian countries - T.G.) during this era remains a series of episodes of Ottoman or Polish politics, depending upon the countries' orientation at a given moment, with the only autonomous policy among the Romanians at that time being that made by Transylvania."

Thorough studies have demonstrated the uninterrupted validity of the principle of respecting the state autonomy of the three Romanian countries, and my book reveals, among other things, on the basis of documents of primary value, the strengthening of this principle during the 17th century (frequently even at the express wish of the Ottomans), up to nearly the point of independence, as it was for example during the time of Miron Barnovschi, Vasile Lupu and Gh. Stefan in Moldavia, Matei Basarab and Constantin Serban in Wallachia, and Bethlen Gabor and the two Gh. Rakoczi's in Transylvania. Only R. C. contests a unanimously recognized historical reality in its essential elements.

I admit that I did not understand what R. C. was actually pursuing, making such totally unfounded statements, just as I cannot explain to myself the purpose of this review, based entirely on gratuitous objections.

8724
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CRNOBRNJA NOTES GAP BETWEEN DECISIONS, IMPLEMENTATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1593, 12 Jul 81 pp 10-12

[Interview with Bogdan Crnobrnja, Croatian delegate to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, by Aleksandar Novacic: "Against Federal Statism"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Bogdan Crnobrnja, revolutionary and veteran of the war, former ambassador to India and the United States, and for several years President Tito's general secretary and a member of the LCY Central Committee, is now a delegate of SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. For a time he was president of the Consolidated Enterprise of the Mechanical Equipment Industry in Belgrade (Gosa and Djuro Djakovic). This last post he held on a voluntary basis, heading enterprises of two republics (Serbia and Croatia), while he was at the same time professionally employed as a delegate from Croatia.

The immediate occasion for the interview was a statement he made in a recent session of the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

[Question] I would single out three things from your statement in the Assembly. First, you said that the Federal Executive Council bears "great responsibility, but is not the most responsible," second, that you are in favor of "federalism, but not federal statism," and third, that we have put too many things on the list of priorities, whereby you suggested that we ought to revise economic plans. Finally, you said that those who bear the greatest responsibility for the present situation are the people in the political structures, saying that this is true at all levels, and the reason you gave for this was the unfavorable balance of power. Can we begin the conversation with this last observation?

[Answer] We have been speaking about stabilization for 3 years or more now, and instead of stabilization, we have destabilization. This cannot help but cause a man concern. Does this mean that the leading political forces in this society are unable to carry out what we have all unanimously adopted? I think that this is what is involved, that our ineffectiveness in carrying out what we have agreed on is our main problem. It is clear that in this area the leading

political force, that is, the League of Communists, bears the greatest responsibility for that situation.

[Question] You mentioned the responsibility of the Federal Executive Council [SIV]?

[Answer] SIV's responsibility is clearly formulated in our laws and the constitution. It is their point of departure that the government must have a joint federal body with precisely stated powers, rights, obligations and duties. Nor are those minor duties. But that kind of atmosphere has been created; I even think that out of good intentions the Federal Executive Council has become excessively cautious in its behavior, since it is felt that this is politically necessary and opportune for our federal system to get on its feet. This has gone to such an extent that instead of being a political administrative body, the government has become another version of an interrepublic coordinating body. In that context things are not as they should be and there must be changes. I believe that we should and must unquestionably conduct consultations and reach agreement and that the opinion of every republic and province should be heard on an equal footing, but associated labor should get even more of a hearing. But everything has its limit. If an agreement is not reached, then the people should be changed. This slowness and ineffectiveness in reaching agreement cannot be tolerated, though the motives behind it be the very best, however much one desires equal and democratic cooperation, and so on. Experience shows that this must be subject to precise limits.

[Question] You opt for a stronger position of SIV?

[Answer] First of all, I opt for less statism, and then within the framework of the necessary role of the government, I opt for a more decisive role of SIV, set forth in the constitution and laws. If we are to tell it like it is, we must say that back last year the government proposed a number of stabilization measures, but there were difficulties with the republics and provinces and as a practical matter they did not accept those proposals. For instance, for a long time we were unable to agree on how much indebtedness to assume abroad. Nearly everyone wants to go further into debt. I hope that this will now come to a stop. So, the federal government should operate more decisively in the common interest than it has up to now. If it should fail to obtain support, let it take the political consequences of that, both it and those who do not agree with it. That also includes resignation.

It is my recollection that SIV has not been sending major pieces of legislation to the Assembly and that its bills have not been basically supported (as it is usually put) by all political forums. Consequently, all of this needs serious democratic discussion, and not hasty a priori attitudes and decisions.

I think that our true and greatest preoccupation in resolving all issues should be how to implement what we have agreed on. How to develop self-management. This is the dialogue we most need. There are certain preconditions for that. The first is that we must have more public and critical dialogue.

[Question] Don't we have too many discussions and debates?

[Answer] Yes and no. Our situation is contradictory in a certain sense. At certain points we do indeed have too much democracy, and at others too little. There is little democracy, for instance, when an individual or some forum needs to be frankly criticized. On the other hand many people can behave quite as they please, not only failing to enforce decisions, but even offering them direct opposition. And nothing happens. There is a lack of responsibility, both personal and collective.

We Have To Have More Public and Critical Dialogue

[Question] Do you feel that that is the central issue in the functioning of the system?

[Answer] Yes. Elected officials cannot be above criticism as is now our custom. During your period of office you can do little or nothing and not worry about it, and you can even disagree on an ideological basis, and once again there is enough laxity so that you will remain in office to the end of your term. When I say this, I am not coming out in favor of any witch-hunting campaign, but I favor opening up a public dialogue which will pinpoint rights and responsibilities for everyone. A few days ago, for instance, we listened to Comrade Dolanc on television. The burden of what he said was that we have adopted decisions on stabilization on some 20 occasions or so, and nothing has happened. What I wonder is this: How far can that go? How many more times can we adopt decisions that are not carried out? How many more times will political relations, our working class, and the working people tolerate this state of affairs?

[Question] What is the character of those decisions if they are not carried out? Perhaps those decisions are not good ones?

[Answer] I would not say so. We often adopt good decisions. For instance, we decided to set up an authentic federalism, and we did not stop with stating the principle, but we began to create even the material foundation for that kind of federalism. We initiated a process of normal institutionalization of the federal system of our government on foundations [original reads "dreams"] such as equality, and so on. Our aim is to institutionalize federalism and for self-management to be the foundation of that federalism. Matters, however, have taken a different turn. Self-management is developing a little, but government power at all levels--the opstina, the province, and the republic--is holding on tenaciously. Only in the Federation has government power become weak.

[Question] What is the problem?

[Answer] The problem, to put it simply, is that power is not easily let go. Our aims are very good ones, and I really do not see any alternative. I think that the federal system on a self-management foundation is by far the best strategy, but instead of that we today have federal statism on the basis of republic and provincial statisms.

[Question] Let us go back to the economic difficulties. You mentioned planning priorities....

[Answer] I feel that our medium-term plans, both those in the past and this present one, are one of the principal sources of our difficulties. These plans are overambitious. The way in which we adopt plans is detached from decision-making in the economy. The government adopts them autochthonously, bypassing the producers. For instance, we bid back and forth about high rates of economic growth, but we do not base them on objective material preconditions. A few days ago there was such a case, as we read in the papers, in the Assembly of Serbia. Vojvodina wanted a higher rate, the republic was proposing a lower one. I do not know what sort of arguments were presented by the two sides, or who was right, but the case itself is significant in and of itself, and I would say it is typical. That is the way it is when we draw up the federal plan. There is bargaining over the growth rate, but this is something objectively given.

Unrealistic Plans Should Be Amended

[Question] What causes lie behind this kind of planning? I assume that the people who propose and adopt the plans are aware of everything you are saying. Is it just a question of irresponsibility and not bearing the economic consequences?

[Answer] It is not a question of irresponsibility, though there is that, too. Not enough thought is given to personal, political and material consequences. Everything is more or less possible. But this is nevertheless a more complicated issue. First of all, we are a multinational country with regions at differing levels of development, and a greater desire on the part of the underdeveloped to move forward faster can be understood. The point is to keep this within realistic limits.

[Question] This presupposes more effective conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces....

[Answer] Of course, but the republics and provinces must first feel themselves that this is in their interest. I think that the awareness of this is becoming stronger, and that soon there will be an end to unrealistic planning. Aside from that, there simply won't be the money. If we were to go on this way, our current production would begin to suffer still more seriously, and that is very dangerous in every respect.

Take our foreign economic relations. This is the weakest point of our present economic situation. We have been a bit slow, but still for a year or slightly more we have become aware of this, though to be sure, not all of us equally. The principal cause for this situation is our domestic economic policy, and economic relations toward the outside world are only the material expressions of what is happening in our country's economy. Our public is still not sufficiently informed about the real situation. Some people seem to think that it is more in the interest of the country if the full truth is covered up. This is an old habit, a behavioral pattern which should be overcome. But the situation is such that we are on the margin of liquidity. We must therefore support the efforts of the SFRY State Presidency and SIV to reduce foreign indebtedness.

[Question] What is the way out of this situation?

[Answer] I think that we can do this even more easily than it seems at first if without delay we undertake to modify existing planning targets and export everything that we think can be exported, be it goods or services. In this effort more responsibility should be placed on the decisions of the producers. Were we to firmly stick to the present plan, and tendencies to that effect still exist, as can be seen from the detailed report presented by Comrade Veselin Djuranovic, I think that we will not succeed in improving our economic situation, and specifically will not reduce the payments deficit and halt inflation.

[Question] To what extent does the system for disposition of foreign exchange represent an obstacle to a more up-to-date organization and to unification of forces toward larger sales on foreign markets?

[Answer] The way we now handle foreign exchange should be corrected. But at present there is a rather broad campaign to create what is referred to as a foreign exchange market. I am thinking above all that we cannot speak about any foreign exchange market so long as we have a situation of tremendous hunger for foreign exchange and the supply is too small. What kind of market can that be?

Against Recentralization of Foreign Exchange

In fact it is a question here of moving from the present market, which has its shortcomings, but also has its good side, and of taking away from producers their right to dispose of foreign exchange, of recentralizing foreign exchange, and then of sharing it out among the republics and provinces. I think that this is not a good strategy and that this is a very sensitive and delicate issue. We should stay clear of that. This could cause not only economic, but even political problems. Given this kind of shortage, who is the one who is going to be fair in sharing out the foreign exchange? What kind of fire will the republics and provinces be directing toward the center?

[Question] What sort of political problems are involved here?

[Answer] I think that in this matter we can even speak about a certain thrust toward self-management. And also about an infringement of federalism by insisting on that kind of so-called foreign exchange market. This is a profound question of principle: the question of self-management or that which is not self-management, the question of federalism or that which is not federalism. After all, there exist definite foreign exchange rights of the workers which the new proposals would in fact take away. I think that this is not the way out. It is not the location of the foreign exchange that is our problem. But the fact that we do not have enough foreign exchange.

What concerns me is that the tendencies to displace self-management seem to be getting stronger in our community, while in certain other countries the working class is right now waging a dramatic struggle for development of self-management.

[Question] Nevertheless, many people are criticizing the existence of the system of payments-balance positions of the republics and provinces....

[Answer] At present it is true that these positions are being sharply criticized, and I would say that this criticism is justified in large part. The practice followed above all by our self-managing communities of interest for foreign economic relations, but not only by them, has displayed quite a few shortcomings. This does in fact orient and push our economy toward parcelization and exclusiveness. What do I think should be done? Subject that practice to the most severe criticism and change those parts of it which are not good. Instead of insisting on elimination of the payments-balance positions of the republics and provinces, I favor changing a practice which is clearly displaying bad results, but I do not favor the liquidation of those positions.

The Delegates in the Assembly Should Be Politicians Who Think in Terms of Yugoslavia as a Whole

[Question] To what extent is the Assembly of Yugoslavia a place for agreements and reconciliation of differing interests?

[Answer] The Federal Assembly does not have enough influence in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. I do not remember a single major piece of legislation offered by the Federal Executive Council being essentially altered or rejected. SIV proposes what has already been agreed on in what is referred to as the interrepublic coordinating committee of the executive bodies. This means that the proponents of measures are the administrative bodies and administrations, which have already obtained the support of the political bodies and leaders in their own republics. A political mechanism has not been created at the federal level nor is there the political influence and the balance of power so that people would adjust the proposals coming from the republics and provinces in the interest of the commitment to community, mindful of Yugoslavia as a whole.

[Question] What do you think is the way out of this situation?

[Answer] I think the way out is for the politically most responsible, honest and well-intentioned people in the federal government and in the Assembly to be prepared to act on behalf of self-management with deeds, to take into account the interests of the republics and provinces on an equal basis, but at the same time to be mindful of the common interest, which need not always coincide with the interests of the various republics. The person who sits in the federal government and the Assembly should be a politician who thinks in terms of Yugoslavia as a whole.

[Question] Does that collide with the delegate principle?

[Answer] No. This person should defend his position even when he goes back to the republic or province to explain it. If at that time he does not obtain political support, he should take the consequences, he should resign, and let other people take his place.

I have the feeling that we stand at an important crossroads. I think that a decisive political campaign lies ahead and that we will be confronting our own oversights and errors. We should spend more time talking about this and less about enemies, though they do exist and I do not want to underestimate them, but neither do I want to overestimate them.

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DECLINE, PROSPECTS OF RURAL COOPERATIVES TRACED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1995, 26 Jul 81 pp 19-20

[Article by Zaharije Trnavcevic: "Cooperatives on the Index"]

[Text] The chronology of domestic politics records that in recent years agriculture has often been a topic of discussion in top-level political and government bodies. Since we are now being pressed by high prices or occasional shortages of certain foodstuffs, the debates are becoming more frequent. The next one will be held after the vacation, in the fall, under the dome of the Federal Assembly. The delegates of the Federal Chamber will be taking up a text that at first glance does not seem so important--the proposed version of the Recommendation on Organizing the Self-Management of Private Farmers and Their Inclusion in the System of Associated Labor. The preparations of this document have taken nearly a year, the reason for this being the desire to reflect the situation in a compressed form, with few words, and to offer the delegates and the public a precise and inspiring text and the basis for the effort to form farmers' associations.

One Farm in Ten Belongs to an Association--A Million Farms Remain Outside the System

The reason for adopting this recommendation is that application of the Law on Associated Labor and the laws on forming farmers' associations adopted by the republics and provinces has not yielded satisfactory results to date. The recommendation, which is about to be delivered to the delegates, states that 240,000 farms now belong to associations, that 1.2 million are collaborating in various forms of socially organized production or, as it is put more frequently, are "cooperating." The figures of the last census have not been tabulated, so that we will be using the figures in the 1971 Census that Yugoslavia has 2,618,000 farms. It thus follows that today only one farm in 10 belongs to an association and that all of 1 million private farmers remain outside the system of associated labor.

The situation is bad and serious, especially if we bear in mind that in many countries of Europe the concentration and unification of small producers have proceeded considerably faster: Strong cooperative or private associations and corporations, large systems for food production, are being created. For all practical purposes in fact, no one conducts his business outside such systems.

Today we have fewer cooperatives and other organizations than a decade and a half ago. It is therefore worthwhile to ask with whom the private farmer is to enter into association and how he is to do this when the network of such organizations is so sparse. The decision was made in 1962 to abolish the Cooperative Alliance of Yugoslavia. At that time there were 2,618 cooperatives. When the alliance was abolished, the cooperatives themselves began to dissolve--many became part of agricultural combines. When the decision was made in 1972 to revive the cooperative alliance, there were then 813 cooperatives. Since that time, over the 5 years of a revival which is still going on, we have attained the figure of 1,941 cooperatives and other organizations of private farmers.

In Serbia today the average organization of this type "covers" 7.3 villages. Organizations of private farmers are more numerous in the plains, and there are hardly any in the mountains, and it takes the mountain people a day to walk from their houses to the nearest cooperative.

The Way in Which Cooperatives Are Established

According to a report of the Serbian Cooperative Alliance, two cooperative and 17 basic cooperative organizations have been established over the past year. If the revival continues at that pace, it will take decades to arrive at the optimum network of associated farmers. As shown by the experience of certain cooperative workers and rural activists, it seems that the first prerequisite for establishing a cooperative is that one be bold enough and willing to risk a disciplinary measure in the form of a party penalty. It seems that the cooperatives are being established more in the face of resistance of the opstina and its structure than with their support. Cooperatives established in this way wait a long time to be entered in the register of economic organizations, and various barriers are set up in their way when they apply for the initial bank loan for their business operation.

Behind these impediments there are differences in the attitude taken toward the form of association of private farmers. Usually the private farmers see the cooperative as the place for them. They feel more comfortable with its concept, they have at least some sort of experience from past years, and they still remember it as their "second home" and an institution that acted on their behalf. Reference is also made to cases of the few old cooperatives which are operating successfully and contributing to rural progress.

On the other hand, the conception held in the seat of the opstina is that of an opstina agroindustrial combine, an organization in which all the private farmers will also be included. In those conceptions the word "cooperative" seems to have been placed on the index, and it has been replaced by the conception of a basic organization of cooperators, in which the private farmers, once assembled, will have few opportunities to have an essential impact on business policy.

Thus the peasant's right to choose the form of his association, which is guaranteed by the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and the laws on formation of farmers' associations, is being interpreted and applied in a manner which means--to put it mildly--a denial of that right!

Formation of Associations--A Condition for Stability

The authors of the recommendation indeed took these facts as their point of departure. It states that sociopolitical communities should "use their influence to correct certain inconsistencies, whether it is a question of imposing only certain forms for the organization of private farmers ... or a question of unequal material support only to certain forms of organization, unnecessary harmful restriction of activity."

In just a few pages the text presents a sound diagnosis and recommendations as to how the effort should be carried on in future.

A few days ago we talked to Jovica Lazarevic, delegate of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Federal Chamber. He has, as he puts it, built up quite a lengthy term of service working on the problems of rural areas and cooperative affairs. He wrote the first version, and it was used as the basis for further work on that document.

"For a long time there has been talk in our community about how we have wonderful opportunities to increase food production and to resolve many present troubles. But little research was done as to why they were not being utilized. This is one of the reasons why this recommendation is being prepared. We think that aside from the inadequate investments in agriculture in recent years, another factor is poor organization, the fact that many farms have not been included in the system of associated labor. The peasant himself is not really responsible for that situation. As we see it, the root of the problem lies in the public sphere, and the recommendation attempts to say that the process of forming associations has been faltering in that area."

Milovan Zidar, an engineer and chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture and Forestry, who is a member of the LCY Central Committee, does not see "how we will achieve stability and preserve certain markets which were difficult to obtain if we do not organize ourselves better, if we do not create firm foundations in the form of a dense network of organizations of associated farmers linked to organizations of associated labor in the food manufacturing and the distribution sector."

"To achieve this," Zidar says, "we need to come forth with a 'package' of those things which are necessary to large-scale formation of peasants' associations. I am thinking of there being a store in the village easy for the peasant to reach, and a savings bank, and an extension service. We have to develop democratic life in rural areas and make it possible for the private farmer to have an influence over the division of income, including that portion which is used for development of the village itself and the rural environment. If those preconditions are not met, there will be no changes or progress."

Engineer Zidar also raised an important question in our conversation:

"I don't give excessive importance to the expression 'cooperative' and do not give it preference as the only and exclusive form of association. It is not the name that is the essential thing to success in this endeavor. Both the cooperative and the basic organization of cooperatives can serve as a good solution.

Much more important is the question of whether the peasant will make decisions on the realization and distribution of income or will become an implement of use and benefit to the staff of the cooperative or similar organization. If on the other hand the peasants want to have a cooperative, I don't see why we should stand in their way. However, I say once again that one must be cautious, since the people on the staff of the cooperative can also evade the oversight of the members of the cooperative and jeopardize not only their individual interests, but even the survival of the cooperative."

What Is Needed?

Legislators are well aware of the difference in weight between a law and a recommendation, that is, the difference in the strength they wield. Nevertheless, there are realistic assessments that the recommendation we have mentioned here could encounter a good response and bring about changes, though there are grounds for the suspicion that the recommendation may show more strength than the Law on Associated Labor or the laws on formation of farmers' associations.

It is sufficient for success in this case to respect the legal right of the citizen, in this case the private farmer, to form the organization that best suits him. To create various other associations as well, and not only cooperatives or organizations of cooperators. This is indeed fair, since the economic consequences of a bad choice certainly will be borne by them. In the past it is they who have had to pay the price for various misbegotten mergers, the closing down of cooperatives, the moving of various institutions from the village to the seat of the opstina, and it is they who suffered because the cooperative headquarters were taken away.

Opstina sociopolitical organizations have up to now rarely tried to pull or investigate the feelings of the peasants. Perhaps because of the mistaken idea that modern procedures like these are suitable only for organizations in large cities which have their own "Gallups," but perhaps also because they underestimate rural respondents. Rural public opinion ought to be surveyed before the recommendation takes effect in order to discover the true disposition of the peasants and the way they look upon its enforcement and the formation of associations.

In any case, the approach taken up to now has not yielded much. The foreign exchange balance of agriculture, instead of showing a sizable surplus, ended up at exactly zero last year, and this year will be appreciably upset because of the wheat which is to be imported and the reduced exports of meat. Instead of the expected 4-percent growth rate of output in agriculture, our progress in recent years has been 1.6 percent.

Consequently, we do not have much choice: In the years to come we must conduct our effort in a new way, with more political consistency and more respect so that what has been agreed on in the form of laws, accords and similar promulgated enactments--is adhered to.

Without that kind of consistency, neither this trouble, nor other trouble, can be corrected.

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END

JPRS 79002

17 September 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1918

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17 September 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1918

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Efforts To Divide Soviet Bloc Countries Described
(Ivan Hlivka; NOVE SLOVO, 18 Jun 81) 1

Briefs
Recreation for Foreign Unionists 6
Unionists Invited to Libya 6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Scholarships Increased for Students, Apprentices
(Various sources, various dates) 7

Explanation of Changes, by Elke Schilling
Decree on University Scholarships, by W. Stoph
Increased Payments to Apprentices, by W. Stoph
High School Student Grants, by W. Stoph

HUNGARY

Conference Debates National, International Factors in Workers Movement
(Laszlo Kovacs; PARTELET, Aug 81) 16

Career Problems of Young Intellectuals Noted
(Janos Barabas; PARTELET, Aug 81) 23

POLAND

Elzbieta Portykos, Only Woman on KKP, Defends Solidarity
(Elzbieta Portykos Interview; DAGENS NYHETER, 15 Aug 81) . 29

ROMANIA

Decree on Examinations in Field of Civil Navigation
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 28 Jul 81) 35

Decree on Effective Use of Spare Space in Certain Units
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 28 Jul 81) 37

Role of Bureau of Basic Party Organization Reviewed
(Ioachim Moga; MUNCA DE PARTID, Aug 81) 39

Envoy to Israel on Bilateral Relations, PLO
(ITIM, 19 Aug 81) 45

Efforts To Combat Religion in Mehedinti County
(Maria Cozma; MUNCA DE PARTID, Aug 81) 46

Theories on Origin of Moldavian Hungarians
(Constantin Beloiu; FLACARA, 2 Jul 81) 52

Briefs
Ambassadorial Appointment 57

YUGOSLAVIA

Western Comment on Yugoslavs, Albanians in Brussels
(Jean-Paul Collette; LE SOIR, 19 Aug 81) 58

Work Disruption at Trepca Mine Described
(Radivoj Kovacevic, Rade Negojevic; ILUSTROVANA
POLITIKA, 28 Jul 81) 63

Islamic Paper Objects To Criticism of Religious School
(Editorial Report) 66

Briefs
Priest Sentenced 67

EFFORTS TO DIVIDE SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES DESCRIBED

Bratislava NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 24, 18 Jun 81 p 11

[Article by Ivan Hlivka: "Subversive Actions as National Policy. Antisocialist Strategy and Tactics of Imperialism."]

[Text] Characterizing the situation with international relations at the 16th CPCZ Congress, the Central Committee Secretary General, Gustav Husak emphasized that "international imperialism is trying to weaken the unity of the socialist community and endeavoring to break loose particular countries from the bonds of the socialist family through the policy of differentiation and through interfering with the affairs of individual nations, as we have witnessed in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and now again in the People's Republic of Poland." He noted that "today reactionary forces have raised these subversive actions to the level of official state policy."

These words generalize the experience from both the past and the present. Everyday, everywhere, various international situations demonstrate that the world imperialist reaction, led by the ruling elite of the United States, is intensifying its attacks against the countries of the socialist community.

The question arises as to what are the causes. There are a number of them but the most important cause is the fact that the imperialist circles are becoming more scared by the apparition of the total bankruptcy of the capitalist system, which is becoming more obviously entangled in insoluble problems. With ever increasing fears concerning the fate of their world of exploitation, they watch the gradually growing class and political awareness of the people in their countries as well as the realities, which are reflected in the class clashes of the working people, which are more and more frequently directed against the policy of the capitalist system of state monopoly in both the internal and foreign policy areas. These circles are increasingly aware that these processes, so dangerous to them, are closely connected to the revolutionizing effects of the socialist model on masses of people.

"There is no country or group of countries, no ideological or political movement," remarked L. I. Breznev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, "that does not feel the influence of socialism to some exte This is the reality of the 20th century."

This reality cannot be denied even by anticommunist ideologues. One of them, W. S. Schlamm from the FRG, confessed openly that "the inner meaning of the conflicts between communism and the West staggers the imagination in such a way that no one dares discuss it openly." According to him, this inner meaning of the conflicts

rests in the fact that "communism flourishes under peaceful conditions," and "triumphs" and "the West, on the contrary, if it does not want to perish, must wage resolute (ideological) war."

Other bourgeois ideologues write openly that "control over the people has loosened" in Western countries, that "a political movement of masses arises, which differs ideologically from the state and refuses to submit to it," and "thus a very serious crisis arises, which must be overcome at any price." They write that "to make it possible to continue with the vigorous and aggressive orientation of capitalist development, governments must make the people in their countries in some way return to previous conditions of passivity and obedience," etc. Such warnings and suggestions abound in the West and they are all a testimony of the deepening crisis of the capitalist system.

The purpose of the entire huge modern mechanism of the bourgeois world is to dull and retard the growth of the revolutionary awareness of the masses, to keep the working class in the captivity of ignorance and anticommunist obscurantism by a no-holds-barred slander of socialism, by distortion of the essence and meaning of the socialist internal and foreign policy and, what is even more loathsome, by inculcating ideological diversion in socialist countries.

"The reactionary forces," U.S. Secretary General Gus Hall, emphasized recently, "have a long-term strategy of destabilization of the socialist world, diverting individual socialist countries from their socialist path and removing them from the socialist community." Imperialism hopes for internal disruption brought about by external help.

Testimony of the fact that reactionary forces have raised subversive actions against socialist to the level of official state policy is the participation in these activities of even the highest representatives of the West, led by the American President, international organizations led by NATO, departments of war and commerce, espionage centers as well as state-financed scientific institutions. Radio stations have a special role in antisocialist diversion, among them principally Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, as well as others, which continuously spread their broadcasting into socialist countries; they are supposed to create internal opposition in every socialist country, to undermine the unity of society, party and people and to fan nationalist and anti-Soviet tendencies.

Within these strategies and tactics, modern imperialism supports various theories about national and regional variants of Marxism, about the "pluralism of Marxism" and various "models" of socialism. They support simply everything that could disturb the conviction about the unity of national interests within the world socialist community and communist movement. The first strategic task is to convince the public about the disparity of interests between individual socialist countries and the Soviet Union.

The "policy of differentiation," which was pointed out by comrade Gustav Husak, has been elaborately prepared in NATO headquarters mainly on the initiative of the United States. One of its variants, which preceded this type of policy, was President Johnson's so-called "policy of bridges." The present policy, however, is much more elaborate. Its theoretical basis rests on the "scientific" construction about a number of "models" of socialism. According to one of the variants, as George Sakwa,

professor at Bristol University, Great Britain, tries to persuade us in his book SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, four "models" exist. The first is just being implemented in Yugoslavia, the second (defined as "moderate reformers") includes Poland and Hungary, the third is constituted by "conservative satellites"--Bulgaria, GDR and CSSR; the fourth is represented by "the independent supporters of the hard line"--Albania and Romania.

Apart from this, the imperialist reaction and its propaganda spreads a fabrication of allegations that democratic principles are being ignored in the mutual relations among socialist countries. The principles of socialist internationalism are said to be only a tool to enforce "Soviet hegemony" in the socialist community, which is contradictory to democratic, equal relations among the nations and makes them impossible.

The allegation about inequality and nondemocracy of the relations among fraternal socialist countries is absurd. As pointed out at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, life and experience from the cooperation among these countries have proved that socialism "has founded new morality, new principles of the relations among peoples and nations, new principles of equality, mutual respect, assistance and comradely cooperation. The fraternal socialist countries cement their indestructible bonds, develop wide cooperation and accelerate the economic and social development for each individual country and society as a whole.

These principles not only cover but far exceed the most important general democratic norms of international law. They not only declare but ensure international conditions for the existence, multisided development and cooperation of socialist states. This is an enormous and hitherto unseen achievement, when we realize the character of the relations among these countries in the presocialist formations in the past. It is well-known that the nations of the countries that now build socialism together, waged wars among themselves in the past, that the borders between them were often changed and cut off, that the citizens were brought up in the spirit of nationalism and chauvinism.

International imperialism wants to take advantage of this past. In the present period of vigorous and dynamic development of the socialist community, the imperialist strategists have begun to place their hopes on stirred nationalism. Nationalism is supported in order to disintegrate the unity and power of the community as well as individual countries; it is supposed to lure some of them into the bosom of the "free" West.

Endeavoring to attain their goals, the imperialist elites concentrate on destabilization of the socialist community through "rewarding" and "punishing" individual socialist countries--according to their distance from or nearness to the Soviet Union or whether they reinforce or weaken the uniformity of the foreign policy of the socialist community.

The development of the crisis in Poland is clear evidence of the "policy of differentiation" in practice. The imperialist centers of subversion try to make ill use of the influence of the church and of the level of religiosity of the population against world socialism, they use every form of nationalism, various degrees of dependency on the Western capitalist market, a different approach toward deepening cooperation and integration in CEMA, and the like. Everything is misused, every-

thing that is stigmatized by the errors of the party and state leadership in any country. Of course, these errors and shortcomings are enlarged out of proportion and misinterpreted according to their biases, in the spirit of anticommunism.

The policy of imperialism is based on the assumption that the countries of the socialist community, with regard to certain weak points in the leadership of some countries, are not able to prevent the differentiating effects from the West; that some countries of the community will welcome this policy, even though they may keep their obligations toward the community; that the internal difficulties will grow gradually in the community countries as a result of the deterioration in the relations caused by the imperialist nations; and that it will be possible then to lure some of them into closer economic relations with the West by providing certain "advantages" for them. They hope that at the same time it will be possible to combine the pressure on the socialist community with the attacks of the present Chinese leadership, and thus the policy if differentiation will create the elements of suspicion and distrust among the socialist states and will weaken their unity and solidarity in their course of action against the policy of world imperialism, in their struggle for peace and social progress.

That the countries designated as "conservative" by the imperialist strategy are the targets of continuous attacks of imperialist and reactionary forces demonstrates that the scheme of "models" is actually followed. With a flood demonstrates that the scheme of "models" is actually followed. With a flood of untiringly repeated lies, they try to create the atmosphere of distrust toward the present leadership of CPSU, CPCZ, SED, BCP and other parties and countries. Everyday without fail, further slanders about the communist leadership appear in the pages of the Western newspapers; everyday some insidious aggressiveness is ascribed to them.

Almost all well-developed capitalist countries show the attitude of refusal or restraint toward the development of political relations with Czechoslovakia, although they differ in their indications of some possible future cooperation.

Experience also shows the important place and role of economic relations in the policy of differentiation. Individual countries of the socialist community are granted various conditions for credits and interest rates with the intention of making them dependent on the West, stimulating their interest in so-called open relations with the West, in some autonomous attitude in the mutual relations. In this respect, even EEC and financial institutions are active.

The differentiated attitude of the West toward socialist countries is apparent in every other area--in ideology, culture, etc.

One of the important parts of the antisocialist strategy of the West is the church, which has recently become politically active. The Vatican urges the Roman Catholic Church to increase its activity, to form a political opposition in socialist countries, to support nationalist and antisoviet elements and to build a network of dissidents. It is trying to win mainly the youth and the intelligentsia, whom they want to "save" from the influence of the ideas of scientific communism and to isolate from active participation in the building of the socialist society under the leadership of Marxist-Leninist parties. The antisocialist ideological political orientation of the Pope and Catholic clergy has been evident in Poland. In one of his speeches, the Pope declared that for humanity the hope lies in the United States and not in socialism.

Attacks against socialism, strict differentiation in applying its policy with respect to the specific characteristics of the development in individual fraternal countries, the effort to set socialist countries against each other and, if possible, to endeavor to disrupt them by spreading and stimulating nationalism and antisovietism--these tendencies can be clearly perceived in the entire policy of the Vatican.

At the 16th Congress, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia declared that it was necessary to reinforce the resistance against anticommunist campaigns of imperialism and its attempts to destabilize the countries of "real socialism." It concluded that "the efforts of the imperialist centers to misuse the problems of nationality and the differences between nations to separate socialist countries must stimulate us to pay extraordinary attention to the struggle against all forms of nationalism and anti-Sovietism."

Consistent fulfillment of this task will become a great revolutionary contribution of our party to enhance peace and socialism in the world.

9814
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BRIEFS

RECREATION FOR FOREIGN UNIONISTS--Over 2,700 trade union members are currently staying at 10 recreational facilities maintained by the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) in the spa of Marianske Lazne. More than 500 of these trade unionists came from Belgium, Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Greece, the USSR, Australia, Syria, Vietnam and other countries. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 27 Sep 81 p 4]

UNIONISTS INVITED TO LIBYA--A delegation led by URO (Central Council of Trade Unions) Secretary L. Jasik left for Tripoli on 26 August. The delegates, invited by Libya's trade unions, will attend the International Conference on Solidarity with People of Libya and events commemorating the 12th anniversary of the Libyan revolution. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 27 Aug 81 p 4]

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SCHOLARSHIPS INCREASED FOR STUDENTS, APPRENTICES

Explanation of Changes

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German 18 Jun 81 p 5

[Response by Elke Schilling to question from Klaus Sell of Rostock: "In the Report to the 11th FDJ Parliament the proposal was made to draw up a new scholarship law. Has this been done and what does it contain?" Translations of the new laws on scholarship follow this article]

[Text] Among our experiences as students is always to presume that FDJ proposals always get answered because our state always was a state of youth and will always be one. The word and deed and force that bears this state, the SED, stands behind it. That is the way it was put by Marion Landsberger, student at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig, at the 11th FDJ Parliament. Her opinion, proposed in the status report, also was to draw up a new scholarship law which would, among other things, grant all students a basic scholarship and provide for increased scholarships for recognized achievements. Marion and all of student youth in our country can now add another experience. GESETZBLATT Part I No 17, 11 June 1981, just published, shows that a new scholarship decree goes into effect on 1 September this year. It serves to further improve the students' living conditions and stimulate high achievements during studies and in social work. And the FDJ again shares in its responsibility on behalf of all youth.

What arrangements then are going to be made? All fulltime students at a university, college, engineering or technical school in the GDR get a basic M 200 scholarship per month. An additional M 100 stipend monthly goes to students who have an extended-term active military service behind them as enlisted men, NCO's or officers (cf. also Promotional Decree, GBL, Part I, No 13, 13 February 1975). For students who worked for at least 3 years as specialists prior to their studies the monthly subsidy comes to M 80. For students with the parental right to educate a child or several children the scholarship goes up by M 50 per child per month. Good and excellent school grades, great study discipline and active social work are rewarded by performance subsidies. They normally come, starting with the second school year, in monthly sums of M 150, M 100 or M 60. Students with outstanding achievements and high social activity can get a special scholarship, as in the past. The law also provides increases for them. The Karl Marx Scholarship is M 550 per month, the Wilhelm Pieck Scholarship M 500, and the Johannes R. Becher Scholarship M 450.

Further provisions can be looked up in the GESETZBLATT which is available in the study facilities.

Decree on University Scholarships

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 17, 11 Jun 81 pp 229-231

[Official text of "Decree of 11 June 1981 on the Granting of Scholarships to Full-time Students at Universities, Colleges and Technical Schools of the German Democratic Republic -- Scholarship Decree," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, and Prof. Boehme, minister for university and technical school affairs, East Berlin]

[Text] The socialist state ensures all-round education and training for youth and systematically creates the conditions necessary for it. Studying at a university, college or technical school amounts to a high social recognition and demands a personal commitment from each student to socialist society, to acquiring high technical knowledge and skills and applying them, and to developing basic socialist convictions and attitudes.

For further improving the students' living conditions and stimulating high achievements in study and social activity, the following is decreed in concurrence with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee:

Article 1 -- Range of Validity

This decree applies to

a) GDR citizens,

b) citizens of other states or stateless who have their permanent residence in the GDR or enjoy asylum in the GDR, while they are in the GDR, and

c) citizens of other states or stateless whose parents or spouses have long-range work contracts with enterprises, official organizations or institutions of the GDR, while they are in the GDR,

provided they are fulltime students at a GDR university or college (henceforth referred to as college), engineering or technical school (henceforth referred to as technical school), and

d) GDR citizens studying in other states.

Article 2 -- Principles for the Granting of Scholarships

(1) All college and technical school students receive a basic scholarship for the duration of their studies.

(2) Students who have proven themselves before their studies in the armed organs of the GDR or several years of occupational work, students who have children, and students who, because of their social circumstances, need special assistance, get an increased basic scholarship.

(3) Students distinguishing themselves by exemplary performance in their studies and social activity receive a performance scholarship above and beyond their basic scholarship.

(4) Students with outstanding achievements in their studies and high social activity may be granted a special scholarship.

Article 3 -- Basic Scholarship

(1) The basic scholarship amounts to M 200 per month.

(2) The basic scholarship as per section 1 goes up for

a) students who have an extended-term active military service behind them as enlisted men, NCO's or officers after presenting the evidence mentioned as conditions for it in the Promotional Decree[1] by M 100 per month;

b) students who have obligated themselves to enlist in active military service, after their studies, as extended-term officers, career NCO's, warrant officers or career officers, once their obligation has been confirmed, by M 100 per month;

c) students who, before starting their studies and after concluding their vocational training, held a specialists occupation for at least 3 years, by M 80 per month; and

d) students with the parental right to educate one child or several children, for each child by M 50 per month.

Letters a) and b) apply also to students who have performed service under comparable service conditions that correspond to an active military service obligation or have obligated themselves to enlist in such service after their studies. If premises as to letters a) to c) apply simultaneously, the highest amount is granted.

(3) For students who because of their social circumstances need special assistance, the basic scholarship as to sections 1 and 2 may be raised by M 50 per month.

(4) The basic scholarship as to sections 1 through 3 is raised for students studying at colleges and technical schools in Berlin, the GDR capital, by M 15 per month.

Article 4 -- Performance Scholarship

(1) Any student can acquire a performance scholarship above and beyond the basic scholarship. A performance scholarship is granted in recognition of the following prerequisites:

-- very good or good grades in acquiring knowledge in the technical sciences and Marxist-Leninist principles and in the practical application of that,

[1]In effect at this time is the 13 February 1975 decree on promoting former NVA members after their discharge from active military service -- Promotion Decree (GBL, Part I, No 13, p. 221).

-- high study discipline and an exemplary political-moral attitude,

-- active participation in social work for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

(2) The performance scholarship amounts to M 150, M 100 or M 60 per month.

(3) A performance scholarship as a rule is granted beginning with the second year of studies.

(4) Performance scholarships are awarded annually starting in September for the duration of one year of study. They may be withdrawn during the school year if the prerequisites needed for granting them no longer exist.

(5) The decision on granting performance scholarships is made, in concurrence with the FDJ executives, at colleges by the dean for education and training or the deputy director for the education, training and advanced training department, and at technical schools, by the deputy director. The proposals on granting performance scholarships are submitted by the competent FDJ executives in concurrence with the college and technical school teachers.

Article 5 -- Special Scholarship

(1) As special scholarships are granted

-- the Karl Marx Scholarship,

-- the Wilhelm Pieck Scholarship, and

-- the Johannes R. Becher Scholarship.

(2) The special scholarships award the following amounts:

-- the Karl Marx Scholarship	M 550 per month
-- the Wilhelm Pieck Scholarship	M 500 per month
-- the Johannes R. Becher Scholarship	M 450 per month

(3) Special scholarships are granted in lieu of the basic scholarship as per article 3 section 1 and the performance scholarship.

(4) For special scholarships the raised amounts are paid as per article 3 sections 2 and 4, upon the presentation of evidence.

Article 6 -- Scholarships for GDR Students in Other States

GDR citizens delegated for study in other states receive scholarships within the terms of this decree. For the months of study in a different state, a foreign exchange scholarship is granted in lieu of the basic scholarship as per article 3 section 1.

General Provisions

Artice 7

(1) Scholarship payments begin at the month of immatriculation and end with the last day in the month of exmatriculation. Higher basic scholarship rates are paid beginning with the first day in the month in which the prerequisites for them apply.

(2) In cases of medically certified work disability due to illness, work accidents or illness caused at work, quarantine, during a prophylactic health, treatment or recovery therapy, pregnancy and maternity confinement furloughs or a medically certified excuse from studies to take care of a sick child, benefits at the rates specified in this decree continue in full. For the duration of reserve military service, M 80 of the military wages are applied to the scholarship per month.

(3) If scholarship benefits were not properly granted, there will be back-pay. Unjustified scholarship benefits received may be asked to be returned. The right to claim back payments expires one year after the termination of studies.

Article 8

(1) Working spouses of fulltime students, with a medically certified excuse from work for taking care of a sick child, receive social insurance benefits at the rate of single working people.

(2) Working wives of fulltime students, when presenting the proper documentation, receive social insurance maternity benefits at the rate of single working people.

Article 9

Students or persons with the parental right to educate children, in the case of minor students, can protest decisions about scholarship matters to the executive who has made the decision. The complaint has to be settled within 4 weeks. If the complaint is not, or not fully, honored, it has to be handed over within the time period for the decision to a superior executive for examination and decision. The complainant has to be informed about it. The superior executive decides within 2 weeks. Appeals against such a decision are settled by the college or technical school director within 2 weeks definitively.

Final Provisions

Article 10

(1) Special arrangements may be made for certain study phases, forms of study or the promotion of certain groups of persons by the minister for university and technical school affairs in concurrence with the competent ministers and directors of other central state organs.

(2) For colleges and technical schools of the armed organs, the special rules issued by the competent ministers apply.

Article 11

Implementation regulations for this decree are issued by the minister for university and technical school affairs in concurrence with the competent ministers and directors of other central state organs, and with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee.

Article 12

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) At the same time the following are rescinded:

1. Article 2 of the 10 May 1972 order on financial support for female students with children at colleges and technical schools (GBL, Part II No 27 p 321);

2. the 28 August 1975 order on granting scholarships to fulltime students at the universities, colleges and technical schools of the GDR -- scholarship order -- (GBL, Part I No 39 p 664);

3. the 23 February 1977 order no. 2 on granting scholarships to fulltime students at the universities, colleges and technical schools of the GDR -- scholarship order -- (GBL, Part I No 6 p 48);

4. the 6 July 1978 order no. 3 on granting scholarships to fulltime students at the universities, colleges and technical schools of the GDR -- scholarship order -- (GBL, Part I No 21 p 246);

5. Article 1 section 1, article 2 section 1 and article 3 section 1 of the 3 September 1976 decree on changes for the special scholarships -- Karl Marx, Wilhelm Pieck and Johannes R. Becher Scholarship -- (GBL, Part I No 34 p 419);

6. Article 41 section 1 letter b and article 46 section 3 letter b slash 1 of the 17 November 1977 decree on compulsory social insurance for workers and employees -- SVO -- (GBL, Part I No 35 p 3730; and

7. Article 60 section 1 letter b and article 66 section 3 letter b slash 1 of the 9 December 1977 decree on social insurance with GDR Social Insurance (GBL, Part I 1978 No 1 p 1).

Increased Payments to Apprentices

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 17, 11 Jun 81 pp 231-232

[Official text of "Decree of 11 June 1981 on Increasing Payments to Apprentices," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, East Berlin]

[Text] For the material and moral recognition of the growing performance demands placed on vocational training, and of the learning and work results of the apprentices, in concurrence with the FDGB National Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council, the following is decreed:

Article 1

This decree applies to youths in an apprenticeship situation.

Article 2

Graduate apprentices from the 10th grade of the general education polytechnical secondary school in a specified half-year of their apprenticeship receive the following rates of monthly wages:

1. Mining -- underground

Half-years of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	150	160	180	200	220	220

2. Mining -- aboveground, metallurgy, foundries

Half-years of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	130	145	175	190	200	200

3. All other areas and branches of the economy

Monthly wages in Marks	120	130	150	180	200	200

In enterprises of mining, metallurgy and foundries, these rates of wages are also paid to apprentices in the following occupations: typewriter specialists, businessmen, finance specialists, ADP specialists and ADP support technicians.

Article 3

Apprentices who have not graduated from 10th grade and apprentices in part-time training receive the following rates of monthly wages:

1. Mining -- underground

Half-year of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	135	145	155	165	175	190

2. Mining -- aboveground, metallurgy, foundries

Half-years of apprenticeship	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Monthly wages in Marks	120	130	140	150	160	175

3. All other areas and branches of the economy

Monthly wages in Marks	105	115	130	140	150	150

Article 4

(1) Apprentices in need of extra subsidies because of their social conditions can be paid an extra M 50 per month.

(2) Applications for granting such subsidies are to be submitted through the enterprise with which the apprenticeship contract was made to the vocational training and counseling department of the kreis council handling that enterprise.

Article 5

Implementation regulations for this decree are issued by the state secretary for vocational training in concurrence with the FDGB National Executive Committee and the FDJ Central Council, and with the competent ministers and directors of other central state organs.

Article 6

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) It rescinds the 31 January 1974 decree on raising wages for apprentices (GBL, Part I No 10 p 85).

(3) As of 1 September 1981, the eighth implementation regulation of 15 June 1977 for the law on the uniform socialist educational system -- maintenance support for secondary school pupils and training subsidies for apprentices -- (GBL, Part I No 21 p 273) in the version of the ninth implementation regulation of 25 June 1980 -- amendment to the eighth implementation regulation -- (GBL, Part I No 22 p 226) no longer applies to apprentices.

High School Student Grants

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 17, 11 Jun 81 p 232

[Official text of "Decree of 11 June 1981 on Education Grants for Students in the Expanded General Polytechnical High Schools and in the Specialized Schools in the Sphere of Public Education," signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers and M. Honecker, minister for public education, East Berlin]

[Text] The socialist state assures youth of all-round education and training and systematically creates the conditions necessary for it. Selection for training at the expanded general polytechnical high schools and the specialized schools means a high social recognition and invests each student with a personal obligation to socialist society for acquiring high political and technical knowledge and skills.

In concurrence with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee, the following is decreed:

Article 1

(1) For all students in the expanded general polytechnical high schools and the specialized schools in the sphere of public education, beginning in 11th grade, monthly training subsidies are granted for the duration of school attendance.

(2) The training subsidy comes in the following amounts:

-- for 11th grade students	M 110 per month
-- for 12th grade students	M 150 per month

Article 2

In justified exceptional cases, the training subsidies to be granted as per article 1 may be raised by M 50 per month for students who, due to their social circumstances, need extra assistance.

Article 3

Implementation regulations are issued by the minister for public education in concurrence with the heads of the competent central state organs, and with the FDJ Central Council and the FDGB National Executive Committee.

Article 4

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 September 1981.

(2) Starting on 1 September 1981, the eighth implementation regulation of 15 June 1977 for the law on the uniform educational system -- maintenance support for high school students and training subsidies for apprentices -- (GBL, Part I No 21 p 273) in the version of the ninth implementation regulation of 25 June 1980 -- amendment of the eighth implementation regulation -- (GBL, Part I No 22 p 226) no longer applies to students of the expanded general polytechnical high schools and of the specialized schools in the sphere of public education.

(3) Article 2 section 1 of the 4 December 1975 decree on granting state child-support money and special subsidies for large families and single citizens with three children (GBL, Part I 1976 No 4 p 52) receives the following version:

"(1) State child-support money is granted for physically or psychologically handicapped children up to the end of their attending a 10-grade general polytechnical high school or the 10th grade of a specialized school, special grade or special school."

5885
CSO: 2300/309

CONFERENCE DEBATES NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL FACTORS IN WORKERS MOVEMENT

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, Aug 81 pp 30-35

[Article by Laszlo Kovacs, chief of Central Committee Sub-Department: "National and International Factors in Today's Revolutionary Workers Movement"]

[Text] From the moment of its inception, the revolutionary workers movement has been characterized by traits which are unique to each country and class features which are identical everywhere, and its development has always evolved in the midst of a complex interaction of national and international factors. The weight of the national and the international side in the struggle for the liberation of the working class and society as a whole, and for the elimination of exploitation, is naturally not determined once and for all, but is constantly changing in the course of historical development. In the middle of the last century, the revolutionary direction of the workers movement clearly began to take on the form of an essentially international organization, which truly reflected the fundamental community of interests among the oppressed workers of various countries. The subsequent formation of independent workers parties organized on the national level, however, signaled a recognition of the objective necessity, that while it is true that the workers of the world pursue identical goals, their struggle must be launched within their national boundaries and they must organize themselves into a national class in order to take the power out of the hands of the bourgeoise.

On the one hand, it was their community of interests and goals, on the other, it was the internationalization of capital, the global presence of the bourgeoise, which has made it essential for the various national detachments of the working class to coordinate their struggle to some extent and in some form. It was this demand which led to the creation of the 1st and 2nd Internationals and later, following the organizational split between the revolutionary and reformist factions of the workers movement, to the establishment of the 3rd or Communist International. During the initial phase of the development of these new type of vanguard parties, it was the operation of the Comintern which had to inevitably ensure that the common goals of the communist movement were precisely reflected in the specific policies of the individual parties, and that the global cause of the socialist movement was not threatened by national isolation. At the same time, the existence of an international direction and decision center also meant that during the phase of the struggle the international side, i.e. the common interest had priority over the national or individual side. Another important feature of the situation during that period was that since there was only one socialist country, it was essential for the international

working class and communitst parties everywhere to do everything in their power, and to promote its consolidation. It was this necessary requirement that was expressed in the thesis according to which the criterion for determining one's commitment to proletarian internationalism was his attitude toward the Soviet Union.

For decades now, the international communist movement has not had a center, due to the fact that the development of the movement has made it both unnecessary and impossible. Today each party must independently determine its own policy and decide what road to follow and what methods and means to use, taking into account its own country's conditions and the given international situation, to achieve its goal, the successful completion of the socialist revolution. This could not be done any other way, since there are very significant differences in the specific conditions which characterize the struggle and activities of each communist party. Some of these parties have already gotten passed the initial steps of socialist transition, namely, the establishment of the rule of the working class and the laying of the economic foundations of the new society, and there are also those who are already in the process of constructing the advanced phase of socialism. Other parties are still only at various stages of their struggle to overthrow the class rule of the bourgeoise. But even beyond the diversity of their social systems, these countries greatly differ in their level of economic development, social structure, nationality make-up and historical traditions, just to mention a few; significant differences can also be observed in their size and geographical location. All of this constitutes a diverse system of conditions, which obviously mainly the communist party of the given country can see in its full complexity.

The considerable diversity which characterizes these conditions do not change the fact that the most fundamental interests of the communist parties coincide and that they all try to attain their common long-term goal, namely, the achievement of a socialist society, on the basis of the same ideological foundation, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. While confirming in many respects the need for different solutions, socialist revolutions which occured under various sets of specific circumstances have proven in practice that the process of transformation from capitalism to socialism has inevitably prevailing, common and objective sets of rules everywhere. The interrelationship between the general and the specific unique features of socialist construction is also an indication that this diverse form expresses a fundamentally identical content.

The selection of the road to socialism, the creative application of common rules to specific conditions places a great responsibility on every communist party. They are responsible, first of all, to their own working class and their people for selecting ways and methods which bring certain results and require the smallest possible sacrifice. This responsibility, however, cannot be narrowed down to the national level, for the international workers movement is also affected by the successes and the failures which result from the struggle and activities of individual parties. Naturally, this relationship has two sides: it is not only the success of the struggle on the national level which affects the position of the movement as a whole; the chances of these individual parties' struggle to succeed are also influenced by the development of the international communist movement's positions.

How the specific immediate tasks facing the individual parties--including in the final analysis the very task of carrying out the socialist revolution--is solved, is greatly influenced by international circumstances.

The connection has been proven not only in theory but also in practice, that today it is calm international relations and peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems which can provide the most favorable external conditions for the struggle of revolutionary forces to succeed. It is clear that such conditions can only be established by way of a joint effort by all communist parties, that is, through a united stand on part of the international communist movement. There is, therefore, an inseparable connection between effective representation of national interests and goals, and the most fundamental international interest, the preservation of world peace.

It clearly follows from the diverse positions of the various countries and from the different positions of each party, that the tasks which are directly on their agenda may also significantly differ. This, however, does not mean that there is even a single communist party which could do without the experiences learned by other parties in the course of their own struggle. In other words, the knowledge of the solutions which have been effective or perhaps unsuccessful elsewhere can save communists some unnecessary failures and sacrifices, and may even shorten and smooth their road to socialism. This is why regular consultations, finding out about and applying unique solutions for the earliest possible achievement of their common goals have given communist parties such immense power. Collective examination of newly arising problems, exchanges of opinions to enhance the search for solutions and joint analytical work are also essential--due precisely to the multiplicity, complexity and constant changing of conditions.

In May, the Central Committee of the MSZMP and the editorial board of BEKE ES SOCIALIZMUS, [Peace and Socialism], which is the collective theoretical journal of communist and workers parties, held an international theoretical conference in Balatonfoldvar, entitled "The Dialectic Relationship Between National and International in the Workers Movement." The goal of this initiative was--as that of several international party conferences held in our country during the past few years--to provide an opportunity for an intense exhange of ideas about a theoretical subject area which also holds some vitally important practical interrelationships for all communist parties, that is, for the movement as a whole. The comprehensive nature of the subject also provided an opportunity for delegates from 47 participating parties to bring up--in the two sections, dealing with the factors that influence the national and international consciousness of the working class and the problems concerning the shaping of international consciousness--virtually every possible theoretical-ideological and practical-political question, which today are subjects of debate within the international communist movement.

In addition to the parties which participate in the work of the journal, BEKE ES SOCIALIZMUS, some recently established or presently forming Marxist-Leninist parties were also invited to the conference as guests of the hosting MSZMP. For the vanguard parties which have evolved from national liberation movements, it is obviously useful to take part in international programs such as this, and it is illuminating for them to become thoroughly familiar with the views and positions of those communist parties which already have a great past behind them and thus have rich experiences to offer. Aside from these considerations, the presence of the Marxist-Leninist forces of Angola, Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Ethiopia received special attention at the conference. The reason for this was that they represented revolutionaries of countries for whom international solidarity and international support for social liberation struggles fought within national boundaries were decisively important in the past and represent a practical matter which is no less vital today. For this very reason, their fighting experiences were also significant contributions to the work of the conference.

During the three day conference there was complete concensus, that the dual tendency of world development--revealed by Lenin,--namely, that the role of the national factor is strengthening while at the same time the world is becoming more internationalized, continues to assert itself. The national consciousness and unity-strengthening and legitimate pride-boosting achievements of our work toward a socialist society-- in addition to the special interests of socialist countries which stem from their different levels of development,--the joint struggle of the working class and other social forces in the capitalist countries against international imperialism in the developing world and the intensification of the struggle for national and social liberation, all tend to point toward the growing effect of the national factor. All of this, however, is taking place in a world in which there are a growing number of ties stemming from political, economic, scientific-technological, cultural and other types of cooperation among not only those countries with similar social systems, but also those whose social systems differ and in which growing emphasis and importance is given to general and global problems affecting mankind as a whole, such as the keeping of the peace, the rational utilization of increasingly more expensive energy sources and raw materials, the establishment of well-balanced international economic relations, putting an end to the environment-destroying effects of industrial civilization and others. Also indicating a tendency toward internationalization are those integrational processes which are taking place both in the socialist and capitalist world, although with fundamental differences in content. A unique, but essential effect of internationalization is the globalization of the struggle between socialism and capitalism, and the merging of the anti-imperialist struggle by the main revolutionary forces of our times.

Among the views expressed concerning the main topic of the conference, namely, the relationship between international and national factors, some dissenting views could also be heard. Representatives of parties from some of the developing countries stressed the absolute priority of international over national interests, some other views expressed on certain specific questions, on the other hand, seemed to overemphasize the role of the national factor. The decisive majority of the participants, however, took the position that today the national and international aspects of the revolutionary workers movement are inseparably connected and mutually influence and complement one another. Specific examples were cited to prove that the revolutionary struggle of communist parties within national boundaries, the achievement and consolidation of national independence, the breaking of the rule of the exploiting classes and the successful construction of a socialist society always have international implications as well, for they serve the interests of the international working class and the common goals of socialism. This, however, does not mean that the momentary pursuits of these parties in specific situations always automatically coincide with the international interests of the movement as a whole.

Today the coordination of national and international interests is done among independent and equal parties without the help of a common organizational and decision-making center. In the course of the debate there were also a few remarks which in an overly appreciative manner assigned the leading role within the communist movement to the CPSU, and in general to the parties of the socialist countries. The majority of the participants, however, accepted the draft presented by the socialist countries' representatives, according to which the broader range of opportunities available to the ruling working classes only increases their responsibility in promoting the process of world revolution, and does not change the fact that the parties, or in the broader sense, the three major revolutionary forces, are equal.

Several of the participants also talked about the changes which may result from the lack of harmony between national and international interests, or from viewing one or the other side as the absolute factor. Thus they pointed out that a one-sided treatment of national considerations without taking into account their international connections will eventually lead to isolation and nationalism, and will also endanger the achievements of the national struggle. At the same time, they also stressed that those goals which are defined by giving absolute status to some abstract and general international considerations will inevitably remain detached from the existing national reality, and therefore are not suited for mobilizing and revolutionizing the masses, and in extreme cases they may even cause serious distortions.

The participants of the conference agreed that the national and international consciousness of the working class is shaped and formed by several various factors. Thus, they are affected by the given country's social and economic conditions, its historical traditions, as well as by the prevailing condition of the international situation, the behavior of the main forces of international politics, including primarily the weight and activities of the international communist approach was presented, which pointed out that during the initial phase of its movement the working class at first simply recognizes its class interests, develops its class consciousness, and it is only later that it also begins to call for national liberation. In contrast, the bourgeoise, while at the beginning of capitalist development still representing the national interest, gradually turns away from it and becomes increasingly an advocate of international monopol-capitalist interests.

Virtually every speaker took some time on their own to give a detailed look at the problem of nationalism. There were several delegates representing the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, who stressed that while it is true that together with the new socio-economic conditions the objective possibilities of coordinating international and national interests are also established, differences of interests stemming from diverse economic potentials, but especially subjective reasons and external effects, may help sustain and from time to time even regenerate and strengthen nationalism. Delegates from the communist parties of capitalist countries suggested that the internationalization of capital not only helps to strengthen internationalism among the workers, but--especially under the conditions of the existing crisis and the intensifying competition struggle connected with it, and also as a result of the negative consequences resulting from the supranational character of capitalist integration--it also reinforces feelings of nationalism based on a sense of threatened national existence. This, however, makes it more difficult for the workers of different c untries to take a collective stand against the international monopoly capital and causes damaging tensions in the relations between the individual countries' own working masses and the guest workers who are there to work. Obviously, there are some additional unique features of nationalism which pertain to the developing world, where--as several delegates who came from there stressed--a distinction must be made between revolutionary nationalism which plays a positive role, and those racist distortions which cause divisions among liberation movements and thus serve the interests of imperialism.

At the conference, some of the most heated debates were centered around the relationship between national self-determination and international solidarity which is a unique and today especially timely, specific question concerning the connection between national and international factors. All participants agreed, that it is

the duty of those parties whose revolutions in their respective countries have already triumphed, to support the revolutionary forces of other countries. No participant contested the fact, that today's revolutionary changes, which are observed primarily in the developing countries, have objective and internal social motives which are not incited from the outside by the socialist countries or the revolutionaries of other countries. The imperialists, on the other hand, are doing everything in their power to bring these processes to a stop, just as they have tried to weaken and undermine the social order of those socialist countries which have come into being as a result of previous successful revolutions. The question which did bring out some differences of opinion had to do with the various possible forms and means of international assistance. There were some parties which questioned whether the extent of the danger of counterrevolution in the case of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Angola and Ethiopia in the mid-1979's and Afghanistan in December 1979, really justified the use of the military form of assistance, and there was even an opinion which held that such assistance is contrary to the principle of national self-determination. Those present from the countries in question, as well as the representatives of several other parties pointed out, however, that it is imperialist interventionism, and not the socialist countries' assistance which violates national self-determination, for it aims to destroy the accomplishments which have been achieved in the course of national and social liberation. These specific examples only prove that without the many-sided support of the socialist countries, the chances of the above mentioned countries' peoples to advance along a road of social development which they themselves have chosen, would have been jeopardized. Several people also pointed out that the concept of national self-determination is not just some kind of abstract, absolute or merely international category of law, but it also has a historical definition and a specific class content.

Behind the debates concerning the relationship between internationalist solidarity and national self-determination, there are essentially two very complex and theoretically not even fully explored problem areas with international implications which have come to the forefront during the past few years and decades: The question of periodically recurring crises in the socialist countries and the contradiction between the relaxation of tensions and specific revolutionary processes. Both express a complex, dialectic interrelationship between national and international factors.

The question of periodically recurring crises was analyzed--in addition to other speakers--by the representatives of the MSZMP. In the inaugural address, in the opening speech of the first segment and in other Hungarian presentations references were made to the subjective mistakes committed along our own historical path--namely, the overemphasis on the common laws of socialist construction and the subsequent deemphasis of the national factor, which was followed by giving the national side absolute priority--which made it easier for our domestic and external class enemies to launch an open counterrevolutionary attack against the people's power in October, 1956. The fundamental lesson of the period of consolidation that has followed the suppression of the counterrevolution was that only by waging a consistent two-front attack against subjective mistakes and distortions, and by taking greater notice of national peculiarities in asserting the common laws of socialist construction --or as it was put in the inaugural address: by showing simultaneous loyalty "to our nation's red-white-and green flag and to the red banner of the international workers movement"--can we provide the most important guarantees to ensure ourselves the kind of socialist development which while not entirely contradiction-free, is immune to more serious crises.

The contradiction between the process of relaxation and the revolutions which are presently taking place in the developing world, stems from the fact that the clash between imperialist intervention aimed at crushing those revolutions and the international assistance aimed at thwarting those attempts and ensuring their protection, causes inevitable tensions in the relations of socialist and capitalist countries, that is to say, it temporarily slows down the relaxation process. During the debates of the conference two viewpoints emerged in connection with this. One of these was that under the present circumstances it would be senseless and contrary to its own basic goals, to have a revolution that would lead to a world-war type conflict, and bring about the destruction of the entire human civilization. Looking at it from the other side, however: the imperialist circles are also unable to afford the risk of a thermonuclear world war, by trying to forcefully turn back the process of social development in a given country.

The organizers of the Balatonfoldvar conference did not intend, from the outset, to put coinciding views on record in the form of a joint document, or to come up with any legally binding resolutions. As in the case of the above mentioned earlier conferences, the goal was once again to use this informal exchange of opinions about an extremely important and timely subject area to help us clarify some views and familiarize ourselves with each other's experiences. Everyone agreed, that each participant party should decide for itself how it will use the things which had been discussed at the conference.

The tone of the debates, the honest and open way in which problems were raised, and the cordial and comradely atmosphere which prevailed from beginning to end even in the midst of some occasionally impassioned arguments proved once again: the communist movement desparately needs forums such as this, so that its parties can provide constructive, Marxist-Leninist answers to the complex problems or our changing world.

9379
CSO: 2500/346

CAREER PROBLEMS OF YOUNG INTELLECTUALS NOTED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, Aug 81 pp 36-40

[Article by Janos Barabas, secretary of State Youth Committee: "Problems of Starting an Intellectual Careet"]

[Text] As we attempt to outline the characteristic problems of young intellectuals, we cannot avoid making a few comments concerning the intelligentsia as a whole. The great social movements which began following the liberation had a great effect on the composition of the intelligentsia. This development radically changed the outlook of this stratum and it contributed to the evolution of a socialist intelligentsia. Since the beginning of the second half of the 1960's--as the findings of studies and research indicate--this earlier rapid and large-scale restratification process has slowed down and the roads of mobility have changed.

One of the important questions regarding the direction of social development is how the recruitment of the intelligentsia according to social origin will develop. Studies show that while nearly half of the children of white-collar worker parents will become intellectuals, only 8 percent of the children of skilled worker parents, 3.5 percent of those whose parents perform physical agricultural work and 2 percent of those coming from unskilled laborer parents will end up to be the same. These data are an indication that the stratum is becoming increasingly closed and that the influx of people from the blue-collar classes and strata is gradually slowing down. Interesting observations have been made by researchers, who have found that starting from the 1930's this phenomenon, namely, that nearly one half of the children from white-collar worker families are also becoming intellectuals themselves, could be observed not only in our country, but also in the industrially most advanced countries of the world. As it is indicated by the statistics of the Hungarian development: the number of people who can become intellectuals from the other social strata or classes is determined primarily by the extent to which this stratum can increase. This fact is a further indication that the administrative regulation of advantages and disadvantages according to origin cannot be considered an effective method. The compositional transformation of the Hungarian intelligentsia has been brought about primarily by a growth in its total size.

The intelligentsia has clearly definable stratum-characteristics, but it is by no means a homogenous stratum. Significant differences can be revealed among various intellectual groups regarding their position in the social division of labor and according to the occupational structure. Differentiations within the strata may be

caused by differences in the level of training and in the prestige of the profession: a person who has completed university is in a more advantageous position than someone with a college degree; doctors are a step above teachers, etc. Empirical studies have also brought into light the fact, that within the hierarchy of white-collar careers the attraction toward professions of greater prestige is closely connected with social origin. For example, the medical community is more closed than any other intellectual microstratum. The percentage of children from blue-collar families is the lowest among medical students. We should note here, that the above mentioned differences can also be observed among all the various groups of young intellectuals; their effect can be especially intensly felt at the beginning of periods of work-place and social adjustment. And by pointing out that there are significant differences between young and older intellectuals, we have arrived at the essence of our topic. Despite the diminishing socio-cultural level-differences between villages and cities, a certain degree of isolation can be observed between the intellectual groups of the two types of settlements. There are some very significant differences between intellectuals in management and non-management positions. Also significant are the existing income differences. A so-called, "elite-intelligentsia" has evolved which includes segments of the creative, scientific and artistic intelligentsia.

Within the intelligentsia whose under 30 occupy a unique position, with a percentage of over 25 percent. Young intellectuals have several characteristics in which they differ from the other age groups of the intelligentsia, as well as from other strata of our youth. The most striking indication of our young intellectuals' unique position is that the time of their entrance into the social division of labor, and the beginning period of their career usually coincide with their desire to set up a household and start a family.

Those young people who select an intellectual career have to spend a significantly longer time in school, which also postpones the beginning of their career. (Under optimum circumstances, they spend a minimum of 2, and a maximum of 6 years in higher education.)

The university or college student enrolled during the day has no personal income, therefore, his living expenses are covered primarily through parental, family support and by grants and scholarships, which they supplement with income earned from occasional odd jobs. In view of these circumstances, and for all practical purposes, day-time students must be considered dependents. There is a kind of unique "status-inconsistency" which characterizes the situation of a university student: he spends several of his physically and emotionally mature, adult years without a properly awakened sense of social duty and responsibility.

After finishing university or college, upon completing his studies, the young person begins to wait for the opportunity to prove his abilities and preparedness. The beginning of his adult life and career, however, runs into quite a few difficulties:

1. The first great problem which a young intellectual encounters is finding a job and selecting a suitable place of employment. The way the large majority of these young graduates who are at the start of their careers go about finding a job is through competition. There are significant differences with respect to the availability of work in the various professions and fields. For most young technicians and economists finding a job is relatively less problemful. At the same time, these are the fields where the "discrepency" between academic training and the activities themselves is the greatest. The problem of finding suitable positions

for liberal arts and natural science graduates, whose major is something other than education, still has not been solved. Another area of concern is how to provide suitable positions for starting teachers which are in accordance with their level of training and their field of expertise. Finding a job is made even more difficult by the inflexibility and overspecialization of the university and college system, which even in principle is only suited to satisfy those professional manpower-needs which arise in today's structure of the division of labor, and is unable to take into consideration our changing short,-extended and long-term demands.

Changes in the economy, the transformation of our economic structure can be expected to cause further problems in the employment of young people. Despite our tension-causing difficulties to place people, which cannot be overlooked, we must make it clear that it would be a mistake to try to resolve these tensions by cutting back enrollment in higher education. In Hungary, 34 to 35 percent of our high-school graduates go on to higher educational institutions. This ratio, that is the number of students has not changed during the past few years. Compared with international statistics this student number is strikingly low. Only 9.2 percent of the 18 to 25 year-old age group receive higher education as day-time students.

2. The source of tension is discrepancy between the academic qualifications of career starting graduates and the requirements of the job they are about to fill. Right from the start, at least one-fourth of them begin to work in jobs which do not require an advanced degree.

This is evidenced by the fact that in the nearly 150 fields which require engineering training only 58 thousand hold advanced degrees, while at the same time 38 thousand technical specialists with university or college degrees are employed in non-engineering fields.

Various surveys have found that many young people are dissatisfied with their field work; they look upon their jobs as something which could be performed by somebody with less qualifications. According to some studies the majority of young intellectuals do not feel that their jobs have enough substance or that they encourage creativity. In their opinion they spend half of their working time doing jobs which do not require a degree.

Waiting for suitable work, performing tasks which have no relevance to their training has a retarding effect on the professional development of young people, leads to insecurity and bitterness and impels them to change their place of employment.

3. The process of adjustment to the job often entails conflicts. Many problems result from requirement differences and contradictions between university and college training, that is, education, and on-the-job training. The young person, though overspecialized, possesses a relatively high level of professional knowledge, while at the same time his practical experience is inadequate. Higher education does not place proper emphasis in all areas on mastering the skills connected with the practical application of theoretical knowledge. We must also admit, however, that there is not, and there can never be complete between university or college preparation and practical work.

4. Only 5 percent of our young intellectuals hold some type of, usually low-level, managerial positions. Among white-collar management the ratio of those under 30 is 12 percent. On the one hand, this may cause problems in the continuity of the succession process, and on the other, we must point out that those in white-collar management positions are significantly better off compared to white-collar employees in areas such as income, housing conditions and consumption. Looking at it from a different angle, some young people are put directly into positions of control, or are given assignments which also call for the administration of certain managerial tasks. When this happens, however, it soon becomes evident that most higher-educational institutions fail to prepare starting specialists for carrying out managerial functions. Having to learn, and learn to apply managerial know-how and skills only worsens the anxieties involved in starting a new job.

5. Young intellectuals consider their need for further training and professional development as natural requirements. More and more often, a young specialist will begin to work toward acquiring a specialized skill (i.e. economic specialist, economic engineer) shortly after the start of his career, more or less with the encouragement of his place of employment. The institutional system of vocational extension training, however, has only evolved properly in a few groups of professions.

6. The wages of young intellectuals directly upon entering work are relatively--in some professions not just relatively--low and slowly increasing. In a sense, the dependency status lingers on, since a large number of young people continue to depend on parental assistance. Wages depend not on the content or quality of the job, but primarily on the number of years spent on the job. Since they only belatedly join the social division of labor, young intellectuals are objectively unable to catch up quickly with other young people--of different professions--who belong to the same age group. According to the findings of a 1975 study, it is only at ages 30-35 that these young specialists begin to make as much as a group as those with only a secondary education, working in the same professional field. Not even by the time they retire are teachers able to eliminate the wage gap between themselves and the skilled workers, for example, which is created during the years they are in college. Looking at wages, we find that in the vocational fields requiring skilled labor there are essentially no wage increases according to age past the age of about 28 to 30. In the white-collar professions, however, such increases occur from beginning to end. If we make an international comparison we find that in our country age plays a far greater role in determining white-collar wages than it does in the developed capitalist countries.

The opportunities available to young intellectuals to enter into the second economy are considerably more limited, that is to say, they are also differentiated according to professions. All of this considerably changes the picture.

The key question regarding the social conditions of young intellectuals has to do with the prospects of solving the housing problem. Housing shortages may become the center of further problems: not having a home of his own, the young professional usually takes into account the proximity of his parents' home when selecting his first place of employment. As a result, disproportions may develop in the territorial distribution of certain professions.

In the country, in the villages the chances of finding housing are better than in the capital or in the larger cities. Offering housing in lower level settlements may enhance efforts to recruit and retain manpower. At the same time, it also

makes it possible for employers to meet the manpower needs of those branches which are considered less prestigious within a given profession. An apartment has great appeal, especially to those who cannot count on support from home, that is, to those youth who come from the more disadvantaged social strata. Today it would be hard to justify the continued granting of housing subsidies such as those enjoyed in certain settlements by workers of large-scale industrial state enterprises. By combining and simplifying the various different types of subsidies we could eliminate the basis of harmful conflicts.

In order to get an apartment, young people are forced to undertake financial burdens which are beyond their abilities, and as a result, career starting professionals are compelled to work on the side to supplement their income. It is in both our social and individual interest to ensure that such activities are socially necessary and that they increase income proportionately with their usefulness. At the same time, the undertaking of additional work also has an adverse effect on the direction of the young person's life precisely during the period when his intellectual habits and routines (self-education, refinement, language learning) are in the process of evolving.

The problems of young white-collar families are further aggravated by the limited possibilities for placing their children in nurseries or kindergartens. This is an especially great disadvantage to young women with advanced degrees, for the lack of spaces and the unavailability of family assistance forces them to stay at home. Being away from their jobs for an extended period of time means a significant setback for their professional improvement and progress.

"Intellectual" training--in addition to specialist training--is for the most part the task of higher education. Higher educational institutions do, more or less, provide young people with the skills and knowledge they need to become specialists, at the same time, however, they fail to adequately prepare them for the performance of intellectual functions. Another training deficiency is that young graduates generally do not possess adequate foreign language skills or well enough developed communicative abilities.

The fulfillment of intellectual functions--i.e. conveying cultural values, passing on knowledge and shaping the social consciousness-is an objective requirement. Therefore, it is important for us to know the direction in which our intelligentsia as a culture-conveying and opinion-shaping force is influencing the public opinion, political mood and the spiritual-ideological processes of our society.

Our society's interests demand that we create the necessary conditions--within the limits of the means available to us--which will enable our young intellectuals to live up to their roles stemming from the requirements of their intellectual being.

Starting a career and founding a family are sources of conflict for all young people. This is also true--especially in the above outlined areas--for the starting of intellectual careers. As they enter into the social division of labor, and into public life, young intellectuals become faced with various difficulties in their efforts to assume their role, which are further aggrevated by existentialist-social problems. At the same time, there are virtually no important, sociologically significant dimensions along which our white-collar workers and managers would not

be in a considerably better position than our skilled workers, for example. Therefore, perhaps it is not a mistake to point out that our young intelligentsia has far better chances to improve its lot than do the young people of other strata. In addition, only some of the conflicts related to starting an intellecutal career arise inevitably. Unnecessary and unjustified tensions can be resolved through conscious social effort.

In order to achieve this, we must transform the instructional system of higher education--as outlined in a recent political decision--in such a way so that the existing functional disorders can be eliminated. We should also think about increasing, as an incentive for and as a result of significant improvements in our economic efficiency, the number of students enrolled in day-time higher education. In addition, clear measures will be needed to resolve the presumably temporary tensions which are expected to arise in white-collar employment during the next few years. We must accelerate the perfection of new types of professional training which are more flexible to scientific-technological and social changes, and which instead of attempting to provide a complete professional knowledge, offer a kind of broad profile, basic professional training which can be continually expanded. The realization of intellectual functions, taken in the broader sense of the word, demands a higher level of general education, usable language skills and better developed communicative abilities. For the preservation and renewal of existing skills we need to establish a well-organized system of differentiated institutional extension training.

When first starting out in a job, it is especially important to put the young person in a position which is commensurate with his training, and to provide him with assignments which give him a chance to do some real work and to prove his abilities. The way this can be accomplished is not by separate measures, but primarily by making it the very source and also the result of vigorous improvements in social and economic efficiency.

Young intellectuals are rightfully complaining that performance is not being given primary consideration in the determination of wages. The realization of a wage-system which reflects performance, and which proportionately rises with its improvement, is a necessity which affects not only young intellectuals. In addition, there is another often heard point that deserves examining, according to which a more clear-cut wage differentiation should be introduced between blue-and white-collar employees, in the latter's favor.

An important element of the demands connected with the activity structure of young intellectuals is the need to become involved in community projects and to assume a public role. The openness of their views, their sensitivity to problems, their readiness to implement changes may serve as a tracting force for social organizations and movements, both at work and in their home communities. This, however, can only be attained by entrusting the young person with clear public duties and by assuring him that he can expect realistic interest representation. In this connection, we must take greater notice of one of the age-group characteristics of young people, which is that they can only undertake and identify with those tasks which are unfinished, incomplete and imperfect, or at least seem to be that on the surface. And our society is neither finished, complete or perfect; it can be continually built and changed based on our party's program and with the constructive participation of our masses. And this means plenty of clear and useful tasks for our young intellectuals, both in their professions and in public life.

9379
CSO: 2500/346

ELZBIETA PORTYKOS, ONLY WOMAN ON KKP, DEFENDS SOLIDARITY

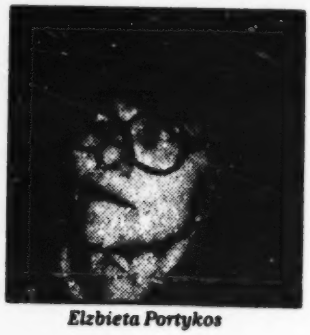
Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Aug 81 p 9

[Interview with Elzbieta Portykos, member of the National Consultative Commission by Krzysztof Wyszkowski; translated to Swedish and edited by Maciej Zaramba; date and place unspecified]

> [Text] Elzbieta Portykos is the only woman on the 50-member KKP [National Consultative Commission], the highest leadership of the 10 million Poles who belong to Solidarity--Solidarnosc.
>
> She was voted in after the strikes in the fall and since then has helped make decisions on general strikes, political and economic reform proposals--everything that makes up Solidarity's balancing act between the expectations of public opinion and the "geopolitical realities."
>
> In a pause in KKP negotiations she gave an interview to the weekly publication SOLIDARNOSC which DAGENS NYHETER reproduces here in a somewhat abbreviated version.

[Question] How did you come to Solidarity?

[Answer] I took the events in 1956 very hard. Went to school then and felt ready for any sacrifices that were needed.



Elzbieta Portykos

The renewal in 1970 also involved me entirely, I believed in it and was prepared to send my private best wishes to Gierek and his group. But that involvement soon died down--in 1976 I went through an everyday hardship and had a child. As it then turned out many problems remained unsolved--and insoluble. I had a chance to really re-examine my involvement and my ideals. And I said to myself, never again. No one and no event will get me to become involved in another "renewal."

[Question] But August came and you were there again.

[Answer] I come from the Gdynia area. My father and one of my brothers are shipyard workers, the other brother is a seaman. So when telephone communications with Gdansk were interrupted I rushed there.

I was uneasy about them, I knew that something was happening and I remembered what happened in 1979. (See Footnotes)

And there I realized that this time it was an entirely different kind of people who were trying to bring about a change. Not those who had let me down the time before. I realized there really was a chance!

While I was in Gdansk a strike committee was formed where I worked. That had never happened before, there are no large industries in Koszalin. Now everyone was pulled into the new organization--and I was too.

[Question] And what is it like for you?

[Answer] My situation is unusual and harder than that of the others. I have a young child whom I raise alone. Just now, for example, he is with my mother. There was a time when I took him with me to Warsaw and the KKP meetings and left him alone in the hotel with his toys.

I am not employed by Solidarity, I still have my old job. This means I can take care of some of the union work on the job but most of the contacts with other job sites and KKP work must come in my spare time. The result is that I neglect my home and my child.

[Question] Is the big work burden women must bear the reason why you are the only woman in KKP?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. In our MKZ [Interfactory Founding Committee] there are some women Solidarity officials who have families, it is much harder for them than for the others. (See Footnotes)

[Question] Has KKP ever taken up the special problems of women?

[Answer] No, nothing except what came out of the August agreement, that is maternity leaves, retirement age, etc. (See Footnotes)

[Question] Do you feel this should be changed?

[Answer] I don't know. I represent an unpopular standpoint--I am opposed to special treatment for women. I feel no better and no worse than a man. I work like one.

[Question] But single mothers have it extra hard.

[Answer] Women always have more to do. Even if men share in the housework women have the extra burden of typical women's activities.

[Question] But lying on the couch and reading the paper after dinner is not a woman's job?

[Answer] Exactly. I don't even have time to read the paper, let alone thousands of other things. Most women don't have time for that kind of thing.

[Question] And is it really impossible for Solidarity to change that?

[Answer] The situation of women depends in large measure on the nature of women and the special culture in which we live...

[Question] And that special culture makes you the only woman in KKP?

[Answer] Yes. But is it Solidarity's job to change that? I don't think it's a matter of that but of freeing me from standing in line for hours so I have time for other things, such as reading.

Improving the economic situation is the most important thing. In addition Solidarity could take the initiative on institutions making it easier for women to carry out their most important job--rearing children. Our daycare centers are just babysitting services. Women have to correct a lot of pedagogic errors at home later.

And then there is health care. A solution to that problem would really make life easier for women. But that will take years.

[Question] The movement's program includes preserving the family, moral values, combatting alcoholism. (See Footnotes)

[Answer] Yes, these are issues that affect women more than they do men. Therefore I think an effort should be made to get more women actively involved even though in a sense this violates democratic principles. (See Footnotes)

But I am totally opposed to all kinds of quota systems, 5 percent women, 8 percent unaffiliated, 10 percent blue-collar workers, etc.

At the same time it is good to have women better represented in the organizations. They provide a complementary, vital voice.

[Question] If it's hard to make a mark in the Solidarity leadership perhaps one should create...

[Answer] A Solidarity women's union? Good for you--it's not a question of having a hard time making a mark. No one has put up any barriers for me.

In my opinion the poor representation of women is not due to external circumstances, I don't see any effort being made to keep women out of the leadership. Perhaps many women, as I once did, have decided never to get involved in politics again and have taken up knitting instead. It is less hazardous to your health, leads to fewer disappointments, you can unravel a piece and knit it up again.

[Question] Or knit the whole thing over as Solidarity has done in politics. Here women's sense of reality ought to come in very handy.

[Answer] Yes, it would certainly be good for Solidarity to have more women in the leadership.

During KKP meetings I sometimes have the feeling that I'm sitting among a bunch of boys who haven't finished playing with their toy soldiers and now at last have a chance to outbid each other with their clever phrases.

It is as if I were looking at my little son. One must bear with it for a while. Then one has to straighten them out. I do that. Even if I lose friends that way. That's the way I am.

Although people accuse women of fastening on details and exaggerating them I think some women--those with experience and a broad perspective--would contribute to clarity and objectivity in KKP discussions.

[Question] Things seem to be quite chaotic at KKP meetings...

[Answer] I think there are two reasons for that.

For one thing there is a lack not of training but of experience in public activity. One sees that in the way people talk and argue. For another some delegates think their personal experiences are identical with those of society in general. In that way they represent themselves, in other words their life experiences. Therefore we don't have good and efficient meetings.

[Question] Where does all the distrust of experts outside KKP come from?

[Answer] From historical experience. Distrust is a social disease created by deacdes of decisions made in our name by other people.

[Question] Now the leaders of Solidarity are making many decisions in the name of others.

[Answer] Yes and on matters that really call for special expertise where experts should be asked. It is also dangerous. In my opinion there are two kinds of questions; one of them involves universal issues--where all of us know enough to have an opinion.

There we should make decisions on the basis of public opinion.

In the specialized questions opinions should rest on the work of experts and KKP should be careful about questioning results arrived at by expertise. Otherwise we could be accused of the same incompetence of which we have accused the government in the past.

[Question] All of this is due to the fact that KKP is an entirely new and unique creation in Polish politics. (See Footnotes) Is it a good construction or do you think others are better suited to lead Solidarity?

[Answer] No. I believe in the good common sense of those who work, especially those from the working class. They are receptive to argument and capable of changing their views. I believe in their historic wisdom which does not come from books but from their own experience and from recent history.

[Question] What is Solidarity's most important task?

[Answer] To educate a new kind of person.

For me it is not so important how much a kilogram of pork ends up costing. But I am alarmed by the opportunism, the degree of moral decay our society is subjected to, even children. But I realize this kind of change is much harder to achieve than the changes that produce good contracts or free Saturdays.

[Question] Does the opportunism you speak of exist in Solidarity too?

[Answer] Yes. As soon as the movement started growing people turned up who began using it. One example. My car broke down on the way to a KKP meeting. Someone said: "Go to the state repair shop, POLMOZBYT, and say you are from the Solidarity leadership. Then you'll get your car fixed without having to wait in line and get it done for nothing too." That shows an opportunistic and dangerous mentality. People should be judged on their own merits not according to whether they have a brother-in-law working for the state or a father-in-law in Solidarity. But to avoid this kind of thing one must first have a functioning system of trade and services.

This involves a rebirth of respect and trust in human relations and in human ideas such as one now finds only in literature. The last 35 years have demoralized the nation. But a change of mentality will take many years, especially when the economic situation is so difficult.

It's easier to behave like a gentleman in a streetcar that isn't crowded, don't you think?

[Question] Many thanks. Say a little about yourself.

[Answer] I live in Koszalin, not a typical workers' city. I work as a business lawyer for the UNITRA-UNIMA vacuum technology plant. I'm quite new there, left

my old job because they violated the labor laws there. Have a 5-year-old son I am bringing up myself. A very intelligent boy. He'll certainly be a good union man, he understands my needs precisely.

For instance he'll say, "You have to go to the meeting, otherwise you won't know what happened." He answers the telephone and keeps track of people I am going to meet. He even understands political structures, including the Solidarity hierarchy. So he'll probably make a better official than his mother.

FOOTNOTES

In 1970 hundreds of striking workers in Gdansk were shot down by policemen who had been ordered out.

MKZ is a regional leadership within Solidarity.

The August agreement of 1980 was reached between the government and Solidarity.

Moral has a different sound in Polish than it does in Swedish. In Poland it refers to truthfulness, fairness, responsibility and an ethical attitude.

Democratic principles in this context refers to a current discussion within Solidarity based on not forcing anyone to participate in political life against his or her will.

KKP is made up primarily of workers, strike leaders from August 1980.

6578
CSO: 3109/235

DECREE ON EXAMINATIONS IN FIELD OF CIVIL NAVIGATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 28 Jul 81 p 2

[Council of State Decree on Examinations in the Field of Civil Navigation]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Bookkeeping examinations and technical administrations and local bureaus for technical examinations, by experts or other specialists, according to the law.

In complex cases or those which are important for the national economy, examinations in the field of civil navigation can also be given by institutions of higher education, by institutes for scientific research, design and technological engineering, under the conditions stipulated by law.

Article 2--Extra-judicial examinations in the field of civil navigation, requested by Romanian or foreign juridical or physical persons, are permitted by captains of ports, if the law does not provide otherwise.

Article 3--The cost of the examinations in the field of civil navigation given at request or officially, for foreign juridical persons or physical persons, is determined and collected in hard currency, in accordance with the amounts specified in the annex which is an integral part of the present decree.[1)]

The fees stipulated in the annex to the present decree are minimum fees and they will be updated annually, at the proposal of the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications.

For other naval examinations besides those specified in the annex, the fees in hard currency will be set by the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, in accordance with the fees stipulated in the present decree and in accordance with international practice.

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[1]The annex is being communicated to the institutions concerned.

The Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications will adapt the level of fees in hard currency, specified in the annex to the present decree, without going below their limits, in accordance with the evolution of the fees for examinations of the same type prevalent in the international sphere.

Article 4--The cost of examinations in the field of civil navigation given to foreign juridical or physical persons is deposited in or, according to the case, transferred to the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, in hard currency.

The equivalent in lei, determined in accordance with the law, of the hard currency sums deposited in or transferred to the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank is transferred to the account of the financial administrations or, according to the case, to the account of the Central Bureau for Technical Examinations. From the sums deposited, the financial administrations and the Central Bureau for Technical Examinations will give the recompense due to the experts or the specialized institutions, under conditions of the law, and the difference will be deposited in the state budget.

Article 5--For services provided in the ports and the national waters of the Socialist Republic of Romania, at the request of foreign juridical or physical persons, the fees provided by law for these activities will be applied.

Article 6--The coordination, control and direction of the activity of examinations in the naval field will be carried out, for bookkeeping examinations, by the Ministry of Finance and for technical examinations, by the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 24 July 1981

No 212

CSO: 2700/369

DECREE ON EFFECTIVE USE OF SPARE SPACE IN CERTAIN UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 28 Jul 81 pp 1, 2

[Council of State Decree on the Use of Unused Spaces or of Spaces Which Are Not Being Used at Full Capacity, which Belong to State Socialist Units, Cooperative Units and Public Organizations, for Production, Small Industry, Services, Trade, or Small Handicraft Activities]

[Text] As a result of the measures adopted for the improvement of production activity, for the better circulation of goods and packaging, and for the elimination of intermediate storage areas, numerous areas have become available or are not being used to full capacity.

With a view to achieving an integral and effective use of these spaces for the development of the activities of production, small industry, services, trade, artisan, and small handicraft activities, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--As of the date of the present decree, unused spaces or those which are not being used to full capacity, which belong to state and cooperative units and to public organizations, identified in annexes 1-34 [1], will be given to units subordinate to the peoples councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, the ministries, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and the public organizations, so that they can be used for production, for small industry, for services, for trade, artisan and small handicraft activities, for the stated purposes.

The handing over and taking over of the spaces will be executed on the basis of an agreement concluded with the organs concerned, together with the entire inventory, the equipment and the workers, as of 1 April 1981. The personnel who go to the new units are considered transferred in the interest of the job.

Article 2--The ministries, the other central organs and the peoples councils are obliged to ensure that the units are properly equipped and put into operation immediately, for the stated purpose.

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[1] The annexes are being communicated to the institutions concerned.

Also, they will ensure the proper use of all areas and equipment, under conditions of increased efficiency, for the continued improvement of the activities of production, of small industry, services and trade, for the purpose of increasing the volume of services and consumer goods requested by the people.

Article 3--The ministries, the other central organs and the peoples councils have the task of identifying, on a continuing basis, all the spaces which have become free or which are not being used to full capacity and of taking measures so that they will be used effectively for production, services, trade, for the development of small industry and of artisan and handicraft activities, for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the people at a superior qualitative level.

Article 4--The State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, together with the local and central organs concerned will submit, for approval, the modifications in the single national plan for economic and social development as well as in the volume and structure of the state budget for 1981 which result from the application of the present decree.

Article 5--Annexes 1-34 are an integral part of the present decree.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 23 July 1981

No 209

CSO: 2700/369

ROLE OF BUREAU OF BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 81 pp 79-82

[Article by Ioachim Moga, first deputy chief of the Section for Party Organization of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party: "The Bureau of the Base Organization - A Collective Organ"]

[Text] As the executive organ of the general assembly elected to lead all current activities of the base organization, the bureau has to carry out special tasks. It is called upon to organize and ensure the application of the decisions of the general assembly and the carrying out of the tasks stemming from party and state decisions, to judiciously distribute the resources of the base organization in order to cover all sectors, regions and problems, to constantly oversee adherence to internal party democracy and communist discipline, and to create all the conditions so that each party member will actively take part in all the activities of the organization. Similarly, it is also asked to organize all propaganda work and political-ideological training for the communists and to instruct and coordinate the collective's activities for agitators and editorial staffs of gazettes, satircal gazettes and radio stations. In addition, it prepares on-time general assemblies and exercises a systematic review in all fields of activity, promptly informing its superior organ about special problems.

This succinct presentation of the tasks clearly shows the complexity and importance of each bureau's activities. The fundamental condition for fulfilling them is the direct application of the principle of collective work, which, in addition to other principles and norms, ensures the full use of the experience, knowledge and initiative of the party organs and the communists.

Through the manner itself in which it is elected and formed and through the structure and functions that it carries out, the bureau of the base organization is ensured of having all the premises for working and leading in a collective manner.

How are these requirements stated in the affairs and activities of each bureau?

First of all, it is necessary for the bureau and each of its members to effectively contribute to the organization and review of the carrying out of decisions adopted by the general assembly. It is known that within its framework the members frequently

establish that which is to be done for the purpose of resolving those problems under discussion, as well as those for which they are responsible. At the same time, however, numerous proposals are issued and various observations are made in the assemblies. This is also the source of the necessity, after the assembly, for the bureau to carefully examine, whenever necessary along with the chiefs of the units, sections, workshops, working group, teams and so forth, the opinions that have been expressed and the suggestions advanced by the participants in the discussions, to establish measures for their implementation, to constantly pursue from day-to-day how the decisions are implemented, to give the necessary help to those who have to carry out diverse tasks and to promptly intervene to prevent any shortcomings.

Second, the bureau and each of its members must work to resolve the economic, social, organizational and educational problems that appear between meetings and to effectively organize the carrying out of the tasks stemming from the party and state documents, the directives given by the secretary general of the party and the decisions of the higher party organs. In such cases, without waiting for the next general assembly, it is necessary to establish precisely what is to be done by the base organization, the bureau and other social-civic organisms. But, this cannot be left solely to the secretary and the deputy secretaries, but it is necessary to have the thoughts and action of the entire bureau. Things proceed well in those places where, immediately after the appearance of a party document or certain directives or decisions of higher party organs, the members of the bureaus study them carefully, consult with other communists and then meet and decide how to take actions to implement the tasks.

Third, the participation of the entire bureau is absolutely necessary when future activities are planned. In many organizations, it has become the norm for members of the bureau, on the basis of their tasks, consultations with party members and the conclusions drawn from their day-to-day activities, to make specific proposals and to effectively participate in completing the annual list of themes. This list is to give priority attention to the quarterly work plan, being careful to ensure dealing with the most important and most pressing problems, to outline in the work plan precise, clearly expressed objectives with specific timeframes and responsibilities and to unite all forces to fulfill them.

Fourth, while permanently pursuing the flow of activities at each place of work, the bureau is called upon to take effective measures to generally spread all those things that appear that are new and valuable, as well as those methods and progressive initiatives that can be used to eliminate any shortfalls in achieving the plan tasks and to eliminate examples of a lack of discipline and deficiencies in bringing supplies to the worksites and in granting technical assistance. Similarly, the job of the bureau is to promptly intervene whenever it finds a waste of raw materials, materials, fuels or energy, the inappropriate operation of machinery and equipment, negligence in carrying out work tasks and so forth. The bureau is asked to effectively bring into discussion their valuable experiences and the means to spread these to others, and negative aspects and to call to task those work chiefs and any party members who do not conscientiously exercise their attributes and their tasks, to establish the necessary measures for the purpose of uniting all

forces to directly achieve the party's decisions and to permanently give the appropriate assistance and constantly exercise an exacting control.

Finally, beginning with the conclusion that the activities of the bureau of the base organization become more fruitful and more efficiency as a greater number of party members make their contributions, the bureau has the high responsibility of permanently attracting these people to the study, discussion and solution of the more important problems, the initiation and carrying out of certain actions and the preparation of the general assemblies. The practice of certain bureas has proven useful with regards to naming in the work plans those party members who are to contribute to attaining the outlined objectives, and to giving certain specific tasks to certain communists in order to fulfill the obligations stemming from party and state decisions, the directives of the secretary general of the party, the measures taken by the high party organs and the decisions of the general assembly or the bureau.

Some bureaus of base organizations still do not give full attention to the organization and implementation of their activities on a collective basis, with full responsibility for fulfilling tasks being left to the secretary. And, for one single person it is difficult, if not impossible, to resolve all the problems that spring up. Blank spots then appear in activities, which become sporadic and inefficient. The result? Such practices damage the work of the bureau, which then cannot succeed in expressing its active presence at the places of work under all circumstances and cannot promptly work to fulfill its tasks and eliminate shortcomings.

The principles of collective work and leadership must be understood not only in the sense of discussing problems and jointly elaborating a framework for carrying out actions, but especially in the sense of collectively participating in the management of all activities and the application of decisions. This is also the reasoning behind the assignment of specific tasks to each member of the bureau.

One of the first problems that arises deals with the need to encompass as best as possible the entire problem of party work, with each member of the bureau being responsible for a certain field of activity. The Statute of the Romanian Communist Party mentions that the bureau of the base organization elects the secretary and the deputy secretaries. According to the improvements made to the Instructions of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party regarding the election of local party organs, after the application of the decisions of the July 1979 Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the number of communists elected to the bureau of a base organization is establishing depending upon the strength of this organization, generally electing one bureau member for every 10 communists.

For example, a base organization that has between 10 and 30 communists elects a bureau made up of 3 members. In those organizations that have a larger number of communists, according to the abovementioned norm, the number of people elected

to the bureau will, certainly, be greater, but not, however, exceeding 11 people. Base organizations that have less than 10 members elect a secretary and one deputy secretary. Depending upon the specific situation, smaller organizations elect one deputy secretary to the bureau, those with a larger number elect two deputy secretaries, while those that are even larger elect three deputy secretaries. In cases where there are three deputy secretaries, one will handle organizational affairs, one propaganda affairs and one economic affairs. Where there are two deputy secretaries, they will have responsibilities in organizational and propaganda affairs, with economic and professional affairs being handled, normally, by the secretary of the base organization.

With regards to the responsibilities of the other members of the bureau, experience shows that generally valid answers cannot be given since the specific conditions under which the bureaus carry out their activities differ and some have a large number of members and others a small number. What is important is for no area of party work to be left uncovered, which means in cases where there are only a few members some people will have to cover two or three problem areas.

Similarly, it is necessary for each member of the bureau to have precisely defined areas of responsibility. It should be remembered, however, that, in accordance with the principle adopted by the National Party Conference in 1967 which stated that overlapping and intermediary levels must be eliminated in the guidance of mass and public organizations, communists in the leadership of these bureaus are directly responsible for the manner in which the party line is introduced and applied. In cases where the president of the trade union organization committee, the organizer of the trade union group, the secretary of the Union of Communist Youth organization and the president of the women's commission belong to the bureau of the base organization, there is no need for other members in the bureau to be tasked with handling these organizations. The party directive must be kept in mind regarding the fact that the secretary of the base organization must be directly responsible for handling the activities of the youth organization.

Certainly, such a division of responsibilities in the guidance and control of mass and public organizations does not also relieve the bureau of the base organization from handling these areas. On the contrary, the entire bureau, bearing the responsibility for the proper operation of trade union, youth and other activities, is called upon to permanently supervise the manner in which these activities take place and to contribute to the uncovering and spread of positive experiences and the quick identification and solution of any type of shortcoming.

A second problem involves ensuring coverage of all places of activity by the members of the bureau and strengthening their responsibility for everything that happens in these places. This is also the reason for the care expressed by numerous bureaus to carry out such a distribution of their members so that they will be present at kep places of work, on shifts, in work groups, teams and so forth. Under such conditions, when each one is responsible for a certain place of work, it is not only natural, but also absolutely necessary to deal with all problems that arise at these places that are within the scope of party work so that nothing escapes from the view of the bureau and the entire organization.

The assignment of attributes and tasks must be done as rationally as possible, keeping in mind the experience, training and abilities of each person and, especially, the specific needs of party work. It should be remembered that, as outlined in the Statutes of the Romanian Communist Party, members of party organs, therefore also of the bureaus of base organizations, are responsible both for fulfilling the tasks in their assigned areas of work and for the activities of the entire organ to which they belong. The bureau cannot be indifferent with regards to how each of its members works. Along this line, in many organizations a strong atmosphere of mutual assistance has been created, with those members of the bureau with more experience helping those who are newly elected or those working for the first time in new fields to better understand and thoroughly organize their work in order to carry it out. Actually, the experience of many bureaus shows that activities become more fruitful as each bureau creates all the conditions necessary so that all the members can participate effectively and actively in all their work. These members, for their part, must work with the highest responsibility to carry out the mandate given to them.

Of first priority is the regular meeting of the members of the bureau in order to discuss and resolve certain problems. An especially important role is played by the bureau session. We should note the concern of an ever greater number of base organization bureaus for judiciously scheduling, within their work plan, those themes that will be discuss in the bureau, who is responsible for the proper preparation of the session and what will be done to this end. Experience shows that, depending on the problems that are to be discussed, it is good for some bureau sessions to be attended by invited persons and other communists and personnel from the leaderships at units, sections, workshops, work groups, schools and so forth, with many bureaus examining in these sessions how certain decisions and provisions in the work plan and party work in the economic-social, organizational and propaganda fields are carried out, listening to reports from the heads of work places, chiefs of mass and public organizations and so forth. No matter the problem is presented for discussion, each bureau session must be thoroughly prepared in order to be carried out in a strong work atmosphere and an atmosphere appropriate for the open expression of opinions, statements without reservations about criticism and self-criticism, and, especially, proposals and solutions for adopting certain more judicious measures.

It has proven effective for the secretary to consult with the other members of the bureau or a portion of them for the purpose of immediately resolving certain problems without postponing the application of the necessary measures and the reciprocal consultation between bureau members in workshops, sections, in the fields and so forth for the purpose of better carrying out certain tasks and eliminating shortcomings and difficulties. The secretary's regular briefing of the other members of the bureau regarding the demands that spring up, the tasks outlined by the higher organs concerning the manner in which it has worked to fulfill the established decisions and measures, the presentation of reports by members of the bureau regarding the concern for carrying out their tasks and

the systematic analysis of the flow of activities in diverse areas are other means which contribute to the strengthening of the nature of collective work and to the development of the responsibility of each member towards exercising their mandate.

Covering and fulfilling tasks under the best possible conditions and maintaining a dynamic, creative spirit full of initiative in all activities are supported by the collective participation of the members in all the bureau's work and the growth of responsibility of each member regarding his mandate, which make easier the achievement of all tasks with the best possible results by those who are in the staff of each base organization.

8724
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ENVOY TO ISRAEL ON BILATERAL RELATIONS, PLO

TA191923 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1830 GMT 19 Aug 81

[Excerpts] Tel Aviv, 19 Aug--The relations between Romania and Israel are good and positive, the Romanian ambassador to Israel, Constantin Vasiliu, said in a news conference held today at the Romanian Embassy in Tel Aviv on the occasion of the 37th independence day of Romania.

The ambassador added that good relations also existed with the parties, economic organizations, artists, scientists and intellectuals. He noted that the Romanian president and foreign minister had sent their congratulations to the Israeli prime minister when the latter formed the new government. The ambassador emphasized Romania's desire to develop relations between the two countries and noted that all the conditions existed for cooperation in a friendly and constructive spirit.

Replying to a question regarding Romania's position concerning the PLO, the ambassador explained at length that Romania was taking into account the fact that the PLO was an existent organization representing almost all the standpoints of the Palestinian people--the PLO is an organization representing the Palestinians. However, nobody could guarantee that this organization would remain in its present form or whether it would remain the only organization in a Palestinian state to be. The ambassador added that the PLO held positions and goals which were not acceptable by Romania and many countries in the world. The PLO was also issuing extreme and nervous [as published] declarations. However, these were mainly for internal consumption. The ambassador noted that Romania advocates the establishment of peace among all the nations in the region and is opposed to military intervention in another country as well as to attacks on civilian population. Romania refrains from offering solutions to others but it supports the right of the Palestinians for self-determination.

At the beginning of the news conference the ambassador reviewed the economic situation in Romania which is affected by crises in the world. Romania tries not to expand development in order not to increase its foreign debts. It conducts a policy of thrift and looks for independent sources of energy.

Replying to a question, the ambassador noted that the relations between Romania and the United States were good. The relations with Poland were also good and Romania thinks that one should not interfere in the internal affairs of another country. Poland should be allowed to solve its problems on its own.

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EFFORTS TO COMBAT RELIGION IN MEHEDINTI COUNTY

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Aug 81 pp 83-86

[Article by Maria Cozma: "The Continuing Flux of Materialist-Scientific Education"]

[Text] A discussion on the theme of materialist-scientific activities conducted with party cadre and other persons involved in the educational process at the different levels in Mehedinti County shows meritorious concern in this field.

Materialist-scientific educational activities occupy a separate, important place in the program of activities of the county council of political education and socialist culture. One of the directions of priority orientation in this work is, and rightly so, the dissemination of cultural-scientific knowledge, the explanation and mass popularization of certain physical, chemical, biologicalm geological, cosmic and historical-social phenomena and so forth.

To this end, a series of means of communicating with the workers is used, some being better known - speeches, discussions, reporting sessions, scientific encounters and experiences, question and answer sessions, book reviews, documentary films and so forth - and others ever more insistently taking their place among the efficient means in clarifying problems and convincing the masses, such as the lecture program with parents, the atheism and astronomy clubs created in schools like the "Stefan Plavat" High School in Orsova and the "Traian" High School in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, the dialogues on atheistic themes promoted by the Vinju Mare City Council of Political Education and Socialist Culture, a series of observations and meetings with astronomers and meterologists and so forth.

According to the directives of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in recent times the education of the masses in the materialist spirit has experienced a clear intensification in the county. The Mehedinti County Party Committee is taking care to give this activity a quality adequate for the existing conditions and phenomena in each collective group. In this regard, at certain intervals we are undertaking studies, sociological research and tests to pursue the evolution of the mystic phenomenon and to understand its implications in social-economic affairs and the degree of political, scientific, cultural and professional training of the different categories of workers. One such study, conducted with the help of certain specialized personnel from the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and the University of Craiova, institutes with which we systematically

cooperate in this regard, presented to the party organ, among other things, a series of data regarding the negative effects of the activities of religious sects in both urban and rural settings and of superstitions, which still persist, especially in the villages. A portion of village inhabitants, respecting religious holidays, also still believe in different superstitions - "it is not good to work grapes on Fridays," "three Thursdays and three Tuesdays after Easter the land must not be worked, otherwise hailstones will fall or a blight will come," "on the ninth Sunday after Easter, grain must not be disturbed or it will be blighted" and so forth. As a result, they do not work the fields, losing approximately 25 percent of the good working time each year. Some citizens still practice magic.

Knowing all this, therefore, the county committee is directing activities to disseminate cultural knowledge - by lecturers, scientific working groups, films, specialized books - depending upon the specific realities in each region, locality and place of work. Thus, the 42 scientific working groups, 8 mixed groups and 34 specialized ones, made over 200 trips since 1980 up to now in nearly all the county localities. The themes covered in speeches, answers to questions, experiences and practical demonstrations dealt with a broad area of ideas, from the explanation of certain phenomena in nature and society - lightening, thunder, hail, rain, earthquakes, dreams, hypnosis, diseases and their causes, the need for a good diet and the need to work the land under optimum conditions - to the open presentation of the party's position regarding religion, of the opposition between religion and science, of the key points of the materialist-dialectical concept regarding the world and life, and so forth. A number of documentary films were shown around - "From the Atom to the Crystal," "Us and the Sun," "The Genesis of Religion," "The Movement of the Earth's Crust," "The Origins and Evolution of Mammals," "Man on the Moon" and so forth. Also, 14 handouts were published: "Science, Research and Development," "Medicine Serving Life," "In the Spirit of the Law," "Population and Development" and so forth, which made a significant contribution to popularizing the advances of science and technology.

The county party committee is trying to place scientific activities for material education and combatting superstition and mysticism on methodological bases. To this end, periodical analyses are being conducted in bureau or plenary sessions regarding the carrying out of atheist education or other convergent facets, and exchanges of experiences and instruction sessions with responsible persons (deputy secretaries for propaganda, lecturers, propagandists and so forth) are being initiated. In this regard, one especially fruitful format is the information and reporting session organized by the county party organ each year, now in its ninth year. In these sessions, with the help of numerous leadership cadre from the county, city and town level, certain specialists and invited guests from other counties, a rich flow of information is achieved regarding the content, forms, methods and means of carrying out materialist-scientific education, bringing culture to the masses and rapidly transmitting certain good experiences in this field, with this constituting a thorough methodical instruction of all those who are called upon to carry out the educational process and increase political-social responsibility.

Promising Efforts Along the Lines of Secularizing Certain Customs and Traditions

Another direction in which the county party committee is concentrating efforts is that of promoting certain celebrations and customs of a secular nature and of secularizing the manner of marking important moments in the lives of the people. Measures were taken so, on the basis of certain scenarios and presentations of customs and traditions elaborated by the county center for guiding popular creative work, all educational factors at the county level can agree on the organization of certain traditional secular celebrations: the Celebration of the Lilac in the towns of Ponoarele and Nadanova, the Celebration of the Locust Tree in Hinova and Sisesti, the Celebration of the Linden Tree in Strehaia and Prunisor, the Popular Song and Dance Festival in Cosustei Valley, the Celebration of the Grain and Hard Work in Girla Mare and so forth. All these have become true moments for expressing the happiness and satisfaction for the fruits of the people's labors. Along the same line, efforts are being made to remove the so-called holy-days from under mystical influences, with the town and city party committees being helped in organizing broad cultural-artistic events, amusements and dances during these days.

In many places, it is starting to become a practice to celebrate birthdays, the age of majority, wedding days, seniority at work, retirements and so forth. Thus, conditions are being created to achieve an affective climate of friendship, comradeship, respect and esteem towards each person.

Communists - Active Workers for Imprinting Atheist Beliefs in the People's Conscience

In order for all scientific educational work and work for the formation of certain materialist beliefs and the liberation of all those still under the influence of mysticism to give the desired results, it is absolutely necessary for the activities coordinated and carried out by the county party committee to be actively sustained by each party organ and organization in the county. What can be said from this point of view?

Without a doubt, the municipal, city, town, enterprise and institute committees and the cultural centers are also organizing their own actions of the type mentioned above. Experience attests, however, that the efficiency of the educational process in general, and especially of those complex facets of rooting out retrograde ideas, mentalities and practices from the conscience and behaviors of certain people, and of forming materialist beliefs depend directly upon the means of dealing with the problems, in close relation to the situation encountered, from one case to another, with the necessary tact and firmness. We have encountered in some party organs such attempts to specialize as much as possible the educational process. For example, it is worth noting the measure initiated by the Orsova City Party Committee, together with the base organizations in the schools, to place children whose behavior and conscience are under the influence of mysticism into the direct care of each teacher. The Vinju Mare City Party Committee has,

in recent times, promoted popular meetings, from fall through spring, in which it develops an active dialogue with different categories of citizens of the city and more restricted groups - homemakers, cooperatists and so forth, regarding themes on the formation of scientific views about the world, the explanation of certain phenomena, and the unscientific nature of the superstitions that still exist in the region.

In this context, the party organizations, which represent the optimum framework for understanding and dealing with these aspects from one individual to another, certainly play a decisive role.

The majority of educational-formative activities carried out by the party organization at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Clothing Enterprise are naturally directed at young people averaging 22 years of age who are faced with big decisions: starting a family and ensuring a certain, free and honest future. Not by chance, the most frequently dealt with themes have to do with happiness and love, with the manner in which these philosophical categories are viewed by science, religion and our party, and with the differences between socialists morals and religious ones. Great attention is given to strengthening work collectives, friendship and affection between people, with celebrations regularly being organized in work collectives for birthdays, weddings and retirements. In this manner, the collective in which organizations No 5 operates succeeded in removing the young girl A. M., who otherwise was a hard-working and conscientious person, from the influence of a religious sect to which her parents belonged, who would not permit her to marry anyone who was not of the same beliefs. Surrounded by the attention of her colleagues and parentally guided by her older comrades and by the secretary of the party organization, who pledged to help her start off on a good and sure path, the young girl soon married to her heart's content, completely breaking with religious precepts.

A series of situations demonstrates, however, that some party organs have not fully mastered all aspects of the mystic phenomenon and are not in all cases working systematically with the power of conviction and necessary effectiveness to block the path of mysticism and superstition and to arm party members and other workers with a thorough materialist-scientific knowledge.

As has been seen, certain citizens do not work a significant number of days each year, besides Sundays and in some towns there are signs of the existence of certain superstitions and unhealthy practices which, if they would be systematically combatted in a constant and convincing manner by party organs, communists and other educational authorities using the political means available, would have their sphere of expression restricted without a doubt. One step of great use in combatting these retrograde states of affairs would be the popular calendar of superstitions, which the county commission on the spread of scientific knowledge is putting together and which, when made available to the town organs, will provide specific data and calculations regarding the economic consequences suffered as a result of the people not working on certain days and will increase the efficiency of organized actions.

Generally, it is easy to pass over some facts and their frequently sufficiently serious results. In the town of Timna, the young girl of 22 years, L. G., having been subjected by her own parents to the exacerbated cannons of the "adventist-reformist" sect - operating outside of the law, was led to fast to a state of grave undernourishment, to a weight of 26 kg - just one step from death, a moment held by the precepts of the sect and considered as supreme happiness. Certainly, if the town party committee, communists and other educational authorities within the community had known and had been closely interested in each situation and each citizen, and if a sustained and rich preventative activity had been carried out to reveal certain mystical and inhumane concepts and practices, then such especially dangerous events would not have happened.

Such happenings must be completely excluded from our social life and in order to achieve this the party organs are called upon to express greater intransigence in the educational-formative activities they carry out and a better receptiveness to the situations that appear and the problems and needs of the people. We believe that this case, completely out of the ordinary and brought to the public opinion in the county by the local newspaper VIITORUL, and these degrading practices and rituals, which flagrantly infringe upon the idea itself of man, should constitute for both the Timna Town Party Committee and for all the other party organs and organizations in the county solid reasons for intensifying all activities dedicated to removing certain citizens from the evil influence of mystical and obscurantist prejudices. Unfortunately, too few of them have thought to discuss this event with the people.

Certainly, the majority of the educational activities that are organized include party members in their sphere of activity. But, this is not sufficient. In the base organizations and in the ranks of the party members, there is need for a much more insistent and more organized educational work. They must be clearly shown that our party's ideology and its revolutionary concept about life are in total contradiction with the appearance of one religious cult or another.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu maintained in the Report given to the 12th Party Congress: "It is an anachronism in the era of the great advances of the technical-scientific revolutionary and knowledge when the people are being affirmed as the conscious creator of all material and spiritual values, that there still are people, even party members, who believe in supernatural forces."

Discussion conducted with some cadre, like Elena Patrascu, the secretary of the party committee at the Orsova "Cazane" Enterprise, Sarlota Balaci, the deputy secretary of the party committee at the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Clothing Enterprise, Constantin Paris, the deputy secretary of the Sisesti Town Party Committee and so forth, show that party organizations are only very sporadically carrying out, and then only when certain more unusual situations appear, actions involving materialist education, stating the communist position regarding mystical concepts and forming atheist convictions. For that reason, it is no wonder that at any given moment one can find that some party members are also participating in the

rituals of certain religious cults. Such is the state of affairs with two party members in Sisesti who have selected the path of ignorance and mysticism. Certainly, if the party organizations would systematically carry out the activities designed to explain these problems and to help in mastering materialist-scientific concepts about the world and society and the concept of being a communist, such phenomena would no longer occur.

These facts raise problems of major significance for the county party committee with regards to taking further and spreading the positive experiences acquired in disseminating scientific knowledge and forming a materialist belief in the people and to bringing to all party organs and organizations a more permanent and systematic concern in this field and firmer attitudes against the damaging and retrograde manifestations that are contrary to the ethical profile of the builders of the new, socialist society.

8724
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THEORIES ON ORIGIN OF MOLDAVIAN HUNGARIANS

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 2 Jul 81 p 24

/Article by Constantin Beloiu: "Prof Dumitru Martinas and the Problem of the Ethnic-Historical Origin of the Moldavian Hungarians," introduced by an editorial note by Victor Nita/

/Text/ Some time ago we were visitied at our office by a man who brought us two typewritten volumes, each about 250 pages long. His name was Dumitru Martinas and he was a retired professor, and the two volumes consisted of a linguistic work written over an entire lifetime. In this work the professor wished to express his view of the origin of the Hungarians of Central Moldavia. What motivated him to scrutinize, in time and space, this lacuna in liguistics? Nothing but his desire to find the parents of a people about whom nothing could be previously determined with any certainty, although a good many efforts were made throughout history. And at the heart of this keen desire lay the impelling fact that he, Prof Martinas himself, was the son and descendant of an old Moldavian Hungarian family.

But Prof Martinas died before we began to read the two volumes and before we found the time to interview him fully. We had to learn from our contributor Ion Coja, university lecturer in the Faculty of Romanian Language and Literature, to whom we lent the work for study and analysis, that in all likelihood the late Prof Martinas' linguistic research and procedure would ultimately throw some clearer light upon the origin of the Moldavian Hungarians.

It was also Lecturer Ion Coja who suggested that we publish an article by Constantin Beloiu, a dear friend and close collaborator of Prof Martinas, before we present a summary of the two volumes. We accepted this suggestion as a starting point in our effort to show the courage of a man who set out to fill in this blank in our linguistics, namely the language of the Moldavian Hungarians.

A quite outstanding scholar, keen researcher, wholehearted patriot and accomplished teacher, Prof Dumitru Martinas dedicated his whole life to a point of self-sacrifice to a problem long considered an enigma of science, namely the ethic-historical origin of the Moldavian Hungarians, and thus filled in a blank page in the troubled history of the Romanian people. In nearly 50 years of field studies and analyses in more than 70 Hungarian villages and upon consulting over 170 papers, books, journals, studies and documents, Prof Dumitru Martinas succeeded in demonstrating that the

Moldavian Hungarians properly speaking, that is those who inhabit the Middle Siret basin, are an old Transylvanian Romanian population in origin who were once Szeklerized, became bilingual, and later emigrated to Moldavia in the course of the huge social-political phenomenon known in Transylvania as the profugium valachorum, the flight of the Romanians, in the 18th century.

And so Prof Dumitru Martinas with his profound knowledge of the problem of the Moldavian Hungarians, in addition to his birth (11 May 1897 in Miclauseni-Butea Commune in Neamt County) of peasant parents with ancient ancestors who were all Moldavian Hungarians, prepared a documented study of more than 350 typed pages on the origin of the Moldavian Hungarians.

Displaying a thirst for knowledge and a keen aptitude for learning from his very young boyhood, working hard and living in his lessons and preparations, he passed his higher school courses and then graduated from Iasi University, studying the Romanian language and literature, the Latin language, and philosophy. He lived through the horrors of World War I with all its disasters, fighting on the front. In the first years after completing his university studies he taught in various Romanian cities and then settled in Tirgu-Mures, where he founded his home and family and taught Romanian, Latin and philosophy in several high schools. His longest and most fruitful years (38) were spent at the Papiu Ilarian High School, where he functioned as a professor and for a time as director, being an accomplished teacher. During his teaching career he knew how to approach the pupils' minds and hearts and how to win their sympathy, affection and respect to such an extent that after 1962, when he retired on a pension, there was no 10th, 20th, 25th or 30th high-school class anniversary that he was not invited to attend, because the presence of this scholar was considered an honor and the figure of this distinguished teacher was indelible in the pupils' memories after decades of separation.

Prof Dumitru Martinas' curiosity was already aroused during his university studies by the problem of the Csangos (Hungarian Moldavians), whom he investigated and studied enthusiastically throughout his entire lifetime, devoting part of his intellectual life to that problem, collecting material, roaming through villages, listening to the dialect, talking with the oldest Csangos and correlating the material, although many of his colleagues considered this a "dead" problem. This scholar and researcher of rare modesty, less interested in material problems than intellectual ones, devoted all his moments of leisure to study, reading and meditation until the end of his life on 3 February 1979.

As a posthumous tribute of admiration, profound respect and high esteem for Prof Dumitru Martinas, I feel it a duty of honor to present some original aspects of the Csango phenomenon culled from the work of this scholar and learned researcher.

The question arises at the start, who are these Csangos? The author says that in the opinion of the Hungarian teachers Bernath Munkacsi in 1880 and Aladar Ballagi in 1888, the origin of the name "Csangos" is as follows:

a. Csangai: to interbreed, in the biological sense;

b. Csango beszed: speech that is interbred in the liguistic sense;

c. Csangomaghiar: an interbred Hungarian who speaks an interbred language.

Prof Dumitru Martinas found that the old Hungarian settlements in Moldavia between the 13th and 16th centuries were not colonies of Csangos but colonies of Magyar-Szeklers. The number of these Hungarian Catholics in Moldavia had declined almost to the point of their disappearance, either because of mixture with the Moldavians ("Ad valahos defecere," Bandinus wrote in 1646) or rather because of the terrible ravages of war (deportations, famines, epidemics) the country had suffered during the prolonged Turco-Polish wars for the city of Camenita and their consequences, which reduced the whole country's population by half. As for the fate of those Hungarian Catholics, the Italian missionaries' correspondence repeated notes "Tutti fuggiti," all fled to Transylvania.

The author goes on to say that none of the many documents of the period (13th-16th centuries) mentions the name Csangos because the Csangos had not yet appeared by that time in Moldavia with their broken Hungarian dialect. The Csangos properly speaking were a later product of the process of Szelerization of the Romanian villages in Transylvania, a process that was made official by the Szeklerization of the Romanian principalities of Bretcu and Vlahita as of 1495. Originally those Csangos were a Romanian population made bilingual by Szeklerization who spoke broken Szekler in a ridiculous fashion ("Ridicole et insulse," Samuel Timon wrote in 1733), but they also spoke Romanian and dressed only as Romanians, as the Hungarian missionary Zold said in 1766 (The missionary Zold was a native of Madefalau community, today Siculeni in Harghita County, which was then inhabited by Szeklers and Szeklerized Romanians or Csangos).

In the 18th century many Csango serfs of the Szekler country, overcome by poverty and the harsh oppression of the feudal lords, fled from the Hungarian counts' estates and settled in Moldavia. Because of this fact alone the Csangos escaped total Szeklerization and succeeded in preserving their old sibilant Romanian dialect and their Romanian dress and customs, in other words their national existence.

To illustrate this phenomenon more graphically, the author sums up the following conclusions:

"The present Csango population is a new stratification of a Catholic population from Transylvania ("E Transylvania egredientes") that colonized Moldavia, largely in the 18th century."

"This new population of Transylvanian immigrants included two religious categories: (a) Catholic Csangos from the Szekler country, largely Szeklerized Romanian bilinguals speaking both Romanian and Hungarian as the missionary Zold said, and (b) many Romanian Greek-Catholic Uniates belonging to the Bishopric of Blaj, as the Italian missionaries attested." "This new population of Catholic inhabitants, commonly called Hungarian Catholics, was not a Magyar population because the usual, familiar mother dialect of the great majority of them was the Transylvanian Romanian dialect (The Italian missionary De Giovanni wrote, 'Tutti parlano in lingua moldava') and they all wore Romanian dress ('Ihre Kleidung ist Walachisch,' Zold wrote). It is well known that the Greek-Catholic Uniates were all Romanians. This Catholic population's settlement in Moldavia is attested by many historical witnesses, such as Iezerski, bishop of Bacau, the missionaries Cambioli, Mauro and De Giovanni et al. Although the Moldavians called them Hungarians because of their religion, they understood each other's Romanian dialects. After these Catholics settled in Moldavia, they all abandoned the Hungarian dialect and continued to speak Romanian, not in the

Moldavian dialect because they had not yet acquired it, but in their dialect, which they still speak today. They abandoned their old servitude and lived by their traditional Romanian standards of language, dress and customs.

"Conclusion: The present Csangos in Moldavia were originally a Transylvanian Romanian population that emigrated to Moldavia in the 18th century, distinct from the old Magyar-Szekler colonies of the 13th-16th centuries ethnically and linguistically."

In support of this statement the author demonstrates the Transylvanian basis of the Csango dialect of Romanian as follows:

The following three phonetic traits characteristic of the Csango dialect distinguish it from other regional dialects:

1. The sibilant pronunciation of ş as s is an old trait, a remnant of the late pronunciation in primitive Romanian, when our language was merely a stage of the eastern Romanic idiom. In other words the trait is inherited from popular Latin, and it also occurs in the western Romanic dialects.

2. Palatization of the dentals t and d (+ e and i), which became ci and gi, is a characteristic Transylvanian Banat pronunciation of Western Slavic origin that entered our language in the period of Romanian-Slavic symbiosis (8th-10th centuries).

3. Preservation of the old palatalized l', which did not change to i. This palatalized l' appeared in primitive Romanian and disappeared about in the 16th century, when it changed to i. It has been noted that this trait persists sporadically even today in the dialect of some Csango villages, four centuries after it disappeared in Daco-Romanian.

I quote the author's conclusion about these phonetic traits of the Csango dialect:

"The Csango dialect, which preserves phonetic traits from primitive Romanian and the period of Romanian-Slavic symbiosis, proves that the Transylvanian ancestors of the Csangos spoke Romanian in a period long before the 8th century. The presence of the Csangos' Transylvanian ancestors in Transylvania back in the period of Romanian-Slavic symbiosis and in the period of primitive Romanian demonstrates the presence and historical continuity of the Romanians in the Carpathian area back in the period of the origin of the Romanian language."

The author also analyzes the vocabulary of the Csango dialect and reaches the following conclusions:

1. All the religious terminology of a popular, folk nature in the Csango dialect is identical with that of the Transylvanian popular dialects.

2. The linguistic isolation of some Transylvanian Csango villages in the valleys of the eastern Carpathians for centuries on end made it possible to preserve some archaisms of Latin origin in their dialect that are unknown in common Romanian or have disappeared from it. For example: (a) The common noun ler, lerul, lerule meaning "brother-in-law" is unknown today in common Romanian but used in the Csango dialect. (b) The common noun vintricel meaning "belly", used more in children's speech, is a diminutive of the Transylvanian term vintre, from Latin venter, ventris, "belly." (c) Or the terms pacurar from Latin pecorarius and corinda or a corinda (with r). The latter is inherited directly from Latin kalenda and is identical in meaning with the term colinda (with l) in common Romanian.

By scientific, complete and in-depth analysis of all the problems under discussion, the author finally demonstrates that "The Csangos are a Transylvanian Romanian population that once underwent a process of Szelerization in the Szekler country that was sometimes more profound and sometimes more superficial. Their Romanian ethnic characteristics (language, dress, customs etc.) are not due to any presupposed denationalization or recent Romanianization. They are the reflection of their ethnic and historical Transylvanian Romanian affiliation. Settled in Moldavia in a not very remote period, most of them have fogotten the Hungarian language, but they could not forget their old, regional, sibilant Romanian dialect brought from Transylvania, nor have they forgotten their old Transylvanian dress and customs." Quite rightly Dumitru Martinas concludes his valuable study by quoting Cantemir: "The language is an incontrovertible witness of this."

5186
CSO: 2700/354

BRIEFS

AMBASSADORIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Valeriu Pop is relieved of his position as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Uruguay and Comrade Gheorghe Apostol is accredited as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Uruguay, with residence in Buenos Aires. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 58, 15 Aug 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/369

WESTERN COMMENT ON YUGOSLAVS, ALBANIANS IN BRUSSELS

Brussels LE SOIR in French 19 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Jean-Paul Collette: "In Belgium, Yugoslavs and Albanians Are Living in Distrust, With Nostalgia"]

> [Text] A bomb at the office of the JAT [Yugoslav Air Transport] airline company, two cases of arson, in May and in August, at the Tourism Office, gunfire at the embassy on 14 July, the murder of the Serbian hotel keeper Boskovic, shots fired by Musa Hoti at two members of the embassy; in Belgium, violent news is primarily Yugoslav.
>
> These attacks, for which responsibility is sometimes claimed and which often go unpunished, are expressions of the stealthy war waged by the thousand and one factions on the Yugoslav chessboard both among themselves and against the current regime. Brussels seems like a maquis, where people go underground, where they infiltrate, where they liquidate.

A picture of the Yugoslav community in Brussels in this context? In theory, the idea is promising. In the field, it turns out to be a formidable challenge, a virtually impossible quest.

Because a Yugoslav community as such, in the image of the Turkish or Spanish communities, does not exist. Because nearly half of these Yugoslavs do not recognize themselves under that label. They are Serbs, Croatians, Albanians from Kosovo. Nationalists, royalists, irredentists or cominformists. The others, those who do not reject the Yugoslav nationality, make themselves inconspicuous.

Fear of the other clans, infiltrations, provocations: in Brussels, the Slavs and the Illyrians from the Balkans (let us be cautious) are not very active. On the surface...

Depending on the sources and the years, the number of individuals of Yugoslav nationality in Belgium is estimated at 10,000 to 12,000 (5,235 in 1970). The Albanian exiles themselves estimate their number at about 10,000, of which approximately 4,000 are natives of the autonomous province of Kosovo. But whether they are from Kosovo or not, they are registered as Yugoslavs: first headache! A balanced addition would lead one to conclude the presence of approximately 20,000 Southern Slavs and Albanians, who should obviously not be mistaken for one another.

For any other community -- the Italians, for example -- the directories and official indexes are teeming with cultural, sports and social associations.

One would expect to find within the Brussels urban area (headed by the municipality of Schaerbeek), where the majority of the Yugoslavs and Albanians are living, several dozen basketball or soccer clubs with suggestive names: Red Star, Beograd, Hadjuk, Zagreb ... Not at all: you can hardly find a single Partizan or a Dinamo within the 19 municipalities!

In Exile

However, there is a field in which Yugoslavs of all kinds run a prosperous business and even advertise their differences: the restaurant business. The Brussels agglomeration is rich in establishments where the excellent Balkan cuisine triumphs. Their names express well the complexity of that milieu: next to grographic references (Split, Beograd, Dubrovnik, Neretva, Plitvice, Skopje ...) and picturesque ones (Bosnia Mill), the signs reveal surprising nuances: At the King of Serbia, Serbia, and Old Serbia! References to the nation of today, such as the Yugo-Grill, are extremely rare.

A good number of these restaurant owners consider themselves to be or are representative. Once the ovens have been turned off, and with the help of the burning slivovitz, the dining rooms and kitchens become discussion centers for touching nostalgia and burning and exacerbated political passions. But very different ones, depending on the tendency! The sole common denominators in these small Balkan islands are called "cevapcici, djuvec, musaka, zilavka," for our greater pleasure ...

Alexander's Scepter

Before attempting to define the movements represented in Belgium, it is important to recall the major elements of the Yugoslav political puzzle. It is not enough to list the six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro) and the two autonomous provinces (Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina), which form the current state of Yugoslavia, moulded in Titoism. The aspirations and resentments go back much further, for the most part to the Austrian and Ottoman rule.

First of all, nationalist resentments and aspirations, primarily among the Serbs, the Croatians, the Montenegrins and the Albanians.

The Serbs are nostalgic about regimes in which they played the primary role: supporters of the kingdom of Serbia, which in 1918 became the kingdom of the Serbo-Croatians and the Slovenes, are still numerous. Alexander, prince of Yugoslavia, born in 1945, son of King Peter II and grandson of Alexander I, who was assassinated in Marseilles in 1934, has tens of thousands of faithful subjects.

Most of the Serbian royalists also venerate the memory of General Draza Mihajlovic, the chief of the renowned chetniks, who was executed in 1946 by the Tito government. The chetniks had organized a resistance to the Germans in the hope of restoring the monarchy. The struggle between the two resistance networks was merciless.

It would be hard to be more fiercely nationalist than the Croatians. Whether they are orthodox communists (cominformists, favorable to Moscow), Tito communists, social democrats or fascists (the sadly well known Ustachi), all of them want an independent government in Zagreb, "free" of the tutelage of that detested Belgrade! During the years 1971-1972, the leaders of the Croatian Communist League, who had indicated their opposition to centralism, experienced serious difficulties: there were trials and firings.

Abroad, we sometimes have a tendency to mix up the Croatian exiles with the Ustachi. This is a dangerous mistake! All Croatians are not nostalgic for the free Croatian state, established in 1941 with Hitler's blessing, and led by the cruel Ante Pavelic. The terrorist acts committed in Europe by the Ustachi only succeeded in tarnishing the Croatian cause, much to the detriment of the democrats!

Let us also note that a few thousand Montenegrins in exile are hoping for the return to Cetinje (not to Titograd) of the monarchy represented today by Prince Michael Petrovitch Niegosh, grandson of the legendary Nicholas I.

Illyrian Imbroglio

The Albanian problem is altogether different still. The large majority of the Albanians from Yugoslav Kosovo, like those who are natives of the current Albanian territory, hope for the resurrection of "ethnic" Albania, which would bring together the Illyrians from Albania, from Kosovo and from Macedonia. Aside from this option, they tear each other apart over what regime would be installed in this new state.

The supporters of the monarchy want the descendant of King Zog or Zogu, who reigned from 1928 to 1939, to settle in Tirana. Aside from these, the whole political range is represented: socialist republicans, orthodox communists, social democrats, "irredentists" ... Depending on the groups, some exiled Albanians from Kosovo also desire autonomy for their region or the establishment of a seventh Yugoslav republic!

Some Serbs, Few Croatians

Phew... This quick overview -- which will certainly be contested and labeled simplistic -- allows us to place (more or less) the main movements represented in Brussels. The most numerous and the most active seem to be the royalist Serbs, such as, for example, Pierre Valic, one of their leaders who was killed in 1975, and the Boskovic brothers, both of whom were assassinated in Brussels at 5 year intervals. Miodrag, the antique dealer, was secretary of the Association of Serbian Workers in the Free World. He was also a member of "The Revived Serbia."

The Belgian capital could be considered one of the most important strongholds of the Serbian diaspora. There are also a few dozen communists favorable to the USSR, cominformists (they reject the 1948 break between Belgrade and Moscow), and often Stalinists.

On the other hand -- and the strong Serbian presence may well explain this -- the Croatians are much less numerous and more discreet. There are very few Ustachi in our country, unlike the FRG, Great Britain, the United States and Australia, where the fascists have deeply penetrated the Croatian communities. The main openly

represented movement in Belgium is the HDP, the Movement for Croatian Liberation, which is anticommunist and claims to be legalistic.

There is a small number of Montenegrins, who stay well away from the news spotlight.

The 10,000 Albanians in Belgium, on the contrary, have established with publicity a surprising range of political, cultural and "combatant" associations, which issue many communiques and position statements. Anti-Serbian, anti-Tirana, in favor of Kosovo, anti-Tito, royalist, republican ... Certain groups do not hesitate to take violent action, and several of the attacks committed against Yugoslav interests have been claimed by them (the arson at the Tourism Office).

Secret Struggles?

All of them agree on one point: for the most excited of these Balkan exiles and for mysterious secret agents, Belgium has become the field of a stealthy, often armed, battle ... In 1975, a "secret Serbian national organization" assassinated the leader of a chetnik group in Ixelles, Mr Blagojevic, a former companion of Mihajlovic.

Opponents of the Belgrade regime would add: a field of action for the Yugoslav state also. In those circles, the Tito regime is often accused of regularly sending agents (of the SDB, the criminal bureau, the KOS, the counter-espionage service, and the SIDI, the information service), whose task it is to infiltrate and to eliminate opponents. They also accuse the embassy of using the official cultural clubs, located in Brussels and in Antwerp, to the same end (the club in Namur and a second Brussels club had to close their doors).

As far as the official representatives of Belgrade are concerned, the sole aim of these clubs is to inform Yugoslavs about what is going on in their country, an effort at continuous education, activation through folklore ... And the Yugoslav state denies using illegal means to eliminate its opponents abroad as well as within its own borders. On the contrary, it would like Belgium to take measures against those exiles too eager to play with Molotov cocktails or guns.

The communities of expatriates and exiles produce a great deal of worry in Belgrade. Those in Belgium cause it to loose patience ...

Distrust and Hate

"In any case," commented a Serbian refugee, "as soon as an agent from the secret services or from the political police lands in Belgium and tries to penetrate a circle of opponents, we spot him and, sometimes, we eliminate him. We are organized and armed. And we distrust everybody."

This is probably the key word to apply to those Yugoslav communities in Belgium: distrust. The most politicized among these Serbs, these Albanians, and these Croatians live in the fear of being provoked, infiltrated, put out of commission to fight for their cause. Secular differences, if not hatreds, ideological conflicts, exacerbated passions -- as they can be in the Balkans -- set them against each other. "True," an Albanian from Kosovo told us, "we are fighting the Titoists. But first of all, we hate the Serbs."

Those who are not politicized try to be as inconspicuous as possible. And yet they are the most numerous. They came here to work; they are courageous and sound. Most of them regularly return to Yugoslavia. They are not opponents, and that alone, in the eyes of the exiles, makes them suspect ...

Afraid of association, of making a mistake: it is neither easy not reassuring to declare oneself a Yugoslav in Brussels.

8463
CSO: 3100/317

WORK DISRUPTION AT TREPCA MINE DESCRIBED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1186, 28 Jul 81 pp 20-21

[Article written by Radivoj Kovacevic; photographs by Rade Negojevic]

[Text] Since they were not informed as to why their wages had been reduced, the miners refused to enter the mine shafts. This could easily have been avoided....

In the cool night below Kopaonik mountain, like some huge fireflies gleamed miners' lamps. By the movements you could tell that the lamps were being held by nervous hands. It was at the time when the third shift of miners at Stari Trg should already have been deep in the pit. That evening, the diggers had refused to enter the shafts. The scene was repeated the following day, on Saturday, July 11, and there was no change in the situation on Sunday morning.

"The Trepca miners are on strike!" "The nationalists cooked up the whole thing at Stari Trg." "There are many injured among the miners." The grapevine, like an avalanche, carried "the truth" about which the entire Yugoslav press kept silence. That is what the comrades in the LCY opstina committee at Kosovska Mitrovica decided. They did not order, but suggested that the refusal of the Stari Trg miners to enter the shafts on 10, 11 and 12 July was nothing serious, but was a purely "local matter" of this collective with 3,200 employees, among which 800 are LCY members.

Djina Sokolj, the deputy director for economic and general operations, tried to persuade us: "Comrade reporters, that is nothing. True, this is the first time anything like this has happened here, but remember, these are our internal matters. It is true that the miners refused to enter the pit because their pay envelopes for last month were thinner than previously, but after an explanation of why that was so, they went to work. What sort of strike! That was simple a little unpleasant episode. I would call it a misunderstanding."

As soon as it was learned that the miners of the third shift did not want to enter the mine with envelopes lacking the so-called incentive portion, for many amounting to half a million old dinars of child supplement plus yet another 16 percent, the very next day there were representatives of the sociopolitical organizations of Kosovoska Mitrovica and of the province at the entrance to the mine. After discussion with the miners, it emerged that the misunderstanding occurred because of lack of communication.

In recent months it has been very difficult for reporters in Kosovo province to obtain complete information. We found this to be true again at Stari Trg. Although we had arranged to talk with the mine director at this Trepca operation the previous day, it took several hours before we could speak with Sucrija Kelemendi for some ten minutes.

Vera, the secretary, explained that "in recent days the director is frequently in the mine, among the miners," thus giving the reason for his absence.

Sometime toward the end of the workday, Kelmendi appeared, and immediately let us know that it would be better to talk about the entire matter with "the comrades at the Kosovoska Mitrovica opstina committee." Nevertheless, he agreed to give us a 5-minute "interview, but with the condition that we also talk it all over with the miners as well.

Kelmendi told us: "None of this would have happened if the miners had been informed in time that they had worked poorly in June and that that would be reflected in their wages. The mine production plan was only met by 86 percent, for straight ore, and for so-called concentrate only 70 percent of the quota was produced. We worked poorly, and we distributed just what we earned. Therefore, wages were reduced by 16 percent. The shortage of funds in the federal child protection institute was also felt by our miners, for 300 of them did not receive the child support supplement."

They do not hide the fact that at Stari Trg June, July and August are poor production months. Most of the miners have one foot in the mine and the other in their fields. For years, absenteeism in June has increased sharply, because that is mowing time.

Many of the miners plainly told us: "How can we help but sacrifice 2 or 3 days of work in the mines so that we can cut the hay in the village. A day of mowing earns one 2,000 dinars, while a day's earnings in the mine is significantly less."

It is a striking fact that while in June, 46 percent of the miners were absent, even the half of the labor force that was on the job could not have worked better.

Aslan Foci, who has already worked for more than 2 decades at Stari Trg, told us: "We old miners did not work poorly. We old, dependable workers suffer because of these newcomers and loafers. They don't know how to do the job, and they don't work very hard either."

Later, in a conversation with the miners, we found out that through an error by an accountant, some 200 of them had lost a thousand dinars of incentive pay, which is paid to them for regular job attendance, to those who do not take sick leave on the fields, or come late to work. That hurt many of them. Despite the fact that the income of the Stari Trg miners is the highest in the Trepca complex, averaging more than 10,000 dinars, nonetheless the loss of even a single dinar hurt these people severely.

We were assured by Predrag Milosavljevic, secretary of the Stari Trg LCY action conference, that "none of this would have happened if the miners had been informed of the real reasons for their thinner pay envelopes. The bitter cup overflowed with the news that the province and opstina had recommended that directors use only 15-20 days of their annual vacation, while workers at the more difficult jobs should use their annual vacation. The supervisors and shift foremen did a poor job of transmitting this decision to the miners: they said that the miners as well should use only 15-20 days of vacation time. The miners took this to mean that their annual vacation time was being reduced. Somehow, all of these things accumulated just at the time when the reduced wages were being paid.

From conversations with miners whom no one from the mine administration selected for us, and with representatives of the workers' council and the LCY organization, we became convinced that the July protest of the Trepca miners could not in any way be regarded as a strike or a work stoppage. It is true that on Friday the third shift workers, on Saturday the first and second shift, and on Sunday the first shift miners refused to go to work until it was explained to them why there was less money in their pay envelopes. Then the majority went to the mine shafts.

Mine technician Danilo Jaksic, who has been working at Stari Trg for 13 years, told us that only the non-workers refused to go to work. He continued; "Despite the fact that they were told that the accounting error and the shortage in incentive pay and child supplement would be corrected and paid with their July wages, a group of workers did not want to go down into the mine. Nevertheless, most of us went to work after an hour or two of waiting in front of the mine entrance."

Many miners whose child supplement had been deleted (and many receive as much as 5,000 dinars and more) have had to live on excuses and promises this month, in the hopes of receiving that money at the beginning of August. Could that error have been corrected so that they could have been paid that money from current funds these days? We could not get an answer to that question at Stari Trg.

Aslan Foci told us: "Well, when I came to work that Friday, I received an envelope and I saw that I was short fully half a million (old) dinars. I saw that people were not going into the mine, and so I didn't want to go either. My comrades told me that they did not want to work until they got an explanation as to why they had received so little pay. Afterwards, when they had explained it to us, we got together and went into the shaft."

We heard the same story from 30-year old Rahim Smolja, who has been working in the mine for 7 years. Smolja said, "when they explained why we had earned less, no one protested any more."

Nevertheless, it is interesting that the mine directors regard 38 of the miners, including 5 communists, to be alarmists and troublemakers. The disciplinary commission will determine the magnitude of their contribution in persuading the miners not to go to work, because the misunderstandings that arose could have been resolved in a peaceful manner, by honest, open discussion.

The attempt to connect the three-day events at the Stari Trg mines to actions by nationalists obviously is fruitless, for everyone says that the only fault was the lack of communication with the workers.

As Predrag Milisavljevic stressed: "We must keep in mind that, from our mine, only 3 workers participated in the demonstrations, and that every fourth employee is a member of the League of Communists, so that therefore, we are such a mighty fortress of unity that nationalism would have a hard time entering. In general, the miners here are not only Albanians. Every labor brigade has a number of Serbs, Turks, and Romanians, and there are also Croats and Slovenes, as well as workers from Bosnia. All of this points up the fact that nationalists would not be able to become entrenched here among us."

12131
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ISLAMIC PAPER OBJECTS TO CRITICISM OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

[Editorial Report] The 15 August 1981 issue of PREPOROD (Sarajevo publication of the Community of Islamic Elders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia) publishes a full-page refutation of an article in VECERNJE NOVOSTI (Belgrade) of 3 August 1981 written under the title "Priests Are Burdening Children." The PREPOROD editorial, "Who Is Disturbed by Religious Freedom and Why?", says this article is an example of newspaper writing aimed at spreading "disinformation, untruth, and false interpretations to create an unfavorable response in society. All these examples show how much professional ethics, seriousness, and responsibility are lacking in certain editorial boards." Such articles, it says, describe religious activities which are fully guaranteed by the constitution as allegedly impermissible and against the law. Moreover, it notes that the author "takes the liberty...of linking wild behavior of a nationalist and irredentist nature and various other forms of enemy activity to...Islamic religious instruction, and [the author] concludes that manifestations of nationalist fervor have served as a platform to strengthen religious instruction. Such assertions are a gross and loathsome deception and offense imposed not only on hodjas [priests] who are honorably, responsibly, and with full right, carrying out their tasks and obligations, but also on the honor, dignity, and patriotic feelings of citizens of the Islamic faith, because VECERNJE NOVOSTI equates them with Albanian nationalists and irredentists."

CSO: 2800/343

BRIEFS

PRIEST SENTENCED--The Citluk (Hercegovina) Opstina magistrates court sentenced Father Ferdo Vlasic, priest from Duvno, to 60 days in prison for violating Article 2, Point 5 of the Law on Public Peace and Order; Vlasic is editor of the religious paper NASA OGNJISTA published in Duvno. The charge which was clearly proved against him at the trial said that Vlasic on 12 August 1981 opposed police officers in carrying out their duty, by threatening to run them over with his car if they did not get off the road and denigrating them before a group of citizens, saying that the police meant nothing to him. Because several days after the penalty was handed down he again behaved in a similar way, the opstina magistrates court in Citluk, on the basis of Article 310 of the Law on Legal Infractions of Bosnia-Hercegovina, directed Father Vlasic to serve his sentence immediately. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 81 p 12]

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18 September 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1919

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18 September 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1919

CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED's Tenth Congress Foreign Policy Aims Analyzed
(Wilhelm Bruns; AUSSENPOLITIK, 3rd Quarter 1981) 1

Navy Receives New Type of Submarine Chaser
(Siegfried Breyer; SOLDAT UND TECHNIK, Aug 81) 15

ROMANIA

Students Criticized for Bad Behavior, Vandalism
(FLACLARA, 30 Jul 81) 19

Independent Role of Trade Unions Stressed in Ceausescu Book
(Aurel Duca; MUNCA DE PARTID, May 81) 22

Briefs
Ceausescu Attack on Press 25

YUGOSLAVIA

Author, Returnee From Soviet Prison Camps, Interviewed
(Milo Gligorijevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 19 Jul 81) 26

Kosovo Historian Hadri Criticized for Chauvinism
(Milos Misovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 2 Aug 81) . 33

Regulation on Issuing Travel, Other Documents to Foreigners
(SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, 14 Aug 81) 38

SED'S TENTH CONGRESS FOREIGN POLICY AIMS ANALYZED

Hamburg AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 32, 3rd Quarter 1981 pp 237-250

[Article by Wilhelm Bruns: "Foreign Policy at the 10th SED Congress." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited in footnote 6 is published under the heading, "Axen Analyzes Results, Impact of 26th CPSU Congress," in JPRS 78364, 23 Jun 81, No 1891 of this series, pp 12-20]

[Text] At the 10th SED Congress in April 1981, the main emphasis was on economic problems. However, since the principles, tasks and objectives of the SED are of crucial importance for the GDR, one may also inquire about the results and long-range objectives of the foreign policy pursued by the second German state. In the following article, Dr Wilhelm Bruns--head of the Security and Disarmament Department at the Bonn Research Institute of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung [Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation], lecturer at Bonn University and author of numerous articles and several books on the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic--examines the SED's foreign policy guidelines. According to Bruns, one must proceed from the three structural principles--proletarian and socialist internationalism, peaceful coexistence and anti-imperialist solidarity--and from the basic statement that "imperialism" alone is to be blamed for the deterioration of the international situation and that only the "really existing socialism" can show the way toward peace. According to this position, improvement of the inner-German relations is contingent on the following: on improvement of the international situation, even though the Basic Treaty provides a special operational framework in regard to the relations between the two German states; on revocation of the NATO Dual Resolution (in the discussion of which the negotiation proposal contained therein is totally ignored); on the consent to a conference on military detente and disarmament such as was proposed in Madrid by Poland (although Poland did not take into consideration any of the other proposals). The GDR claims that on the one hand its foreign policy is based--"without any reservations"--on international law and on the principle of peaceful coexistence and on the other hand on the Basic Treaty, which it "fully" affirms. This contradiction has not been resolved. There are good reasons to assume that the Basic Treaty is to be played down so that demands such as those concerning the

question of citizenship and the problem of the permanent missions--which after all had been settled--can be broached anew.

Every 5 years, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) strikes the balance, establishes the priorities for the next 5 years and promises clear guidelines to the GDR population.

As had been the case at the previous party congresses, at the 10th SED Congress the triad: "results are good"; "analysis is correct"; "prospects are excellent" was the key-note of the Central Committee (ZK) report delivered by Erich Honecker and of the speeches made by the deputies of the Party Congress itself.

Exactly what are the GDR's results in the fields of foreign, security and Germany policy? What assessment of the international situation is the GDR's policy based on? How does the GDR leadership perceive the problems concerning foreign policy and the international arena? What proposals are being made to accomplish the GDR goal of obtaining the "most favorable international conditions for the construction of socialism/communism"? Are there any starting points in regard to new developments in the field of disarmament? And last but not least: Are there any new suggestions and starting points for further development of the inner-German relations?

Before discussing the individual sectors of GDR foreign policy, we will explain why we attach crucial importance to the SED Congress.

SED Is GDR

The 10th SED Congress, which was held in East Berlin from 11 to 16 April 1981, merits our attention for at least three reasons:

—The statements made at the SED Congress, the GDR's "principal Communist forum" (thus the title-page motto of issue No 15/1981 of HORIZONT, a foreign affairs-oriented weekly), establish the GDR's domestic, economic and foreign policy targets for the next 5 years.

--The objectives of the SED are more than just the views of a party; they are equally binding for the GDR, for SED congresses are admittedly "milestones" for the "entire social development" of the GDR (this was the tenor of all speeches before and during the Party Congress). "The Party--guiding force of our society"--this headline in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND) (24 Apr 81, p 2) reflects the SED's self-image and the actual situation in the GDR.

--It is the SED's pretension that arrests our attention: In his closing speech, Erich Honecker stated the Party Congress had "clearly mapped out" the course to be followed by the GDR. Foreign Minister Fischer claimed that the SED was facing up to the "basic problems of our time," that it was tackling these problems "competently and resolutely, thus providing clear guidelines in all situations" (ND, 14 Apr 81, p 6).

There is no doubt that GDR foreign policy is one of the prerogatives of the SED. This statement need not even be empirically substantiated: it is sanctioned by the GDR constitution (Article 1.1) and can be considered constitutional reality: "The principles, objectives and tasks of our foreign policy are worked out by the SED, the leading power in the GDR, which also organizes their implementation."[1]

According to an authoritative GDR definition, foreign policy comprises "both the state's principles, tasks and objectives in the field of international relations with other states, groups of states, public and private international organizations and movements and the means and methods of their implementation."[2]

The question is: Did the 10th SED Congress point out new developments, new viewpoints in regard to the principles, tasks and objectives of the GDR's foreign policy?

The GDR's foreign policy is determined by three structural principles:

--by the structural principle of "proletarian and socialist internationalism" (operative within the "socialist community" on both the national level and the party level);

--by the structural principle of "peaceful coexistence" (operative in the relations with the capitalist states);

--by the structural principle of "anti-imperialist solidarity" (supposed to be operative in the relations with the Third World).

These structural principles are articulated in Article 6 of the GDR constitution.[3]

The SED's Analysis and Assessment

The SED Leadership

The Central Committee report, which was delivered by Erich Honecker in a 5-hour speech and which was declared a resolution by the Party Congress, consists of seven main parts.[4] We will concentrate here on the parts dealing with foreign policy and international problems, albeit only for considerations of space, for a separation of foreign and domestic (economic) policy is rejected as arbitrary not only by the SED.

Erich Honecker presented the GDR as a state, which had "demonstrated its political stability," increased its "economic capacities" and proved "a cornerstone of peace in Europe."

What proposals concerning peace, disarmament and Germany policy has the "cornerstone of peace in Europe" advanced for solving the numerous problems?

Characteristic of the SED's analysis are two points that ran like a red thread not only through Honecker's report, but through all of the speeches delivered before, at and after the Party Congress:

--It is imperialism that is solely responsible for the "considerable" deterioration of the international situation (formula: "most aggressive forces of imperialism" or "powerful circles of the monopoly capital").

--It is only the "really existing socialism" that through its position and proposals shows the road toward peace, for: "Socialism and peace are identical" (Honecker).

Proceeding from this one-sided attribution of the blame and the alleged guarantee of peace by the "really existing socialism," the SED considers it self-evident that the international relations can be improved only if "imperialism" changes its conduct. Concretely, this means:

--revocation of the "Brussels Missile Resolution" (i.e. NATO's Dual Resolution of 12 December 1979).

--acceptance of the "consistent, clear peace concept" of the USSR (i.e. the five proposals advanced by Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress).[5]

--the Federal Republic of Germany must accept "without any reservations" the existence of "two mutually independent, sovereign states adhering to different social systems" (Honecker).

--NATO must accept the proposals advanced by the Warsaw Pact at the Vienna MBFR talks and the proposals concerning convocation of a CSCE disarmament conference in Madrid.

The struggle of all "peace-loving forces" is directed against imperialism, which "with its aggressiveness, its unpredictability and its striving for hegemony" is and remains "a danger and a threat" to the nations (Honecker).

The SED leadership, which portrays the international situation in a way suggesting that presently the crucial issue is that of war and peace and that disarmament is the overriding concern of our time, has failed--its great pretensions notwithstanding--to introduce any peace initiatives or disarmament-oriented proposals. In its role as "cornerstone of peace in Europe," it has restricted itself to repeating the latest proposals of Brezhnev--advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress--which the GDR supports "in their entirety" (Honecker).[6]

In this regard, just one thing should be noted: It is not the USSR proposals as such, but the timing and the numerous open questions connected with the proposals that rule out acceptance under the present conditions (this applies to two of the five proposals, namely the moratorium proposal in regard to nuclear medium-range weapons in Europe and the proposal concerning the confidence-inspiring measures).

The armament dynamics are not analyzed; rather, the complexity--conceded even by the GDR--is reduced to the "imperialist arms race" and here in particular to the "Brussels Missile Resolution." Not even this dual resolution of NATO is analyzed, even though it is a primary concern of Honecker's--and of the other speakers as well (especially of the GDR's minister of defense, Heinz Hoffmann). The negotiation component was completely ignored. Prominent GDR experts claim--again without sufficient analysis--that "in the concrete policies pursued by its originators the alleged dual resolution" rests "only on the armaments prop. The negotiation prop--unpopular anyhow--appears to have been amputated a long time ago."[7]

The sharp attacks on the policy pursued by the West, which are characterized by one-sided attribution of the blame and by the claim that only the "really existing socialism" desires peace and detente, are not the result of a reproducible analysis: this claim is made apodictically. It does not rest on an empirical foundation; rather, it is derived from the "essence" of imperialism and socialism.

On the CSCE Process

To "bring about a change of course toward disarmament" (Honecker) in the 1980's, convocation of an "all-European conference on military detente and disarmament" would be "of great benefit." Honecker stated that the proposal submitted by Poland at the Madrid CSCE--which was "in its entirety" supported by the GDR--could be a "good foundation." In this respect, one should note the following: Regarding the European Disarmament Conference, which is supported by all of the 35 CSCE states, there are six--in part well-articulated--proposals. One of these is the proposal advanced by Poland. The most detailed proposal is the one advanced by France; this proposal also has the advantage of having been submitted ahead of all others. The Polish proposal is characterized by vagueness. It contains only two concrete suggestions: The conference is to begin on 21 October 1981 in Warsaw. The proposal leaves open all agenda-related questions.

Even though GDR writers have reported frequently--albeit selectively--on the CSCE, they have not discussed the detailed proposals advanced by the West, above all the proposal made by France. Such a discussion is imperative, however; and the preference given to the Polish proposal appears to be quite arbitrary. Moreover, the Polish proposal was not supported by any of the Warsaw Pact states. Romania submitted a proposal of its own.

Inner-German Relations

In the report delivered by Honecker and in the comments made by Fischer and Naumann, much attention was directed to the relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany. As is well known, the GDR does not consider this subject to be part of Germany policy; rather, it classifies its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany under "peaceful coexistence," the structural principle governing its foreign policy.

Prior to the 10th SED Congress, certain phenomena and developments in the inner-German relations gave rise to questions that the Party Congress was supposed to answer. Let us recall some of these phenomena and developments:

First and foremost, one must mention Erich Honecker's Gera speech, which was delivered on 13 October 1980 and which Honecker--in his speech at the Party Congress--elevated to the rank of a speech concerned with fundamentals. The Gera speech revolved around four demands addressed to the Federal Republic of Germany: "recognition of GDR citizenship"; "abolition of the so-called 'Central Registration Center' at Salzgitter"; speedy "settlement of the course of the border on the Elbe River in accordance with international law"; conversion of the permanent missions into embassies and exchange of ambassadors ("which is in accordance with international law").[8]

The novelty here was not the demand for recognition of GDR citizenship (on 17 December 1980, Stoph referred before the GDR People's Chamber to "respect" instead of "recognition," which is more than a mere nuance) or the demand for abolition of the Salzgitter Registration Center. It was the following two aspects that were new in these demands:

--Honecker declared the fulfillment of these status demands to be the "inalienable" precondition for further steps toward normalization of the inner-German relations. Subsequently, the GDR gradually abandoned this position.

--The second and most serious aspect: Whereas the first three demands can be reconciled with the Basic Treaty, the key document of inner-German relations, the fourth demand gives rise to the question whether the GDR still accepts the Basic Treaty as an operational framework, for Article 8 of the Basic Treaty merely refers to Permanent Representatives--and for good reasons. This demand differs from the others in that it expressly calls into question an entire article of the Basic Treaty.

It was the Gera speech--not the drastic minimum exchange rate increase of 13 October 1980 which is practically irreconcilable with the intent of the by- and multilateral agreements--that caused the break in the inner-German relations.

The GDR leadership became more and more insistent in demanding of the Federal Government not to restrict the inner-German relations "merely" to facilitation of travel, but to give priority in the inner-German talks to the problems concerning disarmament and maintenance of peace.[9]

At the East Berlin Conference of Bezirk Deputies on 15 February 1981, Erich Honecker had spoken of the "unification" of the two German states--albeit in the sense of a "threat," for such a unification would be effected under communist auspices.

At the 1981 Leipzig Spring Fair, Honecker stated the difficulties in regard to East-West relations should not be allowed to affect the inner-German relations. West German visitors to the fair stated unanimously that the SED leadership appeared to be interested in improving its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. Upon his visit to Leipzig, the mayor of Hamburg, Hans-U. Klose, even felt that "something is afoot" in inner-German relations; he pointed out, however, that this was contingent on resisting the "temptation to interconnect all problems on a conditional basis" (quoted from the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 18 Mar 81, p 22).

At relatively short intervals, Erich Honecker met with Bonn's representative in the GDR, Klaus Boelling (on 15 and 18 March 1981); in this regard, it should be noted that in the past talks between Honecker and Boelling's predecessor, Guenter Gaus, frequently signaled new rounds of negotiation. Thus these meetings can be considered a promising sign.

In this constellation of observations and developments, one must also include the much-discussed (in the GDR as well) interview of Guenter Gaus by the weekly DIE ZEIT (30 Jan 81, pp 3 ff), in which Gaus warned against overusing the concept of nation and urged the Federal Republic to come up with a more adequate GDR image.

From Gera to the 10th Party Congress

How was this inner-German constellation reflected by the 10th SED Congress? What answers were given here?

For the second time, the GDR had an opportunity to sum up the results of its Germany policy after the conclusion of the Basic Treaty. And again it became apparent that for the GDR leadership the key document of inner-German relations, the Basic Treaty, is not the primary point of reference: the GDR draws on two other elements of support--"international law" and "peaceful coexistence."

Honecker held that insofar as the two German states could come to an agreement on peaceful coexistence and develop their relations in accordance with international law, the inner-German relations could be expected to make progress. But precisely this is the crucial point: by mutual agreement, there was established between the two German states an operational framework, namely the Basic Treaty. So one could say: To the extent--and only to that extent--that the Basic Treaty is put into practice and becomes an integral part of the policies pursued by the two partners, the goal of establishing good neighborly relations between the two German states can become a reality.

Both the speech of Honecker and that of the GDR foreign minister contained friendly notes. Honecker stated that "We have always been prepared constructively to contribute to the development of normal, even neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG" (in Article 1 of the Basic Treaty, the two German states pledged to develop "normal, neighborly relations"). Oskar Fischer stated the GDR was prepared "to complement the network of contractually secured, coexistence-oriented relations by further, mutually advantageous agreements." Upon closer examination, however, it turns out that such declarations of intent are coupled with considerable qualifications: The GDR holds that

1) as long as the international situation--from which the inner-German relations cannot be "isolated" (Honecker)--remains so critical, it will be impossible to improve the relations between the GDR and the FRG;

2) as long as the Federal Government promotes "NATO rearmament," "concrete conditions" are created that impede further normalization of the inner-German relations and that "jeopardize the results hitherto attained" (Honecker);

3) the "adherence to revanchist doctrines asserting continuance of the German Reich within the borders of 1937," which Honecker calls "anachronistic and dangerous" and which--he feels--is influencing the policy of the Federal Government and blocking further progress.

A comparison with the months following the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is instructive: Whereas until the summer of 1980 the inner-German relations were surprisingly good /in spite of/ [words in slantlines printed in italics] the considerable deterioration of the international atmosphere--with the GDR intimating that it was interested in more intensive contacts with the Federal Government--today it is alleged that progress in regard to inner-German relations is impossible /on account of/ [words in slantlines printed in italics] the unfavorable international situation.

In this connection, one should also point out a flagrant contradiction in the GDR's position concerning inner-German relations: Honecker's declaration of readiness (see above) is valid only if both German states accept "without any reservations" the existence of two mutually independent, sovereign states. "The relations

between them can only be based on peaceful coexistence." Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany just like with any other capitalist state? A few passages later, both the Party and the GDR Government "fully affirm" the contractual foundations of inner-German cooperation. Without analyzing and formulating this in detail,[10] one can say: Either the inner-German relations are relations "without any reservations"--such as those between the GDR and France or (as the GDR claims) those between the GDR and Austria; or the relations are governed by the "full affirmation" statement. The Basic Treaty (the mere construction of this treaty with all its appendices shows the "special nature" of the inner-German relations) contains sufficient explicit reservations that were accepted by the GDR and thus became part of the operational framework of inner-German relations--e.g. the Four-Power Reservation, the reservation concerning the national question and, last but not least, the "reservation in regard to questions pertaining to citizenship."

The contradiction or--at any rate--inherent tension: Demanding "relations not subject to any reservations" ("peaceful coexistence"), one cannot at the same time "fully affirm" the Basic Treaty. At this point in Honecker's speech, it becomes apparent that for the GDR the Basic Treaty is not the primary point of reference. For according to Honecker, "peaceful coexistence" is "based on the principles of international law that were laid down in the European treaties, in the UN Charter and also in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference." In this list, which is supposed to be the "basis" of inner-German relations, where is the Basic Treaty?

In the opinion of the present writer, it is instructive that Honecker did not again mention and declare as inalienable the four status demands raised in his Gera speech of 13 October 1980, even though he elevated the Gera speech to the rank of a basic declaration so as to "define" the GDR's position "for both the present and the future." So the Gera speech and--consequently--the four status demands addressed to the Federal Republic of Germany are still valid. As was learned from press reports, the GDR has now presented the Federal Republic with a "list" containing a number of "facts that the GDR considers infringements of its national sovereignty, which was recognized in the Basic Treaty."[11] Included here is the demand for abolition of the Salzgitter Central Registration Center, which records offenses committed at the GDR border, and the demand for settlement of the course of the border in the middle of the Elbe River between Lauenburg and Schnackenburg.

Schmidt and Honecker

It is worthwhile to compare two statements that were made at about the same time: the Federal Chancellor's address of 9 April 1981 concerning the state of the nation in divided Germany and Honecker's speech of 11 April 1981, delivered at the 10th Party Congress in East Berlin. Even though the "common aspects" should not be overrated, we will point out--by means of a synopsis--a four-point consensus:

Helmut Schmidt, addressing the Bundestag [Lower House] on 9 April 1981:	Erich Honecker, addressing the 10th Party Congress on 11 April 1981:
"The more intensive the relations between East and West, the better the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union--the better for us Germans."	"Nor do we dream of the possibility to maintain good relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, one of the strongest NATO states, if the relations between the

	United States and the USSR become aggravated as a result of an unpredictable, confrontation-oriented policy on the part of the United States."
"Both German states must see to it that the relations they maintain with each other do not create any additional burdens for East-West relations."	"We proceed from the assumption that in regard to this crucial problem the development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG is of great importance not only for the two states, but also for the overall situation in Europe."
"The Federal Republic of Germany belongs to the West."	"To prevent any misunderstandings--we do not intend to undermine the relations the Federal Republic maintains with its allies, above all with the United States."
"It is our geographical and historical situation in particular that imposes on us the obligation to preserve peace. Not as illusionary pacifism, but as an obligation to pursue a concrete policy."	"Our primary objective--also in regard to our policy vis-a-vis the FRG--is to serve the cause of peace and to create the conditions insuring lasting peace. Only that which promotes peace benefits the people in the two German states and all of the nations of our continent."
Quoted from: BULLETIN (Press and Information Service of the Federal Government), No 36, 10 Apr 81.	Quoted from: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 Apr 81.

On the 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin

Regarding Erich Honecker's comments on the Berlin complex, two aspects merit attention:

--Firstly, he places Berlin within the framework of inner-German relations.

--Secondly, in urging the parties concerned to refrain from "subjecting to a stress test" the Four-Power Agreement of 1971, he includes the GDR.

He reiterates a well-known GDR position, namely that according to the agreement's "core provision" Berlin (West) is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and must not be governed by it. The qualifying designation of the agreement as a "Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (West)" does not come as a surprise; but it is worthy of note that Honecker repeats the complete formula of "strict observance" and "full implementation" of the agreement, for several GDR comments on the Berlin Agreement mentioned only the "strict observance" and this admonition was addressed exclusively to the Federal Republic of Germany.

As a criterion for any GDR agreement with West Berlin (!), Honecker points to the "benefit for the permanent residents of Berlin (West)." "But very harmful are the increasing attempts--attempts violating the Quadripartite Agreement--to treat Berlin (West) as a state of the FRG and even to draw it into the orbit of NATO

policy." He does not identify the elements supposedly at variance with the Quadripartite Agreement of 1971, nor does he specify the regulations violated by certain "attempts" criticized in the GDR press.

On the GDR's UN Policy

Not without pride, Erich Honecker stated that the GDR was a "member of the UN and of the UN's special organizations"; but he did not comment on the GDR's UN policy. Besides, the reference to affiliation with the UN "and its special organizations" as evidence of the fact that the GDR occupies an "equal and respected position" in international politics is misleading or at least apt to give rise to misunderstandings.

For it has been demonstrated in a comprehensive study[12] that while the GDR enjoys "equal rights" in the UN system, it does /not/ feel it has equal /obligations/ [words in slantlines printed in italics]. The GDR is not represented in half of the special organizations and the half it does not belong to includes important--especially for the Third World--special organizations such as the FAO, which incidentally is the largest special organization (over 150 member states).

The policy of selective membership includes the policy of restricted collaboration in the organizations with which the GDR is affiliated. Thus the GDR consistently sidesteps the material contributions that are earmarked for the Third World and that would ensue from the /equal rights/ (especially in regard to the FRG) as an /obligation/ [words in slantlines printed in italics].

Four "Priority" Objectives of GDR Foreign Policy

Exactly what are the GDR's foreign policy objectives for the 1980's? In his report to the 10th SED Congress, Erich Honecker stated that for "the coming years" the SED has formulated four "priority" objectives (ND, 12 Apr 81, p 5):

--Systematic consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community on the basis of the friendship agreements concluded. Orientation toward overall strengthening of socialism and intensification of its international influence through further development and utilization of the advantages offered by it.

--Steadfast, persistent work toward preservation of peace, toward termination of the arms race with the object of defending and extending political detente and above all stabilizing it and making it irrevocable by means of measures pertaining to military detente and disarmament.

--Active anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation. Development of multifaceted cooperation with the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Support of the struggle for a new international economic order based on equality.

--Consistent efforts toward developing relations of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. Intensification of the contacts and agreements with the object of consolidating the cooperation in the interest of peace and mutual benefit and thwarting the confrontation-oriented policy of the aggressive circles.

The above sequence denotes an order of priority. The primary objective is and remains the "systematic consolidation" of the relations within the "fraternal alliance," above all with the USSR. Perhaps it is worth noting that it is not "proletarian internationalism" or "socialist internationalism," but the "friendship agreements concluded" that are named as the "basis" for such a consolidation. To be sure, there is no friendship agreement between the GDR and the states of the "socialist community" (with the exception of Romania) that does not contain the formula of "socialist internationalism."

The second objective reiterates well-known GDR positions concerning "complementation of political detente by military detente" and "irrevocability" of political detente. Here one is struck by the absence of specifics: In this connection, one would have expected the SED to champion the "Conference on Military Detente and Disarmament in Europe" demanded by the Warsaw Pact. In regard to implementation of this objective, one would have expected the SED to advocate continuation of the CSCE process. In view of the absence of any concretization, it appears safe to assume that the SED is very insecure in regard to the prospects for implementation of its proposals and that it is skeptical in regard to acceptance of the proposals by the states in both East and West.

The third objective--the affirmation of "anti-imperialist solidarity" with the peoples fighting for their liberation and of cooperation with the developing countries (thus there are two addressees)--likewise called for concretization and particulars. The stated objective--"new international economic order" is too vague to serve as an operational guideline and to be appreciated by the developing countries.

Regarding the fourth objective: The GDR does not expressly promise to extend its relations with the Western states, including the Federal Republic of Germany, on the "basis of the agreements concluded" or on the basis of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Admittedly, the GDR's objective is peaceful coexistence; however, neither in the East Treaties nor in the Berlin Agreement nor in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference did the states commit themselves to this objective--and there were good reasons for this.

By committing itself to "peaceful coexistence," the GDR reserves to itself the option of defending as compatible cooperation (wherever it seems advisable) and "ideological class struggle" or demarcation (wherever it appears necessary). This commitment to the structural principle of "peaceful coexistence" also restricts the "intensification of contacts and agreements" to inter-governmental relations, for--as the GDR has openly stated--"peaceful coexistence" applies only to the inter-governmental level. As regards the last sentence of the Fourth Objective--"for the coming years"--the SED has taken up again the older Two-Policies Theorem originated in 1974: The peace-oriented policy pursued by the communist states is confronted with the war-oriented policy pursued by the aggressive circles of imperialism; the "consistent efforts toward consolidation of relations based on peaceful coexistence" are faced with the "confrontation-oriented policy of the aggressive circles." This is also an implicit comment on the role of the two German states.

The GDR's above-described foreign policy objectives can be characterized as follows:

--The objectives are vague. It is only the increasingly intensive relations with the USSR that are unequivocal--even in regard to their concrete form. All the other objectives are ill defined and open to any number of interpretations.

--The vagueness is especially striking when one compares these four objectives with the GDR's concrete five-point foreign policy program adopted at the Eighth Party Congress in 1971 (here the GDR wanted to contribute to the "successful implementation" of the European Security Conference, to join the "United Nations as an equal member," to "establish diplomatic relations with all states," to "establish normal relations--based on international law--with the FRG" and to contribute "to the normalization of the relations with West Berlin"). These operational objectives were amenable to reexamination, and this was done at the Ninth Party Congress.[13] To be sure, the Ninth Party Congress (1976) formulated merely three "primary foreign policy objectives" (ND, 19 May 76, p 5), which have now grown into four objectives, with hardly any differences being detectable between 1976 and 1981.

--The SED did not translate the stated "primary" objectives (which incidentally are listed in Article 6 of the GDR constitution of 1974) into tasks and steps "for the coming years"; thus it did not indicate exactly what must be done to attain the objectives.

At any rate, according to the heading of a lengthy commentary in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (21 Apr 81, pp 1 ff), the SED considers itself "a source of strength and a compass." In view of this vagueness, however, the compass character of this program appears to be questionable. "The course for the 1980's has been mapped out by the 10th Party Congress" (ibid.). At best, this is true of the 10 points of the economic program. The GDR's foreign policy for the next few years lacks precisely what is claimed in the source of strength- and compass-commentary (see above): "The precise designation of all important intermediate goals...."

Conclusion

Analysis of the 10th SED Congress yields the following results:

--As regards foreign, security and Germany policy, there are no new viewpoints, proposals or concrete long-range plans.

--It can be considered an economic congress, an event tailored to the requirements of Erich Honecker. An appropriate label would be "congress for preserving the status quo."

--The statement that in regard to foreign policy this party congress was not fruitful on account of the absence of new ideas and suggestions is not necessarily negative. After all, this 10th Party Congress was oriented toward consolidation. One must take into consideration that in terms of foreign policy the 1970's were a successful decade for the GDR, a decade distinguished by numerous premieres for the second German state.[14] The 1980's are unlikely to become another such decade. The speech of the GDR's foreign minister, who promised to pursue a "long-range, calculable and prudent policy" (ND, 14 Apr 81, p 6), was indicative of the desire to maintain a high degree of continuity and calculability.

Calculability of the GDR's foreign policy and its course vis-a-vis the FRG would be very advantageous to us. However, calculability--which apparently is desired by the GDR leadership as well--is contingent upon the efficacy of the factors governing the development of the GDR. Among these factors, it is above all the USSR as

the key element, the East-West relations and--last not least--the domestic situation in the GDR that are of crucial significance.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harry Ott, "On the Class Character of GDR Foreign Policy," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Vol 17, No 3, 1972, pp 421-430.

2. Quoted from: "Woerterbuch der Aussenpolitik und des Voelkerrechts" [Dictionary of Foreign Policy and International Law], East Berlin, 1980, p 65.

3. See Wilhelm Bruns, "Socialist Foreign Policy or GDR Foreign Policy? Observations on Some Basic Problems Concerning GDR Foreign Policy," PARLAMENT, Suppl., B/1977.

4. For the most part, the evaluation is based on the speeches published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND), 12 Apr 81 ff. Honecker's speech was published in ND, 12 Apr 81.

5. See the analysis by Boris Meissner, "Foreign Policy at the CPSU Congress," AUSSENPOLITIK No 2, 1981, pp 129-144.

6. In his laudatory article on the 26th CPSU Congress, the "secret" foreign minister of the GDR, Hermann Axen, merely reported on the Soviet proposals, without dealing in the least with the questions raised by the West; see EINHEIT, Vol 36, No 4/5, 1981, pp 332-339.

7. Stefan Doernberg (chairman of the GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research), "The Peace-Oriented Strategy of the Community of Socialist States," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 4, 1981, pp 7-25; here p 20.

8. Reprinted in: AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ (GDR), No 42, 1980, pp 345-350.

9. Honecker in Gera; see also Honecker's reply--in an interview with the British publisher Maxwell (ND, 13 Feb 81, pp 3 ff)--to the question in what fields Honecker saw "prospects of further contractual agreements between the two German states." The GDR's first man mentioned "above all efforts toward peace and disarmament."

10. See Wilhelm Bruns, "Deutsch-deutsche Beziehungen. Praemissen, Probleme, Perspektiven" [Inner-German Relations. Premises, Problems, Prospects], 2nd ed., Opladen, 1979.

11. See the extensive report in FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 21 Apr 81, pp 1 ff ("The GDR wants more respect").

12. Wilhelm Bruns, "Die Uneinigen in den Vereinten Nationen. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und DDR in der UNO" [The Disputants in the United Nations. Federal Republic of Germany and GDR in the UN], Cologne, 1980.

13. See Karl-Wilhelm Fricke, "The 10th SED Congress," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, Vol 9, No 6, 1976, pp 561-564.
Wilhelm Bruns, "GDR Foreign Policy at the 10th SED Congress," DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, No 8, 1976, pp 674-678.

14. This decade is documented--on the eve of the 10th SED Congress--from the GDR's point of view in HORIZONT, a weekly reflecting the views of the GDR Foreign Ministry; HORIZONT, No 13, 1981, pp 8 ff; No 14, 1981, pp 7 ff; No 15, 1981, pp 4-7.

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NAVY RECEIVES NEW TYPE OF SUBMARINE CHASER

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 24 No 8, Aug 81 pp 432-434

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "'BAL-COM-4'" Further New Development of Warsaw Pact Naval Forces--GDR 'People's Navy' Receives New Generation of Submarine Chaser"]

[Text] Since approximately 1978/79, a new production of sumbarine chaser has been under construction in the Peene Shipyard in Solgast, which is reserved almost exclusively for the building of warships and special ships. This new production has been classified by NATO under the "BAL-COM-4" designation ("BAL-COM" is a name which NATO has created for newly developed warships of the Warsaw Pact navies in the Baltic area. This stands for "Baltic Combattant," i.e. "Baltic (surface) warship." The nuclear powered FK cruiser "Kirov" appeared under "BAL-COM-1," while the FK destroyer of the SOVREMENNY J and the UDALOY classes ran under BAL-COM-2" and "BAL-COM-3," respectively). The GDR press reported recently the introduction of one of them, probably of the class ship. It is named after a small town in Mecklenburg, Parchin. (Until now this had been the name of the test ship, which was classified by NATO as belonging to the HAI-II class, and which represents a precursor of the HAI-III class submarine chasers called "Antisubmarine ships." If this ship has not been taken out of service, it is likely to have a different name and designation now.) According to GDR press reports, the ship was delivered to the People's Navy on 6 April, and it was placed into service on 9 April.

This new class--which on occasion had also been reported under the Koralle class--is apparently designed to be the successor to the HAI-III class built in the 1960's. HAI-III class ships obviously had several deficiencies, especially in engine design as evidenced by the repeated changes which were made in the beginning in the air intake shaft (often unjustifiably called the chimney).

Compared to the HAI-III class, the newly built ships are clearly larger, as can be seen from the Comparative Table of Figures. A total of 14 additional meters in length corresponds to a 27-percent increase, and the water displacement--with maximal equipment--has doubled. The parameters of the considerably larger hull--length 40 m, width 9 to 10 m, and central side height at least 6 m, which means an expected displacement of approximately 800 tons, indicate an essential increase in time at sea, sea worthiness and handling in rough seas, as opposed to the HAI-III class.

Its fineness ration--the value which is the result of the ratio between length and width (both measured in the construction water line)--must be estimated at

approximately 7.2. This is a little less than in the HAI-III ships, which, however, also have a different engine system, a 3-wave CODO6 system consisting of 2 Diesel engines and one gas turbine of 3,500 kW (4,800 hp) and 7,350 kW (10,000 hp), respectively, for at least 25 knots. The "BAL-COM-4" class units have a system which consists exclusively of Diesel engines and works on 2 or 3 waves. Its total power is estimated at 11,000 to 14,700 kW (corresponding to 15,000 to 20,000 hp), if its speed is within the range of the HAI-III class.

These new submarine chasers are armed exclusively with systems of Soviet construction:

-- 4 (short) individual tubes for 400 mm submarine chaser torpedoes, arranged in twos, one behind the other, diverging by approximately 14 degrees out of the ship's longitudinal axis onto the side deck.

-- 2 RBU-6000 submarine chaser rocket launcher groups next to each other at a distance of a few meters on the superstructure deck in front of the bridge represent the primary armament. The following are defensive weapons:

-- One 57 mm L/80 antiaircraft twin tower on the quarterdeck.

-- One 30 mm L/65 antiaircraft twin on a deckhigh superstructure (it is probably the ammunition chamber which belongs to it) in front of the superstructure deck, and

-- 2 installations for SA-N-5 short-range ship-to-air missiles, positioned midships at the rear of the front superstructure deck.

The SA-N-5 is a "navalized" weapons system of the mobile Strela troop antiaircraft system, which has been used by the Soviet armed forces for years, and which is classified as SA-7 and called GRAIL by NATO. Here, these are gathered in starter groups of 4 and stored at 360° around a rotating prism. This weapons system, which is not very heavy, and does not take up much space, is suitable for engaging slow and/or low flying planes and helicopters, because guidance to the target occurs with the help of an infrared homing device.

These units can also lay mines. For this purpose they are equipped with 2 casting ramps on the stern, and with transport tracks on the side decks, which apparently reach beyond midships.

On electronics--in the most far-reaching sense--there is the following:

-- One STRUT CURVE-circular search radar,

-- One navigational radar of the TSR production manufactured in the GDR,

-- 2 WATCH DOG sensor systems as passive ECM, and

-- One HIGH POLE-B answer antenna of the IFF installation. (ECM and IFF are terms from electronic warfare, and stand for "electronic countermeasure" and "Identification friend-foe"), all on top of, i.e. at the main mast over the bridge; and

-- One MUFF COB weapon guidance device on a medium high beam of the rear superstructure complex.

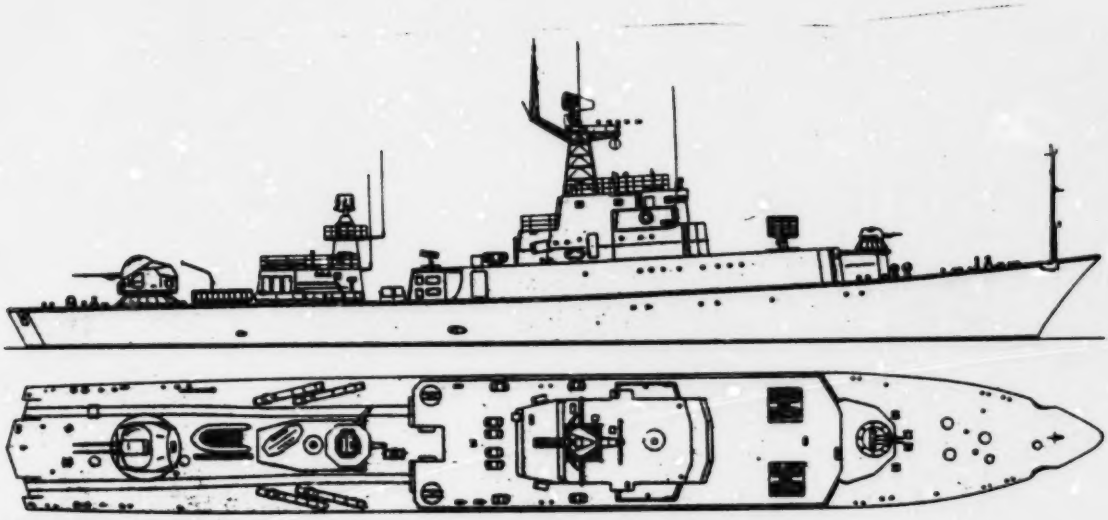
In addition there are two 16-tube chaff stick launchers, 1 starbords behind the bridge superstructure, the other probably on the opposite side. The presence of a hull sonar must also be assumed.

The outer form of these new warships was undoubtedly greatly influenced by two components: optimal sea properties, and the engine. The former can be seen by the shape of the smooth-deck hull, with a deck spring so pronounced that the freebord elevation at the bow is easily twice that at the stern. Openings for exhaust on both sides of the hull right behind midships indicate the exclusive use of Diesel engines. These openings permitted the elimination of a chimney, adversely affecting the total picture: the lack of a chimney gives the impression of a certain incompleteness, similar to that found in the Spanish frigates of the ATREVIDA class from the 1950's, to which the "BAL-COM-4" is quite similar in other ways and in its main calibrations.

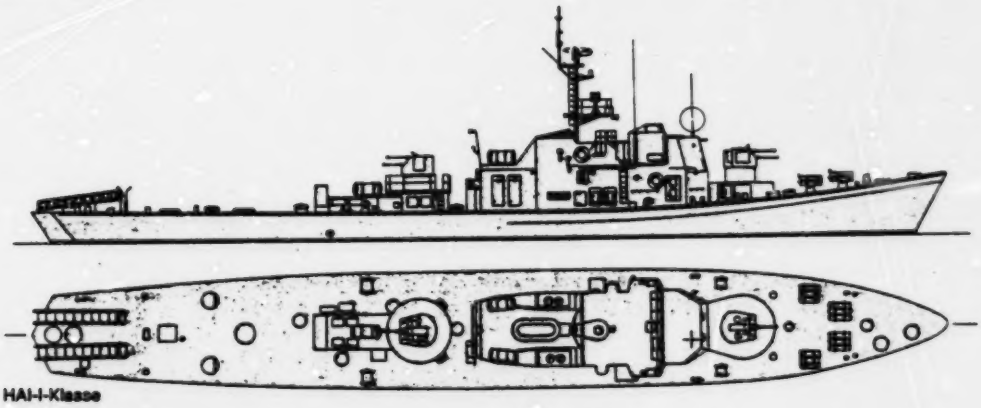
Presently there are 6 ships of this new class, but it is considered possible that there will be twice as many, in order to fill the void threatened by the imminent elimination of the HAI-III submarine chaser.

Comparative Table of Figures

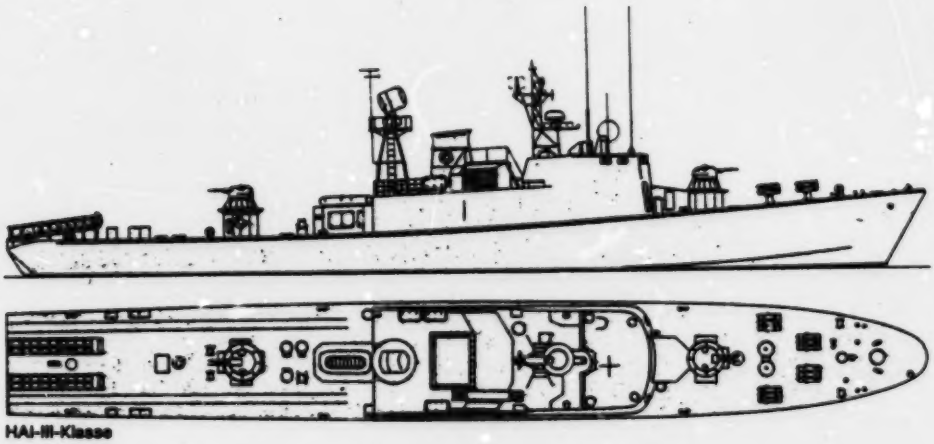
	HAI-III Class	BAL-COM 4 Class
Standard displacement, tons	350	?
Operative displacement, tons	400	app. 800
Overall length, meters	56.00	app. 70.00
Width, meters	6.20	app. 8.00-10.00
Draft, meters	2.40	app. 3.50
Driving system	CODOG	engines
Engines	2 Diesel engines 1 gas turbine	2 or 3 Diesel engines
Number of propellers	3	2 or 3
Propulsive output, kW(hp)	3,500 (4,800) and 7,350 (10,000)	11,00 to 14,700 (15,000 to 20,000)
Speed, knots	25.0 +	25.0 +
Range (nautical miles/knots)	1,000/18	?
Crew	28 men	?
Armament	2x230 mm antiaircraft canons in twin towers 4 RBU-1,200 submarine chaser rocket launchers 2 depth charge ramps mines	1x257 mm L/80 antiaircraft canon 1x230 mm L/65 antiaircraft canon 4 individual torpedo tubes 2 groups of SA-N-5 ship-air FK starters 2 RBN-6000 rocket launchers Mines



„BAL-COM-4"



HAI-I-Klasse



HAI-III-Klasse

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CSO: 2300/300

STUDENTS CRITICIZED FOR BAD BEHAVIOR, VANDALISM

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 30 Jul 81 p 6

/Letter to the editors from Academician Eugen A. Pora/

/Text/ I would never have believed that I would actually see that there is also a "pedagogic pollution." I can find no other term for what I saw in the lodge in Valea de Pesti, located on the West Jiu at the foot of Retezat, where there is so much beauty, peace and quiet. As a teacher for more than 50 years, I was shocked by this appalling phenomenon and concerned because it has lasting effects and involves the very future of some youths.

I think the building in Valea de Pesti (Why not "with fish"?) is the most beautiful mountain lodge in Romania. Located on a plot above the reservoir lake with a spendid view of the peaks of Retezat, it brings to our landscape the style of the Swiss chateaus. With concrete walls and studs that imitate the texture of fir wood, each room is picturesquely isolated from the other by balconies and wavy shingled roofs. With its four stories of 20 rooms each with installations for running water (hot and cold?) and electric current (without adequate lights) and sanitary installations, as well as a spacious ballroom and a large dining room on the ground floor, all designed by the highest standard of civilization, it is unique.

In July the lodge is not yet heavily frequented. But it too has a production plan! And in order to fulfill it pupils' excursions are accepted from many centers in Romania. There are often three or four buses (BTT's) in front of the building, each with an average of 40 pupils and three or four teachers. The loaded buses arrive by a road about 2 km long and full of stones that destroy many tires (The cost of the damage is surely more than it would cost to asphalt that road!). They reach the destination at 4:00 or 5:00 PM. The children eat supper there, sleep, eat breakfast the next day, and then leave for another lodge at 10:00 AM. What can these children see except the daily routes (Do they see them?) and the lodges where they sleep? I wonder if such an excursion is justified and if the money spent on the bus, meals and shelter yields any educational return. Personally I do not think so! The pupils' excursions to know the country should be organized differently.

On the night of 11-12 June 1981 a festive dinner was arranged at the lodge for the graduates of the Petrosani Industrial High School, presided over and supervised by the chemistry teacher, who was also these youths' classroom teacher (I do not mention

the name for the time being!). They came by turns in a workers transport bus. Some of the organizers were first to arrive, and then the "orchestra," consisting of saxophones, trumpets, a harmonica and a drum. The other graduates arrived in another bus and finally the classroom teacher with her husband and one more adult (probably also a teacher). They were cordially received and "Gaudeamus" was sung as required. All were happy and joyful as befits youths who are now entering upon life, and it was a pleasure to see them. But the party began at 9:00 PM in the party room of the lodge, where dinner was served and there was dancing. The sounds that now issued from the lodge were over 120 decibels and the "music" was heard for many kilometers around. I am sure all the bears on Retezat will remember those sounds like howls of the kind made by redskins attacking an enemy. They certainly could not be called songs. They were horrible, loud outcries of tormented people. And all this "party" behavior was in the presence and hearing of the classroom teacher and other teaching personnel. I consider it vandalism sponsored and encouraged by a teacher! It was a veritable demonstration of how our youth of today should not behave. All of us who were in the lodge wondered how it was possible for such a display of hooliganism to be tolerated in the presence of a classroom teacher, especially since there was an official notice in plain sight in the ballroom stating that the peace and quiet of the lodge were to be respected after 10:30 PM by everyone. And the "music" lasted all night.

In the morning there was a mess in the party room consisting of broken glasses, paper, cigarette butts, drinks spilled on tables and the floor, a spectacle of very sad memory. I wonder how it is possible for such teachers to last in education that is supposed to bring up youth in the spirit of respect for the public good and for the kind of social behavior required by socialist ethics.

That was only the beginning! In the next few days successive groups of younger or older pupils arrived at the lodge from various general cultural schools who were making "excursions at the end of the year." In the afternoon of 15 June three buses arrived with pupils from Craiova and Filiasi (and perhaps from other Oltenian communities). All the rooms were filled and many slept double. When the children were settled they began to dance in the ballroom, drink beer and smoke cigarettes, and the older girls were embracing the boys in corners or outside in the bushes (I saw such spectacles and I might recognize some of the girls!). The younger pupils were running and shouting through the corridors, amusing themselves by clapping their hands and throwing stones at the doors of the rooms. Not one teacher was watching them. They were gathered in two rooms minding "their own business." I sought out some of these "colleagues" and told them what the children were doing whom they were supposed to be watching. One teacher (I do not mention her name) answered me very innocently, "But what can we do about them?" That is a reply of an irresponsible teacher. The game in the corridors and the dance in the ballroom were continued after dinner until past midnight to the music of the lodge's records and tape recorders. The single bathrooms on the floors were crowded with children, some of whom even relieved themselves in the corridors. The maids who were trying to clean up on the second day told me that sort of thing often happened and they were thinking of leaving the lodge because they could no longer stand the mess. The whole lodge smelled and only after the manager brought potassium chlorate from somewhere in the valley was it possible to wash away the stench so that there was fresh mountain air in the corridors and rooms again.

Such situations also occurred on the following days, perhaps not quite so bad but characterized by the same kind of behavior.

The school inspectorates of the respective schools should analyze such cases and proceed against the teachers who cannot control or educate the pupils in their charge. Parents! Do not allow your children on excursions where the teachers tolerate their acts of hooliganism and misbehavior. You will also suffer yourselves from this educational failing of the teachers.

But it can be done, and well!

A busload of pupils with four teachers arrived on the afternoon of the 18th (from Hategi I believe). After they were assigned to rooms in the teachers' presence, each teacher took the children in his charge and they planned a specific program. One went off and played soccer with them on the asphalt tennis court, another played volleyball with them (with a big rubber ball) on the lawn in front of the lodge, the third one went for a walk with them in the forest above the lodge, and the fourth one went down to the reservoir lake with them. They met for supper at the appointed hour, ate, then danced for an hour, and by 10:00 PM all the children were in bed, after they were sent in turn to the toilet, which was constantly checked. Everything proceeded in perfect order. It all depends on the teacher who is educating the children.

I worked for a long time with the pioneers and pupils in the higher grades. I know that our children's minds contain good, clean, honest and orderly material. Romania's future depends upon this exceptional material, which the educators are expected to polish like a diamond. But in the absence of good teachers this good reserve is distorted and impaired, and later on it will motivate those who are at odds with work and good social behavior. In this way irresponsible teachers constitute a risk of pedagogic pollution, a pollution of the educational process, and they threaten the very future of our children and through them the future of the Romania of tomorrow.

Thanks to such teachers and children, the lodge at Valea de Pesti is in a state of neglect and destruction that does us no honor (broken or stolen light bulbs, washbowls ripped from the walls, missing window panes, doors torn off the walls, broken faucets, drinking fountains that no longer work, etc.). That lodge was built at great expense and is a possession of us all of which we might be proud! Close attention on the part of those responsible for it might make it a matter of national pride again, but that requires certain standards of behavior on the part of those who visit it, which must be set and observed by all. The mountain lodges are not places to go on a colossal spree, to howl as if to drive the wolves from their lairs or to smash and damage everythink like a hopeless drunkard. The mountain lodges are a national property of great therapeutic value. An Austrian who was visiting the lodge (along with a family from the GDR) said to me, "It's a shame! It is a pity that such a beautiful lodge is not properly maintained! In this splendid decor, it is an achievement like nothing we have in Austria, but it is intolerable to have no hot water, dirt in the corridors, no water running in the bathrooms at night and so much noise during the day!" That foreign visitor was quite right.

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CSO: 2700/355

INDEPENDENT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS STRESSED IN CEAUSESCU BOOK

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian May 81 pp 14-16

[Article by Aurel Duca, secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania]

[Text] The volume which appeared recently as an ardent homage paid to the party and its secretary general gives credit to a scientific, dynamic and mobilizing concept of the trade unions' role in the stage of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society, clearly marking out the value of traditions in carrying out their role as the most comprehensive organization of workers and the importance of their present duties in the leadership, organization and development of political, economic and social life. These qualitatively new duties and responsibilities result from the position of the working class as the leading class in our present society.

The wealth of theses, ideas, solutions and specific indications makes up a prestigious work of high theoretical and practical value which clearly establishes the trade unions' position in the broad mobilization of forces in our society for implementing the party's economic policy and the program to raise the workers' standard of living and for optimum utilization of the institutions of socialist democracy and participation of the creators of material and spiritual goods in decision making.

The analytical and clearsighted spirit and consistently revolutionary spirit which characterize all the political-ideological activity of the party's secretary general, the boldness and originality of his inestimable contribution to enriching scientific socialism are brought out strikingly in this work, also, as brilliant qualities which define the prominent personality of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--a thinker and man of action--and his decisive contribution to working out and implementing the program to build modern, rich and prosperous Romania.

A central spot in this volume is held by the problems in the role of the trade unions, within which the position promoted at the RCP Central Committee plenum of February 1971, stand out in particular, because it signifies the final abandonment of outdated theory of the mission of this organization and clear definition of its forms of operation which correspond to the demands of our day. Clearly asserting that "the old slogan of 'transmission belt' do longer corresponds to the current stage of development of our society," since "the party does not need such a 'belt' to speak with the workers," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the purpose of the trade unions to be primarily a broad forum for joining workers to discuss all social-economic problems.

In their concern for broadening and continually improving the democratic framework for workers' participation in the organization and leadership of production and in working out and implementing the decision-making act---political, economic and social--our party and its secretary general have conceived of proper levers to actually achieve the democratic prerogatives with which the working collectives, trade unions and other mass and public organizations have been entrusted. Such levers--workers councils, where the trade union president is the vice president, the workers general meetings headed by the presidents of the trade unions--are deliberative, decision-making forums for certain basic economic and social problems of the social-economic units, whose importance has been made valid already in practice. As we know, the workers general meetings, at Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's indication,have become democratic institutions with a decisive word about the good progress of the enterprises. In light of their duties, the demand is fully justified that, by participating in the leadership organs in enterprises, institutions, in ministries, including in the government, where they have the best conditions for expressing the workers' interests, the way the working class thinks, an opinion on all problems of the country's development, the trade unions should fully utilize these opportunities, insuring the active presence of the broad masses in the leadership of economic and social matters.

Placing the new tasks and duties belonging to the trade unions in the center of attention in order to involve the masses in leadership of all social-economic activity and to insure the best working and living conditions and to organize rich and attractive political-educational and cultural-artistic activity, the volume offers a clear prospect for the theoretical and practical approach to the problems of self-leadership and self-management of the workers and implementation of their principles. Having become a basic condition of economic activity, the precise application of the new economic-financial mechanism also formulates greater responsibilities for the trade unions. We see the collective work organs, the workers councils and the general meetings as forms of development of worker self-leadership, of demonstration of each collective's responsibility for good management of the financial and material resources entrusted to it--as part of the general wealth of all our people." Concern with carrying out activity of profitable production which would make it possible to allocate capital for broader reproduction and for providing the necessary resources for raising the people's material and spiritual st ndard of living, concern with strengthening order, responsibility and discipline in production and with utilizing the workers' initiative in improving work techniques and methods and with establishing relations of close cooperation in honoring the tasks in the spirit of socialist ethics and equity and intensification of political-educational and cultural-artistic activity--all these are an integral part of the goals for the fulfillment of which the trade unions are being called on to actively mobilize their members.

Also we should stress the insistence with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on one hand, brings out the need for a more powerful and permanent cooperation with the ministries and centrals and all organs which the trade unions are part of and in which they are called on to firmly have their say as representatives of the workers and with the other mass and public organizations and creative unions and institutions of learning, art and culture and, on the other hand, the requirement for as strict a deliniation as possible of the tasks and specific methods of action.

The theses worked out by the party's secretary general on the role and duties of the trade unions are under the banner of promoting what is new in trade union life, the permanent desire to give their work a climate of high exactingness and social responsibility, true creativity in the professional, economic and public activity of the mass of this organization's members.

The trade unions' role and duties can be carried out under optimum conditions due to their leadership by the party. The way in which this principle is applied corresponds fully to the general style of our party's activity and it does not exercise this role in an administrative way and does not seek to superpose with other organs and institutions or to carry out the duties belonging to certain collectives or people by absolving them of the responsibilities they were given. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specifies, "The party's leadership of the trade unions must be of a political nature." Fulfilling its mission as leader with this view, our party is concerned with development of a revolutionary spirit in the activity of the trade union organizations and is seeing that their measures correspond to society's vital interests and those of the people and that they contribute fully to implemenetation of our state's domestic and foreign policy. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently pointed out at the congress of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, "The party organizations should not subordinate or watch over the trade unions, but they should take action through the trade union communist so that they fulfill their responsibilities."

The book's final chapter, referring to the trade unions' contribution to strengthening the world worker movement, expresses an exemplary humanism, a convincing call to achieve working class unity in all countries, a call for democratization of the mass organizations in the context of democratization of international political life. Drawing attention to the fact that reaction and imperialism always have taken action against working class unity while the slogan of so-called independent trade unions, which is not a new one, has served the interests of the bourgeousie and imperialism, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes with revolutionary conviction: "The unity of the working class and of the trade union movement has been and is the primary requirement of the revolutionary struggle, of the victory of the socialist revolution, of the construction of socialism, of strengthening of the independence , sovereignty of any socialist country."

Through the complexity of the problems treated and the sharpness and current nature of them, the work is a plea for increasing trade unions' contribution to the general activity of our society to promote a scientific, revolutionary, creative and efficient style of work through which the organization can honor its high mission, it itself being historic, entrusted by the party along the road of creating socialism and communism, creating a high material and spiritual standard of living and flourishing of our dear country, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

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CSO: 2700/363

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU ATTACK ON PRESS--In his speech on the 50th anniversary of the publication of the Romanian party organ SCINTEIA, the Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu placed great importance on all the Romanian mass communications media in all stages of socialist construction. At the same time, Ceausescu criticized some phenomena in the work of the press. In his words, there have appeared in the press some cosmopolitan and reactionary ideas which have nothing in common with the struggle for socialist progress. [Excerpts] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 17 Aug 81 p 5]

CSO: 2800/354

AUTHOR, RETURNEE FROM SOVIET PRISON CAMPS, INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1594, 19 Jul 81 pp 22-24

[Article by Milo Gligorijevic based on an interview with Julius Jemeljanovic Baranovski, author of the book "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja (1926-1957)" [Prison and Siberian Memoirs (1926-1957)]: "Memories From the Realm of Death"]

[Text] The man we intend to write about is named Julius Jemeljanovic Baranovski, he is a pensioner, a former chief republic forestry inspector in SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia. He is 77 years old and lives on Mljet, where the landscape is something out of the Bible. He might be taken for some retired professor who has a quiet and comfortable life, but appearances are once again deceiving. Baranovski is one of the 13 Yugoslavs who have returned from Stalin's camps. He was 22 years old when his party, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, sent him to the Soviet Union to go to school. He was in love with the forest, with the Siberian forest especially, he studied forestry, but suddenly he was a sufferer, a camp inmate in Siberia. The reader will rightly say: The irony of fate.

In his book "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja," whose first edition was soon sold out, Baranovski says:

"When I finally returned to my old homeland, to Yugoslavia, where I was born, I filed away little scraps of pictures deeply engraved in my memory which were still fresh. Even now I can see the faces of people, the walls, the barbed wire fence, the situation, the objects, the landscape of the Soviet north. I recognize the voices of my interrogators and the noises from the cells. I hear gunfire, commands, shrieks, the barking of dogs, steps, and the whistling of the locomotive of the prisoner train. I can sense the quiet of the magnificent Russian forest near Arkhangelsk, I hear the hubbub of camp life and the Siberian taiga under the snow on the banks of the frozen Yenisey. I hear the crackling of branches and the unforgettable sound of an enormous tree crashing down. I was a forestry engineer, and for long years that was my entire world."

When we sought him out at his domicile on Mljet, at Govedjari, he told us that troublesome nighttime dreams take him back to Siberia even today:

"I dream about fulfilling the plan. I dream about investigations and tortures. I experience it all over again. At times names and people I had forgotten come back to me in a dream."

Twilight of Humanity

On our way to find Julius Jemeljanovic we went through Zagreb, since the man who was the first reader and judge of his memoirs lives in Zagreb. This is Joza Vlahovic, the well-known newsman. He finds that Baranovski's conception of the world has remained just as it was before he went off to the Soviet Union and before his Calvary as a prison inmate. What this means more or less is that this man who was once poor and was born in Prnjavor in Bosnia, has retained and preserved his communist ideals. So, the question that we took with us to Mljet ran like this: How is it possible to survive everything that Baranovski experienced and not become an anticommunist?

The answer, one of the answers, is to be found in Baranovski's very first sentences. He says: "At that time we did not have a life of our own. We were building a life in the interests of the party, the working class and our homeland. I was prepared to go through fire and water for the party. Even in prison we were building the socialism to which we had pledged ourselves."

And the answer, of course, leads to a new question. Is it possible that a man who was convicted without evidence as the member of some invented rightwing organization, as a supposed spy and traitor, whose family has been scattered, who has lost his spouse forever and is reunited with his son Volodja and daughter Valja--after many years of imprisonment--once again in a camp, who has been tortured with beatings and starvation and has spent two long decades behind a wire fence, is it possible that such a man would not lose faith in socialism and would not turn against his original goals?

On page 106 of "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja" Baranovski says: "Certain of the officials stole the food allotted to the prisoners and sold it outside the camp. The same thing happened to the clothing and footwear intended for the prisoners. Stealing, beatings and even killings of prisoners, apparently with the support of the camp management, were everyday occurrences accepted as a way of life."

On page 114 he described the special solitary confinement cell block:

"In that cell block, which was built of logs, there were separate cells strengthened with sheet metal. Some people they kept below in a cold pit, they put others in straitjackets and bound their hands and feet, still others they hurled into dark concrete cells in which they could only squat. Certainly the purpose of such punishment was not correction, but simply physical annihilation."

The reader learns that the delinquents and criminals made life miserable for the political prisoners. They became accomplices of the guards and demonstrated their superiority in savage ways. These past masters at fighting and bloody showdowns, for whom human life was too cheap, developed their banditry in the prison, organized drinking bouts and gambling. They even lost in gambling

"their own" wives, women political prisoners compelled to live with them. On the one hand, then, the NKVD with its sinister tricks, and on the other this human dregs, and on yet another disease and hunger--is not all that enough to lose hope and to have one's ideals shattered?

We will also copy down these lines:

"I behaved altogether unnaturally for a man at forced labor in a camp: as though I was free. When for a moment I became aware of things as they were, I saw the sufferings of others, and I aroused myself and deliberately strove to suppress those feelings in myself. Probably I would after all be free one day, it would not go on this way forever, there was justice, just hold on a bit! At that point I could not even suspect that I would have to hold out for all of another 15 years. That is how it is with illusions."

Therapeutic Illusions

Baranovski, who was kept alive by illusions, knows that his book is a grave accusation of Stalinism and appeals for socialism and communism not to be linked to Stalin's name. Stalin, he says, abolished the class of producers and created the class of the bureaucracy.

"Those who built careers on the bones of innocent people were not communists, but criminals. They proclaimed millions of honest people to be criminals and convicted them without proof. Not a single country in the world could survive as many criminals as Stalin produced. But the Soviet Union survived them because they were not criminals, but law-abiding citizens who were building socialism even in the prison. I have written somewhere that the USSR had the highest number of criminals, but no crime. With us here in Yugoslavia it is quite the reverse. We have crime, but no criminals. I was very gratified when Petar Stambolic spoke so harshly as to say that we even award decorations to certain criminals."

Of course, Baranovski does not have such a high opinion of all his cosufferers and fellow inmates. Many sold their souls to the devil to make life easier in the camp. Something about that can be found in the papers which Baranovski sent to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. For a time he hoped to relate the Soviet events and details to Tito. And Tito himself on several occasions had a habit of saying at receptions: "We must get together, Julius, we must have a talk." But he was too busy and ill to manage it. Baranovski has now sat down and written what he did not succeed in telling to Josip Broz. He has written thousands of pages. Descriptions of his meetings with well-known figures in the working class and communist movement are a particularly interesting feature of these memoirs. He knew Ivan Krndelj, Vladimir Copic, Grgur Vujovic, Bozidar Maslaric and Paja Marganovic. He was well acquainted with Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev from the time when the two of them were secretaries of party committees of schools of the university in Moscow. In 1957, when he was rehabilitated, Baranovski had to part from his companion in the camp, his spouse Olga. She would have had to officially renounce her daughter Nadja if he was to be able to bring her to Yugoslavia. Then Tito appealed to

Khrushchev to give Olga a permit to come to Yugoslavia. Did Nikita Sergeyevich remember at that time his student days and Julius Baranovski, his former comrade?

Baranovski also knew Nadezhda Aliluyeva, Stalin's wife, and Zhemchuzhina, Molotov's wife. Aliluyeva, as is well known, was killed by her husband, the boss in the Kremlin. And Molotov had his wife put behind bars. "She lived to see her rehabilitation under Khrushchev," Baranovski says, "and she died soon thereafter." To go on, he knew Radek well, they were together in exile in Voronezh. He also knew Dimitrov. He wrote letters to the first man of the Comintern, just like thousands and hundreds of thousands of other arrestees.

"We wrote to him that we were not seeking any sort of mercy. We wanted the charges to be proved. We reminded him that he himself had had a fair trial in fascis Germany. We said: Let us be given a fair trial here in a socialist country. There was no answer from Dimitrov. I think he himself was overwhelmed with fear of reprisal."

When a story goes on paper, it behaves like a river with many tributaries and backwaters. Baranovski now describes the columns of arrestees and the heartlessness of the NKVD people. How did the suspicions and investigations begin?

"I was in Kalinin, where I was a member of the city committee and was a lecturer on party history. An order came down to form special departments, intelligence groups, in all institutions. A system was created in which everyone was keeping watch on everyone else. The times were such that today someone could point even to the head of the NKVD as an enemy, and the next day he himself might become the victim of someone's fabrication."

Foreigners, to a man, one after the other, and emigres motivated by economic incentives were the first to be attacked. Later the suspicion grew by chain reaction into a kind of hysteria.

At this point the story has to go into parentheses and the fate of the economically motivated emigres explained. There were many of them who went to the Soviet Union when the Comintern was appealing for experts and promised them good wages in rubles and half of the money deposited in dollars until their departure from the Soviet Union. Many went, many fled and many stayed. Those who did stay got the camp for their pains. They were never to see the deposited dollars.

Among the 13 Yugoslavs returning from Siberia, Baranovski said, only 3 were charged with political crimes. Which three? Or: Which two besides him? For some reason the question is passed over in silence. But Baranovski repeats that the fate of the political prisoners was far worse. That fate is indicated by the following lines from "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja":

"I was not afraid of death itself. But I was horrified by the thought of its hypocritical preparation through a new investigation, tortures, abuse, curses, beatings, assembly-line interrogations, starvation, canker sores.... Tortured

to the extreme, I finally fell asleep, but sleep did not calm me down. Several times I was awakened in fright by my own screams."

Between descriptions of this kind Baranovski has inserted sketches of the heartless moneygrubbers, informers, scoundrels, thieves and cold-blooded killers, but also a small procession of noble people who occasionally made his hell more bearable. There is a description in the book of a conversation he had with Lieutenant Colonel Didorenko, an NKVD official, which is unforgettable. "We talked without witnesses, man to man.... He spoke with such scorn about the criminals in the NKVD that for a moment I was afraid that this might be some new provocation."

Lieutenant Colonel Didorenko was the head of an oblast NKVD administration somewhere in the Ukraine at the time when the mass arrests began in 1937. He was not zealous in his work and had to take a lower position in some camp in the Far North. It was then that his travels would crisscross those of Baranovski. He was also to appear in a time of need, as a rescuer. Baranovski went through seven investigations, he was convicted four times without evidence, once being sentenced to death. Didorenko's hand was also behind the reduction of that death sentence to life imprisonment.

Baranovski also remembers Lieutenant Kuznetsov, head of the Mostovitsa camp, for the good he did. There was hunger, he says, the camp inmates were eating grass and dying like flies. He proposed to Kuznetsov that livestock be purchased from the peasants for the money of the camp inmates and that some old buildings be patched up. Kuznetsov assented and then horses began to arrive which had been purchased for a trifle. Life returned to the camp. But soon came Belayev, one of the torturers, and he raised a tremendous fuss. A new investigation, a new charge: Baranovski had been working against the interests of the Soviet state. He had deliberately attempted to impoverish households in order to undermine their economy and destroy agriculture.

Baranovski says:

"When a commission came to the camp, its members asked Kuznetsov: Why aren't your people dying? He told them frankly: People are not dying in my camp because the one who saved them is dying."

Didorenko and Kuznetsov, and then the freeman Roginskiy, stand as in Shakespeare's dramas against the gaping darkness of Belayev, Dubasov, Korobitsin, that Korobitsin, Baranovski says, who in cold blood and with his own hand killed a coachman, a young man who had only begun to live.

We asked him what should have been done to make life in the camp more supportable?

"In the Gulag system they were constantly thinking about deriving benefit from the labor that was expended. Thus professional competence often saved lives. And strength, physical endurance. People died who did not have professional competence or strength and who did not want to become fingermen. I was saved by

my knowledge and by my consistency. I received 27 certificates for good work in the camps, and when I came to Yugoslavia I packed them all up and said: Here you are, I don't need them, I am making a present of them to you."

How To Recognize an Adversary

And in Yugoslavia, Baranovski says, he came upon new troubles, he became ill.

"I was a strange sight in wide Russian trousers, with a lock of hair that had turned white overnight, after my trial and sentencing to death by firing squad. When I started from Siberia it was 64° below zero, and in Belgrade it was 38° above. I somehow seemed to lose my strength all at once, I could no longer walk. And my child became ill: It went to the children's home, and I went to the hospital. Zvonko Brkic came to see me, other comrades came, and the doctors constantly said that they must cut off my legs, that there was no chance for my legs. They said: He has no muscles, he is standing on the bones. And I began to do exercises persistently, every day, and there, now I can walk, but had I listened to the doctors, I would have lost my legs."

The remembrance of Brkic, Marijan Cvetkovic, Karl Mrazovic, Djuro Salaj and many other officials who took care of him, of Kardelj who once had a long conversation with him, of Tito who personally presented a commemoration to him, to him alone of all the returnees, cannot erase the unpleasant trace of a brief sentence which he remembered from a time when they were talking in Zagreb about his being appointed to a particular important post and when someone less well known than all those mentioned, said: "We have our own people." Is it possible that even here in Yugoslavia, his homeland, he is a foreigner? Is it possible that his Ukrainian origin, or perhaps the circumstance that he was in Siberia, makes him suspicious?

Baranovski knows that he turned some people against him. They did not respect his sincerity, they did not understand his enthusiasm. When the forest on Mljet was burning, he spent 2 nights out in the open going from door to door, calling out people to fight the fire, but people said: That is not our district, that is Babino Polje.

"I think that this is one country and that a single system, socialism, should be built in it."

It is time that we noted down the views of Julius Jemeljanovic Baranovski concerning the development of socialism. He says that it was easy to reflect and to act when Marxism-Leninism and Social Democracy existed with the same goals and different programs. Now there are eight different Marxisms, Stalinist, Maotsetungist, Trotskyist.... We have become fragmented, we have quarreled, we are more involved with criticizing one another than with the destiny of the working class.

Baranovski speaks about the days of his youth and says that communists always wore distinguishing marks, a red tie, and then when that mark was discovered, a kerchief, a bamboo cane.... And they could easily detect the fellow fighter and

the opponent. Now, he said, that is unfeasible. Now you don't know who you're fighting against. There is constant talk about unnamed people who are at fault, but whenever those at fault are unnamed, the blame falls on the government and the party.

Olga Baranovski, Julius' spouse, says that fighters went into revolutions with ideals. And they died. Behind them came people most of them of a different stamp, and that explains the wandering and the stumbling.

In his eyes, which are the color of a bright sky, there is firm belief in the truthfulness of the words he utters.

A Terrible Joy

Does this mean that everything would have happened differently in the Soviet Union if there had been no Stalin? The question contains an obvious doubt that it can be answered in the affirmative, but the Baranovskis say: "Yes. The people," Julius Jemeljanovic says, "raised Lenin up on a pedestal like a god, since a god on earth was needed for current politics. And when Lenin died, some new god, a new messiah, had to be chosen. Stalin pledged that he would carry out Lenin's policy, but he committed the gravest crimes."

Regarding these simplifications as wonderful coming from a man with such a biography, we asked ourselves once again: How is it possible to see so much evil in a system which is called socialist and which says that it is headed toward communism and not abandon the idea of communism and socialism?

Baranovski says with assurance that a communist who easily changes his ideological clothes has never been a communist at all. And that is a complete answer. Baranovski says that there were barely 1,000 people in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia when he became a member of it. Those 1,000 never even dreamed that they would bring down the state, but they hoped that some good would come about through their death. And they were prepared, truly prepared, to undertake self-sacrifice.

End of the conversation. If there were not the piece of paper "recording" this conversation, if there were not a book entitled "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja," we might think that this had been a conversation with heroes from Maxim Gorky.

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KOSOVO HISTORIAN HADRI CRITICIZED FOR CHAUVINISM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1596, 2 Aug 81 pp 33-34

[Article by Milos Misovic: "History According to Hadri"]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference in the rector's office of Kosovo University in Pristina last Monday, Redzep Gasi, chairman of the university action committee of the League of Communists, said that differentiation in this higher educational institution was under way, but that many important jobs remained. There is a need to shed light on the problems of indoctrination with nationalism and irredentism and then of national romanticism and its influence on historical science.

In that context he also mentioned the fact that Dr Ali Hadri, a man whose name has recently been associated most frequently with a biased and nationalistic interpretation of history, had been punished with the last party admonition before expulsion for, as he put it, opportunism and passivity.

Ali Hadri, a Kosovo historian, professor and member of the academy, appeared on the academic scene back in the seventies, when he defended his doctoral thesis at Pristina University on the topic: "The National Liberation Movement in Kosovo 1941-1945." Though even before that he had been concerned with history (his master's thesis was entitled "The Prizren League"), his dizzying ascent began after he received his academic title. He then became the principal writer of Kosovo history, a professor at the School of Philosophy, director of the Bureau for Kosovo History, and after several years a member of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts as well.

Perhaps it would have not been unusual for a young historian to capture the highest scholarly title, accompanied by diverse public recognition, in what was like an assault if strange interpretations of historical facts and of the past of the Serbian and Albanian peoples in Kosovo had not been detected in his activity.

Seven years ago Dr Hasan Haleshi, professor at the School of Philosophy in Pristina, sent a letter to leading figures and institutions in Kosovo and alerted them that the Professors Ali Hadri and Skender Rizaj were committing "obvious falsifications of past history" and were thereby "directly furthering misguided

training of young historians, whose harmful consequences are perhaps invisible today, but will in future be ever stronger." Illustrating the way Hadri and Rizaj were falsifying history with a number of examples, Professor Haleshi also referred to their "scientific discovery" that there was no exodus of Serbs from Kosovo.

Perhaps it is to Professor Haleshi's credit, since he is an Albanian from Kosovo, that he was the first to raise his voice against the falsification of historical facts, but it cannot be regarded as politically correct that those to whom the scholar turned and called upon to take appropriate steps, did nothing. On the contrary, Ali Hadri and Skender Rizaj, with the tacit consent of political bodies and with the financial aid of the relevant institutions, continued to "shape" the history of Kosovo according to their nationalistic criterion. Incidentally, let us look at a few other remarks which Professor Haleshi made in the letter we have mentioned:

"Since it is a question of distorting facts which are already well known, of the most vulgar falsifications, I reacted out of scholarly duty and my conscience as a professor--I wrote an article and sent it to the journal PERPARIMI, since that is where S. Rizaj published the article in which he falsified a number of scholarly truths, with implications for relations among the nationalities as well. But, though I sent the article in 8 months ago, so far it not only has not been published, but the editors have not seen fit to even inform me whether they will publish it. So no other conclusion can be drawn except that the editors of PERPARIMI take the same position and stand behind the views of S. Rizaj."

The Scholarly and Nationalistic Climate

"It is very symptomatic," Haleshi went on to write, "that S. Rizaj, after presenting his 'scientific' discoveries in writing, was elected head of the History Department of the School of Philosophy in Pristina, was elected president of the Society of Kosovo Historians, was delegated as a member of the editorial board of the history journal, was elected editor in chief and responsible editor of ALBANOLOSKA ISTRAZIVANJA, received several thousand dollars to go to London to conduct some sort of research, though he cannot speak a single correct sentence in English. I cannot help but place all this in a logical relationship--the thing to do is to falsify history and adopt primitive and nationalistic positions, for all doors to be opened unto you."

It needs no great research effort to ascertain the degree to which the writing of history in Kosovo is burdened with ethnic romanticism and Great Albanian nationalism, of which Ali Hadri, member of the academy, is a spokesman. To show that this is not a mere hypothesis, let us see how this scholar is represented in an official document.

At the end of May last year the Committee for the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Prize received a joint nomination of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts and the School of Philosophy in Pristina to award this high recognition to Ali Hadri, member of the academy. The extensive substantiation of the nomination included the following points:

i. that Hadri, member of the academy, has elucidated a number of scientific problems in numerous scholarly works, relying on Marxist thought, which gives his writings particular importance,

ii. that he occupies an important place among the most distinguished historians of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution,

iii. that he is among the most distinguished Albanian scholars, not only in Yugoslavia,

iv. that in performance of his lengthy scholarly work, in publishing numerous writings of exceptional scholarly interest, in training scholars, especially in the field of historical science, he has laid the foundations for the solid writing of history in Kosovo in the spirit of historical materialism, which is contributing to the scientific study and treatment of this province's history, and at the same time the history of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia and the history of the LCY,

v. that as a teacher he has made an exceptional contribution to the training of historians who serve as an example to the entire country.

Thus this document portrays the image of Academician Hadri, decorated with high orders and recognition, who lacked only the AVNOJ Prize. Those who understand history a bit better, think differently about this scholar.

Uncritical Acceptance of Albanian Views

Ali Hadri demonstrated his "Marxist interpretation" of history in his "Critical Essay on the Memoirs of Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo," published in 1972 in the journal KOSOVO. On that occasion he presented a number of inaccurate and, from the standpoint of the writing of Yugoslav history, unacceptable--judgments, and among them particular attention was attracted by his interpretation of the role of the delegate of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in establishing the Communist Party of Albania.

"It seems to us that the time has come for the Yugoslav writing of history to treat correctly as one of the elements, the external factors, the role of the delegate of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with respect to the Communist Party of Albania, and to reject the opinion of Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo (which is not his alone), who has raised the work of the delegate of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia concerning the Communist Party of Albania to the level of megalomania, which is not based on historical truth."

This and a number of other judgments presented in Hadri's "Critical Essay ..." led Gen Petar Brajovic, at that time head of the Institute of Military History, who incidentally fought in the Partisans from 1941 and was a well-known Partisan commander from Kosovo, to subject Hadri's judgments to harsh criticism.

"Ali Hadri," Brajovic wrote in March 1974, "blames Tempo for not having adapted his memoirs to Albanian documents, especially to the 'History of the Communist

Party of Albania,' to which he refers most frequently. It is strange that the author unreservedly concurs in the judgment of the Albanian leadership that that 'history' is its guide and that he is offering these views to Yugoslav historiography."

General Brajovic sent an extensive and documented analysis of Hadri's views to the leaders in Kosovo: Mahmut Bakali, Dzavid Nimani and Mihail Zvicer, along with the remark that he was surprised that no one had taken exception to this writing of Hadri's.

In the meantime Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, in a very fully documented text, himself contested Hadri's assertions, but the publication of Tempo's response was placed under an embargo by the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo because it allegedly offended fighters from Kosovo, both living and dead.

When it became evident that Dr Hadri had gone too far, the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo created a commission whose task was to examine his criticism of Tempo's memoirs. The commission ascertained that Ali Hadri had uncritically taken over the judgments of the Albanian Workers' Party "which came about in a period of an ideological and political offensive against the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and against our country from Cominform positions," without taking exception to them. For that reason the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo took exception to Hadri's views internally and recommended to the basic organization of the League of Communists at the School of Philosophy that it ascertained the degree of his political responsibility for that kind of writing.

The Target of Hadri's Criticism

However, when a debate was held in the party organization on this matter, individuals praised Dr Hadri so highly that one of the participants asked at one point whether they were debating nomination for a prize or establishment of political responsibility. In that kind of atmosphere Hadri was given only a warning, which did not alter by one whit his firm nationalistic commitment.

The chronicle "Djakovica in the National Liberation Movement 1941-1945," which was written by Dr Hadri and was published by the Institute for Kosovo History, was an occasion for new criticism, warnings and disavowals. Professor Haleshi sharply criticized this book, which is full of historical falsehoods and nationalistic coloring, in an article which the journal OBELEZJA published in No 3-4, 1976, after Haleshi's death. Unfortunately, it all ended with his being warned that "he must not pass lightly" over these historical falsehoods, since "they threaten to become a bad habit which could have (and indeed today does have) very serious repercussions."

No one did anything even after the documented critical remark made by Col Mile Djesarevic, a partisan fighter from 1941 from Djakovica, who called upon the war veterans' organization of Djakovica to disavow Hadri's distorted presentation of

the truth. Instead of that, in last year's nomination for Hadri to be awarded the AVNOJ Prize, the chronicle "Djakovica in the National Liberation Movement 1941-1945" is presented as one of the "major works of Academician Hadri."

If one is to understand more easily the atmosphere in which Dr Hadri does what he does, it is worth looking at one other observation of Professor Haleshi:

"We should emphasize that we here in Kosovo absolutely lack an advanced criticism of the writing of history, which is clannish, nepotistic and panegyric, and its purpose is to praise and glorify the writings of particular authors, though often they do not meet even formal scholarly conditions. On the other hand, some historians have an almost deep-rooted opinion that the purpose of Albanian historiography in Kosovo is to attack every book published in Belgrade or elsewhere in order to show how maliciously the history of the Albanian people has been treated. As an example we will cite the book of Ali Hadri entitled 'Kritika historiografska' [Historiographic Criticism] in which three-fourths are taken up by criticism of particular Yugoslav writings which have gone through three or four editions."

Professor Haleshi pointed out that Ali Hadri has on four occasions criticized the views presented by M. Garashanin, member of the academy, in "Istorija crnogorskog naroda" [History of the Montenegrin People]. That is the number of times his criticism "History of Yugoslavia" as told by Djirkovic, Bozic, Ekmecic and Dedijer has been published. These critical essays, which were not published in journals alone, but also as a serialized feature in the newspaper RILINDJA, would arouse no suspicions if it were not that Ali Hadri's critical inclination is equally directed toward all quarters. But he did not deem it necessary to write "a single critical word concerning the numerous distortions and falsifications of historical facts presented in 'Istorija albanskog naroda' [History of the Albanian People], 'Istorija Albanske partije rada' [History of the Albanian Workers' Party], and many other Albanian publications," Professor Haleshi wrote in the article we have mentioned.

When this prehistory is carefully examined, it seems that the party punishment pronounced against Hadri could have been invoked for an altogether definite and clearly oriented activity rather than for passivity.

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REGULATION ON ISSUING TRAVEL, OTHER DOCUMENTS TO FOREIGNERS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 81 pp 1153-1160

[Regulation issued by the federal secretary for internal affairs in Belgrade on 10 June 1981; please note that 6.5 pages of forms included in this text have not been translated: "Regulation on the Manner of Issuance of Travel and Other Documents and Visas to Foreign Nationals and on the Forms of Those Documents and Visas"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 99 of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 56, 1980), the federal secretary for internal affairs prescribes the following

REGULATION
ON THE MANNER OF ISSUANCE OF TRAVEL AND OTHER DOCUMENTS AND VISAS TO FOREIGN NATIONALS AND ON THE FORMS OF THOSE DOCUMENTS AND VISAS

I. General Provisions

Article 1

This regulation prescribes the following:

1) the manner of issuance of travel and other documents and visas to foreign nationals, the manner of approval of temporary residence, the manner of approval of permanent settlement, the manner of recognition of refugee status, and the manner of notification of commencement and termination of domicile and commencement of temporary residence;

2) the forms of the alien travel permit, tourist passes, the alien identity card, the permanent settlement permit, the temporary residence permit, and the visa issued to foreign nationals, as well as the forms of the applications for their issuance;

3) the form on which notification shall be given of commencement and termination of permanent residence and commencement of temporary residence and the forms of the records which are to be kept under the provisions of the Law on the Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals by organizations of associated labor, other

self-managing organizations and individuals offering lodgings to foreign nationals;

4) the manner in which records shall be kept and notification given of foreign nationals residing permanently or temporarily on the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter the "SFRY") and on travel documents and visas issued to foreign nationals by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province;

5) the manner in which the register of aliens' associations and other registers of aliens shall be kept.

Article 2

Upon receiving an application for issuance of a travel document or visa, a temporary residence permit, a permanent settlement permit, recognition of the right of asylum, recognition of refugee status or the issuance of an alien identity card, the official authorized to conduct procedure (hereafter the "official") shall establish the identity of the foreigner who has submitted the application and shall ascertain whether the travel or other document submitted as evidence of his identity is in order and valid, whether the application has been filled out accurately and legibly, and whether the prescribed appendices have been submitted along with the application.

The application referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be typed or printed, if filled out by hand.

Article 3

The application for issuance of a travel document or visa, temporary residence permit, permanent settlement permit, recognition of the right of asylum, recognition of refugee status and issuance of an alien identity card shall as a rule be filed by the foreign national seeking issuance of the document or visa or permanent settlement permit or recognition of refugee status or the right of asylum.

An application for issuance of a tourist pass or visa may also be submitted by the leader of a group of foreign nationals.

Article 4

The official ruling on the application for issuance of a travel document or visa may require that the applicant furnish more detailed grounds for his application and also furnish other information related to the application.

II. Issuance of Travel and Other Documents and Visas

1. Issuance of Travel Documents

Article 5

The refugee travel document, the stateless person travel document, and the alien travel permit shall be applied for in writing. The application shall be submitted on Form No 1 [not included in this translation].

The application shall be accompanied by two photographs 4.5 x 6 cm in size which faithfully portray the person seeking issuance of the document.

The official receiving the application for issuance of the refugee travel document shall ask the applicant to show the decision of the competent agency recognizing his refugee status.

In ruling on an application for issuance of the stateless person travel document the official shall make a check as to whether the applicant or person to whom the application pertains is the national of some foreign state.

Article 6

The period within which the refugee or stateless person may return to the SFRY shall also be entered in the refugee travel document and stateless person travel document.

The phrase "not entitled to return" shall be entered in the stateless person travel document issued to a foreign national who is leaving the SFRY.

Article 7

The form of the alien travel permit shall be 10 x 14.5 cm in size and shall contain 20 numbered pages.

The text of the form of the alien travel permit shall be printed in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and also in French.

The alien travel permit shall be issued on Form No 2 [not included in this translation].

Article 8

The period of validity of the alien travel permit shall be as follows:

1) up to 1 year--to an alien who has been granted the right of asylum in the SFRY, for travel abroad;

2) up to 3 months--to a foreign national who has obtained protection of the SFRY, to come to the SFRY;

3) up to 6 months--to a foreign national who has been released from SFRY citizenship, for departure abroad;

4) up to 3 months--to a foreign national who has lost a foreign travel document or has been left without it in some other manner, when the state of which he is a national does not have its diplomatic or consular mission in the SFRY nor are its interests represented by another state, to depart abroad;

5) up to 3 months--to an alien who while abroad has lost his alien travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, to return to the SFRY.

The phrase "not entitled to return" shall be entered in the alien travel permit issued to an alien who is emigrating from the SFRY and in the alien travel permit issued to the foreign national referred to in Subparagraph 4 of Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 9

The following shall be appended to the application for issuance of the alien travel permit:

1) by an alien who has been granted the right of asylum--a copy of the decision granting right of asylum in the SFRY;

2) by a foreign national who has been released from citizenship of the SFRY--a copy of the decision on release from citizenship of the SFRY;

3) by a foreign national who has lost or in some other manner been left without his travel document, when the state of which he is a national does not have its own diplomatic or consular mission in the SFRY nor are its interests represented by another state--a document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the travel document.

Article 10

Data shall be entered in the refugee travel document, stateless person travel document and alien travel permit with a special typewriter.

An embossed stamp shall be applied to the travel documents referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, and photographs shall be stapled.

2. Issuance of the Tourist Pass

Article 11

As a rule application shall be made orally for issuance of the tourist pass.

A foreign national seeking issuance of a tourist pass must show to the official a valid national travel document or other document which is proof of identity.

Article 12

For issuance of a tourist pass to a group of foreign nationals on an excursion in international maritime, river or air traffic the leader of the group shall submit two copies of the list of passengers certified by the captain of the vessel or aircraft--and each passenger shall submit his valid national travel document or other document proving identity.

After verifying the identity of the passengers, the official shall certify both copies of the passenger list by applying the prescribed stamp for certification of the crossing of the border and shall sign both copies, one of which he shall retain, while he shall return the other to the leader of the group and issue tourist passes to members of the group.

Article 13

The foreign national shall deliver the tourist pass to the official of the agency competent for monitoring crossing of the national border upon departure from the SFRY.

A foreign national who has entered the SFRY on a tourist pass, should the competent agency in the SFRY issue him a temporary residence permit or visa, shall return the tourist pass to the agency which issued him the permit or visa.

The tourist pass shall be issued on Form No 3 [not included in this translation].

3. Issuance of the Alien Identity Card

Article 14

Application for the alien identity card shall be made in writing. The application shall be submitted on Form No 4 [not included in this translation].

Two photographs 3 x 4 cm in size which faithfully portray the person for whom the alien identity card is being sought shall be appended to the application referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The official may require the applicant for issuance of an alien identity card to show the following: permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY or approval of recognition of refugee status or the right of asylum or travel document or abstract from the birth records or a prior alien identity card or other document.

The alien identity card shall be issued on Form No 5 [not included in this translation].

Article 15

The words "permanently settled alien" shall be entered under the heading "Residing in the SFRY as ..." in the alien identity card being issued to an alien who

has been granted permanent settlement or the right of asylum and who has settled in the SFRY.

The word "refugee" shall be entered under the heading "Residing in the SFRY as ..." in the alien identity card being issued to an alien who has been granted refugee status.

The grounds of residence (academic study, specialized training, marriage to a Yugoslav national, etc.) shall be entered under the heading "Residing in the SFRY as ..." in the alien identity card being issued to the alien referred to in Article 84 of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals.

Article 16

Upon leaving the SFRY an alien who has been issued an alien identity card must deliver the alien identity card to the agency competent to issue the identity card at the place of his permanent or temporary residence in the SFRY.

Article 17

Alien identity cards which have been replaced, confiscated or returned shall be destroyed in the presence of a commission. An official record shall be kept of the destruction of alien identity cards.

If an alien identity card has been replaced or confiscated by an agency which did not issue that alien identity card, it shall so inform the agency which did issue the alien identity card for purposes of deletion from the records.

4. Notification of Loss or Disappearance of a Travel Document, an Alien Identity Card or Other Document Proving Identity

Article 18

In the notification made to the competent agency of the disappearance or loss of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity the foreign national must state the following: the circumstances under which he lost the document or under which the document disappeared; the type of document, the name of the agency which issued the document, and, if possible, the number of the document as well; the circumstances, time and place when the document was last used: place of temporary or permanent residence in the SFRY; the border crossing and time of his entry into the SFRY and the conveyance used, and also other circumstances and facts which might make it easier to find the lost or vanished document.

When reporting the disappearance or loss of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity the foreign national shall show to the official of the agency to whom the loss or disappearance of the document is being reported some other document by which the official can establish his identity.

Article 19

The official of the agency to which a foreigner has reported disappearance or loss of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity shall establish the identity of the foreigner and the legality of his sojourn in the SFRY and shall check the truthfulness of the facts stated in the report. Note shall be taken on establishment of the foreigner's identity, on ascertainment of the legality of his sojourn in the SFRY and on the check into the facts stated in the report.

If he cannot immediately establish the foreigner's identity and the legality of his sojourn in the SFRY and cannot immediately verify the truthfulness of the statements in the report, the official referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall order the foreigner to remain at the place where he has reported the loss or disappearance of the travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity until his identity is established.

Article 20

If a foreign national has reported the loss or disappearance of an alien travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, an alien identity card or tourist pass, the agency to which the loss or disappearance has been reported shall request from the agency which issued the lost or vanished travel document notice as to whether that agency issued the travel document or alien identity card or tourist pass whose loss or disappearance has been reported.

The competent agency to which the disappearance or loss of a travel document issued by a competent agency of the SFRY or alien identity card has been reported, after ascertaining the foreigner's identity, the legality of his residence in the SFRY and the truthfulness of the facts stated in the report, shall issue a document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the travel document and shall instruct him to apply to the competent agency of the SFRY for issuance of a new travel document or alien identity card or shall issue him the document if it is competent to issue it.

The competent agency to whom a foreigner has reported the loss or disappearance of a tourist pass shall issue the foreigner a certificate certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the tourist pass and shall instruct him to apply to the agency which issued the tourist pass for issuance of a new tourist pass or shall instruct him to apply to the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national for issuance of a travel document.

Article 21

The competent agency to which the disappearance or loss of a foreign travel document has been reported, upon establishing the foreigner's identity, the legality of his residence and the truthfulness of the facts stated in the report, shall issue to the foreigner a document certifying report of the loss or disappearance of the travel document and shall instruct him to apply to the diplomatic or consular mission of the country of which he is a national or other

foreign diplomatic or consular mission representing its interests for the issuance of a travel document.

The certificate certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of a foreign travel document shall serve the foreigner in traveling to the foreign diplomatic or consular mission and for sojourn at the place where the diplomatic or consular mission is located until he obtains a travel document.

Article 22

If during proceedings related to report of the loss or disappearance of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity the vanished or lost document is found, it shall be delivered to the foreigner who reported its loss or disappearance, and procedures shall be terminated.

A foreign travel document which has been found and which could not be delivered to the foreigner named therein shall be delivered to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs for delivery to the diplomatic or consular mission of the foreign state which issued that document.

A document for a foreign national which has been found and which was issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, if it could not be delivered to the foreigner named therein, shall be delivered to the agency which issued that document.

Article 23

Should a foreign national find a travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, alien identity card or other document proving identity which he had lost or which had disappeared, he shall turn it over for cancellation to the agency which issued him another such document.

If a foreigner finds a foreign travel document which he had lost and which contains a valid Yugoslav visa, he shall submit it for cancellation of the Yugoslav visa to the agency which issued him a visa on a new travel document.

5. Issuance of Visas

Article 24

A foreign national shall apply for a visa in writing. The application shall be filed on Form No 6 [not included in this translation].

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent to monitor the crossing of the border may issue a visa to a foreigner on the basis of oral application.

The foreigner shall append to his application for issuance of a visa the travel document for which issuance of the visa is sought.

A foreigner who in the SFRY has lost his travel document or been left without it in some other manner, when applying for issuance of a visa on a new travel document, must append to that application the document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the travel document.

The foreigner referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article may submit application for issuance of the visa to the nearest agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of visas to foreigners.

Article 25

The official of the agency competent for issuance of visas to foreigners shall verify that the travel document on which the foreigner seeks issuance of a visa is in order and valid and shall check whether there are legal impediments to issuance of a visa.

The visa shall be issued by application of the prescribed stamp in the foreigner's travel document and shall be certified by the round seal and signature of the official of the agency issuing the visa.

The visa shall indicate the type of visa and shall state whether the visa is being issued for one, more than one or an unlimited number of trips, shall state the period of the visa's validity and shall give the date and place of its issuance. The number of the register of issued visas may also be entered in the visa.

The stamp of the visa is prescribed in Form No 7 [not included in this translation]. The visa stamp shall have its own number.

Article 26

Visas issued to foreigners may be of the following types:

1) entry-exit--for entry into the SFRY and return abroad;

2) exit-entry--for departure abroad and return to the SFRY;

3) exit--for departure from the SFRY;

4) transit--for crossing the territory of the SFRY.

Article 27

Visas issued by the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border shall be issued with the following period of validity:

1) to a foreigner to whom a diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY has issued a transit visa, when he is filing application for a visa for temporary residence--up to 3 months;

2) to a foreigner leaving the SFRY after expiration of the visa with which he entered the SFRY--up to 3 days;

3) to a foreigner who is embarking in a Yugoslav seaport or riverport to return to his country or to depart for some other foreign country--up to 7 days.

A transit visa issued by the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued for a period of validity up to 7 days.

Article 28

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border may, in the context of the provision of Article 22, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals, issue a visa to a national of a state with which the SFRY maintains diplomatic relations or who is coming to the SFRY for a tourist visit or who is crossing the territory of the SFRY.

The visa referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued only on a national travel document, for a single trip and with a period of validity up to 3 months.

Article 29

Visas issued by the agency in the republic or autonomous province shall be issued with the following period of validity:

1) to a foreigner leaving the SFRY after expiration of the validity of his visa--up to 7 days;

2) to a foreigner who has been granted permanent settlement in the SFRY and who is seeking a visa for departure abroad and return to the SFRY--up to 1 year;

3) to a foreigner who during temporary residence in the SFRY applies for a visa to depart abroad--with a period of validity which may not be longer than the period of validity of his temporary residence permit;

4) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals--up to 6 months;

5) to a foreigner emigrating from the SFRY--up to 6 months;

6) to a foreigner who in the SFRY has lost his travel document or been left without it in some other manner and who is leaving the SFRY with a new travel document or alien travel permit--up to 3 months;

7) to a foreigner who has been issued an alien travel permit to emigrate from the SFRY--up to 6 months;

8) to a foreigner who has entered the SFRY on a tourist pass and the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national has issued him a travel document--up to 3 months.

Article 30

The visa shall be canceled by stamping over the visa the word "CANCELED" in the foreigner's travel document.

III. Manner of Approval of Temporary Residence

Article 31

Temporary residence in the SFRY shall be permitted on the basis of the foreigner's written application. The application shall be submitted on Form No 8 [not included in this translation].

Application for extension of temporary residence shall be made before expiration of the period of temporary residence previously granted.

Article 32

A foreigner applying for the granting of temporary residence to attend school shall append to his application for issuance of the permit a certificate that he has the status of a pupil or fulltime student in an appropriate school or university in the SFRY.

Article 33

A foreign applying for a temporary residence permit for purposes of specialized study, training or practice shall append to his application for the permit the certificate of the organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or community, or government agency that his specialized study, training or practice in that organization or community or agency has been approved.

Article 34

A foreign national applying for a temporary residence permit for scientific research must append to his application the permit of the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province that he may conduct scientific research in the SFRY.

Article 35

A foreigner seeking a temporary residence permit for purposes of employment must append to his application the statement of the organization or individual referred to in Article 1 of the Law on Conditions for Establishment of the Employment Relation With Foreign Nationals (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 11, 1978) to the effect that it will establish an employment relation with the foreign national, if the foreigner obtains the permission of the competent agency to establish the employment relation.

Article 36

A foreigner applying for a temporary residence permit to carry on a particular professional activity requiring a special license shall append to his application the license for carrying on the particular professional activity which has been issued by the competent agency of the SFRY.

Article 37

When application for the temporary residence permit of the foreigner referred to in Articles 32 through 36 of this regulation is made by an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or community or government agency, the application shall also state the time and place of the foreigner's schooling, specialized study, training or practice, scientific research, employment, or practice of a particular professional activity, as well as the manner in which he has been assured means of support.

When application for a temporary residence permit is filed by the foreign national referred to in Articles 32 through 36 of this regulation, he must append to the application evidence that he has means of support or his support in the SFRY has been provided for in some other manner.

Certificate of the balance of the foreigner's bank account in a Yugoslav or foreign bank, the certificate of an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or community or government agency on the amount of his personal income or scholarship, or other document unquestionably proving the existence of the necessary means of support shall be taken as evidence in the context of Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 38

The agency competent to issue the temporary residence permit to a foreigner shall before issuing the permit check whether the foreigner possesses a valid travel document and whether he has reported his sojourn to the competent agency in the SFRY, whether the prescribed appendices have been filed with the application and whether there are legal impediments to issuance of the permit.

The official of the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may also require that the foreigner give information about the facts stated in the application which has been submitted.

Article 39

The temporary residence permit shall be issued by applying the prescribed stamp to the foreigner's travel document.

The stamp of the temporary residence permit is prescribed in Form No 9 [not included in this translation].

IV. Manner of Approval of Permanent Settlement

Article 40

Permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be granted upon the foreigner's written application. The application shall be submitted on Form No 10 [not included in this translation].

The application for permission to settle permanently in the SFRY shall be filed in person by the foreign national. Application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY for children shall be filed by one of the parents or guardian.

Application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be submitted in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia. The documents appended to the application which have been issued by the competent agency of the SFRY shall be submitted in the form of a certified copy, and foreign documents shall be submitted in the form of a certified translation into one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia. The official of the competent agency receiving the application may require that the foreigner show the originals of the documents whose copies or translations are appended.

The official of the agency competent to receive applications for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY may also call upon the foreigner to provide oral information on the facts alleged in the application.

Article 41

The foreigner must submit the following to accompany the application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY: abstract from the birth records, abstract from the marriage records (for married persons), health certificate, certificate on schooling and professional training and a statement proving that he possesses the means of support or that his support in the SFRY has been provided for in some other manner.

Article 42

The application for granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be submitted through the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides or through a diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY abroad.

Article 43

The agency which has received a foreigner's application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall verify the allegations in the application and shall deliver the application with its opinion to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs through the republic or provincial secretariat for internal affairs.

Article 44

The permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be issued on Form No 11 [not included in this translation].

Article 45

The permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY or the decision rejecting an application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be delivered to the foreigner through the agency to which he filed application or through the agency competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where he resides.

V. Manner of Recognition of the Right of Asylum

Article 46

The foreigner shall submit the application for recognition of the right of asylum in person through the agency and the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides or through a diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY abroad.

The application referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall contain the following: last name and first name, date and place of birth, nationality and occupation of the applicant, place of permanent residence in the country from which he has been driven, information on the members of his immediate family and the place of their residence, the grounds on which recognition of the right of asylum is being sought, a statement as to whether he has already sought protection of another state and other circumstances important to the granting of the right of asylum.

A foreigner's application for the granting of the right of asylum may also be made on the basis of the official record of an interview.

Article 47

The agency which has received a foreigner's application for recognition of the right of asylum shall check the allegations in the application and shall deliver the application along with its opinion to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs through the republic or provincial secretariat for internal affairs.

Article 48

The decision of the competent agency granting the right of asylum or the decision rejecting the application for recognition of the right of asylum shall be delivered to the foreigner through the agency to which he filed application or through the agency competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides.

VI. Manner of Recognition of Refugee Status

Article 49

The foreigner shall file application for recognition of refugee status in person, immediately after crossing the border through the nearest agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners.

The application for recognition of refugee status shall contain the following: last and first name, date and place of birth, nationality, the foreigner's ethnic origin and occupation, domicile in the country from which he is fleeing, circumstances under which he has come to the SFRY (time, place and manner of crossing the border), information on members of the immediate family and their domicile, information on relatives in the SFRY (if there are any) and their domicile, grounds on which recognition of refugee status is being sought and indication as to whether he has sought the protection of any other foreign state.

A foreigner's application for recognition of refugee status may also be taken on the basis of the official record of an interview.

The agency which has received an application for recognition of refugee status shall designate the place in which the foreigner must reside until a decision is made on his application.

Article 50

The agency which has received a foreigner's application for recognition of refugee status shall verify the allegations in the application and shall deliver the application with its opinion to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs through the republic or provincial secretariat for internal affairs.

Article 51

The decision granting refugee status or the decision rejecting the application for recognition of refugee status shall be delivered to the foreigner through the agency to which he submitted the application or through the agency competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides.

VII. Deportation of an Alien

Article 52

A stamp (Form No 12 [not included in this translation]) stating the date by which a foreigner must leave the territory of the SFRY and the period during which he may not again enter the SFRY shall be applied to the travel document of a foreigner against whom the safety measure of expulsion or the protective measure of deportation from the SFRY has been pronounced or whose residence in the SFRY has been canceled.

The stamp on cancellation of residence shall be applied to the travel document of the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article after the decision of the competent agency becomes final.

The stamp on cancellation of residence shall be applied alongside the Yugoslav visa, but if a visa is not required under international treaty--alongside the stamp of the agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the border recording the foreigner's last entry into the SFRY.

VIII. Notification of Commencement of Residence and Commencement and Termination of Domicile

Article 53

Notification of commencement of residence or domicile or notification of termination of domicile or notification of change of street address shall be made on Form No 13 [not included in this translation].

The notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made by the foreigner in person. Any adult member of the family may make the notification for members of the foreigner's family.

The notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must be neat and legibly filled out and must contain all the information prescribed for the form.

A certificate shall be issued to the foreigner certifying that notification has been made of commencement of residence or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address. The certificate shall be issued by the official of the competent agency or authorized person of the organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization furnishing lodgings to foreigners or authorized person of a tourist organization.

Article 54

In making notification of commencement of residence or change of street address the foreigner shall furnish the certificate and notification of prior residence or certificate on notification of termination of domicile.

Article 55

A person giving notice of commencement or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address shall enter information in the notification on the basis of one of these documents--foreign travel document, alien travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, alien identity card, foreign document used as the basis for issuing a tourist pass to the foreigner, certificate stating temporary retention or confiscation of a travel document or certificate certifying that the loss or disappearance of a travel document has been reported.

Article 56

The authorized individual of an organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization or individual offering lodging to a foreigner or person whom the foreigner has come to visit shall give notice of commencement of residence for foreigners using lodgings in an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or of an individual offering lodgings to foreigners for compensation and for a foreigner who has come to pay a visit.

Article 57

Should the authorized individual of the organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization or an individual offering housing to foreigners find that the travel or other document of the foreigner used for making notification is incorrect or improper, that its period of validity has expired, that the visa or temporary residence permit or tourist pass has expired, he shall make a note in the notification of commencement of residence and shall immediately inform the agency competent for notification of commencement of residence.

The authorized person or individual referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall also be mindful of expiration of the temporary residence of a foreigner to whom he is providing lodgings and shall warn him in good time of the expiration of that period.

Article 58

Foreigners who come to the SFRY in foreign boats or yachts intended for recreation or sport and who use lodgings on those boats or yachts shall make notification of their residence only in a seaport or riverport in which crossing of the border is monitored upon their entry into the SFRY.

The notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made through the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border.

Article 59

The official of the agency to which notification has been made of commencement of residence or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address of a foreigner shall verify the data entered in the notice and shall establish whether notification has been made within the period prescribed by law.

The official referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall check whether legal impediments exist to the foreigner's residence in the SFRY.

Article 60

Records on foreigners kept by an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or individual offering lodgings to foreigners--referred to as the book of foreigners--shall contain the following: last name and first name of the foreigner, nationality, type and number of travel or other document

of the foreigner, date up to which the foreigner has been granted residence in the SFRY; date and hour of the foreigner's arrival and departure.

The book of foreigners must be sewn and its pages numbered.

The date of commencement of the book's use shall be indicated on the title page of the book of foreigners, and the date of termination of keeping the book shall be entered on the last page.

Article 61

The competent agency shall certify the book of foreigners by entering the following on the last page of the book: "This book contains ___ (written out _____ _____) pages. The book is being kept by _____ in _____ _____ (town, street and number). It is registered as No ___." The seal of the agency shall be placed beneath this text, the text shall be certified and signed by the official.

Article 62

The book of foreigners shall be closed at the end of the calendar year or when all its pages have been filled.

The closing of a book of foreigners shall be noted on the page of the book beneath the last foreigner who has been entered or on the inside of the back cover if all the pages of the book have been filled.

Article 63

The agency competent for certifying the book of foreigners shall keep a register of the books of foreigners which it has certified. The register shall contain the following: the name of the organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization or last name and first name of the individual offering lodgings to foreigners and the date of the book's certification.

IX. Confiscation and Retention of Travel Documents of Foreigners

Article 64

The travel document of a foreigner which has been confiscated or temporarily retained shall remain in possession of the agency which issued the decision to confiscate the travel document or which issued the certificate on temporary retention of the travel document.

A travel document confiscated or temporarily retained shall be returned to the foreigner after cessation of the reasons for which the travel document was confiscated or temporarily retained.

If the security measure of expulsion from the country or the protective measure of deportation from the territory of the SFRY has been pronounced or if his residence in the SFRY has been canceled, the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of

this article, when returning the foreign travel document to the foreigner, shall apply a stamp in the document stating that residence in the SFRY has been canceled.

Article 65

The confiscated or temporarily retained travel document of a foreigner who has been sent to serve a prison sentence shall be delivered to the penal-correction institution to which the foreigner has been committed to serve his sentence.

The penal-correction institution in which the foreigner is serving his prison sentence, before the sentence has been served, shall deliver the foreign travel document to the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuing visas to foreigners where the institution is located so that a visa may be issued or statement entered on cancellation of residence in the SFRY.

X. Recordkeeping

Article 66

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border shall keep records on the following:

1) on visas issued to foreigners,

2) on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners.

Records on visas issued to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, nationality, the type and number of the foreigner's travel document, the type of visa, the visa's date of issuance and the visa's expiration date.

Records on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the type and number of the foreigner's travel document, the type of measure undertaken, the date when the measure was undertaken and the legal grounds for taking the measure.

Article 67

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province shall keep records on the following:

1) on travel documents and visas issued to foreigners (the refugee travel document, the stateless person travel document and the alien travel permit),

2) on permits issued for temporary residence in the SFRY,

3) on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners,

4) on travel documents or other documents of foreigners whose loss or disappearance has been reported,

5) on alien identity cards issued,

6) on notification of commencement of residence or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address,

7) on permanently settled foreigners,

8) on foreigners granted refugee status in the SFRY.

Article 68

Records on travel documents issued to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the foreigner's residence in the SFRY began, the date of issuance of the document, the type and number of the travel document issued, and the expiration date of the document issued.

Records on visas issued to foreigners shall contain the following: the visa's date of issuance, the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the type and number of the travel document on which the visa has been issued and the type of visa and its expiration date.

Article 69

Records on permits issued for temporary residence in the SFRY shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the foreigner's place of residence in the SFRY, his street address, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the foreigner's residence in the SFRY began, the type and number of the foreigner's travel document, the reason why the permanent residence permit is being sought, the decision made on the application, the date of issuance of the permit and the period of validity of the temporary residence granted.

Article 70

Records on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the measure was undertaken, the type of measure undertaken and the period in which the foreigner must leave the SFRY.

Article 71

Records on travel or other documents of foreigners whose loss or disappearance has been reported shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the report was filed, the type, and if possible also the number, of the document whose loss or disappearance is being reported, the manner in which the foreigner's identity was established, and the number and date of issuance of the document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the document.

Article 72

Records on alien identity cards issued shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, the foreigner's date and place of birth, his nationality, the status in which the foreigner is residing in the SFRY, the date of issuance of the alien identity card, the serial number of the alien identity card issued and the period of validity of the alien identity card.

The record referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be kept in the form of a card file. A photograph of the foreigner to whom an identity card has been issued shall be pasted on the card containing the information, and the prescribed fingerprint shall be fixed on the card as well. The card shall be signed by the foreigner and the authorized individual of the agency competent for issuing the identity card.

Article 73

Records on notification of commencement of residence or domicile (Article 67) or termination of domicile or change of street address shall be kept in the form of a card file. The notices which foreigners file with the competent agency on the prescribed form shall be entered in the card file.

Article 74

Records on permanently settled foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, the date, place and state of the foreigner's birth, his nationality, his occupation, the date of commencement of the foreigner's residence in the SFRY, the foreigner's domicile in the SFRY and his street address, the number and date of issuance of the permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY and the date and reason for deletion of the foreigner from the records (acquiring Yugoslav nationality, emigration, cancellation of his residence permit, death, etc.).

Article 75

Records on foreigners who have been granted refugee status in the SFRY shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, the date, place and state of the foreigner's birth, his nationality, his occupation, the date when the foreigner's residence in the SFRY began, the foreigner's domicile in the SFRY and his street address, the number and date of the decision granting refugee status, the date and grounds for deleting the foreigner from the records (acquiring Yugoslav citizenship, emigration, cancellation of residence permit, death, etc.).

XI. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 76

Forms Nos 1 through 13, as referred to in Articles 5, 7, 13, 14, 24, 25, 31, 39, 40, 44, 52 and 53 of this regulation have been printed to accompany this regulation [not included in this translation] and shall constitute an integral part of it.

Article 77

The present forms shall be used until the forms prescribed by this regulation are printed, but no later than 1 July 1982.

Article 78

The Regulation on Issuance of Documents for the Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals in Yugoslavia and on the Forms of Those Documents (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 37, 1973) shall cease to be valid on the day when this regulation takes effect.

Article 79

This regulation shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

Regulation No 26-1-3/48
Belgrade, 10 June 1981

Franjo Herljevic (signed)
Federal Secretary for
Internal Affairs

7045
CSO: 2800/329

END

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1920

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Romanian History Review Takes Issue With Bulgarian Historian
(Editorial Report) 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Armed Forces Political Head on Military Mission, Traditions
(Heinz Kessler Interview; TRIBUENE, 8 May 81) 2

Tactical Assault Helicopter Exercise Described
(Kuno Baaske; FLIEGER-REVUE, Jul 81) 8

POLAND

Wiejacz Views Chances for Detente in Europe
(SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, Mar 81) 11

Civil Defense Programs of Voivodships Described
(PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ, Mar, Apr 81) 18

Poznan Voivodship, by Ryszard Ronda
Biala Podlaska Voivodship, Jozef Piela Interview
Lodz Voivodship, by Jozef Niewiadomski

ROMANIA

Need To Utilize, Enrich National Creativity Stressed
(Ion Manzatu Interview; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 11 Aug 81). 33

YUGOSLAVIA

West German Comment on Situation in Kosovo
(Johann Georg Reissmueller; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE,
13 Aug 81) 36

Religious Clericalism Said To Spread Ethnic Hatred
(BORBA, 3 Aug 81) 40

ROMANIAN HISTORY REVIEW TAKES ISSUE WITH BULGARIAN HISTORIAN

[Editorial Report] An article by Petre Diaconu entitled: "Political Realities in the Lower Danube: Romanians, Byzantines, Bulgarians and Petchenegs," published in the Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE, monthly organ of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, Section for History and Archeology, June 1981, pages 1111-1133, discusses the following work by Bulgarian historian I. Bozhilov: "The Anonymous One of Hase. Bulgaria and Byzantium in the Lower Danube at the End of the 10th Century," published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia in 1979.

The following is a translation of excerpts from REVISTA DE ISTORIE's French resume of Diaconu's article:

While recognizing the merits of I. Bozhilov who rejects the thesis that the notes of the anonymous one were a falsification committed by Ch. B. Hase [a 19th century French Byzantologist who edited the notes], the author of the present study rejects the interpretations of the Bulgarian historian in this regard.

For example, I. Bozhilov believes that the Notes contain information regarding the presence of a Bulgarian population and of Bulgarian rule in Moldavia and Wallachia at the end of the 10th century. The thesis brings in some archeological "arguments." A close analysis of the text of these Notes authorizes us to state that, at the time, the regions mentioned were inhabited by Romanians, just as Dobrudja was, at that time and that the barbarians who attacked the region ruled by the Anonomyous One, probably located somewhere in Dobrudja, were Bulgarians. The proper interpretation of the information contained in the Notes gives us no information that "the leader north of the Danube" was the Bulgarian tsar Samuel, as I. Bozhilov believes. Instead, he was a Petcheneg chief since it was the time that the Petchenegs were taking political control of the lands north of the mouth of the Danube.

The author also points out the baselessness of the arguments invoked by I. Bozhilov to prove a Bulgarian presence in the Lower Danube dating from the 5th century or to show that the dukedoms of Transylvania, such as the one headed by Menumorut, constituted a proof of the domination of the Bulgarian state in this region of our country in the 10th century.

CSO: 2700/372

ARMED FORCES POLITICAL HEAD ON MILITARY MISSION, TRADITIONS

East Berlin TRIBUENE in German 8 May 81 p 5

[Holgar Arnold interview with Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy national defense minister and chief, political administration of the National People's Army (NVA): "The Protection of Peace Has Been Written Into Our Army's Genealogical Record, Or, What the NVA Soldiers Regard as Their Most Important Mission"]

[Text] Heinz Kessler was born in 1920 as the son of a class-conscious working class family in Laubau. In 1929 he joined the Red Young Pioneers in Chemnitz (which is today Karl-Marx-Stadt). From 1934 to 1937 he was trained as a machinist. He worked in this occupation until 1940. In 1940 Heinz Kessler was drafted into the fascist Wehrmacht. In keeping with his upbringing, he fought against fascism and only a few days after the beginning of fascist aggression against the Soviet Union, he joined the Red Army.

Heinz Kessler was one of the founders of the "Free Germany National Committee," which was formed by German communists, anti-fascists and prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. He took part in the Soviet Union's struggle against the fascist German imperialism.

After the liberation of the German people from fascism through the Soviet army and its allied forces in 1945, Heinz Kessler led the first anti-fascist youth committee of Berlin. After the founding of the Free German Youth, he became chairman of the FDJ leadership for Berlin and--even as far as taking over missions in the armed branches--secretary of the central council. After that Heinz Kessler earned merits in his service for the protection of the accomplishments of the first socialist state on German soil.

At first he was chief of the People's Police Air and held the rank of inspector general. After attending an academy in the Soviet Union, he was named chief of the air force/air defense in 1956. From 1967 to 1978, Col Gen Heinz Kessler was deputy national defense minister and chief of NVA headquarters. In

the beginning of January, 1979, he took over the functions of deputy national defense minister and chief, political administration of the NVA.

Since 1946 Heinz Kessler has been a member of the party leadership, i.e. of the SED Central Committee. In 1950 he was elected to the People's Chamber and has been its delegate since then. Heinz Kessler has been honored with high national and social awards of the GDR as well as of the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. He has received the Karl-Marx medal, the medal of the October Revolution, the Patriotic Merit Badge and the Scharnhorst medal.

[Question] Comrade Col Gen, what was written into the NVA's genealogical record 25 years ago, when the NVA was founded?

[Answer] The NVA was formed in a country in which the workers, under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary avant guarde, had already been in power for seven years. They had created their socialist state, which now began to organize for its protection against enemies from outside by forming a standing army. The army to be established could not receive any mission other than the mission of victorious workers and farmers who must defend the revolutionary achievements of the people. It was this which was--as you put it--written into the genealogical record.

This basic concern of our army is reflected--was reflected even while it was being founded--in the political composition of its officer corps. Of the 26 leading generals and admirals, 18 had belonged to the workers' movement before 1933. Seventeen had participated in the anti-fascist resistance struggle, nine of them in Spain, and five in the "Free Germany" movement, eight had been imprisoned by the fascists in concentration camps and penetentiaries. More than 85 percent of all officers were SED members or candidates in 1956.

[Question] The NVA did not stand alone...

[Answer] Of course not. When solving military problems, we could depend on the Soviet army's vast experience, the knowledge of Soviet military science, and the constant, immediate practical help of Soviet comrades, who were at that time advisors to the NVA. The GDR armed forces were formed and developed from the very start with its role and mission in the international Socialist military coalition, which had come into existence with the Warsaw Pact, in mind. The brotherhood-in-arms relations, which grew out of this, were and still are important, not only for quickly achieving military mastery. Above all, they are a source of military and moral strength. They let members of the NVA experience the strength of our alliance, the reliability and loyalty of the brothers-in-arms, as was the case, e.g., during the "Brotherhood-in-Arms 80" maneuvers of the "Sojus 81" commando staff exercises.

[Question] The peace mission of the Socialist armed forces has been proven many times through history. Can you name a few examples of this?

[Answer] If we had been successful for more than 35 years in containing the aggressive imperialist forces militarily, and in maintaining peace in our continent, then we must primarily thank the socialist community and its military power. The USSR and its armed forces carried the main burden. The combat strength and combat readiness of the allied socialist armies has a sobering effect on the imperialist aggressors. We have experienced how, e.g., in 1961 the firm attitude of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal nations of our alliance prevented a threatening imperialist aggression in the heart of Europe and supported GDR security measures on 13 August. Let's remember the prevention of war in 1962. The USSR and the other Warsaw Pact nations at that time forced the United States with appropriate military measures to renounce the use of military force against Cuba. In 1968 also, the NATO powers were not successful in breaking Czechoslovakia out of the Socialist community, because the Soviet army, the NVA and other fraternal armies defended the interests of that country as if they were their own. All this makes it clear that the Socialist armed forces represent a significant weight on the scale of peace.

[Question] Traditions also say much about the essence of our army...

[Answer] That is completely right. The NVA conserves and continues the progressive military traditions of German history, of the history of the international workers' movement and of the brotherhood-in-arms in the military coalition. The highest military award of the GDR, e.g., bears the name of von Scharnhorst. Regiments, barracks, ships and boats are named after heroes of the anti-fascist resistance struggle and of the Great Patriotic War, of the revolutions of 1848 and 1918, or after true patriots who fought against Napoleonic oppression.

[Question] What do you think of the so-called eternal soldier's virtues, such as courage, bravery, aggressiveness, and a sense of comradery?

[Answer] "Eternal" military virtues are a demagogical invention of the bourgeois military. With this they want to cover up the crimes which were committed by their exploitative armies, which even include genocide. In this way, fascist war criminals are considered acceptable in the Bundeswehr, i.e. progressive traditions are being misused. The Bundeswehr soldier is being manipulated with "eternal" models. It by no means concerns courage and bravery "in themselves," but rather the question "what for, and against what?" The virtues of the soldier of a socialist army therefore show in his conscious dedicated to socialism, for the protection of the achievements of the working people.

[Question] The NVA has not had to prove itself the way the Soviet army had to. How does the NVA soldier measure how he fulfills his military duties?

[Answer] So far we have been successful in preventing a war in Europe. The NVA soldiers have played their part in this during the past quarter of a century. At the same time we must not overlook the fact that members of our armed forces must prove themselves even today. I am thinking of the deployment force of the air force/air defense at sea. These are missions which must be fulfilled to secure our air space and our sea borders in the Baltic against forces of the GDR and other NATO armies.

The joint maneuvers of the united Warsaw Pact forces represent difficult tests of conscious acts of political and military responsibility. Combat worthiness is accounted for in these maneuvers. And finally, the soldier must prove himself every day--in combat training, during guard duty, in his mastery of combat technology, during training for combat readiness, in the field as well as in the classroom. The measures of his achievement are the party's decisions, the orders and demands of his superiors for the fulfillment of the training programs and norms in combat training, as they are laid down in the appropriate regulations.

[Question] How can the soldier of a socialist army prove courage and bravery in peacetime?

[Answer] Many members of the Free German Trade Union Federation, who have served in our army, could answer this question from their own experience. The soldier is trained in courage and bravery during combat training in all branches of service, so that he can survive in armed combat, when it is a matter of life or death. I am thinking, e.g., of the motorized infantrists, when they have to overcome phosphorus fires or have a tank roll over them. Or take the maneuver formation flying of the fighter bombers, or naval missions in rough seas. In addition there are exceptional cases, as the saving of human lives and technology during salvage and catastrophy missions.

[Question] In which characteristics and skills does the NVA officer of the 1980's excel?

[Answer] The profession of an officer is a vocation in the truest sense of the word. Whoever follows it needs solid class consciousness, party loyalty, a firm internationalistic attitude and extensive military knowledge and skills. In view of the coming years, two things seem to me to be especially important in this connection. First of all, it is the urge and the ability of the officer to react quickly to everything new. Our armed forces are developing rapidly. New realizations must be adapted to constantly, because processes are under way which affect all aspects of military life. The officer of the 1980's must therefore be a very creative person, who helps direct and further these processes.

Secondly, I would like to emphasize the officer's ability to inspire his men to enthusiasm for the missions to be solved, to stimulate them, to sweep them along and to lead them to do their very best. Socialist troop leadership is above all leadership of men. This fact is decisive for the NVA officer, whether he is a commander, staff officer, political officer or specialist.

[Question] During the past year, the international situation has obviously become more critical. How, Comrade Col Gen, do you judge this situation?

[Answer] The communist party of the Soviet Union, the SED and also other fraternal parties have unanimously evaluated the international situation during their latest party congresses. Imperialism has begun a counter offensive in order to escape the historical defensive position. Aggressive forces of the monopoly capital world obviously believe that they have found the way in superior military strength with which the advance of socialism, its growing international influence and also the national liberation movements can be stopped, i.e. destroyed.

For that reason, they start insane arms programs, such as NATO's long-term program, the United States' intensive arms program, the stationing of American medium-range missiles in NATO countries of Western Europe. The emphasis lies on, among other things, the introduction of new strategic offensive weapons--the MX intercontinental ballistic missile equipped with multiple warheads and a new long-range bomber and the building of additional war ships. The forming of the so-called American intervention force is accelerated. This is a machinery of aggression designated for development in the Near East and East. The United States tries to force their NATO partners with massive pressure to introduce the neutron bomb into the arsenal of means of mass destruction.

Important to the imperialists is the military superiority over socialism as a basis for unrestrained and brutal power politics which calculates on war. This makes the struggle for peace, based on the suggestions submitted by the Sixteenth Party Congress to the communist party of the Soviet Union even more urgent.

[Question] How is it that voices appear in the FRG which cry loudly along with the others for more and more, and more modern weapons?

[Answer] German imperialism, as a consequence of the combination of historical, political and economic factors, has always been especially aggressive and rapacious. After its striking defeat in World War II, it was able, on part of the territory of the former German empire, not only to restore itself with the help of the victorious Western powers, especially of the United States, but finally to become the first among the capitalist nations in Europe. Those in political, economic and military power use the FRG's monopoly bourgeoisie in order to check history, to reestablish their rule within 1937 borders. The most aggressive among them openly count on military force, on the course of war of the United States and of NATO.

[Question] For that reason, the overwhelming majority of our Republic's young men understand the necessity for socialist armed forces and fulfills its obligation with a sense of responsibility. But here and there are some who--especially when it concerns extended duty--shrink from the harshness of military service. What do you say to that?

[Answer] You are asking two questions. The harshness of military service is undisputed. But tens of thousands of draftees prove year after year that the better one is prepared for them--especially in the Society for Sport and Technology, but also in the Free German Youth, and in labor union collectives--the better one can meet the psychological and physical demands of active service.

As far as extended service is concerned, we see this also as a question of preparation. It concerns an understanding of the necessity, a deeper understanding of the importance of socialist national defense, and especially the armed forces. Union collectives can and must contribute to this also out of a sense of responsibility. We know that this is done successfully in many places, but also that more could be done.

[Question] A few weeks ago the Tenth SED Party Congress took place. Delegates of military party organizations took part also. What results were they, as NVA representatives, able to report?

[Answer] In summary, it is the fulfilled military class mission given to our armed forces by the Ninth Party Congress. Hidden behind this brief statement are great achievements by members of the armed forces in combat training and the struggle for growing combat readiness of companies, regiments and divisions of all branches of service. The NVA was judged by the Tenth SED Party Congress to be a modern, combat worthy socialist coalition army, which has always justified the trust of the party of the working class and of the entire nation. This high estimation obligates us to make our contribution to the reliable protection of socialism and of peace in the future also, and to always be combat-ready in the socialist military coalition.

9328
CSO: 2300/304

TACTICAL ASSAULT HELICOPTER EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin FLIEGER-REVUE in German No 7, Jul 81 pp 305-307

[Article by Lt Col Kuno Baaske, Air Forces/Air Defense Command (LSK/LV), member, FLIEGER-REVUE editorial board: 'National People's Army (NVA): To the Other Bank']

> [Text] Accomplishments in the military safeguarding of peace by members of the NVA were part of the successes reported at the Tenth SED Party Congress. Every day they struggle for greater combat strength and combat readiness and thus fulfill the promise given by General Heinz Hoffmann at the party congress, that our party, our people and our allies will always be able to rely on them.
>
> Our author, Lt Col Kuno Baaske, witnessed one exercise where one NVA helicopter unit mastered a difficult task.

Thick clouds are hanging over the airport. Lt Col Paul Liefeld, wing commander, looks up to the sky and says: "Difficult weather, and visibility is not going to improve." A shrugging of shoulders. It probably means that there is nothing one can do about the weather. After the last airborne soldier has taken a seat in the cockpit of the Mi-8 helicopter, the door is shut. A few minutes before the planned take-off, the engines roar. The powerful lifter propeller begins to turn. The helicopter trembles slightly, rocking on its shock absorbers. We roll over the lawn to the starting point. First our chain, then the entire wing.

At precisely the right second the machine vibrates under full engine power. We lift off and climb 2 or 3 meters. We stay in place. A slight vibration. Now the cockpit tilts forward, and finally the Mi-8 thunders across the field with full force. The machines to the right and to the left, as I observed immediately, follow exactly. Now the unit builds a formation in the air. Lt Col Liefeld is flying with an experienced crew: the second helicopter pilot, 1st Lt Gerald Boenig, has proven himself several times, also 1st Sgt Herbert Georgi, the flight technician. They have practical experience with combat technology as well as good theoretical knowledge. But in spite of this, today's combat mission is difficult. In spite of the unexpectedly bad weather, the ground forces must be supported while crossing the river by air attacks on enemy positions on the other bank and airborne troops must be put down. This is the combat mission to which they must be totally dedicated. We are not flying at too great an altitude, perhaps 200 m.

Above us loom almost threateningly dense clouds, parts of them seeming to reach for us from time to time. Visibility? Possibly 2 km. Commander Liefeld looks briefly to the "No. 2," who is just putting a finger on the map and calling out the name of a town.

General Boenig is a master of navigation. He is a first class helicopter pilot and is used to flying complicated exercises. With concentration he observes the terrain, repeatedly he reports striking features or elevations to the commander.

Paul Liefeld listens attentively, just now learns from the flight technician that temperatures, fuel pressure and exhaust gas temperatures are normal. Herbert Georgi, the flight mechanic, is also always reliable, has been so for many years.

"It is a pleasant feeling, to have such a good crew," says the commander.

He himself has worn the uniform for more than two decades. Paul Liefeld is a first class helicopter pilot. He began in the 1950's with an SG-38 training glider of the Society for Sports and Technology.

Suddenly there is a jolt in the helicopter. I am a little afraid, and I look around in surprise. "An evasive maneuver," says the man across from me, a tall airborne soldier. He is familiar with this and smiles at me with understanding.

Now we race across the earth at an altitude of 15 to 20 m. It seems that we can reach the tree tops. Every elevation in the terrain, every group of trees is used for cover, in order to lead the wing as unnoticably as possible to the crossing. There is radio silence.

The second helicopter on the right suddenly disappears behind some trees. Minutes later, out in the open over a field, the unit is together again. An almost blind understanding, it seems to me. Not even a command was given.

During flight preparation on the previous day, the crews had of course acted it all out, had studied the course of the terrain, the flight path, exactly, and had carefully worked up the documentation in accordance with it. Comrade Liefeld did not dismiss anyone without having first carefully tested him. Their past successes are the result of the hard and tireless work of each individual.

Yes, theory is important, because--according to Paul Liefeld--"even an identical task is never identical, even when I have already flown the course several times." He is thinking of the weather conditions. How fast they can change. And combat conditions can change equally fast. Comrades Boenig and Georgi suddenly pay even closer attention to the surface below. Visibility has gotten even worse. The area of operation is getting closer, and there is a command to regroup for combat. Take the front.

"Switch on weapons system," Comrade Boenig signals, while he does not let the altimeter out of his sight. There--the river. Gray and muddy, it flows on and on. I look out of the porthole and see one of the helicopters next to us. The two pilots in the neighboring helicopter are just as clearly recognizable as are the brightly shining missile containers. And there, beneath me, I can see, in a cloud of dust, the tank and amphibious tank columns racing at high speed toward the river.

Suddenly the helicopter tilts to its side. The formation appears to be literally dissolving.

"Distance 1,200 m," I hear from No. 2. An order is given. "Manuever combat curve." The helicopters race towards the target area.

Comrade Liefeld concentrates on the viser: "Correct angle of elevation, target latitude in the net. 1,000 m." He hears the "combat ready" from 1st Sgt Herbert Georgi, the flight mechanic. And immediately afterwards he pushes the combat button. For a fraction of a second, while the unguided missiles discharge, one can hear the silvergray containers rumbling on the outside.

Our machinegun is firing, and with my bare eyes I can see the impacts on the earth, smoke, water fountains. The other helicopters of the formation are approaching just as fast, and hundreds of missiles hit the opposite bank. Just as in a dive, we veer off to the left in a sharp curve. The repeat attack from another course is begun. Everywhere around I see tactical assault helicopters. Who can find his way around here? Beneath is the dark river. Again the Mi-8 goes on its computated course, and the crew uses the weapons effectively on this second attack flight also. The assault on the opposite bank by the ground forces is prepared. A no less complicated task begins now for the Liefeld wing: Putting down the airborne troops, which must follow immediately.

I look attentively at the faces of the comrades, who are checking over their equipment once more. These men are filled with concentration. But in spite of the tension caused by the imminent landing and combat mission, they radiate tranquility. One thing is certain: these well-trained fighters will give their best in doing their part for the success of the operation.

The helicopters slowly approach the bank, the landing place. The Mi-8's descend like hornets. While the heavy propellers are still hissing through the air, the men jump out of the door in their camouflaged fatigues. They barely have solid ground under their feet, when they begin to charge and open fire with their machine pistols. They disappear from my sight in the smoke of the battlefield.

The flight mechanic quickly closes the door of our helicopter, there is a short moment of hovering, and seconds later we fly off above the river. Soon the entire formation has found together and regrouped. Behind us now the dark river, which is already being crossed by the first tanks. Sweat runs from the forehead of the three comrades in the cockpit. The tensions and efforts of the past minutes become evident.

9328
CSO: 2300/301

WIEJACZ VIEWS CHANCES FOR DETENTE IN EUROPE

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 3, Mar 81 pp 7-14

[Text] The Polish nation entered the 1980's under the pressure of events of historical magnitude. The phenomena of deep political, social, and economic crises as well as the process of the socialist renewal of Poland are accompanied by a complex international situation, full of tensions. In fact, the events in Poland and their possible international implications have been listed among the most important events of the past year. Interest abroad in the Polish events--an interest characterized by friendliness and multifaceted assistance in the case of the socialist countries, or an interest motivated by designs contrary to our raison d'etat in the case of certain political circles in the West--is a direct result of Poland's position in the politico-military commonwealth of socialist states and in the post-war configuration of political forces in Europe. This interest is, then, a function of the current configuration of the East-West relations. This has to be understood.

At this point we do not know yet how the meeting of the CSCE states-participants in Madrid will end, and which direction in political practice will be favored by the new administration in the United States. Nevertheless, we must pose a question whether the international situation will foster the continuation of the renewal process, or whether tensions in the East-West relations, particularly in Europe, will not hamper, if not stop completely this process. However, before we attempt to answer this question it is necessary to make one general assumption, that is realize the fundamental truth that while the international situation influences the course of our current internal affairs, the course of these affairs impacts on the state of the political relations in Europe. The 7th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee clearly stated that the task of renewal begun in Poland of socio-political life will also foster the strengthening of our ties with allies as well as the political stability in Europe.

The choice of paths for renewal is directly related to the general political climate in the East-West relations, a climate which in the second half of 1980 continued to show the prevalence of detente trends over tension and confrontation tendencies. Also, the prospects of the renewal process depend on the conditions for continuing the policy of detente and universal cooperation between the East and the West. Hence, the involvement of Poland in activities concerning detente, normalization, and stabilization of situation as well as cooperation

in Europe--so common for the Polish foreign policy throughout the entire post-war period--finds now even more concrete expression by relating even more national security interests to domestic needs.

This system of mutual relations and mutual influences presents a great chance in itself, but also a great responsibility. This means that despite economic problems, which will be present for a prolonged period, Poland can still fulfill a vital part in shaping the situation on the European continent as well as in continuing and deepening the changes characteristic for Europe in the 1970's.

I

The decade of the 1980's presents itself as a complex period in the development of the international situation, both on a regional scale in Europe as well as globally. The 1970's were a period of strengthening and concretization of the policy of peaceful coexistence, broadening of cooperation, growth of mutual trust and of growing hopes for achieving concrete progress in efforts aimed at disarmament. The end of the 1970's did not fulfill many of these expectations, and in East-West relations, particularly in U.S.-Soviet relations, the confrontation tendencies began to dominate. The arms race, which has always been the exemplification and function of more general tendencies in the politics of the main actors on the international stage and of the growing distrust in mutual relations, reached the level threatening the lasting results of detente policy, international security, and peace. The arms race has entered a phase which threatens the security of all nations.

The continuing and intensifying arms race is above all the consequence of the doctrine adopted by the leading circles of the North Atlantic Pact and pointing to the absolute necessity of restoring by the NATO as a whole, and particularly by the United States, military superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries. The politico-military power centers in the United States seem to withdraw from treating the Soviet Union as a partner in politico-military agreements (treaties) on the most fundamental security matters on both the global and regional (e.g., European) scales. The questioning by the United States of the right to presence and participation of the Soviet Union in the solving of burning problems in various regions of the world had to bring about a lessening of mutual trust in relations between these two great powers.

The European situation at the end of the 1970's was particularly negatively affected by the December 1979 NATO decision to place new types of medium range of American nuclear missiles in Europe. This decision ought to be seen in the broader context of the evolution of the NATO military doctrines envisaging the possibility of limited nuclear war in Europe. This decision--if it comes to fruition--will place a big question mark over the European policy of detente and cooperation in the decade ahead.

The question arises: how durable is detente without disarmament? What are the limits of immunity of the detente and cooperation processes to the armament decisions of the NATO countries which destabilize the military balance between

the East and the West? The starting point for the discussion and formulation of an answer should be the ascertaining of the factual situation to which the above questions referred to. That is a statement--often expressed by the socialist countries, e.g. in the Warsaw Declaration of States-Parties of the Warsaw Pact of May 1980, or in the communique on the meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee of the States-Parties of the Warsaw Pact which took place in October 1980 in Warsaw--that it is impossible to continue the policy of detente and cooperation without achieving a visible progress in the field of arms race stoppage and in disarmament. It can be noted with satisfaction that this statement is presently widely understood, more widely than only a few years ago. This can be exemplified by the discussion at the last session of the UN General Assembly as well as by growing support for the idea of organizing a conference on military relaxation of tension and disarmament in Europe. This can be a source of some optimism for the future.

II

Unfortunately, the rich content policy of detente in Europe of the 1970's has not only failed to bring about disarmament, but has been accompanied by an intensified arms race, which may bury this policy altogether. No level of the disarmament negotiations has brought any progress, even in terms of reflecting the unquestionable results of detente in the political sphere. The states and nations of the world have harbored particularly great hopes for the Soviet-American dialog on the limiting nuclear and strategic armaments. The termination of this dialog as a result of the American postponement of ratification of the Soviet-American treaty on strategic arms limitations (SALT II) has had a negative effect both on the disarmament negotiations in other areas and on entire East-West relations. One may hope that the administration of President Reagan will show more consistency in the dialog with the USSR on limiting nuclear and strategic arms. This dialog--which is of fundamental importance for progress in the sphere detente in the East-West relations--will certainly have a positive impact on the entire relations between the two big powers as well. Poland, like other states sincerely interested in continuing the process of detente, gives total support to the dialog and complete normalization of relations between the USSR and the United States of America.

On the European scale, the most important problem in the field of broadly understood military detente is to achieve progress in the strife for stopping nuclear-missile armaments on our continent.

As it is known, in the fall of 1980 Soviet-American talks on this subject were held in Geneva. We hope that also in this area the present American administration will aim to achieve concrete positive results. There is no shortage of signs from the Soviet side that it is ready to act with the aim of preventing escalation of nuclear-missile armaments in Europe. The results of the dialog will decide the fate of any action on military detente on our continent. A progress in this dialog will help the Vienna negotiations on reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, negotiations which despite their 7-year duration and important political function have not brought concrete agreements.

It can be assumed--considering the present situation probably very optimistically, and yet realistically as well--that this year three levels of disarmament negotiations directly affecting our continent will crystallize: Soviet-American talks on nuclear missile weapons in Europe; Vienna negotiations on armed forces and armament reductions in Central Europe--focusing particularly on conventional forces; and all-European negotiations in the form of a conference on military detente and disarmament on our continent, a conference which in its first stage will primarily focus on the question of broadly understood means to build trust.

Presently, the most vividly debated problem is the European disarmament conference (KOMiR). The socialist countries await the decision by the Madrid Meeting to call such conference. Specific proposals in this respect were presented by Poland in December 1980 in Madrid. They express the position of the socialist countries. Other countries such as members of political-military alliances as well as neutral and nonaligned ones have also presented their own proposals. Although they differ among themselves, sometimes on major issues--e.g. on the character and territorial range of confidence building measures--we do believe that there is a real chance to reach an agreement on calling such conference.

The struggle for progress in the sphere of broadly understood military detente is presently the front line of struggle not only for the shape and content of the detente process, but also for the defense of results of the detente policy of the 1970's. We hope that the progress in the sphere of military detente will bring about an end to the escalation of armaments along with all positive consequences, including economic ones, as well as to bring about a reduction in the role of the military factor in the East-West relations which is an indispensable premise to mitigate dangers inherent in the politico-military divisions in Europe, and thus encourage greater participation of medium-size and small countries on our continent. Poland, like all other states-members of the Warsaw Pact, aims at making the 1980's the decade of limited armaments and of disarmament. This aim was solemnly proclaimed on the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact in the Declaration of its Political Consultative Committee of 15 May 1980. This is a further expression of consistent desire on the part of these countries to continue the detente process and to strengthen international security.

III

The continuing arms race and mutual distrust between opposing politico-military alliances are in the current international situation phenomena with the greatest potential for negative consequences. East-West relations, despite numerous gains in the area of cooperation, still continue to exhibit the deep divisions, confrontations, and rivalries. Moreover, other sources of potential and real conflicts and tensions have appeared: increased differences in the standard of living between "rich North" and "poor South," food and demographic problems in the Third World, ecologic and energy problems. Many of them have been observed in Europe, and in our country as well. They will certainly have an impact on the international scene. Historically, economic reasons have always been the source of tensions and conflicts. That is why the existing situation and dangers

ought to encourage, if not force governments and societies to cooperate and look for a common denominator such as the common interest of mankind. Thus the coming years will be filled--if we accept the optimistic variant--with searching for solutions to problems and phenomena adversely affecting societies, states, and continents.

The decade of the 1980's will present itself as the period of increased hopes and practical actions in the direction of increased cooperation and shared responsibility for the development of international lives of all countries. The symptoms of this can be seen already today, particularly at the United Nations which has presently over 150 states as its members. Every new member, after obtaining formal independence, strives to free itself from various forms of neo-colonial and factual dependence, and to real participation in shaping international relations.

In regard to the European continent, the principle of participation and shared responsibility is an inherent part of the process begun in Helsinki in 1975. The postulate or even imperative of democratization of international relations come out of the cultural heritage of the European nations, and out of the richness of their historical experience, sometimes a very bitter one. The opinions heard in the West about the decline in importance of the CSCE Final Act have no foundations and are used to undermine or distort the meaning of the process begun in Helsinki. The Final Act still should be treated as the basis of a long-term process of building a durable system of security and cooperation in Europe as an instrument of active work of all of its signatories for detente, disarmament, and cooperation. Nonallied and other medium- and small-size states see in the CSCE process also a chance for a stronger affirmation of their existence and of making a greater contribution to the shape of contemporary Europe and to the emphasizing of her identity. The socialist countries have always been against the policy of dividing Europe into two antagonistic politico-military alliances. On numerous occasions they have expressed their readiness to dissolve the Warsaw Pact provided that it is accompanied by a simultaneous dissolution of NATO, and as the first step in this direction they proposed limiting of military activities of both alliances and liquidation of their military organizations. These proposals have not been accepted by the other side. But even in the current conditions the CSCE states-participants do not want to allow further European divisions in various areas of life. They strive to come up with mutually agreeable steps which will have contributed to the increase of mutual trust, and in more distant future to the increase of chances of acting together in order to solve the most difficult problems facing mankind. The awareness of common fate and the acceptance of the necessity to cooperate are indispensable conditions for the solution of common problems of a given continent or of the entire globe.

The perspectives of the currently held Meeting in Madrid--a very important form of many-sided continuation of the CSCE process--depend most of all on the development of the general international situation and on shaped by this political will of its participants. If there is no unexpected international event, one can expect certain--modest perhaps, but still greater than in Belgrade-- results of the Meeting. They will be contained, among others, in the decision

starting the process leading to the European disarmament conference (an important activity of the European countries aiming at complementing political detente by military detente), and in agreements on increased cooperation in such fields as energy, environmental protection, culture, and education. One cannot also exclude new agreements in the humanitarian field such as uniting families, allowing mixed marriages which ease the movement of persons, etc.

The continuation of the CSCE process does not take place in isolation from events and processes taking place in other parts of the world. It is practically impossible, then, to completely protect the achievement to date of the detente process in Europe and its further development from negative influences of tensions and rivalries occurring outside Europe. Being aware of the fact that in the present configuration of political forces in the world the pragmatic usefulness of the thesis of indivisibility of detente is rather very limited, we are decisively against the thesis of indivisibility of tensions. We have done and continue to do everything to realize the idea of creating all-European system of security and cooperation on our politically divided continent. We also contribute to the peaceful solution of conflicts outside Europe honoring the necessity to guarantee all nations their irrefutable right to independence and free growth.

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The most fundamental and elementary function of the state is to guarantee a nation internal and external security. The Polish People's Republic considers her main task to secure for her country and society peaceful conditions for growth. Our country has subordinated all instruments of her foreign policy to this fundamental task.

Peaceful foreign policy of our country--which is conducted with maximum involvement--has a deep historical justification; it draws conclusions from tragic and painful experiences of the nation. The Polish nation, which has a very special attitude toward its history and which identifies with its heroic and independence trends, considers such policy as its own and irrefutable treasure. The feature which has characterized the political outlook of the Polish society in the entire postwar period was the unanimity in giving the highest priority to the involvement of the people's state in the activity to achieve international security and peace. This unanimity is one of the most valuable achievements in the history of the postwar Poland. Natural differences in views on various internal affairs have not and do not weaken this unanimity.

The result of political education of our society during the 36 postwar years is its complete awareness of Poland's place in the European power structure as an important element in the balance of power on this continent. The weakening of this element as a result of activities leading to crisis situations in Poland creates a danger of violating the entire political structure in Europe as well as undermines durability of the order established at the Yalta conference, and confirmed at Potsdam and at the conference in 1975 at Helsinki.

A particularly important element of this collective wisdom of the nation is its complete understanding of the importance of Poland's alliances for her security and universal growth, of her unshakeable place in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and

of the importance of her friendship ties and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist states. In divided Europe, Poland's place is on the socialist side. At the same time we try--within our powers--to mitigate these European divisions, and to deepen the feeling of common fate among European nations and states, which are based on the assumption that Poland's security is related to the security of the entire European continent.

In the nationwide debate on the state of our affairs which has been continuing for months now no authentic political force in Poland and no segment of the Polish society--if we disregard the few individuals who are either injudicious or hostile to the socialist system--has not challenged the fundamental values and directions of our foreign policy. Thus, the concern on the part of the socialist states, particularly our neighbors, but also in other European states, is caused not by a challenge of the Polish foreign policy within the framework of the socialist renewal movement in Poland--because such challenge has not taken place and is not taking place now--but most of all by the lack of social and economic stability. Thus, it is not a paradox, but a logical consequence of a universal belief, that the Polish raison d'etat viewed today through the prism of Polish relations with abroad is today the basic element keeping our society together. The line of understanding covers today above all the preservation and maintaining of political capital, which we have gained--both on domestic and international levels--through our activities on the international stage, an activity which has won our Motherland respect and approval in the community of socialist states and in the entire international community.

January 1981.

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CIVIL DEFENSE PROGRAMS OF VOIVODSHIPS DESCRIBED

Poznan Voivodship

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 20-33

[Article by Col Ryszard Ronda, chief of the Poznan Voivodship Civil Defense Inspectorate: "Some Experiences From Civil Defense Activity on the Territory of Poznan Voivodship"]

[Text] Recently, we celebrated the 24th anniversary of Civil Defense (CD) of the Polish Peoples Republic. We surveyed our achievements in the CD arena, and determined the direction of our further activity. We noted with satisfaction that the past years were a period of considerable achievements and innovative solutions. Continued development and strengthening of CD necessitates the intensification of our work, and its elevation to a higher level. The use of innovative forms and methods of operation can play a considerable role in obtaining optimal results.

For this reason also, it is indispensable that they be presented in the columns of PREZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ, so that they may be circulated through the country and used advantageously by all parties concerned. In this publication, I am trying to present to the readers certain experiences from CD activity in Poznan Vojevodship.

Functioning of the Voivodship CD Personnel Training Center

In the totality of CD missions carried out within each voivodship, the proper training of leadership personnel and CD forces play a very substantive role. Cognizant of the great importance of personnel training within the staff of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate after having studied the economic-organizational conditions and capabilities, it is searching for various solutions to this problem. The most suitable one turned out to be the formation of a Voivodship CD Personnel Training Center based physically at a suitable labor establishment or institution. We found such a base with a suitable infrastructure, large enough for the training center.

Pursuant to the appropriate decisions and concluded agreements, the Voivodship CD Personnel Training Center was set up in the facilities of a veterinary hospital. It

has ten rooms with sleeping accomodations for two or three persons apiece that are rated in Category I according to the standards of the GKKFiT [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism], fully equipped rooms used also as libraries and reading rooms, lecture halls which accomodate 30, and storage areas for training support purposes.

In view of its location in the proximity of the Group of Agricultural Schools in Wrzesnia, it simultaneously functions as an instruction base for defense training teachers of intermediate schools and postgraduate studies of the veterinary service.

The high level of voivodship agriculture and the high marketability of its production account for the particular interest in CD in that area.

In the case of the organization by the center of courses for instructor and leadership personnel of the veterinary service CD formations, the possibility exists of using all the locally available equipment. The entire equipment of the veterinary hospital, suitable for instructional exercises, with the students of the local Veterinary Technical School is also available.

Providing the attendees with suitably good living conditions, together with the friendly approach of the center leadership, the school personnel, and the lecturers, have created a favorable atmosphere since the first day of their arrival. This has helped the realization of the training tasks, which are characterized by considerable effort in the exericses. The fact that we managed to find a suitable person as head of the center has great bearing here too. He is reserve Colonel Zygmunt Marciniecki, the Voivodship inspector in charge of training CD personnel. He is a person with great organizational and instructional experience, high ethical, moral, and intellectual quality, who is devoting his knowledge and energy to the matter of training. The Voivodship CD Inspectorate gave him considerable power in the fulfillment of the important matters of the center and training.

The training tasks set up by the obligatory program are realized by a well selected instructional staff consisting in the main of workers of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate. Each one conducts exercises in a narrowly limited speciality connected with the service position occupied. Workers of the territorial CD inspectors and permanent workers of the hospital who received authorizations as Class I CD Instructors in the speciality of veterinary service and plant protection as a result of our purposeful activity, were also attached to the staff.

In order to upgrade the teaching qualifications of the instructors of the center, we are organizing lessons in the Institute of Teaching Methods of the Adam Mickiewicz University. In addition, the instructional staff raised their qualifications through self-instruction, mainly on the basis of training materials that we obtain from the IOCK [National Civil Defense Institute] and the organized programmed training for personnelstaff officer exercises, and demonstration exercises using the equipment of specific CD services. The training staff of the center has at its disposal an ample and modern training base and a large number of training aids of the publishing houses of the IOSK, the Ministry of National Defense and the Military Sciences Society. Training materials of the COSK OC [Central National CD Training Center], along with our own works. We have available a complete set of equipment specified in the billing tables (worked out by the IOCK).

All undertakings connected with the organization and equipping of the center were carried out by workers of the Voivoship CD Inspectorate with the help of various Voivodship institutions, without investment outlays.

During the process of teaching the students, we make use of audio-visual aids. The following is used: tape recorders with a full set of tapes containing verbal and musical programs on the subject of CD--from the recording studio of the Polish Army Institute, "Lech" type graphical display units with an ample set of foliograms[pages for reflective display], slide projectors, movie equipment, slides, a complete set of films on the subject of CD, posters, visual tables, diagrams, and photographs connected thematically with the mandatory programs of teaching individual trainee groups.

We have free use of the printing facilities of the Vojevodship Office, to turn out the appropriate sets of publications, diagrams, and pictures for the needs of the center. This allows us to increase the effectiveness of training, to save the time of the trainees in the labor-intensive resketching or retracing of various pictures, sets of documents, etc

We are organizing 21 courses per year. We are training 500 persons, including personnel for other voivodships also. The total annual cost of operating the center amounts to 380,000 zlotys.

I think that in the existing economic situation of the country with its investment difficulties, our experience in this subject can become a guide in solving problems in other voivodships.

The trained CD leadership and instructional personnel in a center organized this way is an important accomplishment of our voivodstvo.

We will always remember the people with whom we are conducting this program, and upon whom depend, among other things, the technical base, the physical facilities, and the equipment, and on whom our ability to realize the training goals now and in the future depend.

The Use of Local Mass Information Media in Poznan Voivodship for Publicizing and Propagating Civil Defense

The publicizing and propagation of CD information in local mass media within our voivodship is realized with the support of "The Guidelines for the Organization and Directions of Political Propaganda Activity in the Field of Publicizing CD" signed by Comrade Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Secretary of the PUWP CC. Pursuant to these guidelines, local mass media are realizing the fundamental political propaganda activity with respect to the preparation and undertakings of CD within the area of their activity.

The programmed activity has been developed primarily by the Polish Radio and the Television Center Station in Poznan, the editorial staffs of the dailies GAZETA ZACHODNIA (the organ of the PUWP executive Committee), GLOW WIELKOPOLSKI, EXPRESS POZNANSKI, and the institutional newspapers ZYCIE POMETU, GLOS ZALOGI, ZYCIA WPK, NOWINY, ELEKTROCHEMIA, STOMILOWIEC, ABC LECHIA, SEGMENTY, NASZA TRYBUNA, MOTOWIDLO, and PRZEMIANY ZIEMI GNIEZNIENSKIEJ.

This activity is supported by over 80 wire radio broadcasting centers. It can be stated that the press, Polish Radio, and television are carrying out the leading role in our territory from among the mass media engaged in publicizing the ideas, goals, and tasks of CD, and propagating knowledge in the CD field.

Thanks to the concept of planned and coordinated activities and training conducted by the Voivodship CD Personnel Training Center, and with the involvement of the editorial and correspondent groups, our publicity goals have been realized with ever increasing results and knowledge in the field.

During the course of the year, about 260 informational articles, reports, and notes have been published in the local and institutional press. More and more frequently, in articles concerning socio-political, economic, and volunteer blood donation activities, emphasis is given to the active and inspiring participation of the staff and members of CD formations. We have established working contacts with the representatives of journals in Poznan (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and WIRAZE).

The Polish Radio in Poznan and Poznan TV provide time for the programmed problems of CD (amounting to 25 minutes in Polish Radio, and 30 minutes on TV per year). (sic) The contents of the broadcasts are mainly reports on the rescue actions and exercises of CD bodies and forces, demonstrations of protection of animals, pastures, and water intakes from contamination, and other information concerning natural calamities, effective community work, etc. We operate for the purpose of obtaining the sympathy of individuals in TV and Polish Radio with respect to the publicizing of CD. We already have persons actively working. We are now expanding and enhancing the numbers of such persons. The CD problems are becoming the subject of broadcasts in the wire radio centers. On an annual scale, 970 programs with a total time of 195 hours are being broadcast.

Having in mind the continuous improvement of the publicity forms used in mass media, and seeking new forms, we are initiating activities for the purpose of spreading the readership and subscribership of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ. The publicizing of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ is conducted in local administrative bodies, among leadership personnel and members of CD formations, among lecturers and instructors in training the populace, and also readers concerned with problems of protection and rescue. Thus, year after year, the readership and subscribership of our journal are increasing. A 15 percent increase of subscribers is planned for 1980. During the time of organization of training in various groups, centers, and preparations for exercises of CD formations, the Voivodship CD Inspectorate recommends the study of selected articles from PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ. In our own area, we develop, print, and distribute leaflets (several thousands of copies of each circulated), of compact content, concerning alarm signals and the protection against contamination and poisoning of food, water, animals, pastures, and plants.

Cooperation of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate With Departments of the Voivodship Administration and Paramilitary Organizations

The successful realization of CD tasks of Poznan Voivodship depends, among other things, upon the actual cooperation of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate with departments of the Vovodship Administration and paramilitary organizations. We are aware of this and understand the essence of CD and our role in it. In order to create the possibilities and foundations of good cooperation of the bureaus of the Voivodship

Administration, everything has been done in an official and legal way. The main matters are regulated by the appropriate regulations in the Statute of the Voivodship concerning the realization of annual tasks in consultation with the specialized departments, units of the basic level, etc. In mentioning cooperation with the departments, it is worth emphasizing the good atmosphere that the Voivodship Administration creates for the constructive and effective work of all organizational units.

The Voivodship Inspectorate, recognizing its place in the system of realizing CD tasks, is considered to be one of the departments of the Voivodship Administration and identifies itself fully with the administration, its socio-economic, organizational, and political affiars, etc. The Inspectorate leadership participates on an equal footing with the leadership of other departments in the organized training, briefings, and consultations. We draw conclusions that apply to us, observe cooperation with other departments, and, if possible, we make use of any positive development. In practical activity, we consult, teach, and confer on how to prepare, plan, and realize CD undertakings. Often, we also help other departments (of equal rank) in the execution of their specialized tasks--essentially outside the CD area. The units know and value our help. This cooperation of the workers of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate is characterized by consistence with respect to CD matters, modesty in action, and the proper respect for other workers of the administration. In fulfilling the tasks and missions assigned us, in relation to the departments of the Voivodship Administration, we do not give orders, we do not issue commands, and we do not boss the show. We fulfill our missions at the appropriate time, the proper place, and on our own level. I wish to emphasize that cooperation of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate with the Voivodship Defense Committee Secretariat in the realization of the primary goal of executing defense tasks is characterized by good relations and cooperation. We operate in a coordinated and unanimous manner, which makes our efforts more potent and effective, and increases our mutual authority. It must also be stressed that cooperative relations are set up in a similar way with the Voivodship Military Headquarters and with paramilitary units and organizations.

The cooperation of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate and other departments of the Voivodship Administration with paramilitary organizations is regulated by an order (No. 64/177) of the Poznan Voivodship governor (dated 14 September 1977) with respect to the coordination of the activity of departments of the Voivodship Administration during the period of cooperation with associations and the provision of help to them. Cooperation with paramilitary organizations is realized by the Voivodship CD Inspectorate by means of: support and encouragement of their socially useful initiatives, joining organizations towards the realization of CD missions, consultation with organizations on matters connected with their area of activity and affecting CD problems, and the holding of local meetings for discussing the role and scope of activity of organizations on behalf of CD.

In suggesting to organizations that they pay heed in their activity to CD problems, and make use of material at the disposal of the organizations for activity concerning CD, the Voivodship CD Inspectorate never violates the autonomy and internal discipline of the organizations. In order to maintain constant contact and to assure cooperation with paramilitary organizations and the provision of direct aid to them, so-called "constant guardians" have been designated from among the workers of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate. The fact that nearly all our workers are registered as members of

one of the organizations and are very active as members facilitates the realization of Voivodship CD Inspectorate goals in the organizations. This organizational setup makes it possible for us to present CD matters at meetings of these same organizations and to develop training in the CD field among their members. We are also aware of the fact that all cooperating parties should derive advantages from good cooperation. Thus, in cooperation with paramilitary organizations, we adopted the principle of treating them as partners, on the basis of mutual advantages and comradeship. An example of such cooperation is the provision of help to organizations in conducting training exercises and competitions, the participation of Voivodship CD Inspectorate personnel in the judging committees, help in the area of material-technical supply for events, etc. We do not consider our forms of cooperation thus far with paramilitary to be something completed and closed. We continually search for new and attractive methods.

Including the Conclusions From Inter-Voivodship, Voivodship and Local Exercises in CD Plans

The practical exercises of various types in the CD system offer conclusions of a planning, organizational, operational-technical, and training nature to the Voviodship CD Inspectorate leadership personnel participating in them. We make a practice of having conclusions of a general nature and those more specifically applicable to the concrete situation of our voivodship drawn from our participation in such exercises and worked out in written form.

These conclusions become a subject of discussions within the leadership staff. They are subsequently brought to the awareness of volunteer workers of the Voivodship CD Inspectorates, the leaders of local CD inspectorates, workers officially engaged in the realization of defense missions in departments of the administration, groups, and units subordinate to the voivodship governor, during the course of internal training and briefings. The chief of the Inspectorate presents certain conclusions to the Voivodship Administration leadership.

Undertakings pursuant to these conclusions are reflected in the annual plans of CD goals to the voivodship, in CD plan documents, and also in specific organizational structures and operational-technical plans. The degree of acceptance and inclusion of undertakings from these conclusions, drawn from exercises, is also a subject of control and accounting of the execution of tasks.

I wish to say that up until now, every exercise has yielded a great deal of interesting informative material and has encouraged and stimulated individual solutions, comparisons, and self-critical evaluation of one's own activity. There are many practical effects of the inclusion of such conclusions. On the basis of experiences and conclusions of the exercises in which we participated, the system of detecting and analyzing contamination in Poznan Voivodship was checked out, and the optimal quantity of its elements for the existing conditions was established. This system was integrated with the elements of the over-all warning and alarm system. The plan for conducting rescue operations in Poznan city was modified. Under the influence of the experience from the exercises, we perceived the question of dividing the city into sectors, the activation of rescue forces, and their material-technical supply and leadership differently than before.

We received considerable encouragement from the exercises in the matter of decentralizing the population at the stage of developing plans. We checked out the documents for transporting the decentralized inhabitants through the facilities of the Polish State Railways, the State Motor Transport, and the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise Directorate in Poznan. We acquainted many people with the totality of the very complex problems, and calling attention to the conclusions derived from them, even before the decentralization preparations themselves and the transporting of the population from Poznan. We then provided the means to them to meet the various requirements of wartime. The methodology used by us of developing and including the conclusions from the exercise and training conducted in a different form are effective thus far. Thus, since all of our conscious activity has to undergo continuous improvement, we shall teach ourselves new forms and solutions or look for them from others in order to attain even better results.

Biala Podlaska Voivodship

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 3, Mar 81 pp 8-11

[Interview with Jozef Piela, Governor and Chief of Biala Podlaska Voivodship, by Grazyna Dembowska; date and place not specified]

> [Text] The basic problems of civil defense stem from the specifics of the territory, its operational characteristics, and its economic and manpower potential.
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> Other matters are brought to the fore and solved in their own particular way in highly-industrialized regions with high population densities. The pattern of defense preparations is quite different. For example, in territories of a rural nature, which actually are potentially less threatened than large densely settled areas, but where the conduct of protective activities is no less important during critical moments, defense preparations can still be the deciding life-and-death factor for the populace. More on this subject is given in the interview made with Biala Podlaska Voivodship governor Jozef Piela by PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ.

[Question] What matters are the main object of the activities of CD in Biala Podlaska Voivodship. What are these activities aimed at?

[Answer] The general goal of all of our initiatives in the area of CD is the proper preparation of the voivodship, its inhabitants, and its economy for defense in case of a threat to the security of the state and during the time of war, and also for complex peacetime situations, when it is necessary to face natural catastrophes or other occurences having potentially unfortunate results.

Biala Podlaska Voivodship is a typical agricultural voivodship--over 60 percent of the inhabitants are engaged in farming, and it is their basic source of support. So, it is an obvious fact that the main thrust of CD preparations of this territory--aside from the natural protection of the population--is the improvement of the

system of protecting domestic animals, food, agricultural crops, pastures, and water from the results of the effects of mass destruction weapons, and especially against contamination. Therefore, both the organization of CD forces in the voivodship, and the type or structure of training for them are adapted to these very protective needs. We are concentrating attention on the undertakings realized by the local units--the communes and village units. I must emphasize--as practical experience shows--of inestimable importance for our work is the attitude of the commune heads and village administrators and their involvement in these undertakings, all the more so, since they fulfill a certain military function as CD officials and representatives of the lowest link of administrative authority. In each commune unit, we have one or two local civil defense detachments. Currently, we are aiming toward the maximum improvement of the structures of the CD forces of rural regions (relative to the tasks anticipated for them during peacetime and wartime), that would assure them a high degree of maneuverability. For apportioning defense and self-defense duties within the entire population of all village-administrator's offices, they have been organized into rural self-defense groups.

The preference that we give to problems of protection of agriculture that stems from the specific situation of the voivodship does not mean in any way that CD matters in labor establishments have been moved off into the background. Here also, both in the production establishments and in the service establishments, quite a lot is being done really. However, we observe a difference in the level of their preparation for CD (anyway, this same phenomenon shows up in the communes). In order to level out these differences, we are organizing, among other things, a series of working meetings in the enterprises that are leading in this capacity and are propagating their best experiences.

[Question] In view of the large number of production and economic tasks, are not the civil defense preparations being carried out now an additional load for the personnel of labor institutions, farmers, as well as for you, Citizen Governor, as the head of the Biala Podlaska region?

[Answer] I cannot imagine that the governor, who has been charged with the totality of the socio-economic life in the voivodship, could not find time for this activity. Anyway, every person in every work position has to keep in mind the necessity for preparations for defense in case of danger. The awareness of the necessity of the very protection of the populace, the region, the country is essential. This awareness must be deeply instilled in all of us. Any other concept and action would be simply a proof of carelessness, and the ignoring of obvious truths. Here, I would also want to add that CD is also very necessary for us in the normal peacetime life of the voivodship. For example, the participation of its formations in fighting natural catastrophes and for counteracting their results is important for us. We are a voivodship located along the Bug River. The Bug channel is not regulated and floods are a rather frequent occurrence. We have had a chance to test out the value of the help of the CD forces in such circumstances many times already.

[Question] And are they really prepared for this kind of activity?

[Answer] I consider that they are suitably prepared for this and are fulfilling these functions excellently. But this is not everything. In case of need, they are also

conducting considerable work useful for their own environment that are also necessary for the economy of the country. Returning to the question, I shall also add--and this is a matter of no small importance--that the activities of CD are accepted with understanding and acceptance by the society of our voivodship. This is most particularly manifested in its participation in anti-flood activities, which we have mentioned before, in firefighting, and in eliminating the effects of windstorms. At such times, disputes among neighbors and mutual animosities are set aside, and the only thing that is important is rescue and the protection of lives and property. Anyway, this has become such a commonplace thing in our society already (and this is proven by a number of facts from Polish history), that whenever something endangers this society, it closes ranks and mobilizes all of its forces. This is a positive manifestation.

[Question] How is the realization of CD tasks proceeding at present?

[Answer] We asserted in the past already that the recapitulation of the activity of the past year has a mobilizing effect on the realization of CD tasks. We have been applying this for years already. The recapitulation is of a working nature and is conducted in three groups: chiefs of cities, city-communes, and communes, and directors (or their equivalent) of the Voivodship Administration. Those whose activity brings results are distinguished publicly, by name, whereas the names of those who could operate more effectively are missing. As a result of such a method of evaluation of individual units, a true rivalry has been created between them and the benefit of this for CD has been obvious.

We intensified the training of leadership organs of units of all levels and commands of CD detachments. Unfortunately, the process of training is being impeded by the lack of a permanent base for this purpose. Aside from this, it is proceeding correctly.

The various types of exercises organized thus far in Biala Podlaska have concerned, primarily, all the most essential CD problems of our territory. For example, in the communes which are supposed to receive the inhabitants decentralized from cities known to be in particular danger, according to CD plans, this phase of decentralization operation was the subject of exercises. Flood control activities have been improved in the cities and communes of the Bug region. In the communes with highly developed agricultural production and food processing establishments, we are concentrating on the protection of water, food, pastures, and agricultural crops and domestic animals from contamination and poisoning. The task of an exercise of specialized CD forces was the attainment of full readiness as a basis for forming and regrouping zones of activities and deploying themselves under field conditions. The general principle in this is an actual joining together of defense and economic missions. Even during the autumn of last year, in spite of the well-known difficulties in agriculture, exercises on the commune level were conducted--and this was done at the initiative of the commune chiefs.

We managed, although not completely, to integrate the current activity of economic units with CD activity, and also to bring about closer cooperation among organs such as the Voivodship Military Headquarters, the Voivodship Headquarters of the Citizens Militia, the Voivodship Headquarters of Service to Poland, and social organizations--National Defense League, the Polish Red Cross, and shortwave fan clubs and CD clubs.

Cooperation between the Voivodship CD Inspectorate and the Voivodship Minitary Headquarters and the Secretariat of the Voivodship Organizational Committee, and also with departments of the Voivodship Administration is turning out well. This is a necessary condition for realizing the CD tasks that require the consolidation of efforts of all of these links, which are responsible for the defense readiness of the voivodship. I am limiting myself to the presentation of only some of the most important matters, but, one can see that the realization of CD tasks in the voivodship is a subject of broad coverage.

[Question] What has complicated the realization of plans in the CD field? Have the difficulties that our country has been recently experiencing been also unfavorably reflected in our CD preparations?

[Answer] Of course, we are struggling with numerous shortages--in supply, in the training material base, and with other things. And bringing attention to the conditions in which civil defense is operating in our territory, I can boldly state, that truly a great deal has been done with existing possibilities. The realization of tasks has not brought about so many difficulties now and in the last several years as compared to the problems that were the natural consequence of the creation of a new voivodship which was the result of the 1975 administrative reform.

The production potential of the territory of Biala Podlaska, both the industrial and the construction potential, is very weak. The decision of establishing the voivodship, however, awakened greater aspirations of its inhabitants--which comes as no surprise. The society tied considerable hopes to this fact and counted on more intense development and investments. At the same time, it was not possible to satisfy social needs in any measure, even the most urgent and most important ones, as had been expected by the voivodship inhabitants. In addition, many tasks were levied that had to be realized, making use of the weak potential. This example is important, even from the defense standpoint. Hospitals were built before 1975 in two independent administrative units, in Biala Podlaska and Radzyn powiats. Later, both of these powiats ended up in one voivodship. Therefore, we had to realize two investment projects simultaneously of high labor and capital intensity for our capacity to achieve. The needs of the inhabitants also grew and the influx of people into the new voivodship brought with it the necessity for accelerating the housing construction program. The needs of CD also reached a new scale at the voivodship level. Currently, the object of greatest concern is the completion of the construction of the facility in which there would be space for the storage of CD equipment of the voivodship, and which would simultaneously fulfill the function of a permanent training center.

[Question] And what are the main goals for the immediate future?

[Answer] Along with the many actions undertaken by us, the lowest CD link, such as the village, will continue to require particular concern. What this concerns is that the village self-defense groups have to be really prepared for their functions and would systematically check out and improve their readiness. We will be involving the Voivodship Administration to a greater degree than thus far in activities concerning the commune CD links. Specific departments of the Voivodship Administration (the Department of Agriculture and others) will have to be fully responsible for CD preparations in the commune level sections under their jurisdiction. Of course, the improvement of CD in labor establishments will also continue to be a task of current

concern. I note that there is always much to be done in both of these areas. I see in this a major role for the Voivodship Civil Defense Inspectorate--the coordinator of preparations on the part of the voivodship authorities and the Voivodship Organization Commission.

[Question] Are there units or individuals in the voivodship that merit special recognition, who are attaining better results in CD preparations than are others?

[Answer] But of course! For example, among the communes the leading one is the Janow Podlaski commune, which boasts of its attainments in all the areas of CD activity. Among the labor establishments, there is the Irrigation and Land Improvement Equipment Repair Enterprise in Biala Podlaska. Jerzy Barczynski, the director of the enterprise, in paying considerable attention to matters that are the subject of CD concerns, takes particular care of getting CD tasks realized in a planned way and at a high level. However, the activity of the entire health service is proceeding in first place on the voivodship level, and quite a bit of the credit for this goes to Jan Zukowski, MD, the Voivodship health officer.

It is an obvious fact that the level of CD preparation in the voivodship is primarily the result of the systematic tenacious work of the Voivodship Civil Defense Inspectorate. Its chief, Lt Col Adam Olesinski, is widely known because of his great inventiveness and effective procedures in this area.

[Question] In the name of our readers and the editorial board of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ, and speaking for myself as well, I sincerely thank you, Citizen Governor, for this conversation.

And I promise the readers of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ a detailed story on my visit to the labor establishments of Biala Podlaska and the Janow Podlaski commune in one of the coming issues.

Lodz Voivodship

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 3, Mar 81 pp16-19

[Article by Mgr. Jozef Niewiadomski, President of the City of Lodz and Civil Defense Chief of Lodz Voivodship: "CD Achievements of Lodz City Voivodship from 1975 to 1980"]

[Text] The 30th Anniversary of the Establishment of CD Falling in 1981 Leads One to Reflect Upon and Appraise its Achievements.

The current state of CD is the result of consistent and creative continuation of the previous stages of development--territorial anti-aircraft defense and universal self-defense. Each of these stages is the development of new specific forms of CD. The Resolution of the Council of Ministers on Civil Defense issued 18 May 1973 and the 1975 reform of territorial organs of state administration were of decisive importance for CD preparations. This resolution, along with the executive acts, is a new higher stage of CD preparations of the voivodship. The CD organizational structures were adjusted to the newly-created operating conditions and also--to qualitatively different theoretical principles, and previous experiences permitted a

relatively rapid work-up of effective and differentiated forms and methods of operation, which facilitate the achievement of the goals set forth. The new CD organizational structures in the units of the territorial organs of state administration of the voivodship were purposeful and appropriate. The situation and nature of the voivodship and its industrialization required us to have a grasp of the individual preparations of the responsible leadership organs and CD forces and their equipment.

One of the first elements of these preparations was the precise definition of tasks for the departments of the city administration, the territorial associations, and the basic level state administrative units. The principle was adopted that CD assignments must be realized on a level with other assignments by each organizational unit. The planned, over-all control of projects in the CD field was introduced. Depending upon the nature and specifics of the unit undergoing control, the control groups consisted of the representatives of other departments of the city administration of Lodz, and of associations in addition to representations of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate, the Voivodship Defense Committee, the Voivodship Military Headquarters, and the Social-administrative Department. These controls have as a purpose the verification of the immediate state of operations and the provision of help in order to eliminate difficulties.

At meetings of the Voivodship Defense Committee and at periodic briefings devoted to the problems of CD, periodic accounting is carried out by the directors of the departments, associations, and basic level CD chiefs of the realization of CD tasks.

The basis of the activity is realistic planning and the regular realization of CD plans. "The Plan for the Development of Civil Defense of the City Voivodstvo of Lodz in 1976-80" was of particular importance. It contained the fundamental undertakings aimed at raising the status of CD of the voivodship to a higher level based upon the mandatory prescriptions and real capabilities. This document and the guidelines of the Chief of CD of Poland were the basis for the work-up of annual plans of all organizational units of the voivodship. Worthy of note are the preparations of the initial data for the development of CD plans for all organizational units, and also the model plans for CD.

The annual plans of administrative units were checked out and updated during the course of exercises of the CD forces. An example of this are the exercises "Ziemia Lodzka-77," "Warta-78," and "Lodz-80". The continuous analysis of the exercises and the conclusions drawn from them served for the improvement of the CD plans.

An important achievement during the past five-year plan was the completion of the construction of general warning systems in several cities, and their further restructuring in others. These systems have been adapted to central control, and are maintained in full technical readiness. A real achievement is the installation of radio telephones without any financial outlays and with the participation of the technical workers of the Voivodship CD Inspectorate. It forms a general alarm network, and is also used for transmitting urgent administrative decisions from the voivodstvo to districts, cities, cities and communes, and comunes. In order to increase reliability and effectiveness, the communications equipment connected into the alarm system will be at the disposal of the Voivodship Firefighting Command, the Citizens Militia, the Polish State Railways, and also the Lodz stations of Polish Radio and Television. The organizational principles and technical solutions fully assure the early warning and protection of the populace in the event of danger from the air.

A voivodship system for detecting contamination has also been organized. Teams of personnel have been trained and have been furnished the needed equipment. In the course of exercises, this system is perfected and improved from an organizational standpoint.

In shelter construction, we made a detailed analysis of the needs and capabilities of territories that assure the initiation of planning-documentation work for preparing an appropriate quantity of accomodations in shelter structures for the crews of labor establishments and the population. A group of specialists was called upon who were trained by the Voivodship CD Inspectorate in planning shelter structures. The training of leadership personnel was aimed at preparing them for the realization of CD tasks during peacetime, and also during danger and war, by means of lessons, training sessions, and leadership-staff exercises. During the last five-year plan, three leadership-staff exercises were conducted with the leading CD bodies of the voivodship, one of these with the use of rescue forces within the framework of the "Ziemia Lodzka-77" inter-voivodship exercises. The exercises made it possible to verify the concept of leading the CD of the voivodship and intensified the capabilities of the CD leadership staff in realizing the tasks during the time of danger and war.

Group commands of rescue units and groups for handling the preparation and implementation of decentralization of the populace were called up and trained. The training of 100 percent of the leadership personnel of the territorial CD formations through a system of courses was an achievement. In order to simplify and generalize views in organizational and training problems, demonstration-training exercises were organized for the leadership CD personnel of territorial and basic level CD. In addition to the training and organizational goals, they also fulfill propaganda tasks. An important element of education is the useful social work that is realized during the time of these exercises. Their worth in our voivodship during the past five-year plan is estimated at 14 million zlotys. The CD formations of the city and commune in Aleksandrow Lodzki and the town of Glownie are leading in this respect.

The training of leadership personnel necessitated the preparation of a suitable training base. Method training rooms were organized at the Voivodship CD Inspectorate and in three district CD inspectorates. They are in the process of being organized in the other districts and towns.

The Voivodship CD Inspectorate, by agreement with the Office of the Superintendent of Education and Upbringing, with the support of the commune schools, is organizing CD training centers in every commune. Preparatory work is in progress. The greater part of the aid for the training offices was done in social actions by the CD personnel, which reduced financial outlays considerably, limiting such outlays to the purchase of audio-visual equipment.

Considerable attention was given to basic training of the crews of labor establishments, as well as people not belonging to organizations--the inhabitants of towns and villages. We cover about 40,000 persons on the average per year in this type of training. Constant improvement is conducted at the annual course-conferences of the instructor staff for various specialties, intermediate school defense training teachers, and military studies instructors. A major role in training and instruction for CD is carried out by social organizations, especially the Polish Red Cross, the Volunteer Firefighters Association, the National Defense League, and the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia.

The military studies at the higher educational establishments of our voivodship are making a notable contribution in preparing personnel for CD. In realizing their teaching assignments, they are preparing students for the leadership-instruction functions that are especially applicable in CD formations, and have at their disposal a properly prepared training base equipped with audio-visual and specialized equipment. The military studies at Lodz University, the Academy of Medicine, all the art schools, and Lodz Polytechnic Institute deserve to be singled out.

The defense training of the youth fulfills a very important role in preparing society for CD. It is the primary, most universal, and fundamental form of preparing the population for self-defense. During the years 1975 through 1980, about 127 pupils of schools of all types were involved in this type of training. About 450 intermediate school pupils attend defense training camps each year. During the sessions, 150 trainees were awarded CD youth instructor certificates and 320 achieved medical team commander certificates. The attendees of these camps achieved 670 CD proficiency awards and worked 7,000 hours on social projects, accomplishing work worth 90,000 zloty. During the last five-year plan, 57 workshops for defense training were restructured or newly-organized in various types of schools of the voivodship.

We attained considerable achievements in the improvement of the cooperation of CD organs and formations with military units, especially in the organization of joint exercises. An example of this is the demonstration exercises for the commands of units of the National Territorial defense, the Polish Military Organization and the CD leadership personnel of the voivodship that were conducted in 1975 with the use of the territorial defense regiment of the city of Lodz and the CD forces of the Lodz-Polesie district.

A substantive problem in realizing the CD tasks is the selection and employment of persons in positions connected with defense systems. We conducted analyses of the persons employed at these positions in all territorial administrative units, economic units, and in cooperatives. The results became the basis for the employment of individuals possessing professional qualifications that guarantee the proper realization of CD tasks.

We devoted considerable effort toward equipping CD forces and for the care and storage of CD equipment. The quantities received were very useful in raising the readiness of CD formation and the proficiency in its execution of tasks. We also carried out an inventory of the agricultural equipment and engineering machinery of the national economy in enterprises and institutions that are suitable for CD purposes, and we defined the bases for making use of them.

The increasing quantity of CD equipment necessitated the restructuring and expansion of the storage base. At the cost of low financial outlays, thanks to the involvement of CD formations in community work, the majority of the storage buildings were adapted to the needs for maintaining equipment and protecting it from theft and destruction. In addition, this adjustment influenced the proper storage of equipment. Good results in this area were achieved in the districts of Lodz-Widzew, Gorna, and in the city and commune of Strykow, the city of Glownie, and the commune of Brojce. It must be stated, however, that in the voivodship, the plan for the construction of storage facilities was not realized for objective reasons; we shall solve this problem on an over-all scale in the immediate future.

Publicizing CD occupied an important place in our activity. We developed and are developing political propaganda activity to expalin to the public the role of the voivodship and the significance of CD under modern conditions, the publicizing of its goals and tasks, and treating such activity as an important element of patriotic-defense education. We are using a variety of methods and operational forms: lectures, talks, rap sessions, meetings with participants of the workers' and revolutionary movement, war veterans, party and government activists, and personnel of the Peoples Polish Army. We are also organizing competition on CD science and annual competitions on wall newspapers. Annually, about 15,000 school youth take part in the competition. The representatives of the voivodship attain first place listings on the central government level in such presentations.

At 20 various exhibits during the past five-year plan, we presented our CD achievments and equipment to the public. About 30,000 persons atetnded the exhibits. Special emphasis should be given to the competition conducted in 1977 that passed the test for the titles of leading CD inspectorate and territorial CD detachment of the city voivodship of Lodz and the administrative department of the city of Lodz. Such forms of different scope were organized in territorial units of basic level administration, and in labor establishments of the voivodship. Thanks to the introduction of such competitiveness into the activity of these units, we carried out a number of ambitious tasks, adjusted out operating style, and included the active core of the CD formations, and the workers of factories, city residents, and villagers in the realization of our undertakings.

Since the time of establishment of the inspectorates in the new structure, i.e., from mid-1975 to the present, hundreds of thousands of persons have taken part in various publicity and propaganda presentations, and the value of the useful social and defense work of the CD forces of the city voivodship exceeded the amount of 14 million zlotys. Our preparations gained the recognition of the Sejm Commission for National Defense, which visited our voivodship in May, 1978. A delegation of the Territorial Anti-aircraft Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania visited in the voivodship in 1975 for the purpose of exchanging experiences in the field of CD preparations. During the course of the visit, the guests showed great interest in familiarizing themselves with the realization and the solution of the CD undertakings of the voivodship.

Our tasks for the years 1981 through 1985 require continued hard work. Their realization will occur under complex socio-political conditions that our country is undergoing currently. I am convinced that if the people have a complete understanding of the need for CD preparations, we shall realize these tasks in full.

5808
CSO: 2600/262

NEED TO UTILIZE, ENRICH NATIONAL CREATIVITY STRESSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 11 Aug 81 pp 1, 2

/Interview with Prof Dr Ion Manzatu of Bucharest University by Monica Zvirjinschi/

/Text/ /Question/ In every stage of development there are words that occur more frequently, words that seem to belong to that stage and to define it. Now we very often speak of the new and its introduction in all sectors. Why do you think it is the new that is the word of the present?

/Answer/ It is by no means a fad. To innovate and introduce the new are just as necessary today for the nations that are developing and have to reach higher levels of competence and ability to act as they are for the economically developed ones whose existence is constantly threatened not only by competition from other nations but also by their own internal tensions.

/Question/ Let us talk about our need for the new.

/Answer/ We have inherited from the past centuries a great many things that constitute national-historical treasures, but we have also inherited a number of realities resulting from the profound economic backwardness in which the Romanian lands were left and from the attempts of external and even internal elements to block our intellectual progress in keeping with the Romanian people's extraordinary creative potential. It is not very long ago that the politicians of the former regimes were disseminating the idea that the Romanian people have an endemic need to be led by others and are destined only to bow down before a foreign civilization. A historical transition taking more than three decades was needed so that we can say what we say today, and the road from impotence to power was not an easy one. In characterizing this year of 1981 which follows a five-year plan based upon the idea of the technical-scientific revolution, we can say that we would have had no choice but to remain subservient to skills employed by those who developed historically under easier conditions, to go on burdening our balance of foreign payments, and to never be truly competitive. But the 12th Party Congress occasioned the entire people's unanimous decision (despite the voices from abroad that still disputed our right to true freedom) to radically change the structure of the national economy as well as the quality of productive activities, and especially to take no step until we had thought several times about its future consequences.

/Question/ Who are the elements who are still causing disagreements about introducing the new, now that we have a scientific view and strategy of the future and an economy open to all innovations?

/Answer/ You see we developed for years on end by resorting to imported licenses and equipment, all of which were originally a starting point. But in some fields we made the mistake of neglecting our own inventive potential for many years, repeating the same or other more expensive imports in cycles, instead of developing whatever meant progress at a given point. Even today there are still responsible elements here and there who, out of laziness or ignorance, still maintain that our creative potential is nil compared to what foreign countries have to offer us. What is more, the OSIM /State Office for Inventions and Trademarks/ has recently recorded over 76,000 Romanian patents of which the percentage of use, both domestic and foreign, is entirely unsatisfactory. It is incredible that the technical progress plans for some research and design or production units are drafted without consulting the national patent library and without comparison with the latest worldwide procedures, while some subjects have been preferred for 10-15 years. In such cases it is obvious that the three links in the chain of innovation (research, technological development, and assimilation of the manufacturing process) are still singing different tunes! Moreover there is an appalling indifference, here in the five-year plan of quality and efficiency, to the formation of data and information banks in every industrial central and research and technological engineering institute, or at least on the county level, concerning the innovations in national and international production, the state of the technologies used, and the reserves of existing procedures, which have been thoroughly tested but are still unused. In this way we compel the researchers, the specialists engaged in design and production of the new, and the supervisors to waste valuable time and run the risk of adopting outmoded procedures that may have serious consequences for the development of a field. We all know what the information explosion means. Every year 200,000 titles of technical-scientific publications appear in the world, over 60,000 inventions are patented, and thousands and thousands of new technologies and products are launched. Any country that intends to reach a high level of development including Romania, and especially Romania, which is not very rich in primary resources for development, has a first obligation to use the product of human intelligence in the form of new scientific discoveries, technologies and products.

/Question/ When asked about the inadequate sources of documentation and information, the elements in charge of organizing them blame it on conservation of funds.

/Answer/ I would resort to a comparison. The same economists who explain that they are conserving our funds did not hesitate a few years ago to recommend importing a license that would have amounted to 1,300 times more than double the value of all the informative publications that Romania needed at the time! But what is worse, even today many colleagues in the design and production sectors not only prefer imported technologies (thereby reducing the risk of their responsibility) but also favor equipment and installations that are already obsolete when they are purchased, even when they could use the available funds to purchase patents for innovations whose lifetimes are much longer than those of the products and cost much less.

/Question/ I think education, the mold in which the future specialists are formed, has a large part to play in changing that attitude.

/Answer/ Certainly in a world of technological and scientific competition (which promises to be keener in the future) it is the duty of education to teach youth to

love the new as a necessity for the development of their nation. The quality and value of all social and economic activity directly depend upon schools and their quality. Whatever equipment and technologies we may have, we will inevitably lag behind others without people who are highly competent, from design to the most elementary installation operations. A great thinker and inventor said that a nation that promotes its values from school on can never be subjugated by other nations for the simple reason that high-quality human minds can never be overcome. They always find the way out of difficult situations. If our youths sometimes become indifferent it is because in their courses we succeed only in repeating threadbare ideas and do not impart to them the thrill of the new or the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility for conceiving it. I am convinced that many of the present failings of the schools would disappear if the teachers themselves were all devoted to the idea of creation and effort. Noble ideas are compromised by the teachers' lack of enthusiasm and conscientiousness. Let us consider, for example, the state of integration of education with research and production. 1. Often the students, to say nothing of pupils, come into a shop or laboratories without the elementary preparation for the activity they should be performing and become a burden upon those who must teach them the basics instead of integrating them in the planned activity. 2. With laudable exceptions, many school and student laboratories are behind in production and research facilities, which means that the youth spends twice as much time by mastering an old technique at first and a new one later. 3. Very few youths learn from their teachers what an invention or a data bank is, or what an extraordinary part is played by timely information in forming creative thought. Of course in improving this situation education has the role of the conductor who knows the score well, but not one of the economic sectors is exempt from the responsibility because you cannot have a nation capable of peak creation if the generations are not aided and do not carry on their efforts. To be sure all this requires great efforts, understanding and courage, but we have no choice. From the high rostrum of the Second Congress of Workers Councils the party secretary general pointed out to us once again that there is no other chance of raising the national economy than by full use of our people's entire creative power. Actually, this is verified by history. The reason for all nations' rapid development and great material and cultural benefits is none other than the treasury of national creativity. It is the duty of all of us, young and less young, producers, teachers and researchers, to give the full measure of our competence to promote and assert it.

5186
CSO: 2700/374

WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Johann Georg Reissmueller: "Resistance in Kosovo--How the Yugoslav Leadership Is Trying To Cope With The Unrest"]

[Text] The unrest of the Albanians in Yusoslavia's Kosovo differs in several respects from other ethnic conflicts Yugoslavia has experienced. There are several reasons for the peculiarity of the case. The Albanians constitute the only important non-Slav group in Yugoslavia (the Hungarians living in the Vojvodina, numerically much weaker, apparently being in the process of being absorbed as an ethnic entity by the Serbs). They are predominantly Muslims, and the maternal state of their ethnic group--Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha--feels it is entitled and able to increase the national consciousness and self-confidence of the "brothers across the border." However, the methods with which the Yugoslav leadership is trying to settle the matter differ little from those it used to master national movements elsewhere in years past. There is a pattern according to which recalcitrant peoples in Yugoslavia time and again are relegated to the position desired and considered normal by the central authorities, and Belgrade is now also sticking to that pattern in the Kosovo.

It made a familiar impression when the leadership at first employed Serbian police to cope with students demonstrating and rioting in Pristina, the capital of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which is part of the Serbian Republic. This had been its attitude whenever there was ferment in the Kosovo in the past. The Serbian police, however, are known for going into action without much restraint. They do not make much fuss with their compatriots in Serbia proper, much less with Albanians in the Kosovo in the case of major riots there. This has to do with the fact that the conflict in the Kosovo basically amounts to resistance by the Albanians against the Serbs. In such a situation the employment of Serbian police was bound to lend fuel to the fire. Prudent persons in Belgrade apparently realized this quickly, and soon police composed of all Yugoslav ethnic entities were sent to the Kosovo. That probably contributed to limiting the fire.

As always, this time too the Yugoslav Army blocked off the center of the disturbances together with the police. This has now gone so far as to cut off the Province of Kosovo completely from the rest of Yugoslavia, and of course also from Albania. For weeks on end neither foreigners nor citizens were allowed to enter the Kosovo without special permission. The army also played an important role in suppressing the Croatian national movement in 1971. At that time it encircled Zagreb and cut it off

from the Croatian country around it until police in the capital of the republic "cleaned up." This demonstrates again that the Yugoslav Armed Forces have a domestic mission as important as that of defending the country against any external attack.

After the revolt in Pristina the top party and government officials of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo to the extent that they are Albanian have been removed one after the other. In part they are being forcibly retired, in part they are being transferred to subordinate positions. In any case, they are disappearing from the sight of the population. Strange as it may seem, the Byzantine taboo against them is continuing as a result: as long as they were on top, no one was allowed to say as much as a word of criticism about them, but not that they have fallen the people are supposed to regard them as nonpersons. They have been replaced in part by officials who represented the Kosovo in the 1960's, be it in Pristina or in the central party and government bodies in Belgrade. At that time those men were not regarded highly by the Albanianians in the Kosovo. People said about them that they were lending little support to the Albanian ethnic group but were more concerned with Belgrade interests--centralist Yugoslav ones and those of the Serbian Republic, of which Belgrade is also the capital.

That was perhaps not quite correct. In Yugoslavia the making of policy at the top is protected from public scrutiny to such an extent that the man-in-the-street often adopts mistaken judgments that have spread among the public about what a leading man, wants, does or tries to alleviate. Perhaps the Kosovo representatives of the 1960's too, who occupied jobs of little influence or fairly small conspicuousness in the 1970's, have inwardly changed in the meantime. The fact that Belgrade has now recalled some of them to important positions does not yet constitute any proof to the contrary. After all, someone has to occupy the leading positions in Pristina, and since Belgrade at least publicly wants more or less to preserve the ethnic quotas in the hierarchy of the Province of Kosovo, it needs for the majority of these posts members of the Albanian ethnic group, which constitutes more than three-fourths of the population in the Kosovo.

But whatever the new officials in Pristina may be like, through the overthrow of the old officials ordered by headquarters in Belgrade the Yugoslav party once again has removed a regional leadership which represented the interest of a people in a multinational state in such a way as to cause that people to award it a certain amount of recognition. It had engaged in similar practice in Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, in the Bojvodina and in Macedonia 10 years before. Since in Yugoslavia no position of power is filled by genuine popular election, no party or government leader can formally claim to be a democratic representative. It does happen, however, that by persistently advocating the interests of a region, of the ethnic entity inhabiting it, the leadership of one of the eight regions--six republics and two autonomous provinces--gains the respect of that ethnic entity and is accepted as its representative. (This may, however, be uncertain since there is no systematic way of establishing it reliably.)

This was surely the case in Slovenia and Croatia, in Serbia and Macedonia around 1970, and again in Serbia in the mid-1970's. At first glance it appears strange that the Yugoslav party thus time and again deprives itself of what every communist party misses sorely--popular assent. As a Leninist party, the Yugoslav communists are, however, constantly afraid of becoming dependent on the people,

for Leninism means rule of the top of a cadre party over the people. What is more, in multinational Yugoslavia the leadership is worried lest regional leaderships supported "populistically" by their respective ethnic entity and the republics get involved in ever new conflicts among themselves. There are conflicts between the components of the Yugoslav Federation as it is, but as long as the populations are not involved these can, if need be, be allayed more easily or at least dampened by a decisive word from the center.

The fact that the penal organs are working at a high pitch in the Kosovo is also reminiscent of old times. This time there actually are criminal offenses to be prosecuted, because the demonstrations in Pristina led to violence. This was by no means so in Croatia, say 10 years ago; those sentenced at that time had all been charged with uttering politically objectionable statements. Now, in the Kosovo, though some of the prison sentences seem also to have been meted out for purely verbal offenses (for example, "counterrevolutionary activity"), the sentences are only part of the official reaction. After the unrest in Pristina, the university there was closed until further notice (something like that had happened previously only during the student unrest in Belgrade in the summer of 1968), and all public sports events were banned in the entire Kosovo for a lengthy period--also something the authorities had previously not resorted to in the wake of unrest.

What makes the Kosovo affair so explosive is an aspect which is also peculiar to it--comparable only to former unrest, likewise among the Albanian ethnic group in Yugoslavia. The Croatian reform movement had been accused by headquarters of separatism, of striving to create an independent Croatian state. Political movements in Slovenia, Macedonia and Serbia had been accused by the central party leadership in the past only of being deviationist, with never any mention of separatism. The Albanians now are the only ethnic group in Yugoslavia being suspected by the central power of wanting to join a foreign state--Albania. It is for this reason that the demand that could be heard in the Kosovo now during the demonstrations, and also thereafter, that Belgrade should accord the autonomous province the status of a republic was condemned so utterly and dismissed as out of the question. A Kosovo elevated to the status of a republic--in other words, one entirely separated from the Republic of Serbia--the Serbian and also the central leadership in Belgrade fear, would be the penultimate step prior to joining neighboring Albania.

And this fear extends even further. It is feared that Kosovo might not be alone in joining Albania but take along with it western Macedonia (with the towns of Tetovo, Gostivar and Debar) mostly inhabited by Albanians, and perhaps even in addition the southern part of Montenegro, where many Albanians reside--for instance, in Stari Bar. In the 1970's it was possible to quietly discuss with Yugoslav party people the question as to whether it might not be best to accord the status of a republic to Kosovo and its Albanians, as to whether the increasingly expanded autonomy of the Province of Kosovo might not raise its independence vis-a-vis Serbia in a natural way and ineluctably to a point where one day elevation to the status of a republic would become a mere formality. For a long time these will now be questions not worth raising in Yugoslavia.

Nor is there now any public dialogue in Yugoslavia about the historical-political background of the unrest among the Albanians in the Kosovo. Thus the leadership is continuing another tradition of communist Yugoslavis, namely: National unrest must

never appear understandable even to a small extent against the background of past events; it has a history only insofar as it may reveal relics of "fascism." Thus the party disqualified the Croatian national movement around 1970. Thus, around the same time, it is definitively judged impulses in Slovenia of a will of its own which met with Belgrade's disapproval. And thus it has classified so far all unrest among the Albanians in the Kosovo and in Macedonia.

It does not want to utter a word about the fact that first in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and then also in communist Yugoslavia Albanians for decades were treated as a citizens of secondary rank and rights. Rankovic, chief of the secret police and vice president, of Serb nationality, had considered it his special task to hold down the Albanians in a brutal manner. When he toppled in 1966 a better time for the Albanians began in Yugoslavia. Not only did the oppression gradually cease, but the Kosovo party and government apparatus soon predominantly was put in Albanian hands. Cultural institutions increased--the university in Pristina, publishing, Pristina radio with its Albanian radio and television programs. The Yugoslav Federation gave the Kosovo regular allocations from the government budget, and the Kosovo now received increasingly large amounts from the federal fund for underdeveloped regions paid into with a lot of complaining by the more developed republics.

The Albanians in the Kosovo gained strong self-confidence, which extended to the Albanians in Macedonia. Their high birth rate--the highest in Europe--quickly raised the proportion of Albanians among the Kosovo population (soon to be 80 percent), with that of the Serbs declining at the same rate. Tens of thousands of people belonging to the Serbian minority in the Kosovo feel hemmed in as a result of the advance of the Albanians, who are sticking together and whose Illyrian language and Muslim religion are strange to them anyway--hemmed in on their ancient native soil, because the Kosovo was a core of the medieval Serbian Kingdom. Since the late 1960's Serbs have migrated from the Kosovo into Serbia proper--The Republic of Serbia less the Autonomous Province of Kosovo--because they no longer saw a future for themselves in the Kosovo and even did not feel safe there any longer. That subject, however has been taboo in Yugoslavia for more than a decade.

Despite their upswing, however, the Albanians have not forgotten the previous bad times. Peoples have a long memory--but that is not something the Yugoslav party wants to know about this time either.

8790
CSO: 2300/322

RELIGIOUS CLERICALISM SAID TO SPREAD ETHNIC HATRED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 81 p 6

[Text] Certain individual priests extol their faith on a reactionary national-fascist platform, thus spreading hatred toward the faithful of other religious persuasions and toward other peoples.

In the struggle for strengthening the course of our Yugoslav revolution, and for the development of self-management, we must resolutely oppose various types of nationalism. We must devote particular attention to the activities of the clericalist nationalists, since certain priests are carrying on forbidden political activity, which they are cloaking in religious garb. They extol their faith on a reactionary national-fascist platform, thus spreading hatred toward the faithful of other religious persuasions and toward other peoples, supporting the intolerance of religious communities toward the political system of socialist self-management, trying to rehabilitate known war criminals, and dreaming of a time when "the clergy could assume worldly power." In this, they misuse the religious feelings of the working people and citizens. Recently, they have attempted to reestablish and revitalize old reactionary organizations such as the brotherhoods of Christian congregations, the Catholic youth organizations, young Moslem organizations and others.

Particular zeal in these activities has been shown by certain Orthodox priests in Semberija and Majevica. At the command of high officials of the Tuzla see and with the help of individual nationalist fanatics, they have been manipulating uninformed citizens. They are reviving prewar bigoted organizations, such as priestly brotherhoods, whose purpose is to repress priestly associations working within the framework of the Socialist Alliance. They have been establishing brotherhoods of Christian congregations whose purpose is to gather believers on the basis of the experience and the platform of prewar bigoted organizations with nationalist or Nazi ideologies. They are known to be the moving force for the creation of organizations with the same names as those which were the most eminent supporters of the Ljotic ideology and ardent servants of German fascism before World War II.

Provocations

Similarly they attempt to create a Catholic youth organization and operate such a magazine as OGNJISTE (THE HEARTH), which with ingenious craft, even pretense

of wit, spreads their clericalism-nationalism and intolerance toward all atheist positions. Some Imams from the ranks of the Moslem community at Bjelina are striving to keep up in the urge to spread national intolerance.

These manifestations vividly recall the wartime period, when Ljotic, Nedic and Draza Mihailovic competed with each other in spreading the Chetnik ideology and provocations of the Serbs against Moslems. At that time, they manipulated the fact that the Croatian Ustasa regime was conducting terror and genocide campaigns against the Serbian and Jewish population, so that with the acquiescence of the German overlords they agreed to the annexation of eastern Bosnia to the Nedic and Ljotic regime. The Ljotic national-fascist ideology was also attentively nurtured in the brotherhoods of Christian congregations by Ljotic ideologists.

The activities of Moslem clericalist-nationalists today also bring to mind that these promoters of reactionary fascist ideology, stemming from the top of the Islamic religious community, tried to divert the Moslem population from participation in the War of National Liberation. At the time of the occupation, wrapping their activities in religious garb, they launched the idea of Bosnian-Hercegovinian autonomy under the protection of fascist Germany. They became involved in the establishment of the 13th SS division with the aim of accommodating Hitler; this military formation was eventually to serve them as a bond with the West in case external factors contributed to political breakdown in Yugoslavia, as they hoped.

Freedom

This pro-fascist clericalist-nationalist ideology in Orthodox and Moslem congregations was defeated in the War of National Liberation, as was the Ustasa ideology. It was defeated because Moslems, Serbs and Croats in eastern Bosnia, as well as in the rest of Bosnia and Hercegovina, refused to be manipulated by the fascist occupying force. They took a position in support of the front of national liberation, under the leadership of the Communist Party, for brotherhood, unity, accord and community, as the only way to assure their emergence from darkness and the opening of prospects for harmonious life together in their mutual homeland.

Why are we making these comparisons? We do so to evoke unpleasant memories from our history. We are doing it because we do not want anyone to live in illusion and to expect that the working class--the working people, citizens, young people, believers and patriots of today--40 years after the struggle and the victory, and with all the efforts to build a socialist self-management society, will quietly watch the resurrection of that clericalist-fascist ideology and the attempts at sowing hatred between peoples. We paid too dearly for freedom, brotherhood and unity to permit someone to manipulate the religious feelings of the citizenry and national distinctions in order to destroy the most valued achievements of the War of National Liberation, the socialist revolution and the socialist self-management society.

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23 September 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1921

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23 September 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Better Party Work Needed To Combat 'Foreign Concepts' in Military
(Gafur Cuci; RRUGA E PARTISE, Jul 81) 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Training of Foreign Trade Union Functionaries, Current Courses Described
(Jaroslav Kupka; PRACE, 8 Sep 81) 4

Bias Against Women, TU Leadership Needs, Economic Issues Cited
(Maria Trvalova; PRACE, 18 Aug 81) 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

July 1981 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Martin Quill; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 Jul 81) 8

Youth Organization To Intensify SED Ideology Promotion
(Eberhard Aurich; EINHEIT, Jul 81) 9

Economic Growth Linked With Bezirk-Level Ideology Promotion
(Hans Wetzel; EINHEIT, Jul 81) 14

Data on Youths' Contribution to Economy Analyzed
(Werner Haltinner; EINHEIT, Jul 81) 22

Socialist Art, Culture To Enhance Economic Productivity
(Harald Buehl; EINHEIT, Jul 81) 31

Pluralism Concept Seen as Antisocialist Device
(Karl-Heinz Roeder, Wolfgang Weichelt; EINHEIT, Jul 81) .. 39

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(EINHEIT, Jul 81) 48

Antitank Close Combat Exercise Described
(Klaus Koenig; VOLKSARMEE, No 26, 1981) 52

HUNGARY

Maternity, Infant Welfare Discussed
(Laszlo Medve, et al. Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 9 Aug 81) ... 55

ROMANIA

Plans for New Housing, Urbanization Discussed
(Romeo Dragomirescu Interview; SCINTEIA, 21 Aug 81) 62

Efforts of Doctor To Publicize Romanian Medical Achievements
(Ioan Puscas Interview; SCINTEIA, 11 Aug 81) 65

Romanian Character of Transylvanian Principalities,
Voivodeships Stressed
(Editorial Report) 68

YUGOSLAVIA

Fazlija Replaces Zogaj as Director of 'RILINDJA'
(BORBA, 11 Sep 81) 70

Expansion of Higher Education in Macedonia Examined
(Ivan Angelov; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 11 Jul 81) 71

Temporary Rationing Decreed in Slovenia After Panic Buying
(DELO, 19 Aug 81) 75

BETTER PARTY WORK NEEDED TO COMBAT 'FOREIGN CONCEPTS' IN MILITARY

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 7, Jul 81 pp 53-62

[Article by Gafur Cuci: "Let Us Enhance the Leading Role of the Party and the Effectiveness of its Work i the Armed Forces"]

[Excerpts] The leading role of the party has always been and remains the decisive factor in keeping the armed forces pure, faithful, vigilant and prepared to protect the fatherland, at any time. Just as everywhere else, in the army, too, it is the party which gives the guidelines for all work; it is the multilateral and skilled work of its organs and organizations which sets the tone for the activity of all the levers, the communists, the cadres and all the troops for political, ideological, military and moral training, which inspires them, gives them incentive, mobilizes them, organizes them and puts them into action to execute every duty, no matter how difficult and complicated it might be.

The positive experience of many units and sections which have achieved good results in the execution of tasks related to education, drills and combat readiness are testimony to the fact that there is a broad understanding of the leading role of the party and to the fact that this role is being executed in a creative manner in every link and instance. Particularly good experience has been achieved in the large drills, in which the party organs and organizations stipulate definite objectives, take all the necessary political, ideological, organizational and military measures, explain the duties of the commands, the youth organization and all the troops, and take active measures to execute them.

However, this is not the case everywhere. In practice there are cases which demonstrate a narrow unilateral and bureaucratic understanding of the leading work of the party organ or organization.

First, the leadership work of the party cannot tolerate those concepts and practices which appear here and there when the party problems are resolved mainly or solely by means of meetings, when the supervision of the party/organ or organization is carried out mainly or solely through an appeal in the report or by an analysis of work in the basic party organization. Such practices narrow the sphere of activity of the party organs and the basic party organizations and of the communists and the levers. They weaken the leading role of the party organization which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, is complex, concrete, a daily task, one and inseparable.

There are cases where some party organs, basic party organizations and communists believe that the leadership work can be carried out solely through the regular holding of meetings; some make a fetish of their role, thinking that the leadership of the party cannot be assured unless the problem is brought up for discussion in the party organ or organization or that when the problem it brought before these bodies then everything is done and it is solved. To reduce the leadership work of the party solely to the calling of meetings means to deprive yourself of the spirit of revolutionary action and to become estranged from the daily revolutionary activity of the communists.

Second, party work is not done only by communists, basic party organizations, party committees and apparatuses, but by all cadres, with and without the party, by commands, staffs and other levers of the party. There can be no separation between the activity of the party organs and organizations and their levers, and that of the commands and staffs and the youth organizations. Their entire activity forms a unit, otherwise the party line is not executed as it should be.

The party includes all communists who, wherever they work, in the units and sections, in the unit staffs, in the training institutions, etc, carry out the leadership of the party. There are some communists who are lazy and who take no initiative; they make a weak attempt to raise their ideological and military level. Not only are they not exemplary and in the vanguard but in some cases they trail behind the masses. The party organizations are working with these communists to activate them, to put them in militant positions so that they will be in step with the times and the revolution. But it is necessary that better work be done with them, on an individual and group basis; they should continually be given assignments and each communist should be made thoroughly aware of his responsibility to the party in the unit and section.

There are still some cases where basic party organizations and party organs and staffs in the army, under the pretext of executing a leadership role, continue to be concerned with minor matters, practical actions, problems related to the material base and the preparation of training schedules, and administrative problems in regard to which there are laws and regulations and which the commands and cadres should be able to resolve properly. Such activities should be harshly criticized and concrete measures should be taken to remove them from the work method of the party organs and organizations because, among other things, they restrict the initiative and independent action of the commands, the staffs and the cadres. On the other haud, one should criticize and combat every instance of expectation, any feeling of insufficient responsibility, lack of initiative in the execution of tasks, on the part of some commands, staffs and cadres. We emphasize this aspect of the problem because there have been many occasions where directives, decisions, or orders which have come down from on high to commands, staffs and cadres wait around for the opinion of the party organization and no action is taken.

For example, one of the major on-going duties of the commands and of the cadres is to work unceasingly for the strengthening of the moral and political situation of the troops. Nevertheless, there are cadres who are interested mainly in the technical aspects of military training and show little interest in the education of individuals and in the problems and difficulties arising in this area. Such work practices have their basis in bureaucratic and liberal concepts, in a desire for comfort, in intellectualism and alienation from the masses. Now and then one sees the tendency of some cadres to leave the responsibility to the basic party organization or to handle problems mechanically and report that they are resolved.

In some small units there is a contradiction between the relatively high level of assimilation of military theory by the cadres and their inadequate efforts to carry out military training on the level of their actual potential. The signs of this contradiction are monotony in drills, their execution in a stereotyped form, without creativity, without responding to the needs of the People's Military Art, without conforming to progressive norms and apart from the real conditions of combat.

In light of the fact that in the military units, most of the communists are management cadres, the basic party organizations have increased their demands upon them and continually charged them with tasks which would keep them in close contact with the soldiers, the noncommissioned officers, and the youth organizations, so that they will be able to better hear their opinions. Despite the improvements in this sphere, there are still some foreign practices, instances where cadres remain apart from the masses of soldiers and do not hear their voices as they should, instances of formalism and technocracy, with the belief that the opinions and anxieties of the masses of soldiers should be solicited mainly in meetings with large groups.

Some basic party organizations have tailored their activities to young and older soldiers, to various categories of cadres and have ensured the continual imparting of information by communists, cadres, commands and youth organizations. This has created opportunities to better deal with problems and to resolve them on a timely basis and has created an active climate of opinion, intolerant towards erroneous concepts and actions. Nevertheless, the party organs and organizations must wage a harder struggle against foreign concepts and practices, against the tendency to keep the faults within the confines of the barracks. These tendencies appear in some cases and they result in the accumulation of deficiencies, in the deepening of conflicts and the creation of difficult situations.

Recently, there has been good experience in activating and enlisting the progressive experience of specialists in various military, economic and technical fields. This has raised the level of party work and has made it more scientific and more fruitful. But much remains to be done in this area.

The plans and programs for educational work and military exercises cannot be properly executed unless each communist and cadre evaluates the situation realistically and has a political understanding of his duty, unless he takes full responsibility for executing it and works at a high revolutionary tempo. In order to increase the feeling of responsibility of the communists and cadres the basic party organizations and the party organs have been fighting concepts such as "let the commands solve that" and "I did my duty because I brought the matter to the attention of the basic party organization," and others like them. The attitudes of some communists and cadres who do not worry about their work, who work without norms and without a plan, who make concessions and simplifcations in exercises, have resulted from such concepts. Such things also occur in the work of some staff cadres. They confine themselves to supervising, giving orders and making comments and they do not feel the necessary responsibility when the military drills take place in a monotonous manner, with poor quality and no good results, or when preparedness regulations are violated.

CSO: 2100/106

TRAINING OF FOREIGN TRADE UNION FUNCTIONARIES, CURRENT COURSES DESCRIBED

Prague PRACE in Czech 8 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Kupka, director of Antonin Zapotocky ROH Central School: "Combining Theoretical Know-How With Daily Practice"]

[Summary] Annually, about 2,500 ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) functionaries and employees graduate from the Antonin Zapotocky ROH Central School in Prague. Beginning 1981, a 4-year correspondence course has been introduced by the school, leading to matriculation. The course majors in social law and economics. Also being introduced is a 1-year correspondence course concentrating on issues of mass work in production; social policy; labor and wages; health insurance and ROH economics and auditing. A 1-year course for ROH women-functionaries has also been introduced this year. The 3-year correspondence study in ideological, educational and cultural subjects designed especially for trade unionists working in the cultural field will continue. In January 1982, one of the 2-year combined study classes will graduate, followed by a second class graduation in June. A 3-month boarding school course for ROH plant and enterprise committee chairmen will also be held this year. The 1-month boarding school courses in political, economic and trade union studies will continue for leading ROH plant committee functionaries. Also held are courses for functionaries involved in arbitration commissions, youth commissions, physical education and other trade union sectors. The trade union school's seven departments teach trade unionists various subjects such as Marxism-Leninism; history of national and international workers' and trade union movements; national economy and work economics; social policy and labor law; Leninist theory; development and activity of labor movement; ideological, educational and cultural work, as well as general education subjects, including classes on improvement of their native and Russian languages, and literature. Also included in the curriculum are practical exercises, discussions, excursions to industrial plants, cultural programs and other programs which are held not only in Prague but also at the school branches in Neratovice, Zlenice nad Sazavou and Potstejn nad Orlici. The school also holds conferences and seminars honoring important workers' and trade union anniversaries. In 1982, a seminar honoring the 60th anniversary of the Red Trade Unions will be held. Besides its traditional contacts with trade union schools in the USSR and other socialist countries, the school has held over 50 seminars for trade union functionaries from developing countries. These functionaries are familiarized with selected issues dealing with Marxist-Leninist theory, namely scientific socialism; experience gained by the CSSR during transition from national democratic revolution to socialistic revolution; successes of socialistic progress and theory and practices of the Czechoslovak trade union movement. The foreign participants regularly visit many industrial plants, trade unions, ROH cultural and recreational facilities in order to familiarize themselves with Czechoslovak life and trade union work.

CSO: 2400/311

BIAS AGAINST WOMEN, TU LEADERSHIP NEEDS, ECONOMIC ISSUES CITED

Prague PRACE in Czech 18 Aug 81 pp 1,3

[Article by Maria Trvalova, chairwoman of the Central Trade Union Association of Workers in Textile, Garment and Leather-Processing Industries: "Constant Attention to Economy"]

[Excerpts] At their session in June the central, Czech and Slovak committees of the Trade Union Association of Workers in Textile, Garment and Leather-Processing Industries jointly discussed issues on which we shall focus our attention: how to harness efforts of our organs and basic organizations so that the period preceding the 10th All Trade-Union Congress be inspired by political and work actions which show practical evidence that the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress is also our program.

The branches of our union not only fulfilled but even surpassed their tasks for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Labor productivity covered the entire increment of production: the deliveries for the domestic market and for exports were fulfilled mainly because of technological advances as well as due to the extraordinary work efforts and devotion of our working people--above all, women. Nevertheless, these results cannot satisfy us completely. On the contrary, they teach us a great lesson because there are still weak spots negatively affecting the overall results and efforts of labor collectives.

We critically and frankly expressed our dissatisfaction with the fact that the necessary changes in the structure and innovation of goods had not been implemented with desirable dispatch. As compared with the world situation, the decline in material costs has not been dynamic enough. Untapped resources still exist for reducing energy consumption, for better utilization of the work-time fund, and for mobilization of available factors to intensify the development of production.

When drafting the plan, the satisfaction of society's needs has not always been successfully approached. Moreover, shortcomings are evident in the rate at which the plan is being fulfilled, and this is adversely affecting the efforts of our working people to fulfill their socialist pledges.

... The workers of the Vinena enterprise in Brno approached the fulfillment of their tasks with the awareness that the principles for improving the system presuppose

creative performance on the part of all managers and their responsibility for the economic outcome of their decisions. They proceed from the premise that it is not enough to know only the indicators of the imporved system but that every individual, from the director to workers in production, should know specific factors in his own sector which should be applied to boost efficiency.

Acting jointly, the economic management and the trade union organization thus succeeded in making most workers in production interested in upgrading the quality, in economizing with materials and energy, and in increasing the shift work....

Thus, we came to the conclusion that our trade union organizations, in cooperation with economic management, must devote constant attention to objective issues of our economy and get whole workers' teams interested in their solution, as discussed also at the 7th and 12th plenary sessions of the URO [Central Committee of Trade Unions].

In this spirit our trade union association approached the discussion of the key tasks in the development of workers' initiative, and focused attention on the main task: to fufill this year's state plan in the stipulated volume, line and quality of goods for domestic and foreign markets.

The fulfillment of this year's plan is closely connected with the fulfillment of the economic plan for 1982. According to the Principle of the CSSR Government and of the URO on Workers' Participation in Planning, Implementing and Controlling the Fulfillment of the plan for 1981-1985, the proposal for the operations plan must be drafted with thorough application of the counterplanning method.

...The economic production units together with trade union officials organizing sectoral activs to discuss joint action not only in counterplanning but also in drafting new collective contracts for enterprises and plants.

It should be stressed that the draft of the plan and of collective contracts for 1982 must focus even more distinctly on improving efficiency, economy and quality of production. Our demanding economic tasks are closely related to better work on the part of our trade unions in their care for our working people as well as in their political organizational and educational activities. We focused on this particular target when drafting operations plans for the period preceding the 10th All Trade Union Congress, so that the trade union organs render assistance to the basic ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] organizations, especially those facing problems concerning the quality of production, innovation of goods, and shortcomings in the production of appropriate lines of goods, those lacking flexibility in supplier relations, and those fulfilling their plan irregularly.

We are setting these tasks while preparing the agenda, organizing and training the cadres for annual membership meetings, conferences and for the congress of the trade union association. That will require considerable organizational work. We expect more than 40,000 functionaries on all levels to prove their mettle in organizing, directing and guiding the ROH members not only to make correct conclusions and decisions but also to implement those decisions consistently, particularly in their basic organizations.

We must pay special attention to annual membership meetings of trade union chapters and elect chapter trustees from among functionaries who have successfully fulfilled their production tasks, who enjoy informal authority in their work teams, and who are capable of resolving problems with imagination, equanimity and with the participation of workers' teams.

By the same token, we must demand integrity, steadfastness, honesty and other indispensable characteristics from the functionaries of shop and plan committees, of okres and kraj committees, of enterprise and sectoral committees, and naturally, also from the members of national organs and central committee of our trade union association. In organs on all levels we need working and productive collectives capable not only of protecting the needs of our working people but also of organizing their activities so as to fulfill our party's economic and social policies.

We are an association where most women are organized. This reality must be reflected also in the composition of our trade union organs. In this conjunction we should like to underline that we must accordingly enforce the selection of our women for leading economic positions. We cannot be satisfied with the current situation. There is not one single woman serving now in the higher echelon.

On the contrary, when women leave positions in the leadership, men are frequently appointed to fill the spot. Our work in the upcoming period must be more consistently focused on this situation. This circumstance brings to the fore the importance of our work and care for the social development of working collectives by means of the plan for cadre and personnel training, social development and collective contracts.

9004
CSO: 2400/297

JULY 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jul 81 p 4

[Martin Quill review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 7, July 1981, signed to press 10 June 1981, pp 625-736: "Obtain More From What Is Available." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Enhanced Refinement--A Great National Economy Program"--this is the main topic, on which EINHEIT has published five articles. Discussing the SED's economic strategy for developing the national economy of the GDR, adopted by the 10th SED Congress, Claus Kroemke points out under the headline, "Well Equipped for the 1980's," that reserves of even considerably larger volume will become effective for the national economy if the socialist planned economy grows even stronger and if the people develop their initiative in socialist competition to a still greater degree.

In another article, Gerhard Tautenhahn describes the situation in metallurgy and the metalworking industry. He deals with enhanced refinement of raw materials, other materials and products. In his opinion, this is the way essentially to improve the efficiency of the entire reproduction process and to guarantee a high growth of performance. Of great importance, according to the writer, are all progressive ideas, all suggestions for solutions that help ensure that through efficient work each kilogram of raw material will yield as many high-quality products as possible.

Horst Wambutt deals in his article with better utilization of our basic materials, while Karlheinz Jentsch addresses the question of enhanced refinement in our combines. Bernhard Larisch and Winfried Theilig discuss the more effective use of animal raw materials.

John Heartfield's photo collage, "Never Again!'" on the cover of the July issue refers to the articles headed, "Monopolies on Intensified Armament Course" (by Horst Fiedler and Alfred Preusse) and "Who Profits From the Armament Boom" (by Dr Guenter Kalex, economist, sector chief, SED Central Committee; and Siegfried Ullrich, social scientist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics [IPW]) [no summary available for this 'Facts and Figures' report dealing primarily with FRG armament concerns]. Other authors describe the tasks of the space sciences (Heinz Stiller), the continued development of the young generation's socialist attitude toward work (Werner Haltinner), and the relationship between a life of culture and creativity (Harald Buehl).

CSO: 2300/327

YOUTH ORGANIZATION TO INTENSIFY SED IDEOLOGY PROMOTION

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[Lead Commentary by Eberhard Aurich, member, SED Central Committee; second secretary, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ): "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress"]

[Text] The 11th FDJ Parliament, held a few weeks after the 10th SED Congress in the Palace of the Republic in our capital Berlin, turned into an impassioned forum for the allegiance by our country's youth to the SED and its policy. To the appeal to youth from the party congress the highest organ of the socialist youth organization responded this way: Our youth will lack neither resolution nor ideas and deeds for the GDR to be able to meet the challenges in this decade with success. FDJ members are ready to fulfill any mission conscientiously and resolutely. This was affirmed by the delegates in a letter to the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. In it they thanked the working class party and its leadership for the policy for the good of the people and the consolidation of peace, the great confidence in youth, the great responsibility assigned to it, the love and care by which the youth organization is given the kind of comradely help which fosters readiness for initiative, a spirit of competition and achievements which our whole country is talking about with respect and appreciation.

An overwhelming high point was the speech by Erich Honecker, that distinguished communist and statesman, before the delegates to the 11th Parliament. In the spring of 1946, on party mission, he was among the founders of the FDJ, was its first chairman, and helped youth by word and deed in determining its tasks. When Comrade Erich Honecker, on the recommendation from the SED Central Committee and the GDR Council of Ministers, for the second time in its history awarded the FDJ the highest distinction of the GDR, the Karl Marx medal, the delegates felt pride in what they had accomplished, and it strengthened their resolve to take the lead for all youth in implementing the 10th party congress decisions through still richer initiatives. All included in this sense of their own accomplishments also a feeling of gratitude for the many FDJ assistants, the party organization secretaries and the thousands of propagandists, the state managers associated with the FDJ and the organizers of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement, and the teachers and educators and many others.

"Never yet could a state on German soil be as proud of its youth as we are in the GDR. This socialist state has been and will always be a state of youth."[1] This certainty was confirmed before friend and foe at the 11th FDJ Parliament. Of it, the 133 delegations of fraternal organizations or friendly aligned organizations were able, not last, to convince themselves. They reacted with great approval to the FDJ's peace appeal to the youth of all continents. Their appearance at the Parliament and in Berlin FDJ basic organizations was a moving expression of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity.

Erich Honecker's speech at the Parliament presented the Marxist-Leninist orientation for our continued work in the field of youth policy as it conforms to our struggle conditions and requirements. The General Secretary said all youth in the GDR should be made thoroughly familiar with Marxism-Leninism, the 10th party congress decisions and the SED's strategy and tactics, and should be mobilized for their implementation. He stated: "It remains the fundamental task of the FDJ to help the party educate the young people into convinced fighters acting in accordance with the world-changing ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin and advocating the implementation of the SED Program under any conditions. Studying and working for the good of the people, a great efficiency and defense readiness, an unshakable class consciousness and political steadfastness in all situations--those are the things that should distinguish all young people in the developed socialist society."[2] Indeed, that remains the crucial matter, the core of FDJ activity. Therefore the 11th Parliament sparked the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress" as an FDJ mass initiative for implementing the 10th party congress decisions. It combines the most important tasks and experiences we must solve or apply in order to further improve the level of communist education--as demanded by the party congress.

The 11th Parliament focused on enabling every young person to appropriate the sense of life of the communists and acquire a firm class standpoint. It has been found useful here to pay central attention to some basic political-ideological matters. The FDJ will see to it that all young people
--understand our era as one of transition from capitalism to socialism and gain strength for their own conduct from the incessant and worldwide advance of socialism;
--realize that socialism and peace belong inseparably together and that they are strengthening peace by their high personal dedication to a strong workers and farmers power on German soil;
--always strengthen the alliance with the Soviet Union and the friendship with the other states in the socialist community and hold high our anti-imperialist solidarity;
--always start from the proposition that the fundamental matter of the socialist revolution is maintaining and consolidating the political power of the workers and farmers under Marxist-Leninist party leadership and its defense;
--help implement through their own performance the policy for the good of the people, the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, as a characteristic trait of socialism and an expression of its real humanism;
--learn to manage the scientific-technical revolution for the benefit of our socialist society; and
--rigorously turn back the enemy's attempts to paralyze the forward march of socialism through ideological diversion, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

These targets of political-ideological work are dealt with in the FDJ membership meetings as they have already been through the well conceived idea of the FDJ study year. The Parliament asked the members of the association to take part in a discussion about acquiring the "For Good Knowledge" medal so as to demonstrate their deep knowledge of the content of the central committee report to the 10th party congress. It suggested to all FDJ basic organizations to establish solid contacts with the party veterans, the heroes of the antifascist resistance struggle, the activists of the first hour and the first generation of FDJ members in order still better to appropriate the party's and FDJ's traditional struggles.

The 11th Parliament directed all groups and basic organizations to make a great contribution to the needed economic performance improvements. The slogan of the Hans Kiefert youth brigade in Berlin, "Each every day with a good balance-sheet," became the most popular slogan at the Parliament. It further promotes the performance comparison among the youth brigades and challenges each individual youth to make a great personal contribution to the competition.

The Parliament assigned ambitious five-year plan investment projects and other tasks from the science and technology state plan as youth projects. That sets a standard for directing the capability and performance readiness of youth toward coping with most modern science and technology, especially also through the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement.

The 11th Parliament has derived a fighting program for youth from the party's economic strategy for the 1980's. That is indicated as much by the decision to extend the "FDJ Initiative Berlin" as the central youth project as by the initiatives, "Microelectronics," "Industrial Robots," and the movement of rural youth under the slogan, "Rationalize--Produce More, Better and Cheaper." With justified pride the Parliament was able to report that the FDJ has succeeded in the last 5 years, through party executive support, in strengthening its influence among working youth. This is indicated by growing membership, the increase in the number of youth brigades from 13,194 to 39,200, and the economic initiatives providing increasing economic benefits year after year. The FDJ will thus continue paying special attention to the youth brigades, their target-directed promotion, the replenishing of their membership and the setting up of new ones. Their number is to reach 5,000 by 1985. The motto will continue to be: Have each youth brigade derive its Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow task preferably from the science and technology plan.

Much as for working youth, the Parliament formulated specific tasks for the FDJ members in high schools, vocational training facilities and the colleges and technical schools. The representatives of those segments of youth offered thanks for our having raised the pay for apprentices, having introduced training grants at the expanded high schools, and having reorganized our scholarship system with new initiatives and commitments, considering this an expression of the great solicitude by the party and state for young people in school particularly.

The Parliament made a special point of the FDJ responsibility in running the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization. It urged firm contacts with the young pioneers on the basic organizations in enterprises and cooperatives, colleges and technical schools and the armed organs.

Much was said at the Parliament about the readiness by youth to guarantee the military inviolability and security of socialism under all the conditions of the international class conflict. The FDJ, together with the GST, will continue to organize premilitary and military sports training and education in such a way that everyone recognizes the military defense of our accomplishments is an indispensable consequence of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and acquires the prerequisites for it.

The 11th Parliament oriented the FDJ executive boards to creating a substantive intellectual-cultural and tourist and athletic life wherever youth works, studies and meets, and always providing a healthy and happy atmosphere. The more than 6,400 FDJ youth clubs are very important in providing meaningful leisure-time activities. There was, thus, an appropriate response to the SED Central Committee Politburo decision to set up, till 1985, within the framework of comprehensive housing construction, 150 youth clubs in urban new construction areas. They were assumed as FDJ kreis youth projects.

The 11th Parliament, much as the association meetings held subsequently in all bezirks, attested to the great strength of a uniform socialist mass organization in which all strata and age-groups of youth are represented and which act uniformly under party leadership. The FDJ has now 2.3 million members, organized in 27,418 basic organizations and 90,310 groups. The political-ideological and organizational consolidation of the groups and basic organizations will remain one of the most important tasks.

Thus far, 10,000 FDJ basic organizations have been awarded for their exemplary work a red party flag of honor with the pictures of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck. Others are entitled to struggle for one. The Parliament emphasized the need to go on and work in a discriminating fashion with the different strata and to provide the activists of the association with greater expertise still in their activity.

To implement the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," all groups and basic organizations are issuing accountable and controllable fighting programs. Great help to preparing them comes from the joint party and FDJ executive meetings. The measures by many party executives in support of the FDJ contain, among other things, stipulations for the political training of FDJ activists, the regular appearance of party functionaries before FDJ collectives and youth conferences, the assigning of ambitious and economically significant youth projects, the confirmation and training of propagandists in the FDJ study year, and the support for cadre work in the FDJ. All that helps the FDJ in still better fulfilling its function as the SED's helper and fighting reserve for the fulfillment of the 10th party congress decisions.

In the Central Council status report, the comment on it by Egon Krenz, who was reelected first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, went as follows: "Yes, GDR youth takes up its fighting position today and always alongside the comrades--in everything that still has to be learned and accomplished. For today's members of the youth association--as several FDJ generations that preceded us--find this confirmed: the SED is the party of the future because its Marxist-Leninist program reliably points the way into our communist tomorrow and boldly pioneers this course.

It is the party of the innovators, holding the lead of the socialist revolution in the GDR that transforms its public life and discloses new horizons. It is a party of sacrificial and implacable struggle against everything old, reactionary and looking backwards, which in no disguise and no mode of speech will ever again get a chance in the GDR. That is also guaranteed, not last, by its youth."[3]

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 145.

2. Erich Honecker, "Only Socialism Can Solve the Vital Problems of Youth," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6/7 june 1981, p 4.

3. Egon Krenz, "The Responsibility of Youth to Extending the Socialist Revolution in the GDR and the FDJ's Tasks After the 10th SED Congress," JUNGE WELT, 3 June 1981, p 3.

5885
CSO: 2300/328

ECONOMIC GROWTH LINKED WITH BEZIRK-LEVEL IDEOLOGY PROMOTION

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[Article by Hans Wetzel, second secretary, SED Cottbus Bezirk Management; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "Political Management--Economic Performance"]

> [Text] This article demonstrates by means of many different experiences in SED Cottbus Bezirk Management how through target-directed political management activity by the party and the application of well tested and new forms of party work the fighting strength in the basic organizations, particularly in the combines, is reinforced, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is made the centerpiece of party work and reserves are thus being tapped in new dimensions.

As everywhere else in our country, public life in Cottbus Bezirk also is marked by a mass initiative, embracing all fields, toward analyzing the 10th party congress and fulfilling its fundamental tasks. Socialist competition, the debates on preparing the five-year plan and the fighting programs of the basic organizations emanate a sense of responsibility and a certitude in victory. Attitudes and actions impressively reflect the working class optimism about history and its world-outlook and deep confidence in the policy of the Marxist-Leninist party. It cannot be overlooked that qualitative changes are taking place in the people's initiative, under party leadership, toward the implementation of our policy, aimed at the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace, which in turn place new and higher demands on the level of management activity and the development of a mass-affiliated working style by the party organs.

The Central Committee report to the 10th party congress states: "Developing a strong raw material base and comprehensively using our domestic raw materials are a basic prerequisite for continued stable economic development. That is true especially for soft coal the mining of which will by 1985 be increased to between 285 and 290 million tons."*

Wholly in this sense we are enhancing our knowledge and responsibility in our bezirk party organization with respect to that the most efficient use of our large territorial raw material deposits for the energy, glass and construction industries, and

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* Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 63.

a planned fast development of the coal industry and of electrical energy, gas and coke production, of the glass industry and of polyurethane chemistry in our bezirk more and more determine social and economic progress in our country. Our bezirk also was given greater responsibility for consumer goods production in the 1980's and 1990's, mainly by the decisions on setting up a modern glass plant making color-television tubes, and in expanding our chemical fiber and polyurethane production capacities.

Especially strong effects on this mass movement evolve from the peace concept of the 10th party congress and its decision resolutely to continue throughout the 1980's its main task policy in its unity of economic and social policy, and from understanding our grown responsibility for the continuance of the revolutionary world process.

Consolidating the Party Organizations' Fighting Strength

Most of the work is still ahead of us in organizing, long-range, the practical application of the 10th party congress policy in its whole breadth in accordance with the high criteria. Solid preconditions for it exist. For it is shown in practice, after all, that the maturity of the socialist production relations, the high developmental level of the productive forces and the scientific-economic strategy, the working people's performance willingness and the party organizations' grown fighting strength extraordinarily enlarge the possibilities for a high performance growth through the political management of social processes. If we want to exhaust these possibilities to the fullest, we need to penetrate ever more deeply into the nature and objectives of the 10th party congress and further concretize the "how," the best ways and means for implementing the decisions.

All experience thus far tells us: We will get fine results to the extent that we succeed in enhancing further the fighting strength of the party's basic organizations. Through them above all, through a high grade and effectiveness of management work, the application of the Central Committee decisions must be ensured uniformly and cohesively all the way down to the party groups and each work collective. Our deliberations and measures for improving our economic efficiency therefore always connect closely with the planned development of the basic organizations as centers of political activity and close mass affiliation, as engines of the mass initiatives. The point is that in all of the more than 1,300 basic organizations in the economic field in our bezirk the best experiences of party work be applied. Right on the spot they must be helped in finding the crucial interconnecting links in their political-ideological, economic and organizational work, concentrate on them, and boost the communists' power of radiation in the work collectives.

A high responsibility for the great performance improvements in soft coal mining needed is assigned to the party organization in the Lauchhammer Works. More than 4,000 working people in that tradition-rich enterprise in the "little loamy land" develop, produce and assemble the essential open-pit equipment for the GDR and for export. At the same time, that enterprise is the sole producer of bathtubs for the GDR's housing construction program and handles comprehensive foundry assignments for GDR machine building as well as art casting. The new and higher demands placed on the efficiency of large-scale open-pit equipment, its productivity, weight,

costs, microelectronic equipment and so forth certainly were not always easy for everyone in the party organization and the working crews to understand right away. Partly also the target assignments were placed in doubt because, for instance, the assembly of the large excavator for open-pit operations in Welzow-South was in arrears over several months, the bathtub foundry went through reconstruction, and the planned shut-down period of its smeltery was to take 3 months.

Opening Up Reserves in New Dimensions

After thorough deliberations and a mobilizing party debate, the party management then presented its draft fighting program for all these problems. It started from the proposition that even in this enterprise there were still large reserves and issued accurate stipulations on how and through whom the planned tasks could be met and surpassed.

The managements of the department party organizations did more work in the party groups, party orders were worked out more specifically and strictly supervised, and an effective everyday agitation was organized. Capable comrades were, on party orders, assigned at troublesome spots and to eliminating bottlenecks, and party influence was boosted in the research and design collectives. To meet assembly deadlines, extra welders were delegated to the assembly site. They are accomplishing veritable acts of heroism under difficult conditions. Party activists groups were formed for basic and sectional tasks. The work of the science and technology party commission was aimed at the crucial tasks of performance improvement, such as the development of storage-programmable controls for various types of excavators or the development of a control system for an automatic excavation of suitable excavation levels. The technological development collectives received the order to make 15 industrial robots operational in this five-year plan period instead of the five that were originally planned.

As a result of such responsible work, they assumed the commitment to obtain high targets above and beyond the 1981 national economic plan, exceed the planned labor productivity boost by 1.2 percent, and raise output with the "Q" quality seal by more than M 1.4 million. Today it is shown that prudent, relevant and far-sighted political management uncovers considerable reserves and thus provides a high economic performance. The deadline for the excavator assembly, once in jeopardy, now is assured. By reusing the Greifenhain assembly site, M 4.81 million were saved. The shutdown period of the smeltery is reduced by one-third. The development period for another efficient excavator was reduced by 2 months, and they are intensively at work on still more efficient hydraulic rail-shifting devices. For fulfilling new and high objectives, decisions by the departmental party organization managements, commitments by the party groups, plan offers by more than 2,300 workers, numerous engineering qualifications and innovator contracts, as well as 18 Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow tasks act as sure guarantees.

One principle of our political management activity is to organize from the outset and constantly the study of the party decisions, their thorough explanation in the work collectives, and their implementation by the party organizations as a unified process. In this we support and concretely supervise the party collectives in their carrying out their obligations as assumed in honor of the 10th party congress.

The party management of the basic organization in the Finsterwalde welding technique enterprise, e.g., has compiled a book with all the commitmens assumed in honor of the 10th party congress. The work schedule sets down who will have to report about their status where and when, and which comrades energetically assist the work collectives in implementing them, on which matters at times party activists groups or commissions are set up. There are monthly accounts given on the initiatives contained in the brigades' budget books and obligation notebooks. In all the areas of the department party organizations there are "Red Books" which in combination with the departments' tasks publicly inform about the status of fulfillment. So it was already possible, e.g., to figure out that a new welding converter and a new welding compact device were put into series production and that the zero series of some high-grade household welding device was completed of which 500 units will be produced still this year for the public market.

Bezirk management systematically conveys to the kreis managements and basic organizations such and other fine methods of party work, which also are of great importance to the public debate on the five-year plan directive for tapping and using performance and efficiency reserves.

Combines Are Decisive for Performance Growth

The focal point of our deliberations and efforts lies in the development of the fighting strength of the party organizations in the eight centrally managed combines headquartered in our bezirk, which handle 7 percent of the GDR's industrial production. Some 52.2 percent of all who are working in industry and construction in our territory work there, 22,600 communists among them. That comes to 58.6 percent of all party members in those fields. The three coal and energy combines have to provide the GDR with the largest proportions of total energy production: 55.8 percent in raw lignite, 47.6 percent in electrical energy, 72.7 percent in sewer gas and 100 percent in brown coal high temperature coke. The efficiency growth of the GDR economy absolutely demands ensuring a high economic performance boost in such giants through improving the effectiveness of scientific-technical progress and of the growth in labor productivity.

Thousands of work collectives have addressed the issues of scientific-technical progress concretely. That was significantly helped by the membership meetings in the months following the 10th party congress and by the targeted analysis of the central committee seminar with the general directors of the centrally managed combines and the central committee party organizers. A new quality of socialist competition is developing. Qualitatively new features appear in party organization work that wants to use the increased intellectual potential of the working people, their increased socialist consciousness, fine education, experience and technical skills. Thus the party organization in the gas plant of the Schwarze Pumpe [Black Pump] Combine decided to form working teams on which over 300 production management and control engineers, operations and coordination engineers and shift foremen and brigade chiefs work together with concentration and in coordination, mainly to improve the technological level of production. In 1981 these groups, by party order, were assigned 55 tasks, preparing the operation of microcomputer technique, optimizing the running of installations in tar-separating and the dust-heavy tar industry, extending the working life of generators, handling waste and by-products, and other such matters.

Most of these tasks involved arrangements with the area sections of the KDT (Chamber of Technology) and the setting up of KDT projects, so that the engineering organization increasingly became the carrying agent of this initiative, the impetus to work with engineering certifications and the innovator movement got a boost, and the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement received new impulses. The party management of the gas plant saw to it that also in this initiative the communists would always live up to the party's leadership role. "A good comrade is one who draws his own conclusions from the economic strategy of the 10th party congress and not merely repeats its 10 key points by rote," the party secretary of the gas plant affirmed.

Elated with the knowledge of such potentials and their increased effective possibilities, our bezirk management focused on mobilizing all capacities and using all reserves so as to exceed the targets of the 1981 economic plan by at least 3 days of sold industrial output, one percent of industrial labor productivity, 6.85 million tons of raw lignite, 357,500 tons of briquettes, 315,000 tons of sifted coal and 25,000 tons of brown coal high temperature coke. Finished products for the public are to exceed the plan by 3 percent. The bezirk party activists group decided on these high quotas and, with it, have headed the struggle to achieve them.

Proven and New Forms of Party Work

The magnitude and complicated nature of the tasks in the 1980's have the effect that there are also considerable ideological and technical and technological problems in ensuring the necessary high growth of efficiency and productivity. Obtaining the assigned parameters is not assured yet everywhere, and then there also are still significant level differences among the various enterprises. To solve these problems, bezirk management aims its political management activity above all at developing the kind of management activity in the combines and enterprises that will foster effective initiatives and great dedication and, above all, through high scientific-technical achievements, satisfy the economic requirements in the new decade. At these connecting links also is directed our decision to sponsor intensification conferences in the enterprises. There it will have to be considered how, through prudent management, the grown social consciousness and economic potential can be turned to the highest social effect.

This way the content of political-ideological, economic and organizational work keeps developing. Cadre work and training and advanced training receive new emphasis and new dimensions. With help from a working team in bezirk management, long-range cadre policy tasks and requirements have been elaborated for decisive economic areas. Priorities are preparing the cadre and regular working crews for 12 new open pits by 1990, the recruiting and training of the required power plant personnel for the 500-megawatt blocks, the most expedient use of college and technical school graduates, especially in science and technology, and the necessary consequences for training and advanced training of working people and vocational training in the application of microelectronics and robot techniques.

Our growing intellectual and material potential demands and makes possible extending on a higher level the struggle for a massive application of the best experiences and around interference quota zero--an old topic in party work on improving efficiency that has by no means been settled as yet. Differences between levels in making

full capacity use of large-size equipment and installations, in the interference quota and in prime costs suggest there are great reserves: differences in the capacity use in terms of time of the 60-meter conveying bridges, e.g., go as high as up to 30 percent. Outstanding workers, like the party delegates Helmuth Melcher and Georg Rzepka--both are excavators in the Senftenberg brown coal combine--put their own stamp on that movement through new initiatives. Shift guarantees, performance analysis of the equipment every 2 hours, master workmanship in excavating for generalizing on the experiences of the best workers, and close cooperation with the brown coal mining institute provide the collectives with the opportunities to conduct more successfully the struggle for a better use of working hours, for high order, security and discipline, and against interference and breakdown, and better to cope with the complicated geological and hydrological conditions in brown coal mining.

Fostering and generalizing on such attitudes and achievements is one of our most important management task, for it is being comfirmed time and time again that the role of the subjective factor is growing in the development of a high performance boost. The decisions by the party organizations on managing this movement are marked by concrete substantive and lead time assignments for the study and application of the experiences of the best workers. Political work principally is aimed at developing a high performance readiness en masse and making maximum use of objective performance conditions. In our practical party work, new forms and methods in management activity develop along with tried and tested ones.

Scientific-Technical Progress the Centerpiece of Party Work

In bezirk management work we have paid the greatest attention to the party organizations' activities in R&D. Thousands of expert technicians are engaged in it. Those party organizations aim their direction and control at further developing their wealth of ideas and creative capacities and using that potential still more efficiently in accelerating our scientific-technical progress and improving the effectiveness of scientific work. They systematically plan to make up for arrears from the past, expressed by the fact that not all of the scientific-technical application tasks decided on apart from the state plan were in fact met in 1980, and that not a few obligation notebooks were prepared without world standard comparisons. Important work on this is done by the science and technology commissions working in bezirk management and in the kreis managements always under the direction of the first secretary. For the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the application of microelectronics, robot technique, electronic machine controls and electronic computer techniques are of crucial importance. Bezirk management therefore appointed a working team for microelectronics. Through them and the science and technology commissions, which also exist in the combine enterprises, decisions to be made by the elected managements are being prepared, analytic material is being processed and party control is exercised. Kreis managements conduct meetings on this topic and organize relevant exhibits. All this makes possible to orient the previous conceptions of the party organizations about the use of robots and microprocessors to the new criteria. Based on thorough analyses, they were able to decide on essentially higher targets for the application of that technology. While in the outcome of the party elections the basic organizations in the gas combine had adopted the target of installing 8 robots and 20 microcomputers within the five-year plan period, they now have assumed the task, after analyzing the 10th party congress decisions, to put 145 robots and 800 microcomputers into operation.

Completely new consequences also result from these greatly increased requirements. Each combine has the task to make full use of its intellectual and material potentials in developing and producing robots out of its own components. That also gives rise to measures for changing the managerial and production structure. An independent area is being set up in the gas combine which, subdivided into sections in means of rationalization construction, microelectronics and robot construction, bears the responsibility all the way for the research to production application and cooperation relations. New party organizations and an appropriate party activists group have to be developed. Here in the Schwarze Pumpe gas combine also is a bezirk consultation office for science and technology matters because this party organization has long had good experiences in the struggle for accelerating the scientific-technical progress.

The bezirk party organization has adopted the task to create the prerequisites, through an ever better use of these most modern productive forces, for saving the industry of the bezirk already in 1981 at least 15.5 million working hours and 2,200 jobs and releasing 4,700 manpower units. Other areas have been assigned similar targets.

High Overall Social Responsibility

We are aware that the implementation of the 10th party congress decisions amounts to highly ambitious goals also for our bezirk, the fulfillment of which decisively affects our republic's economic efficiency. For instance, almost 80 percent of the needed increase of the GDR's raw lignite mining has to be handled by the Senftenberg brown coal combine, its annual mining load having to be increased to at least between 180.5 and 182.5 million tons by 1985. Six new open pits have to be started in the bezirk up to 1985. The main increase in the GDR's electrical energy production up to 1985 has to come from the Jaenschwalde brown coal power plant combine, mainly by setting up another power plant there and by a higher disposal capacity of the installations. The Schwarze Pumpe gas combine attains to an objectively new position within the GDR economy. The responsibility of the party organizations in the combine for further great advances in the GDR's carbochemical industry, brown coal refinement, including the gasification of salt coal, is rising rapidly. And its internationalist obligations for developing coal mining in Mozambique are increasing.

The effectiveness of political management in implementing the 10th party congress economic strategy must display itself mainly in these areas and in the whole complexity of this process. That holds true for the needed increase in efficiency and for reducing the needed public investments. It is not longer a matter merely of mining more coal and refining it. This enormous increase, rather, has to come through improved productivity and efficiency in spite of increasing geological and hydrological burdens and the declining quality of the brown coal. At the same time the most thrifty and rational use of all energy sources must be ensured in the energy industry--itself being one of the big energy consumers.

The magnitude of the task and our overall social responsibility for reliably meeting the tasks, proper as to deadlines and demands, categorically require scientific-technical solutions and measures to ensure a higher efficiency, productivity and qualities in the production and work processes. The chief targets of our struggle

are: optimum capacity use of the large-size open-pit equipment and other installations, the gradual introduction of a microelectronically equipped conveyer technique instead of the expensive survey lines on surface, a penetrating rationalization of the maintenance processes which are so especially extensive in the energy industry, and the development of new stages of brown coal refinement. In parallel with it there are extensive measures for environmental protection.

There is in our bezirk no other sector in the struggle for implementing the 10th party congress economic strategy which in our advances requires the handling of our overall social responsibility and complexity as much as the coal and energy industry. New and large regular crews have to be formed quickly for new sites and under new conditions, new residential areas have to be built for them. All necessary prerequisites for forming powerful party organizations have to be created in good time. The party activists have to be regrouped. Thousands of cadre must be prepared well ahead of time.

With it, the point is to mitigate or, if possible, eliminate any negative effects the increased coal mining might have on agriculture and forestry through complex measures and overall social efforts, because agriculture in our bezirk was obligated by the party congress also to organize a new performance growth, increase produced volumes and yields, although 20 percent of the farm acreage in our bezirk is going to be excavated in the decades ahead and another area of the same size will be deprived of much of its ground water. The bezirk party organization has adopted the goal to increase annual grain production up to 1985 by at least 50,000 tons and the annual gross crop production per hectare between 0.2 and 0.5 grain units. Such high objectives demand also of agriculture to accelerate scientific-technical progress, use more consistently and at the whole range the experiences of the best workers, and organize recultivation, water regulation and soil improving measures in new orders of magnitude.

The struggle for implementing the 10th party congress decisions and its results show that a time of creative work and new great initiatives has begun, a time which--to quote the well known words of Friedrich Engels--needs and produces giants in thinking power, passion and dedication. New workers have, alongside tested and tried comrades, taken up the marching speed of the 1980's. All party forces are aimed at promoting what is new, resolutely advancing on our charted course, increasing the strength of socialism, protecting the people's peace and adding to their well-being.

5885
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DATA ON YOUTHS' CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMY ANALYZED

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[Article by Dr Werner Haltinner, economist, director, research program on labor movement and youth, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Work for the Benefit of the People--A Key Question of Youths' Communist Education"]

> [Text] Through their "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," our youths heed the call the 10th SED Congress addressed at them to work for the benefit of the people as a key question of their communist education and personality formation. In the struggle for the shaping of developed socialism new generations have grown up which meet the requirements for a steep increase of our economic performance with a high performance readiness, education and training. In connection with that, experiences and problems are discussed pertaining to socialist work education and the forming of socialist attitudes toward work among the working youth.

Every day we notice the strong response which the policy for peace and socialism, for the people's benefit, as issued by the 10th SED Congress, has found in our young generation's life plans and ideas of the future. Especially working youth heeds the call of the 10th party congress to "the young coshapers of the developed socialist society to prove themselves passionate and happy fighters for our communist ideals in solving the SED Program tasks."[1] Still during the party congress, out of the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of FDJ members, came the appeal from the Hans Kiefert construction workers' youth brigade, of the central youth project "FDJ Initiative Berlin" to the 39,200 youth brigades and all of working youth in the GDR, for performance comparison under the slogan "Each Every Day With a Fine Balance-Sheet." Meanwhile thousands of youth collectives in all economic branches and bezirks joined this economically so significant initiative and are increasingly putting their signature, great strength and the creative spirit of all of working youth to it.

With its "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," the 11th FDJ Parliament provided a target and direction for youth's desire for more great social tests. Many youth activities after the 10th party congress now, in view of the higher demands of the 1980's, receive with this new FDJ mass movement the great promoting and inspirational strength of the socialist youth association. The 11th Parliament

has once again reminded youth: "Every day we shall work creatively, honestly and with discipline, learn persistently and study conscientiously, to accomplish achievements in socialist competition and in coping with the scientific-technical revolution that will further enhance the strength and respect of the GDR, our socialist fatherland."[2]

A New Generation of Young Working People

The affirmative reply by our working youth to the pioneering decisions of the 10th party congress, and its grown dedication and creative participation in the fundamental processes of our social advance in the 1980's, demonstrate that a new generation of young people has grown up in our republic whose thinking and conduct are deeply informed with basic socialist convictions and modes of conduct.

Today's young generation in the GDR consists of more than 6 million children and youths up to 25 years of age. This includes more than 3 million young people between 14 and 25. That is circa 18 percent of the population, which through its work and learning directly participates in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Its social nucleus is the more than 1.2 million young working population below 25, especially the workers' youth, of which over 83 percent works in state-owned enterprises and combines and almost 14 percent in cooperatives. A large group of the working youth is made up of the more than 500,000 apprentices, part and replenishment of the workers class for the years ahead.

Working Youths (Not Counting Apprentices) Below 25 in Selected Economic Fields (1979)

	Total Manpower below 25 (per 1,000 Persons)	Proportion of Total Manpower (in Percent)	Young Manpower According to Economic Fields (in Percent)
Total	1,211,6	14.9	100
Breakdown:			
Industry	505,6	15.9	41.7
Construction Industry	122,0	21.1	10.1
Agriculture and Forestry	103,6	12.0	8.6
Transportation, Post and Telecommunication	90.5	15.0	7.5
Commerce	130,7	15.5	10.8
Facilities of Science, Education and Culture, Public Health, Social Welfare and so forth	162,2	12.0	13.4

If one asks about the political and social sources that can produce such important achievements for and affirmations of socialism by the young generation in allegiance to the working class party and the socialist state, as for example the "FDJ Appeal GDR 30," the "FDJ Party Congress Initiative," and now the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," one finds their explanation in the, in principle, new role of youth, based on equality and participation in socialist society. It is the youth policy

and its fundamental principle of showing confidence in and assigning high responsibility to youth, stemming from all the political, theoretical and practical activity of the party, of the historic advantages and achievements of which the young generation has in all its vital areas taken hold forever and unchangeably in its consciousness and its daily life.

Its level of education and training is among the most important preconditions for further enhancing the role of youth in combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution and its creativity in labor. In the GDR the 10-grade general polytechnical high school with subsequent mandatory vocational training has been brought to realization as an important achievement of socialism for all young people. Circa 99 percent of the graduates of the general polytechnical high schools or the expanded high schools subsequently is trained to become technicians through vocational training or starts college or technical school studies. When concluding vocational training, more than 90 percent of the apprentices passes specialists' tests, circa 50 percent of them with very good or good grades. In the 1976-1980 five-year plan period, more than a million young technicians started jobs in the economy, and another million of youths, the replenishment of the workers class, is being trained between 1981 and 1985.

More than 80 percent of working youth in the GDR has already a completed vocational, technical or college education. "Our socialist educational system provides our youth with modern general education and vocational training in line with the recognizable demands for the further shaping of the developed socialist society, especially for the acceleration of our scientific-technical progress."[3] This educational potential of youth as a scientific and intellectual foundation for its labor capacity, creativity and initiative will in years ahead be one of the decisive conditions and prerequisites for its meeting in the future higher demands in science, technology and economics in production, and as an exceedingly important factor of communist personality development.

Inseparably connected with this development is the far greater social and economic strength of working youth in socialist construction. The economic and scientific-technical initiatives and mass movements organized and led by the FDJ are achieving growing economic magnitudes year after year.

Economic FDJ Initiatives and Their Results in the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan Period

FDJ Campaign Materials Economy	M 6.1 billion benefit
Saving of Working Hours	287 million
Scrap	1.6 million tons
Old Paper	350,000 tons
Fodder Economy	M 91.7 million benefit
Youth Projects of the Science and Technology State Plan	71
Housing Modernization, Reconstruction and Development	42,000 housing units

Economic youth initiatives provided an additional production growth of circa M 2 billion between 1976 and 1980. These are results that persuasively suggest the skill and energy of youth as important prerequisites for our economy's needed performance improvements in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan. Precisely in view of that the 10th SED Congress called youth initiative one of the fundamental guarantees for realizing the party's economic strategy for the 1980's.[4] Many young people acquire social maturity and political experiences early in our society through various forms that foster their performance readiness, assign responsibilities to them, involve them actively in the handling of industrial and social affairs and all matters concerning the development of youth, and this they bring to realization primarily through their work as the most important sphere for their personality development.

The basis for the growing social strength of youth in socialist construction is the young generation's political organization of the FDJ, the uniform socialist mass organization of youth in the GDR. For millions of young people it is the decisive school for their personality development and opens up to them broad horizons and fields for personal maturation and public approbation through the work, production, learning and research process.

Thus if one wants to characterize GDR youth, one must refer to its moral and ethical countenance, marked by awareness, education and skill, and to its active social conduct, its sense of responsibility and performance willingness in the work for the benefit of the people. "Our youth is politically educated youth. It is performance-oriented, self-assured and optimistic. It is dedicated to the socialist revolution and ready to fulfill any task assigned to it by the party and the government."[5]

Work--The Most Important Sphere of Life

Prepared for life by the socialist society and equipped with the 10th party congress decisions, working youth now, with energy and initiative, in implementing the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," undertakes the solution of the ambitious tasks assigned to it for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. This it does in the awareness that it is making its most important contribution to the preservation of peace through its diligent, disciplined and creative work for the all-round political and economic consolidation of socialism.

In contrast to the capitalist countries, where the young generation is surrendered to mass unemployment, worries about its subsistence and uncertainty about the future, with a social pessimism rooted in the lack of historic prospects for that obsolete social system, the social optimism, social security and certitude about the future by the working youth in the GDR is based on the identity between its vital interests and future plans and the historic decisions of the 10th SED Congress on the further shaping of developed socialism. The 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan Directive, the long-term developmental conceptions for coping with the demands of science and technology, the program for solving the housing problem as a social problem before 1990 and the target programs agreed within CEMA on implementing the basic tasks in socialist economic integration by 1990 are social roadsigns by which any young citizen in our country can orient himself toward a permanent, secure, socialist future.

Peaceful, creative work for the benefit of the people is the only source in socialist society for satisfying the needs of the working people and of all society. At the 11th Parliament, Silvia Ey, FDJ secretary of the basic organization of the LPG (T) in Wattmannshagen, made the following comment on that: "It is easy to talk about this high performance improvement, but it demands a great deal of us every day. For that reason we have found out through personal conversations what our daily work has to do with the struggle for the preservation of peace and the further advance of socialism in the world."

In the realities of life and social progress in our time the young people in our country find out that the unity of peace, work and the future belongs to the crucial values and criteria in determining where we are socially and in orienting our life, as it determines the real attitude by society toward the vital interests of the young generation.

Through their honest and conscientious work hundreds of thousands of young working people have found out through the implementation of the party's economic and social policy that high demands in life require great achievements of one's own, a better efficiency and quality of labor by each individual. They approach the fulfillment and implementation of the 10th SED Congress decisions with the certainty that work for the benefit of the people is the sphere of life for them where they can apply the intellectual and physical skills they acquired at school, in vocational training and during their studies, and where they can perfect their social experiences and occupational skills, their energy and sense of responsibility and other characteristics and facilities of importance to their personality development. It becomes significant to them personally that the measure and quality of their own work become decisively important for implementing overall social goals, and thus also for the satisfaction of their own needs.

Forming Socialist Attitudes Toward Work

This awareness of the vital and creative role of work in the thinking and development of every young person is among the most important basic social experiences of the young working people in socialist society. It is based on the high appreciation work as well as a conscientiously and creatively working man enjoy in socialism and constitutes an important ideological potential for further advances in forming the youth's socialist propensities and attitudes toward labor.

Even the Ninth SED Congress had in its youth policy orientation directed the view of the party, of the socialist youth association and of the entire society at "further improving the effectiveness of education toward a truly communist attitude toward work," and had asked that among youth "the characteristics of young commmunists be molded such as discipline and organization, collectivity, a sense of responsibility and duty, conscientiousness, social activity and creativity."[6]

In talks and discussions the question often comes up what it means "to extend on a higher level the communist education of all youth."[7] The answer to that comes from the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and from the 10th party congress documents. When V. I. Lenin at the Third Komsomol Congress called upon youth to create the socialist society, he directed its view at once at the most important principle in communist education--the unity between a creative appropriation of Marxism-Leninism

and an active participation in the struggle and work of the million masses of working people in the construction of socialist and communist society. He called upon youth to penetrate deeply the circumstances and interconnections, the store of social insights, and he affirmed: "Without work, without struggle, the bookish knowledge about communism glimpsed from communist brochures and works is not worth a penny." As a key for solving the tasks of socialist construction, he asked them "to make communism the guideline for your practical work."[8] Wholly in this sense the 10th SED Congress emphasized that the main path of communist education was the active participation by all of youth in the working class struggle for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. "The ability and will to work for society creatively and honestly and with discipline therefore is a key question in communist education," Egon Krenz said at the 11th Parliament. "Because work in socialism creates not only wealth in the material sense. The characteristic traits of the workers class which more and more mark our society are again and again formed by it: an iron plan discipline and bold initiatives for new goals, a high personal responsibility to public property and steadfastness under any conditions."[9]

Work education thus enjoys a high place value in the communist education of youth at a higher level. Only through the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, fine education and creative work is the consciousness of young people formed and do they comprehend that only through work the means can be provided for raising their own material and cultural standard of living and that of the entire people. That is why the goal of giving youth a work education is the forming of a communist attitude toward work and public property, with the communist attitude toward work, in the Leninist sense, beginning at the point where man no longer only works to satisfy his own needs but, consciously and creatively, for the benefit of the entire society.

The content of work education, as the 11th FDJ Parliament observed, is using socialist work as a school for collectivism, mutual help and socialist discipline, the forming of such outstanding characteristics and attitudes of the workers class in youth as love for work, respect for any kind of work, steadfastness and consistency in solving the tasks, pride in one's occupation, increasing and protecting socialist property, striving for high achievements and creativity.

Reiner Schramm, youth brigade chief of the VEB Elektrokohle Berlin-Lichtenberg, at the 11th Parliament reported that these high demands for a socialist attitude toward work are implemented in his collective under the motto, "Measure of My Work--Honest, Good and More." He said: "To the members of our collective, being honest means: starting work punctually, full capacity use of working hours, abiding by break periods, the most careful handling of tools and materials and punctual quitting times even on days when one is ahead and before holidays or whenever the foreman happens not to be there. Good to us means: all work with the smallest input and in the finest manner and--if possible--with material saved. And by more we mean accomplishing a maximum of production growth by means of the innovator movement and Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow exhibits out of the science and technology plan."

A higher level of communist education in the work process requires of all party and FDJ organizations and the state managers and economic functionaries to pay more attention to the ways in which socialist attitudes among working youth are really formed while they implement the planned tasks and engage in political mass activities.

All experiences in political mass activity garnered in the labor and production process confirm to us that motives in the attitude toward work based on firm ideological and political knowledge and values are the decisive impulses for conscious work attitudes among young working people and are fairly stable and independent of the concrete working conditions and the content of labor. In practice this factor is positively reflected, e.g., by the results of labor, the elan and activity of many young working people who are still working under objectively unfavorable production conditions or at difficult trouble spots of our economy in youth brigades and on youth projects.

The effectiveness of political mass activity in the labor process increases mainly where the organization of the concrete economic activity succeeds in picking up the potentials and interests in proving oneself through work as formed in the personality of the young working people at school, in vocational training and in the youth association. Such potentials mainly are
--the high expectations of the content and nature of the work activity and the dedication that comes with it toward fulfilling the physical and mental efforts and burdens demanded;
--the curiosity that comes through education and training, the demand for creativity, information and participation in solving new or complicated science and technology tasks;
--a facility in social and occupational mobility and the readiness to change jobs if necessary; and
--a great willingness to struggle for high work achievements through youth-related ways and means, e.g. in youth brigades or on youth projects.

Especially in still young and inexperienced working people who enter the production process, however--and this must always be kept in mind--, negative manifestations may arise in their attitude toward work, if they are left to themselves in problems and difficulties resulting from unaccustomed work requirements and fail to get the necessary help and appropriate information from the work collective or the party, trade union and FDJ groups.

At times there continues to be a greater declared readiness by young working people in some enterprises and combines to take part in economic FDJ initiatives, work in youth brigades and on youth projects, and assume tasks from the science and technology plan than taken account of by the state organs and economic management forces. It is precisely one of the crucial lessons of the "FDJ Party Congress Initiative" that the development of the initiative and activity of working youth and the formation of socialist attitudes toward work inherent in it should more consistently be planned and implemented still as a standard management activity procedure. The direct encounter by the young working people with the objective and subjective production conditions and the labor and skill requirements that belong to them has a great impact on how they evaluate the work in their mind and in their attitude. That applies in particular to the production conditions related to labor organization, the availability of material, the control over a smooth labor process, the enforcing of technological control and other requirements. As has been shown, dissatisfaction among the young working people arises less through excessive demands or illusory ideas about the work than through subjective deficiencies in production management and planning.

Forming socialist work attitudes among the youths is a constant task in economic management activity and everyday political mass activity. And this is mainly so because new age-groups are constantly starting work, and thus the basic questions of party policy and economic activity must under ever changing conditions and requirements be explained through confident and frank dialogue always again.

After the 10th SED Congress and the 11th FDJ Parliament, a more concrete discussion of the socialist attitude toward work has been going on in the basic FDJ organizations and in youth collectives and on youth projects, and a climate is developing that consciously serves to make a planned, complete use of performance reserves, with the new requirements of the economic and social policy being the criterion for the criticism of labor discipline violations and of contempt for social property. Experiences of the most advanced youth collectives and basic FDJ organizations have demonstrated that socialist attitudes toward work form especially in places where through the struggle for highest plan results the realization dawns that the economic and scientific-technical tasks waiting to be solved in the 1980's can be solved only through everyday hard and strenuous work by each individual. The performance comparison initiated by the Hans Kiefert youth brigade concretely expresses how the higher level of communist education the 10th party congress has called for challenges the dedication and energy of the entire working youth.

Deliberations at the 11th Parliament have illustrated to everyone that GDR youth under the leadership of its socialist youth association with initiative and energy faces its challenges in science, technology and economics on tried and new testing grounds. The great upsurge of initiative and energy of working youth in implementing the "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress" testifies to the zeal and resolve of hundreds of thousands of boys and girls to fulfill in the work for the benefit of the people their sense of life in our socialist society, honorably to fulfill, loyally and actively alongside the older generation, and led by the party, the program for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, and to help in consistently carrying on, with the elan of youth, the SED policy that is aimed at the benefit of the people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 146.

2. "FDJ Mission 10th Party Congress," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6/7 June 1981, p 5.

3. Kurt Hager, "V. Hochschulkonferenz der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Protokoll, Zentralstelle fuer Lehr- und Organisationsmittel des Ministeriums fuer Hoch- und Fachschulwesen" (Fifth GDR University Conference Proceedings--Central Office for Teaching and Organizational Materials--Ministry for University & Technical School Matters), Zwickau, 1980, p 260.

4. "Direktive des X. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1981 bis 1985" (10th SED Congress Directive for the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan for the Development of the GDR Economy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 13.

5. Erich Honecker, "Aus meinem Leben" (From My Life), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 337.

6. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 98.

7. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . . an den X. Parteitag der SED," op. cit., p 146.

8. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959,, pp 274, 280.

9. Egon Krenz, "Youth's Responsibility to Carrying On the Socialist Revolution in the GDR and the FDJ Tasks After the 10th SED Congress," JUNGE WELT, 3 June 1981, p 6.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST ART, CULTURE TO ENHANCE ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY

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[Article by Dr Harald Buehl, Presidium member and National Executive Committee secretary, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Culturally Rich Life Promotes Creativity and Preparedness for High Achievement"]

> [Text] Proceeding from the 10th party congress decisions, the trade unions promote all initiatives causing a stable rise in labor productivity and work qualities and serve the continued development of the people's material and cultural well-being. The "work, study and live socialistically" movement lends important impulses to the working people's creativity, which has to be further developed to that end. Improving our working culture, implementing decisive requirements in our educational policy, and the encounter with art and literature are important intellectual-cultural activities that positively affect the preparedness for high achievement in the work collectives.

An intellectually and culturally rich life is a decisive basis for further social progress. That is a truth confirmed in life which our 10th party congress has reemphazied. "Not only that the further shaping of the developed socialist society places higher demands on men's capacity for high achievement—it makes possible and promotes at once the full development of their intellectual needs and capabilities. We always start with the proposition to raise also, in harmony with the material, the cultural standard of living because we seek in socialism a meaningful and beautiful existence for all."[1]

From the party congress demand to mobilize creativity and preparedness for achievement and develop a rich intellectual-cultural life in the work collectives there also arise, in particular, ambitious tasks for the trade union representation of interests.

Unity of Economic and Intellectual-Cultural Factors

Proceeding from the realization reiterated by the 10th party congress, that the economy is the main field for our further social advances, the trade unions are conducting the socialist competition and are promoting above all those initiatives

that effect a perceptible boost of labor productivity and high labor efficiency and qualities. They direct the working people's creativity at accelerating the scientific-technical progress and further shaping comradely cooperation, mutual aid, innovator spirit and a sense of community.

Thereby we conform ever better to the connection between high economic achievements in socialist competition, its personality forming role, great knowledge and rich culture. That is impressively demonstrated by our people's biggest mass initiative thus far before and after the 10th party congress, particularly in the struggle for the honorific, "collective of socialist work," and in the desire to work, learn and live socialistically. The basis for it have been and are concrete competition programs and, derived from them, ambitious culture and education plans of the trade union groups.

The work collectives take a big hand in molding the working people's creativity and initiative, richness in ideas and preparedness for achievement through the intellectual-cultural activities the trade union promotes. Greater account is increasingly taken of the growing demands the working people make on the level of the intellectual-cultural life in their work collectives and residential areas, on a culturally rich environment and the culture and art society furnishes. That is why the 10th party congress report says: "The trade unions find a broad field of activities open for satisfying the working people's growing needs for high-level intellectual-cultural life and meaningful leisure time activities and recreation."[2]

The culture and education plans ratified and realized within the collective are making a fine contribution to that. Not formal obligations but the differentiated needs of the members of the collective for skills, their needs for improving their working culture, for culture and art, for sociability, sports, entertainment and communal experiences is what controls the content of the cultural and educational plans.

In their plans the trade union groups decide on tasks derived from the concrete requirements of their competition program and their intellectual-cultural needs. The colleagues set down how they will continue to educate themselves throughout the year and what they will do to spend a culturally rich leisure time, and how they want to work, study and live socialistically in their collective.

Rather than existing alongside the tasks in material production, intellectual-cultural activities pervade them and, directly or indirectly, affect them. "For more and more working people dealing with cultural values of the past and present becomes a vital need. The trade unions have made an important contribution to that SED 10th Congress balance-sheet because, together with the material interests, they also always have advocated an improvement in the cultural conditions of life. This is the way to continue for each enterprise trade union management and the kreis, bezirk and central managements. Still existing differences in levels have to be further overcome with it. The trade unions will continue to address themselves with special attention to the intellectual-cultural and sports life in the trade union groups and work collectives."[3]

The desire to work, study and live socialistically has turned out to be also a powerful impulse for satisfying the working people's intellectual-cultural needs. It helps develop and release the creative capacities, in ideas and emotionally.

High Working Culture--A Condition for Creative Work

The level of working culture has much bearing on the working people's overall creative conduct. That is why the various projects that serve to improve our working culture are so important to the life in the work collectives.

In many combines and enterprises the level of the working culture has clearly risen in recent years. That is seen, among other things, in that accidents and illnesses on the job have declined, shift worker maintenance has improved, new technologies have been introduced, production processes been rationalized or automated, and many jobs have been reorganized in terms of scientific labor organization. But still considerable efforts are needed so that--while labor productivity is rising and the efficiency and quality of labor are improving--the colleagues' well-being at their jobs also improves further. Trade union managements and boards thus have to pay greater attention to that, in the design and development of new machines, installations and technologies, not only those science data are taken account of which facilitate a higher labor efficiency, but also those that ensure the working people's technical safety and most favorable working conditions.

Trade union membership meetings must show more open-mindedness and understanding but also more consistency and stubbornness in implementing suggestions the working people are making about their socialist working culture. Recommendations concerning an improvement in working conditions or labor products must for their feasibility be checked by the managements and resolutey be brought to realization. Moreover, it has been shown that preparedness for achievement has reached a noteworthy stage in collectives that are used to high and further growing demands, and where socialist democracy, political responsibility and friendly relations among the colleagues have developed well.

It also is a task of the membership meetings, however, to discuss matters of the work attitude and conduct of each working person and to bring an influence to bear on the cleanliness, order and discipline and the further improvement of interhuman relations within the work collective. The socialist work collective is that sphere of activity in which a man can most decidedly develop his intellectual and physical skills, where his knowledge, skills and experiences are encouraged, his dexterity and imagination are formed, and his will power and character are molded along with it. Mainly through work and in the work collective can man in socialism develop his creative capacities. The better the opportunities are for it, and the more thereby an individual can realize his abilities and facilities, and finds recognition for it, the more he will find hinself confirmed in his work, will sense that he is of use to society, and to himself, and thus he feels good.

That, however, does not confine the creative to the concrete labor process. That in many fields is still limited to monotonous and simple operations. The working people's creative participation in their work largely is also brought about by their involvement in management, planning and production organization, in socialist competition, the innovator movement, and by assuming other social obligations. Other

important elements that are part of the working culture and stimulate the working people's preparedness for achievement and creativity are comradely cooperation and a healthy climate in the work collective.

Creativity Makes for Knowledge and Skills

In the continued shaping of the developed socialist society the place value of education rises, as science and culture more deeply enter life in all domains. A priority task in the trade union representation of interests therefore is to help tap the grown educational potential on behalf of scientific-technical progress, performance improvements in the economy, effective political-ideological work, and a meaningful culturally rich life altogether. Trade union and enterprise managements must more and more orient themselves to that this involves the acquisition of new knowledge as well as the working people's ability to make greater use of what they already know for improving our economic performance and for developing creative potentials. Be it a matter of new basic technologies for microelectronics, more flexible automation solutions, highly productive procedures for the use of petroleum, natural gas or brown coal, new energy-saving methods or the use of highly refined working materials--it always comes down to rethinking technological processes and applying scientific data. It is therefore correct that many trade union groups--on the basis of the economic requirements in their enterprise--give thought to how what their members already know could be maximally used, what one has to do so that the already acquired qualification level crystallizes more effectively still in a higher quality of work and output.

Just like the Komarov youth brigade collective in Schwedt's petrochemical combine, many work collectives have drawn the proper educational inferences from the higher demands placed on scientific-technical progress. That youth collective, by meaningfully using the available educational potential, accomplishes more with less manpower and at the same time, as the members of the brigade can be used more flexibly than in the past, has released manpower for other tasks. Such and similar demands are facing more and more collectives.

New technologies and procedures, new labor processes, a different labor organization, new regulations for operating industrial robots, automats and plants require, because they are opening up new fields of labor, new scientific-technical knowledge of the working people as a rule, personalities, i.e., who will constantly raise the level of their qualifications. What consequences that leads to was most vividly described at the 10th party congress by brigade chief Werner Boltzio of the VEB Robotron accounting machinery works in Karl-Marx-Stadt: "Few specialists and technicians in the field of microelectronics were initially available to us. We all once again had to qualify theoretically and practically. But 4 to 6 weeks was by no means enough for it. Many a leisure hour, quite a few weekends, we had to keep our nose to the grindstone, and that sometimes even without getting all that much backing for it from our loved ones."[4]

GDR Workers Festivals -- Creative Cultural Performanc Exhibit of the Workers Class

	Suhl 1978	Rostock 1980
Events	400	530
Visitors	1,200,000	1,700,000
Participating Popular Artists	10,018	13,000
Professional Artists	1,832	2,000

The dynamic development of science and technology, the complexity of management, planning and production organization, and the task to produce more and better, more efficiently, within briefer time frames and with reduced manpower, changes the occupational and qualifications structure of many working crews in our industrial branches. That is why it is objectively necessary for combine and enterrise managements and the enterprise trade union managements better and always more consistently to derive their educational measures in the work collectives from long-term requirements so that wherever production processes change due to the introduction of new technology working people are in good time prepared for their new work demands. Experiences and investigations indicate that in some enterprises only circa one-third of the qualification measures conformed with present and future economic tasks. That does not conform with the requirements for high performance improvements.

The task to cut back jobs, provide better for other jobs through new technology and have them assigned to working people with appropriate qualifications demands also of the trade union representation of interests to commit itself still more resolutely and consistently to the working people's vocational training and advanced training. It too has to insist that these tasks--which also crystallize in the culture and education plans--are fully integrated within the industrial reproduction process. Many trade union organization have reason to consider more accurately how they can effectively contribute to having the qualification level of workers and intellectuals go up, and this in vocational and adult training as much as in the continuing education of technical school and college personnel.

Art Promotes a Creative Attitude Toward Life

"In the 1980's the demands on the quality and effectiveness of our socialist culture and art will rise further. They, after all, help release creativity in man and enhance the pleasure in work and the well-being of the working people in socialist society. It is a matter of further improving everywhere the intellectual-cultural prerequisites for our improving achievements."[5]

Life in our republic proves that--mainly through the working people's higher educational level--the art interests of the working people are becoming more and more varied and demanding. That embraces literature, theater, music, the visual arts, archicecture and the applied arts, sociability, entertainment and the participation in various artistic interest groups. Through the encounter with art the sense for the beauty and values of our lives will grow, and productive, creative attitudes toward life are aroused. Artistic experiences serve pleasure and balance, they mold the socialist personality profile and also always affect the creative attitude of the working people in the labor process.

Through their culture and education plans the work collectives seek always better to conform with these needs for artistic experiences and to satisfy both the personal and the social demands and requirements. That is an important concern for the trade union representation of interests and for the activity of many of the nearly 290,000 cultural spokesmen in the trade union groups. And here one has to remember that direct relations between the immediate work and the dealing with art normally cannot be established. Especially in the development of artistic needs, the differentiated interests and demands of the various members of the collective

have to receive greater attention. Taking part in artistic activities must never become some "compulsory exercise." Rather one should have to consider which works of art and what forms of engaging in art will in a specific collective contribute to deepening the development of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and foster moral value standards and aesthetic sensitivity.

How stimulating the encounter with art can be was shown, e.g., by the Kaethe Niederkirchner trade union group at the VEB NAGEMA in Neubrandenburg. This youth collective, of which more than half the membership is doing outstanding quality work, achieved extraordinary results in the socialist competition and has developed an increasing interest in art and culture. The members of the collectives, even those who do not as yet concern themselves regularly with artistic and literary works, were deeply impressed with visiting the studio of painter Erhard Grossmann and by a discussion with Helmut Sakowski about his novel and television film, "Verflucht und geliebt" [Cursed and Loved].

Among the intellectual-cultural prerequisites which lastingly affect the working people's creativity also are the many different ethical effects derived from important works of socialist realism and from our cultural heritage. Talks about works of art or about the questions raised by them are as much standard everyday procedure in many trade union groups as is the promotion of popular art activity or other artistic activities. Social evenings in the brigade likewise, on a high level, foster the pleasure of living and relaxation, cultivate perception and the mind, and have favorable effects on the sense of community, the work and the work collective.

An essential inference drawn from the 10th party congress is to improve in substance and make more demanding in this direction the culture and education plans of the trade union groups, the offerings from all the cultural institutions--libraries, club houses, theaters, museums and so forth--and the programs of the enterprise festivals.

The Management and Planning of Intellectual-Cultural Processes

To solve the various tasks that serve the further development of our intellectual-cultural life a higher level of trade union management activity is required. That can be gaged mainly against how positively they affect the working people's creative thought and conduct. That is only another reason why culture and education work must not be considered a departmental affair, as is still the case among some managements.

A consequence of the 10th party congress is that the trade union managements must still improve their work with culture and education plans. That calls for concentrating on such activities that can be derived from the economic and political production requirements, the socialist consciousness formation and the application of socialist democracy within the enterprise as well as from the differentiated interests, inclinations and needs the members of the collective want to see satisfied outside of their immediate production activities, in their leisure time, at sports and recreation. And those collectives in which intellectual-cultural life is still insufficiently developed must be given patient and sensitive support in this. Paying attention to the interactions among economic, political and cultural

matters in the planning and implementation of intellectual-cultural life is an essential precondition for overcoming restraints and one-sidedness and more and more do away with formal features in the evaluation of these activities. Purely quantitative evaluation criteria ought to be replaced by qualitative analyses, by assessing and rating the intellectual-cultural development state actually obtained in the entire collective.

Expenditures Paid From Industrial Cultural and Social Funds, 1980

The combines, enterprises and facilities of the state-owned economy had approximately M 3.5 billion available for their cultural and social funds in 1980. That came to an average of M 700 for every fulltime worker.

Out of this total sum, the following was spent:

M 2,450 million for health and social care, which was 70 percent of the total.

M 350 million for vacations, which was 10 percent of the total.

M 175 million for culture, which was 5 percent of the total.

M 245 million for sports and youth care, which was 7 percent of the total.

M 280 million for other matters, which was 8 percent of the total.

Between 1981 and 1985 health and social care for the working people is going to be further improved, especially by a more effective use of available facilities. Tools that are safer and easier to use will be developed and employed to a larger extent.

To meet these higher demands, we must still pay more attention to cadre qualifications. Especially the 350,000 voluntary culture functionaries of the trade unions in the enterprises must get support so they will be able to recognize the growing ideological requirements and more differentiated intellectual-cultural demands and act accordingly.

Cultural and artistic needs can of course not be satisfied solely in or by the collective of a trade union group. The intellectual-cultural life of the working people depends not only on their development in the enterprise but depends on their whole cultural environment (family, place of residence, circle of friends, leisure-time interests and so forth). That is why the trade union management has to give careful thought to how the cultural opportunities in the territory and those of the mass media might still better be integrated with the intellectual-cultural life of their collectives.

Here great tasks arise for the art trade union with its 65,000 members. The trade union organizations in GDR television and broadcasting, in the film studios, in the theaters, orchestras, museums and memorial sites, and the trade union groups of the entertainers should--in order further to enhance their artistic skill and the relevance and ideological and aesthetic radiating strength of their achievements--still more vividly discuss among themselves and with those they address themselves to, the working people, the questions of party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and

the content of socialist ideas. That includes debate about how to artistically represent the workers class, about the massive effectiveness of our art, and questions of how our heritage is appropriated and how we promote artistic gifts among the young. Art institutions must still more clearly figure out how political-ideological and aesthetic questions might more strongly still inform the content of their competition and their performance comparisons. Stagings, concert programs, exhibitions and other art events ought to be still more evaluated in terms of whether and how they affect the working people's thoughts and feelings, and what has to be done to improve their art appreciation and their need for high-level art experiences. Indispensable for that is a deepening of joint partnership work between the work collectives and the trade union boards and managements and the writers, visual artists and composers, and their associations and state organs.

The GDR is a country where the working people have a high cultural and educational level, a country with rich cultural and artistic traditions. In preparation of their 10th congress, the trade unions intend to do still more in opening up these treasures to all working people in order to stimulate the joy of life, creativity and a readiness for achievement thereby.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 104.

2. Ibid., pp 120-121.

3. Harry Tisch, "The Trade Union Tasks in the Implementation of the 10th SED Congress Decisions," TRIBUENE, 23 April 1981, p 5.

4. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 16 April 1981, p 5.

5. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., pp 105-106.

5885
CSO: 2300/328

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PLURALISM CONCEPT SEEN AS ANTISOCIALIST DEVICE

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 7, Jul 81 (signed to press 10 Jun 81) pp 700-706

[Article by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Roeder, jurist, deputy director, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, lawyer, director of same institute; corresponding member, GDR Academy of Sciences: "On the Antisocialist Pluralism Concept." For an official SED view of the problem, see translation of an April-May 1981 EINHEIT article by Prof Klaus Heuer of the SED Central Committee, published under the heading, "Socialist Democracy Seen Incompatible With Pluralism," in JPRS 78364, 23 Jun 81, No 1891 of this series, pp 30-37]

> [Text] What is hidden behind the pluralism concept propagated by bourgeois ideologists? In refuting that conception of the state and democracy, the article proves that in socialism the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party and the power of the workers class are the decisive conditions for the successful advances of the entire society and for bringing to realization the interests of the workers class and of the entire people. The counterrevolutionary thrust is revealed in the conception of a "pluralistic socialism" that is being offered to real socialism.

Imperialism is responding with its confrontation course and increasing ideological aggressiveness to the advances the socialist world system, the workers movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement have achieved in their struggle for a world without exploitation, suppression and war. "This is an attempt undertaken out of a historical defensive to stop what cannot be stopped--the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism."[1]

Among the conceptions opposing socialism and its theoretical Marxist-Leninist foundation, so-called pluralistic socialism holds a special place. It is meant to serve antisocialist counterrevolutionary forces, under the cover of a purportedly necessary democratization of the political system of socialism, in taking apart socialism's foundation pillar, whereby to liquidate it. Even back in the early 1970's, when the counterrevolutionary attack against the socialist order in the CSSR had failed, revisionist ideologues had expressed the hope "pluralistic socialism" would still "one day, under more favorable conditions, become practical reality" and "could replace the communist system of today."[2] Quite frankly, Mr. Springer's

DIE WELT announced late last year, in connection with the counterrevolutionary attacks in Poland, that was a matter of changes heading for a pluralism as "typical of 'capitalism.'"[3] That let the cat out of the bag and plainly stated what is hidden behind the pluralism theory that is most warmly recommended to socialism by those who otherwise have no use for socialism at all.

The pluralism conception is based on the allegation, devoid of any reality, that the development of the "modern industrial society" had replaced class division by a motley variety of diverse interests. Therefore no longer classes and strata, but "organized interest groups" were forming the structure of the capitalist countries alleged to be modern industrial societies. Those groups had equal rights and the same chances and opportunities to influence policy. To engage in and settle conflicts among the various social interest groups, one needed certain rules of the game (of bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary rules) and a "balancing" of the interests. The state, according to this theory as developed and disseminated in different versions by bourgeois ideologists of various shades, acted as an organ of "balance," conflict arbitration, and as a safeguard of the "common good."

It is not astonishing that such notions have also been picked up by social-reformist ideologues and included in their conceptions. Even if, in view of the intensifying contradictions in the capitalist world, the class contradiction between capital and labor cannot be placed in doubt, yet the doctrines about state and law as "arbitrator" of diverse interests in a pluralistic society are like tailor-made for the social-reformist ideology of the possibility of a "reconciliation" of class contradiction in capitalism, and of the state as an instrument of this "reconciliation." Ernst Fraenkel, a leading representative of the theory of political pluralism, emphasized already a few years ago: "Pluralism is the political theory of reformism. It implicitly rejects the thesis that the antagonism between capital and labor, which it does not place in doubt, must needs lead historically to being 'suspended' in the classless society. Pluralism views this antagonism rather as a chain of oppositions of interests going through all of industrial class society which are not apt to disintegrate the state and society provided the state has the opportunity to participate in their arbitration--be it on a short-term, long-range or continual basis."[4]

Now the astronomical profits, especially by the monopolies engaged in armaments business and in the neocolonialist exploitation of the developing countries, on the one hand, and the growing social insecurity and the higher degree of exploitation intensification, on the other, show however that the class antagonism between capital and labor still can neither be "balanced" nor reconciled despite all state monopoly regulation measures. On the contrary, it has visibly intensified. The capitalist state, to be sure, more and more strongly interferes with economic life and public relations but, as practice has shown, always on behalf of preserving the capitalist system and securing monopoly profits. No government in any imperialist state has presented any program that could be taken seriously for fighting mass unemployment, while military expenditures have been increased enormously--as in the United States, Great Britain and the FRG. No one will be able to claim seriously that the drastic cuts in welfare expenditures coming together with an explosion in military expenditures by the new U.S. Administration has anything to do with arbitrating the antagonisms between capital and labor, the monopolies and the people's masses. Nor do other state regulations in the capitalist economy

abolish the intensifying social contradictions. "By anti-inflation measures the bourgeois governments contribute to production stagnation and increasing unemployment. Trying to stop the crisis-ridden production decline, they are increasing inflation still more."[5]

Thus the theory of political pluralism is objectively not feasible even in terms of its basic assumptions--the role of the capitalist state as a conflict regulator, an arbitrator, and agent of the common good. Altogether it can ideologically take root only where there are petty bourgeois illusions about some class harmony, a state not depending on classes, a democracy neutral toward classes. As little as there is a state not depending on classes that serves all classes in imperialism, there also is no "equality of opportunities" in the field of democracy or any "democratic balancing of interests." The antagonistic contradiction between capital and labor, between the monopolies and the working people, marks social and political life more than ever. Less than ever is the socioeconomic structure in those countries defined by some "pluralism of organized interest groups" surmounting the classes and strata, or by some "equality of opportunities." One figure alone makes that perfectly evident. In the FRG 1.7 percent of the population owns roughly 70 percent of the industrial and capital assets. Concretely this means: a few make the decisions on the elemental vital interests and living conditions of millions. They decide where to invest, to what extent to use the production capacities or where, due to rationalization, jobs are eliminated. And through this economic power they also exercise their political domination. They have their agents in the government apparatus, they finance election campaigns and political parties and so forth.

Imperialist practice confirms time and time again: whichever political party may be running the government, those who hold the economic power also are the political rulers. Even modest attempts to gain some influence for the working people, toward some genuine say-so in industrial matters, e.g., are opposed by the monopolies in every way.

Looked at imperialism for what it is, the political pluralism theory thus turns out to be an illusion that is meant to disguise the political and economic domination by the monopolies and the crucial contradictions in state monopoly capitalism. In truth it is not the extension and expansion of bourgeois democracy, but its dismemberment, its protracted crisis, what typifies it in the capitalist countries. This is expressed in the limitation and contempt of basic democratic rights, in intimidation, repression, spying and job restrictions, in the inroads made by authoritarian and even fascists methods of government, in the reduction of parliamentary rights for the benefit of expanding the authorizations of the government executive, in frequent government crises, unstable parliamentary majorities and a, partly, drastic reduction in voting, reflecting the citizens' dwindling confidence in the organs of the imperialist state. It is a revealing indication of the crisis of bourgeois democracy in the allegedly freest country in the world, the United States, that the participation in the presidential elections declined from 62.8 percent in 1960 to 52.3 percent in 1980. And that means: by receiving 51 percent of the votes the incumbent U.S. President was thus elected by approximately one-fourth of the electorate.

And this bourgeois democracy, confined essentially to the give and take between the government and its opposition, is offered to the socialist countries as the ne plus ultra for "perfecting" or "modernizing" their order. However much they may embellish it, bourgeois democracy--despite the democratic rights the workers class was able to wrest from capital--always remains a democracy of limitations for the working people. It finds its basis in the capitalist production relations and cannot be transplanted onto a social organism that in its nature and manifestations is contrary to such relations. Socialist democracy, which offers every citizen the real possibility "to participate fully in shaping the political, economic, social and cultural life of the socialist community and of the socialist state," (GDR Constitution, Article 21) is neither a gain in bourgeois democracy nor a perfection of bourgeois democracy. It is historically of a new quality. Socialism has its own principles and traditions which conform to its nature and needs and cannot be gaged against bourgeois democracy, limited by the capitalist private ownership in the means of production and, on top of that, deformed by monopoly rule.

If one listens more carefully and thinks about it more, one finds that the bourgeois proponents of a "pluralistic socialism" are actually not at all concerned with the extension and unfolding of socialist democracy but with undermining it and with doing away with everything that constitutes what is qualitatively new in our democracy and with its strength: the cohesive, uniform democratic actions of the working people under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. Behind the battle cries for pluralism one finds the unequivocally counterrevolutionary designs of imperialist reaction and its ideological henchmen to liquidate the power of the workers class and to "bring back home" the socialist countries into the realm of capitalism.

That antisocialist program has been worked to death with special emphasis in recent times. DIE WELT, for instance, one of the authoritative papers of the monopoly capitalist mass-seduction corporations, now propagates "a departure from that form of Leninism that has been mandatory thus far in the USSR and the whole eastern bloc."[6] This plainly asks for the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the destruction of the power of the workers class and of the leadership role of its communist party. Approaching that goal they first, by means of political pluralism, want to create "ever expanding free spaces" for anticommunist forces. The FRG's bourgeois press in this context talks of three, four or still more power centers that would be necessary. From there then they would like to launch the next attacks against socialism and its political leadership force, the Marxist-Leninist party.

That was given away fairly plainly by the Springer paper just referred to when it included among "the institutional weaknesses of communist society and of 'real socialism' the lack of any possibility for power balance and succession to power."[7] To create a condition by means of so-called political pluralism which makes possible a "succession to the power" of the workers class and its revolutionary party--that is the ulterior motive when bourgeois ideologues urge a reform of the political system in the socialist countries.

Securing Working Class Power--Basic Condition for Successful Advances

The course we have followed in our country--as have the peoples in the other countries in the socialist community--for more than 30 years now with success confirms

the universal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism that the seizure and consolidation of the political power of the workers class under leadership by its Marxist-Leninist party is the decisive condition for establishing the new socialist order without exploitation and without the suppression of the working people. Only by means of its political power and the socialist state as its chief instrument can the workers class turn the decisive means of production into public property, lay the foundations of socialism and shape the developed socialist society. And only on the basis of the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party--this is confirmed by all experiences--can the socialist state fulfill its role as the chief instrument in establishing socialism.

For the first time through the socialist revolution a political power is created where the implementation of the interests of the ruling class--wholly in contrast to the exploiter systems--does not contradict the basic interests of all working classes and strata. Because the workers class, with its own liberation, also liberates all other exploited and suppressed. Therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat is the first state in the history of humanity which represents the interests of all working people and in that sense works for the benefit of the people. It is a power in which the will of the state represents the unified total will of society which is worked out through a ramified democratic system and implemented purposefully by the state organs and with support from all citizens. Therefore socialism needs the state neither as an "intermediary" nor as an "arbiter" or for the "balancing of interests" in the last instance.

Our concern is to do everything so that the socialist state ever better live up to its tasks in representing the interests of the working people, as an organ for enforcing the total will in conformity with a total plan, as the chief instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, for the shaping of the developed socialist society. That implies the development of socialist democracy, the implementation of democratic centralism, as much as ensuring the safe protection of socialism from all enemy assaults. That is why Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th party congress affirmed resolutely: "Only the political power of the workers class ensures the freedom of the people to shape living conditions of human dignity for all citizens and the freedom of personality. Our state, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, represents the interests of the entire people and guarantees freedom and human rights. No one has been and will ever be allowed to touch the socialist state."[8]

The Party's Leadership Role

The political power of the workers class in socialist society is inseparable from the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Because socialism, based on the public ownership in the means of production, can only be the conscious work of the people. It is the outcome of the unified, purposeful actions of the workers class and the classes and strata affiliated with it. The history of real socialism documents how much of a society-forming strength inheres in this unified, purposeful effort of the people freed from exploitation when it is led by a Marxist-Leninist party that mobilizes and organizes the activities of all the people and guides them toward the tasks to be solved for its economic and social progress. Without such a leading force which as the vanguard of the workers class, on the basis of a scientific strategy and tactics, and by force of its organization, points out the

direction and goal for the conscious and planned activity of the people in enforcing the objective inevitabilities, in accordance with concrete historic conditions, and can lend political effectiveness to it, the complicated tasks in the construction of the new society cannot be solved. Successfully coping with these tasks requires a policy that releases the people's creative capacities and serves its well-being--for which very reason it enjoys the trust of the people.

"In realistically asessing what has been achieved, free from wishful thinking, recognizing in time the needs and problems of the road ahead, creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist science in coping with them, in using the experiences of the working people and deriving benefits from the insights of the fraternal parties, in posing tasks with the proper measure for means and capacities, but mainly in constantly developing and guiding the working people's awareness and activities"[9] we find expressed the leadership role of the party in socialist society and the political level of that leadership.

As the party as a part of the class, its conscious and organized vanguard, in the process of coping with the practical tasks enables the entire class to fulfill its historic mission, it proves itself the most important factor for the successful shaping of socialist and communist society. The solidarity between the party and the people which relies on that, as the 10th party congress has impressively demonstrated, also refutes all claims by the ideologues of pluralism of the party's dictatorship "over" the workers class and the popular masses. How could anyone regulate and dictate that large a mass initiative before and after the 10th party congress? It is rooted precisely in this unity between the party and the people, in that the party policy as directed at the safeguarding of peace, the well-being of the people, and the happiness of the individual, conforms to the interests of the workers class and the fundamental interests of all other working classes and strata. The motive for unanimous action is the identity of fundamental interests, the identity with the general party line seen to be right and conforming with one's own interest, and the common will, resulting from it, to implement that general line with purpose.

The policy of our Marxist-Leninist party, which is based on the recognition of social inevitabilities and their requirements, and in which the interests of the workers class and the fundamental interests of all other classes and strata in our socialist society are expressed, is the outcome of confident and constant dialogue between the party, the entire workers class and all other working people. Precisely also the 10th party congress decisions were prepared by that comprehensive process of democratic discussion in various forms. This has proven itself among us for decades and forms the basis for the relevance of party policy and the massive activities of the working people for implementing it. In that the party congress put up for public discussion its 1981-1985 five-year plan directive one can find another proof for the democratic character of the party's leadership role, as this directive, after all, has already sparked many new activities, suggestions and ideas for the successful implementation of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress.

This--as many other things--makes liars of the bourgeois ideologues who twaddle about a lack of "democratic legitimacy" for the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Its leading place in the political organization of socialist

society is acquired by a policy that serves the interests of the workers class and all working people right, by its being deeply rooted in the people and its firm ties with all classes and strata.

Our enemies know well enough that precisely in this people-affiliated policy of the Marxist-Leninists and the political-organizational unity in its ranks the guarantee is found for the further successful advances of socialism. Therefore they direct their attacks with special thrust and venom against the communist parties and their Leninist organizational principles, mainly against democratic centralism. They would like to "sneak" their pluralism into the parties themselves, subvert them thereby from within and cripple their fighting capacity. Quite openly capitalist spokesmen talk about the "pluralistic bacillus" that should spread. They seek a "democratizing and pluralizing communist party,"[10] a party that would "quit the road of Marxism-Leninism and largely conduct itself in a revisionist or menshevistic (i.e. social democratic) manner."[11]

The propagandists of pluralism leave no doubt about what they have ultimately in mind: the destruction of the Marxist-Leninist parties and, thus, the political disarming of the workers class. They intend a fatal blow against socialism by paralyzing and weakening its leading force and eventually rendering it impotent. That the class enemy banks on that is not astonishing. It is an expression of the implacable class struggle of our time. Important however is that the Marxist-Leninist parties always be prepared for it and properly turn down the enemy's assaults. With its 10th party congress our party has once again demonstrated its capability and capacity and has proven that nothing and no one in the world can touch the ideological, political and organizational unity of the SED. Its cohesiveness and its loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism are unshakable.

Proven Alliance Policy

The theoretical core of the opposition between pluralism and our Marxist-Leninist social and political conception does not--as often insinuated by the bourgeois side--lie in that the former accepts, and the latter denies, that there exists a variety of interests. Naturally, even in socialist society there exists a great diversification of interests, as between the social classes and strata, between collectives, between society and the individual and also among individuals themselves. Here, however, differences of interests are of a nonantagonistic nature, no unbridgeable contradiction inheres in them, and they need not lead to unreconcilable conflicts because there is no social breeding ground for that. Socialist ownership in the means of production and the socialist planned economy rather effect and promote an identity of interests and a comradely cooperation among socialist producers as a characteristic trait of socialist production relations. Socialism thereby does not cancel the existence of diverse interests in the classes and social strata that shape this society, but it makes possible for the first time their real representation and consideration on the basis of the implementation and protection of common, overall social interests. Undoubtedly also our society will continue to give rise to differentiated interests because socialism creates increasing material, social and cultural opportunities for satisfying such interests. The party and the state take that into account in their policy by various measures. For example, through applying the performance principle the individual is challenged to make a

maximum contribution to the implementation of overall social goals. Our Constitution and other laws guarantee comprehensive rights for realizing specific interests by specific population groups, as long as they do not infringe the goals of socialism. And it meets with the overall social interest of socialism to take account of specific interests, e.g. of the craftsmen, the young generation, people that like sports, young married couples and other groups, by special promotion measures. Not last, this practice in our socialist life brings it about that while socialist social development advances the realization of the identity of fundamental interests also grows.

This is not an automatic process. The decisive principle in the alliance policy of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party is to work out on every level of social development and in all domains of public life the identity of basic interests as between the workers class and the other working classes and strata, make all working people aware of it, and implement them through a close and responsible cooperation of all political forces in socialist society. The firm alliance the workers class has with the farmers and other working people also has developed and proven itself in our republic for more than 30 years. It has been and is a basic principle of the SED's Marxist-Leninist alliance policy that every crucial step toward establishing an antifascist-democratic order, in the transition toward establishing the foundations of socialism, and in shaping the developed socialist society has been thoroughly discussed with the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front of the GDR and in the Democratic Bloc, especially with the FDGB and the FDJ, and has been jointly realized by the activities of all involved working people. This procedure conforms with the objective requirements of our social development. It is deeply democratic and embodies the true sovereignty of the people, the active participation by the working people in the process that elaborates and implements our state's policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 141.

2. O. Sik, "Der dritte Weg" (The Third Way), Hamburg, 1972, pp 11-12.

3. DIE WELT, Bonn, 1 December 1980, p 17.

4. E. Fraenkel, "Structural Problems of Modern Democracy," "Reformisums und Pluralismus," Hamburg, 1973, pp 426-427.

5. L. I. Brezhnev, "26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 28.

6. DIE WELT, Bonn, 23 April 1981, p 6.

7. Ibid., 25 March 1981, p 6.

8. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 116.

9. Erich Honecker, "The Leading Role of the Working Class Party," "Reden und Aufsaetze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, pp 494-495.

10. DIE WELT, Bonn, 25 March 1981, p 6.

11. Ibid., 3 December 1980, p 6.

5885
CSO: 2300/328

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 7, Jul 81 (signed to press 10 Jun 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Well Equipped for the 1980's

[Summary of 'Enhanced Refinement--A Great National Economy Program' feature article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, economist, deputy department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 633-641]

> [Text] On the proposition that socialism alone is the order that suits the contemporary state of the productive forces and the requirements for the progress of mankind, the article shows how the economic strategy of the 10th party congress conforms to the altered conditions and higher demands of the 1980's. It explains that the new level of intensively expanded reproduction depends on a combination of new economic and social factors which essentially are a direct expression of the unfolding of the advantages of socialism. Of outstanding importance to it is the enhanced refinement of production--a process for which the combines possess favorable prerequisites.

Enhanced Refinement in Metallurgy and Metalworking Industry

[Summary of 'Enhanced Refinement--A Great National Economy Program' feature article by Gerhard Tautenhahn, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 642-647. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Industry, Agriculture to Focus on 'Enhanced Refinement,'" in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The combines in machine building and electrical engineering and electronics, through their contribution to scientific-technical progress, bear a great responsibility in enforcing our economic program on refining. In which direction must thus their production profile change and how is their work--starting with the scientific-technical tasks--to be focused? Which tasks are to be solved by metallurgy so as to create the condition, through an enhanced refining of available raw materials, for the metalworking industry to be able to reduce its metal consumption and improve the grade of its output?

Our Basic Materials Are to Be Better Utilized

[Summary of 'Enhanced Refinement--A Great National Economy Program' feature article by Dr Horst Wambutt, economist, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 648-654. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Industry, Agriculture to Focus on 'Enhanced Refinement,'" in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Even during the last decade, when developed capitalist countries were still very wasteful about raw materials and fuels, we gathered useful experiences in refining them thanks to our party's far-sighted economic policy. Which criteria are to be applied today to refinement in the basic materials industry, how do these processes affect the grade of production, and how do they help perfect our economic structure? Why do we prefer the refining of domestic raw materials? Refinement concerns the whole reproduction process, each job, each activity.

What Is the Situation in Our Combine With Regard to Enhanced Refinement?

[Summary of 'Enhanced Refinement--A Great National Economy Program' feature article by Dr Karlheinz Jentsch, professor of political science, general director, VEB Wilhelm Pieck Combine, Mansfeld; pp 655-659. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Industry, Agriculture to Focus on 'Enhanced Refinement,'" in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Refinement metallurgy faces high demands for supplying processing industry with more highly refined working materials. How is the VEB Wilhelm Pieck Combine in Mansfeld facing them? Which economic effects are provided in refinement through modern technologies, methods and installations? How do we manage to achieve important advances in the production of highly refined products and to turn top achievements into permanent and stable achievements through a mass-solidary management of socialist competition?

Get More Out of Animal Raw Materials

[Summary of 'Enhanced Refinement--A Great National Economy Program' feature article by Dr Bernhard Larisch, Institute for Agriculture and Foodstuffs Industry, Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs; and Dr Winfried Theilig, chief director, VEB (B) (Bezirk-Administered) Thuringia Meat Combine, Gera; member, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; pp 660-663. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Industry, Agriculture to Focus on 'Enhanced Refinement,'" in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Also for the working people in the foodstuffs industry it is a concern of great economic weight to enhance the refinement of raw materials available. How can the production-oriented cooperative associations, through a further development of coordinated technologies, perfect the refinement processes and tap further material reserves? Which rank is to be attributed here to standardized work and the struggle for fine quality? With regard to this, examples are presented from the work of cooperative associations in Gera Bezirk.

Space Science in Service of Our Socialist Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinz Stiller, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; director, earth and space science research program, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 671-678. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] "Interkosmos" is one of the many examples of socialist science cooperation which, free from any profiteering, serves scientific-technical progress on behalf of social progress. By the example of earth and space sciences it is being shown how important premises were established in the 1970's for the necessary subsequent improvements of achievements in science and technology. The potentials in socialist science policy, which must be released in the 1980's along with the political, economic and ideological confrontation with imperialism.

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German no 99, 8 Jul 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Wants to Intensify Involvement in Space Research." West German commentary on article by Prof Heinz Stiller in East Berlin EINHEIT, Vol 36 No 7, Jul 81, signed to press 10 Jun 81, pp 671-678

[Text] The GDR wants to intensify its involvement in space research and space travel in close cooperation with the Soviet Union. This was announced in the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT. It was pointed out that space research had meanwhile acquired a "fundamental importance for the advance of human knowledge and the development of the productive forces." Thus the solutions of principle on which the space research and space travel devices depend were highly important to applications in the GDR economy. Space research could help accelerate scientific-technical progress in many areas. Its deliberate realization was the decisive problem in fulfilling the considerably higher requirements in the 1980's.

Program of 16th CPCZ Congress for Coming Years

[Summary of article by Dr Norbert Kalusche, staff employee for political affairs, SED Central Committee; pp 693-699]

> [Text] The balance-sheet drawn up for the work done in the last 5 years by the 16th CPCZ Congress and the objectives for the continued construction of the developed socialist society in the CSSR in the 1980's. Experiences in the 60-year CPCZ struggle and the party tasks in further deepening its leadership role in society. Its contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress.

Monopolies on Intensified Armament Course

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Fiedler, economist, colonel, Friedrich Engels Military Academy; and Dr Alfred Preusse, economist, Friedrich List Communications College; pp 707-713]

> [Text] The most aggressive forces of imperialism, especially in the United States, want to achieve military superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries through their peace-threatening confrontation and mobilization course in order to force, from a position of strength, the socialist countries and the peoples' anti-imperialist movement to their knees. The role obtained in this by the military-industrial complex, the core of the most aggressive imperialist forces. As a component of this complex, armaments monopolies also have gained a strong influence in the FRG.

The Strategy of Nuclear Madness

[Summary of article by A. Arbatov, an abridged reprint from Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, April 1981, pp 102-111; a translation of the Russian original is available in JPRS 78698, 6 Aug 81, USSR REPORT: TRANSLATIONS FROM 'KOMMUNIST' No 6, April 1981, pp 117-127; German version, EINHEIT pp 714-722]

> [Text] Washington's "new nuclear strategy" aims at making nuclear war "feasible" as a "limited" nuclear conflict. Its centerpiece is the thesis of a "disarming first strike," making a counterstrike impossible, against the Soviet Union, which is supposed to come from the "nuclear superiority" the United States is seeking. The article scolds the unscrupulosity of the champions of that strategy with their gambling with the existence of mankind, shows its illusive and suicidal character, and pits against it the Soviet Union's consistent and realistic advocacy of arms limitation and disarmament.

5885
CSO: 2300/328

ANTITANK CLOSE COMBAT EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 26, 1981(signed to press 22 Jun 81) p 5

[Eyewitness report by Maj Klaus Koenig and Reserve NCO Norbert Bartnik: "...Not an Easy Matter--Observations and Notes on Effective and Intensive Training in Paul Hegenbarth Motorized Rifle Regiment"]

[Text] A rainy Friday in June. The men of Christophel Company have assembled on the training grounds of the Paul Hegenbarth Motorized Rifle Regiment for the first training climax in the second half-year. The program includes antitank close combat as a whole. At the end of this day a "very good" is expected. That is what it says in black and white in the field newspaper on the wall.

Time 0850. Lt Michael Wenzenlewski, acting company commander, receives the report on training preparedness. His check shows: The group leaders have distributed the leaflets. The material resources are ready. A glance at troop strength indicates: The drivers are in technical training, the directional and Strela rocket controllers are being centrally trained, two soldiers are acting as assistant instructors for the motor vehicle course, two comrades are servicing the company equipment and 14 soldiers have been assigned to the regiment (in the kitchen, the library, the club, etc.). In short, those remaining for training on this morning are a small diminishing population--about 50 percent of the company. But 50 percent firmly resolved to do their best.

1. Observation: Demonstration--Not a Trace

Time 0900. The instruction areas and stations are occupied. It is an unusual sight--one instructor and three soldiers at every station instead of a complete group. Nevertheless, incendiary bottles waver through the air. Hand grenades clatter against steel plates. With howling motors two training combat tanks go their way. Past the stations along the route....

Time 0905. In front of a now useless, wrecked tank Noncommissioned Officer Peter Sablotin laconically explains the actions of an antitank close combat troop. He divides the men into destroyers and security forces. He indicates the forest boundary as the direction of approach. And he lets them train. Not a word about the importance of the troop. No determination of the path of approach, which would teach tactically correct behavior. Not a trace of demonstration! But he really should know better. The badge for superior performance, the classification and the

sixth service half-year distinguish him as an experienced instructor. And the fact that he has so far instructed at this station each half-year speaks for itself.

2. Observation: Time Wasted

Time 0935. Noncommissioned Officer Hans-Peter Hirsch explains at his station the resources available for combating enemy tanks. He demonstrates arming and disarming antitank hand grenades. He points out the security regulations. Afterwards two of the soldiers train up to the signal "change stations." Not a word is spoken over the antitank mines spread out on the adjacent table, and there is no explanation of how to make incendiary bottles, not to mention about their use. There is no time, he says. The question remains: Did he not learn to manage his available time? Was he not obligated to allocate the instructive questions and minutes on the pre-printed leaflet? In preparing for duty did he not have to account for how he planned to organize the training?

He, who is the best and wears the classification, can build on the same 5 half-years of service experiences as Noncommissioned Officer Sablotin.

3. Observation: Improvisation Instead of Combat Realism

Time 1030. Over and over the tank tracks rattle over a fortified fox hole. A shadow jumps up, the weapon aimed for firing. But here no antitank hand grenade whistles through the air. And yet a few meters further on the throwing technique is being practiced with battered imitations. Parachutes no longer open out of them.

But the parachute alone guarantees that the grenades land on the detonator. It alters the trajectory. And it requires perfect throwing technique! Combat realism or improvisation? Half-measures!

And when at last the tank rolls over a cord stretched a couple of inches over the path, the driver can be sure that an antitank mine tied to the end of the cord will end up under the tracks. Substitution for sliding shelf mines! Improvised combat realism....

House wall station. Under the leadership of Private First Class Siegmund Mueller soldiers are training with devices for blinding and combating enemy tanks. He explains. Here and there he points something out.

The torrent of words is nearly endless, but at least his speech ends with: "Have no fear! I myself jumpred for the first time earlier today!" But this is not followed by a demonstration of how one jumps, presses himself to the turret and covers the corner mirror and range-finder. And how would that be possible when Private Mueller in his third service half-year is himself participating in Complex I for the first time?

These are observations noted during the complex training of Christophel Company.

They allowed one to sense in advance what would not be a certainty for the company until the end of the training day: The hoped-for "very good" did not come about.

Even the company's evaluation of "good" is unjustified in the opinion of VOLKSARMEE. For the truth remains: Whoever wants to hold his own against an enemy who is well supplied and well trained must have realstic war training. Where were the pitiless standards of a potential war in this training? Instead there were too many aburdities during the complex training, with half-measures which mean deadly danger to combat.

Certainly Lieutenant Michael Wenzelewski was thinking along those lines when he expressed to VOLKSARMEE his dissatisfaction: The complex was not smooth. The training did not go as planned, although it was not that the soldiers were unwilling. So what was the problem asked VOLKSARMEE.

9746
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MATERNITY, INFANT WELFARE DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Aug 81 p 5

[Interview with Dr Laszlo Medve, state secretary in health affairs, Mrs Ferenc Nyitrai, Dr, state secretary, head of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Dr Dezso Schuler, director of the National Institute of Infant and Child Health Affairs, Dr Gyorgy Illei, chief gynecologist of Vas megye, Dr Zoltan Bognar, director general of the Center for the Protection of Mothers and Women in Budapest, by editor Kornelia Dolecsko of NEPSZABADSAG, date and place not given]

> [Text] The future of society is determined by the decision to have children and yet the source of this decision is the innermost need of every couple.--What is the role of the government?--What is the current state of maternal and infant care, and what methods are recommended by the health services?--These were the topics of our roundtable discussion.

NEPSZABADSAG: Is it true that the birth rate reached the lowpoint in 1962? What is the demographic forecast? Is it conceivable that the population would decrease by several hundred thousand by the turn of the century?

Mrs Nyitrai: According to the data there were 13.9 live births per 1,000 population last year. This is already a low rate but it is not yet the low point of 1962 when there were 12.9 live births per 1,000 population. An increase was felt in the mid 1970's mainly because at that time the more populous age groups of the 1950's reached child bearing age by then. Now we are heading toward a decline and we will probably approach the 1962 low point. As to the forecasts, I am not pessimistic. In my estimation, the population decline by the turn of the century will be 20-30 thousand at the most.

L. Medve: Our tasks are not only medical but we are also faced with distinct, multifaceted tasks for guiding the demographic situation. It is important to move ahead our social policies and also to further awareness. The health administration is trying to improve the preparedness of youths for family life and to improve the care given by those of adolescent age and older. We want to reach the point where training for family life would not begin with pregnancy care. This we look upon as insurance for the birth of more and more mature, healthy infants. This is very important especially now because, faced with the decreasing number of births, it is not immaterial how healthy the babies are, what their birthweight is and how the women go through their pregnancy.

The Role of Counseling

NEPSZABADSAG: Last year, every 10th child was premature and 23 out of every 1,000 did not live to 1 year of age. How do you see it? Has family and maternity counseling fulfilled hopes attached to it?

D. Schuler: The existence of counseling is very important. In my opinion, these activities can be judged useful throughout the century. What troubles the physicians is the fact that, unfortunately, the participants of these counseling sessions are not those who need them the most. Precisely those women and couples escape our attention who need the information and education most.

Z. Bognar: In my opinion, those with poor health habits cannot obtain sufficient information during 20 minutes of counseling. We can only expect an improvement in the work of counselors if the participants returned more frequently. Also in schools, this "course in living" should be taught less formally.

Gy. Illei: It is my experience in Vas megye that family and maternity counseling is frequented by an increasingly large number of people and the results of these discussions can already be felt.

L. Medve: Indeed, there is still much formality in the work of the institutions. But it is a fact that the number of our participants increase every year--currently approaching 500,000 annually--and of these, only about 100,000 are engaged couples for whom premarital counseling is compulsory. Looking at it this way, counseling fulfills a social need. This is also significant in the villages where such work is done by the district physicians. This is beneficial also because the contact between the physician and the young women who turns to him is already established.

NEPSZABADSAG: During the second half of the 1970's, there was a decrease or at least slower increase in the number of second born children. The number of third children remained the same.

Mrs Nyitrai: Precisely in view of this the families with one child must also be supported more decisively than before. Initial steps have already been taken, first in June 1979, when in association with the partial compensation for price increases, single-child families also received a raise in their income. It must also be carefully considered what size families should be given larger benefits. Obviously, families with three or more children are the primary candidates but it is worth while to pay increased attention of families with two children.

L. Medve: The decision to have children cannot be reduced to factors such as family bonuses, living quarters or other factors important for living conditions and the establishment of a family. For instance, there is no apartment shortages in the GDR and yet we find there one of the worst rates of live births in Europe, 9.5 [deaths] per 1,000 [births] in 1979. A domestic example: in the villages, houses with two or three rooms and bath are standing empty and yet many families have only one child. This all shows that the relationship between family bonuses or housing and the desire to produce children is important but is not the deciding factor. Rather the attitudes should be changed. This, of course, may take decades.

Nursery Care

NEPSZABADSAG: A constantly recurring question is what is the ideal family size in Hungary? One, two, maybe three children?

Mrs Nyitrai: Today the average ideal family size is not the three-child family. That needs to be acknowledged and having at least two children per family should be encouraged. Our earlier view that a family with three children is the ideal failed to gain acceptance. Our actions should be modified to this end.

D. Schuler: There is much talk nowadays about incentives, social benefits, and much less talk about the presence of other restricting factors which make having a family more difficult. One: at the workplace, in general, they are not happy to hear that a young woman is pregnant. There are several reasons for this. The pregnant woman has to be given more consideration; after delivery, the young mother goes on child care leave, and the time spent on sick leave is also more frequent. For a certain time, the child definitely takes the mother away from the job and thus she is less "reliable" at her place of work.

Mrs Nyitrai: Our child care benefits are an achievement enjoying worldwide recognition, together with the fact that it represents a 3- occasionally 6-year absence of the mother from the work force. This could be remedied by expanding the permission to do work at home for a firm or industry during the second half of childcare benefits. This would also have financial advantages for the mothers and families.

D. Schuler: I find the 3 years of childcare leave too long and would reduce it to 2 years. But I would definitely uphold the 2 years because close contact between infant and mother is a determinant in the physical and intellectual development of the child.

Mrs Nyitrai: One should provide the possibility of a choice. Of course, this would require an increase in nursery facilities to make it possible for the young wife to enroll her child in a nursery after age 2 if she wanted to.

NEPSZABADSAG: Accommodating the children is the key problem. Why is it not possible to let a young woman take care of two or three children in her home, in a so-called private nursery?

D. Schuler: I am unenthusiastic about private nurseries because health care and hygiene could not be monitored. It would be better to expand the possibilities of using the home to do some work for an industry.

L. Medve: We also support an increased flexibility of work during child care leave. As to nursery accommodations, during the past 5 years, 15,000 places were established and another 10,000 places are expected by 1985. Today, the nurseries in certain areas are crowded to 120-140 percent of capacity. In other areas, such as certain districts of Budapest and in many provincial towns,

we can already accept all applicants. If the children would be enrolled in the nurseries at 1 - 1-1/2 years of age, not only would their accommodation be solved, but they would also be past the age when infectious diseases are more frequent [sic].

Mrs Nyitrai: In Hungary in 1980, 87.6 percent of children between 3-5 years of age received kindergarten care while only 13.9 percent of the younger children were put in nurseries. I recommend that, with the cooperation of the workplace and by enlisting social resources we should expand nursery construction actions on the pattern of the kindergarten construction actions which proved so successful.

Improvement of Pregnancy Care

NEPSZABADSAG: How does care follow-up on the fate of young women and on the development of the pregnancy? To what extent do harmful influences during pregnancy play a role in premature births?

Gy. Illei: Several concepts must be clarified. An infant is premature whose birth-weight is below 2,500 grams irrespective of the number of weeks of pregnancy. Our country is in 31st place, out of 34 European countries, with respect to premature births. Every 11th child is born with low weight. Therefore, we have much to do with respect to pregnancy care. In Vas megye, several years ago, we enumerated professional and social requirements on the basis of which pregnancy care was organized. Among those women who need it, the number of control visits is increased. The essence of our method is that the young woman is always seen by the same physician during regular checkups and repeated control examination. We have a very good working relationship with related specialties such as the geneticists, internists and the laboratories. In our opinion, joint action is very important during pregnancy because this is the only way to properly pinpoint the dangers in time. We must also have the close cooperation of the pediatricians. A monthly evaluation and discussion is used to analyze the usefulness of the particular therapeutic methods used on the surviving premature infants. We also analyze the circumstances of pregnancy care and delivery. Because of its aura of accountability, this method will also, inevitably, provide experiences of a general validity which can be utilized later. All of these together account for a considerable decrease in infant mortality in the megye to the lowest in the country, and the chances of survival for premature infants have also improved.

NEPSZABADSAG: What is the situation in Budapest? One often hears it here that the pregnant women receive a cursory examination, mostly only to have the correct number of entries in the pregnancy booklet, and they are very seldom dealt with in a meaningful manner.

Z. Bognar: On the average, the young women appear almost 10 times for control examination during pregnancy. The new regulation on hospital admission makes it possible now, in Budapest, to have the high risk mothers give birth in hospitals which also have a newborn section. However, it still remains questionable whether the young women will be willing to deliver in the hospital which could indeed provide the most appropriate care for them. The physicians can be

required to do this to a certain extent but it can hardly be achieved by administrative means that the trust in the gynecologist be transferred to trust in the institution. By all means the importance of pregnancy care must be restored in Budapest.

NEPSZABADSAG: Can we state that, in Budapest, the pregnant women are under the supervision of the same physician throughout their pregnancy?

Z. Bognar: No, but this probably is the situation in the majority of cases. Often it is true that the woman who has "no physician" benefits most because she will go to the pregnancy care service and will always find the same physician there. And should it turn out that there is a problem, she will be sent to the institution where she can be provided with the most help. Those young women who are attracted to some renowned physician cannot be certain of receiving the most outstanding care since not all of the city's institutions have as yet all of the necessary instruments. And we should not bring the instruments to the patient but the other way around. This would be the correct and desirable thing to do.

Gy. Illei: Let us analyze the situation of premature birth. In Vas megye, 57 percent of the births took place in the megye hospital but this also included 80 percent of the premature births. What does this mean for the infant weighing less than 2,500 grams? It means that those born in the megye hospital had a mortality rate three times lower than those born in provincial hospitals. Therefore, it is obvious that preparedness and the availability of intensive care are also of great importance with respect to survival.

L. Medve: The basic requisites of modern pregnancy and delivery care are available nationwide. In Budapest and also in several university towns where 2-3 obstetrical wards are available, we find that the competition among physicians and, on the part of the patients a well-meant but inadequately based selectiveness gets started. Thus, 50 percent of the premature infants are not born at clinics or hospitals where the conditions for modern care are available, although the facilities also exist for them. Therefore, this is a question of medical responsibility, medical ethics. The physician who would send away his patient to the best equipped institution providing the required care, will not be lessened in his professional standing.

D. Schuler: Two important problems are involved: the newborn child must be kept alive in a way that the health of this surviving infant is damaged as little as possible. This requires that a well-trained group of physicians attend the birth to be able to provide the immediate care required. The other--in the case of more serious disturbances--the child be transferred to a suitable institution under safe conditions.

Mother's Milk and Medicine

NEPSZABADSAG: How do you follow up on the care and development of infants with low birthweights? How frequently are they checked, how are they supplied with mother's milk which is a source of many complaints?

D. Schuler: In my judgment, the care of the children meets the requirements. The mortality between 1-12 months is around the middle of European averages. It is important that disorders which can be detected early are diagnosed. In this respect there is progress but there are also things remaining to be done especially with diseases where the introduction of screening tests has been delayed.

L. Medve: Currently it is fashionable not to nurse the infants saying that modern milk substitutes replace the mother's milk. Unfortunately, we are at the stage where, already on the obstetrical ward, a young mother is given injections to stop her milk production. This practice is not forbidden but it is incorrect. In the Western world, they have already returned to breast feeding. In May, the World Health Organization accepted a resolution in favor of breast feeding because mother's milk cannot be replaced by anything. In this respect there are some supply disturbances in Budapest but less so in the provinces. Especially since we raised the price of mother's milk.

D. Schuler: In Hungary, 35 percent of the infants receive human milk up to 3 months of age. However, the following picture is hidden behind the average: in Vas megye, 50-60 percent of the infants are breast fed for at least 3 months. In Pecs, only 10 percent of them are. This necessitates a joint effort between obstetricians and pediatricians; a joint educational effort. The practice must be stopped according to which the new mothers are released from the hospital almost routinely with milk substitute recipes in their hands. This is a very bad method.

NEPSZABADSAG: What is the situation with regard to the availability of medicines?

L. Medve: We will secure all those medications needed by the infants and new mothers. We are here talking about either domestic or imported products, even though we are not wallowing in imported preparations.

D. Schuler: Often a doctor recommends a "fantastic" foreign preparation to "gain respect." Sometimes with one that is exported by our domestic industry. It is hard to gain any ground here but I think it is necessary.

More Than 250,000 on Child Care Leave

NEPSZABADSAG: How much does the government spend on maternal and infant care? Didn't the value of allowances given to families with children lose its value during the past years?

Mrs Nyitrai: In the past, 12.5 percent of the health budget has been spent on maternal and infant care. Last year, 254,000 women took advantage of child care leave. Last year, the money allotments to mothers and families with children came to 19 billion forints of which the sum for family allowance was 13 billion forints. The living standard is significantly influenced by the number of children in a family. Society contributes much to the bringing up of children but it cannot accept complete responsibility for it. And, I think, no parent would demand it. When guided by natural human desires they have brought their children into

this world, they were not calculating whether enough money or such and such an apartment, etc., were given or would be given to them to make establishment of a family remunerative. This is a false approach. Families and the societal acceptance of children must be helped and supported. This is a considerable task requiring societal support. It is my conviction that the societal atmosphere of wishing for and loving children may also inspire the acceptance of more children.

2473
CSO: 2500/348

PLANS FOR NEW HOUSING, URBANIZATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Aug 81 pp 1, 2

/Interview with Romeo Dragomirescu, vice chairman of the Committee on People's Councils Problems, by Florin Ciobanescu/

/Text/ From year to year and from five-year plan to five-year plan the RCP has set more and more challenging tasks in the field of housing construction. This has made radical changes in the urban and rural workers' living conditions by providing comfortable and civilized homes for millions of citizens. Moreover socialist Romania is the first country in the world to regard town planning and development as a uniform and general process including its entire territory and involving all communities.

The proportions of the process of urbanization, systematization and organization of the territory and communities in the 1981-1985 period and the great tasks assigned the home builders according to the Program to Raise the Living Standard in the 1981-1985 Period, drafted upon the initiative and under the direct guidance of Nicolae Ceausescu, fully reflect the importance our party and state attach to the solution of the essential problems of quality of life.

We asked Romeo Dragomirescu, vice chairman of the Committee on People's Councils Problems, about implementation of the provisions of the program to raise the living standard concerning systematization, urbanization and housing construction and held the following conversation with him:

/Question/ How far has the systematization program been implemented now?

/Answer/ A number of highly important measures have been taken as part of the process of planning and development of urban and rural communities initiated at the direction and under the direct guidance of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the republic. The buildable limits have been set for all municipalities and cities and also for the villages with possibilities of socioeconomic development. By this action the buildable limits were restricted and a reserve of 455,000 hectares of land was created that is now occupied by mediocre constructions with a low density and will be gradually restored to agriculture. The systematization outlines for all municipalities, cities and communities that have been prepared to become urban centers have been drafted and finalized, as well as the systematization specifications for 180 industrial areas and districts. I might also mention the programs to prepare

129 rural communities to become new urban centers with industrial or agroindustrial functions. The economic and social proportions of these programs are illustrative: The population of these communities comes to 958,000 inhabitants, there are 450,000 jobs in industry, agriculture and services, and the total population in the polarized rural area benefiting by industrial development, equipment with services, and the new kinds of social-cultural activities in these strong urban centers amounts to 3,023,910 inhabitants.

/Question/ What are the parameters of the new stage of the urbanization process corresponding to the 1981-1985 period?

/Answer/ It is intended to form systems of communities providing for better and easier use of the economic, social-cultural and municipal capacities by the entire population. To this end it is planned to develop some economic functions by introducing new industrial or agroindustrial capacities, creating at least 8-10 convenient connections between them in every county, locating them near the main transportation routes, focusing the interests of more communes upon strong centers, and providing for complete use of the labor force as well as access of most of the population to characteristically urban facilities and services.

The emphasis upon urbanization does not mean that the particular problems of development of the villages as such will be overlooked. On the contrary, the rapid growth of the productive forces and the technical-material base, the growth of the national income and the public's incomes, the new agrarian revolution, and the modernization and intensive development of agricultural production will mean more new dwellings and cultural, health and trade facilities as well as adequate technical-municipal equipment for both urban and rural communities. The agrarian revolution and the radical change in agricultural working conditions are actually the controlling factors determining the planning and development of the Romanian village.

/Question/ Urbanization is inseparable from the rate of social-cultural and housing construction. What prospects in this area are opened up by the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan?

/Answer/ Implementation of the program to construct housing and social-cultural, trade and service capacities as well as technical-municipal facilities will enhance the equipment of the communities and will help to improve the living standard of all settlements in Romania. Moreover they will be constructed at a rate that is coming to be commonplace for Romania of the last two decades even though such a huge volume of construction is inconceivable for other countries that started out ahead of us on the path of industrial development. And through continuation of the high rate of construction, it will be possible to largely solve the housing problem in socialist Romania by 1990.

To return to the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan, we point out that fulfillment of the plan provisions will permit a corresponding increase in comfort. In urban areas, for example, the per capita dwelling space will be over 10 square meters. Note that a large number of apartments will be built in small and medium communities, thus equalizing the housing conditions among different communities.

/Question/ What do the provisions of the new five-year plan mean for the comfort of the dwellings?

/Answer/ In order to improve housing conditions, the types of apartments have been diversified according to the number and age structure of a family's members, with an increased proportion in the current period of apartments with fewer rooms and apartments with three, four and even five rooms. The electrical installations in apartments have been improved in keeping with the increased number of electrical-household appliances in current use. The space has been organized in order to provide the dwellings with modern household equipment. The apartments are provided with rationally proportioned storage space. The entrance halls are designed to provide sufficient space for minimal functional equipment, and housing and suitable finishing have also been provided for installations. And there are also other improvements. They will all be found in the dwellings that will be built in both urban and rural areas. Housing construction, from design to construction properly speaking, will make new progress with more emphasis upon the authentically traditional architectural features, use of local resources for construction materials, modern and economical heating methods, and proportioning and treatment of space in keeping with the changes that have taken place in the family structure and in the present functions of the dwellings. In other words, they will meet the increased demands of the workers, the beneficiaries of the dwellings, for the construction of which the state and society as a whole will make a particular material, financial and organizational effort during the current five-year plan.

Some Provisions of the Program for Urbanization and Development of the System of Communities by 1990

- In the 1981-1985 period 900,000 more dwellings will be built out of state funds, the equivalent of 30 cities of 90,000 inhabitants each.

- Community development includes construction of at least 14-15 urban communities and strong agroindustrial centers in all counties.

- According to the changes that have taken place in the family structure, the average number of rooms to an apartment will be increased from 2.35 in the 1976-1980 period to 2.42 in the 1981-1985 period. In Bucharest the average number of rooms to an apartment will be 2.6 at the close of the same period.

- In all counties at least 10 square meters of dwelling space per capita will be provided in urban areas in 1985, and even more space in some urban centers.

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CSO: 2700/376

ROMANIA

EFFORTS OF DOCTOR TO PUBLICIZE ROMANIAN MEDICAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Aug 81 p 2

/Interview with Dr Ioan Puscas by Anghel Paraschiv/

/Text/ We inquired for the institution we were looking for and were shown a building with nothing to distinguish it from the houses along the narrow street. "There?" "There!" "It cannot be," we thought, "It does not look like a hospital." But we entered through a passageway, climbed a few stairs, came to a lobby and were face to face with Dr Ioan Puscas. He held out a huge hand to us, cordial as a child's, while his blue eyes and relaxed smiling face lit up the room, into which the sun did not reach very far. Dr Puscas needs no introduction. He is known to thousands of people who found the cures here for long-standing ailments that they no longer hoped for. He is also known to tens and hundreds of thousands of other people, and the press and Romanian Radiotelevision have widely publicized the efforts and internationally reknowned successes of Dr Puscas and the collective he supervises.

In the midst of the hills that surround it, Simleu Silvaniei is like a penny tossed among tapering hats. It is a clean and pretty but busy town. And the building in which we were does not look like a hospital except that it is clean as a pharmacy. Otherwise it is an old building of the law court and prosecutor's office, converted ad hoc to a hospital.

/Question/ You are almost cut off from the world. (We were trying to tease Dr Puscas.)

/Answer/ Perhaps it looks that way to you, coming from Bucharest. (He replied, going along with the joke.)

It was 14 June. On the table in Puscas' office we saw the 8 June 1981 number of the journal CURRENT CONTENTS published by the Institute for Scientific Information in Philadelphia. Dr Puscas intercepted our somewhat surpised look and as if in response to our remark about being cut off from the world, he told us that he regularly receives 12 foreign journals of the highest scientific prestige in his field. He corresponds with dozens of specialized institutions in Europe and America, with hundreds of scientists throughout the world, and with hundreds of Romanian scientific researchers and scientists. With teams from his collective, he attends dozens of national and international seminars and conferences as well as congresses, and he publishes in many technical journals abroad.

/Question/ Do many colleagues and other specialists visit you, Dr Puscas?

/Answer/ Certainly they visit us, and we visit them.

/Question/ Foreigners?

/Answer/ Foreigners too. The director of the International Center for Medical Research and Discoveries with headquarters in New York has already visited us 3 times, in 1975, 1977 and 1979.

We are waiting (with great interest and without losing hope) for just one director from the Ministry of Health to visit us, because they have not done so since our section has been in operation and we have been working on our studies and the treatments we apply, with a good deal of success as you know. But if one comes let me tell you that he would have something to see and especially something to help us with, because we are in great need of help.

/Question/ You headed a delegation of Romanian specialists to the last Congress on Gastroenterology and Gastrointestinal Endoscopy held in Hamburg last year. How was our delegation's contribution received and, in general, how is the Romanian school of gastroenterology regarded abroad?

/Answer/ Highly, I may say even very highly. That is evidenced by the fact that the administration of the International Gastroenterology Society as well as the administrations of the national gastroenterology societies of 11 member nations (England, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, France, the GDR, the FRG, Italy, Yugoslavia, Spain and Hungary) out of the 22 entitled to vote asked the Romanian delegation to transmit to the Romanian authorities their proposal to conduct the proceedings of the 12th International Congress on Gastroenterology and the Fifth European Congress on Gastrointestinal Endoscopy in Romania in 1984. This proposal caused the English delegation to withdraw its offer to host the said congresses.

/Question/ Does this mean those congresses will be held in Romania in 1984?

/Answer/ No, I cannot answer that. I can tell you only that I notified the competent authorities, namely the Ministry of Health, of the proposal and they agreed but told me that the Romanian Gastroenterology Society must rule on it first. I do not want to go into too many details but only to say that I made persistent efforts, wasting a good deal of time, to discuss it with the society's administration, to determine the Romanian specialists' opinion, and to send the Romanian state administration a substantiated and documented proposal. But this proposal has not yet been forewarded, despite several months' efforts, because in the first place, although some comrades in the society's administration agreed with the proposal initially, I was finally notified that the society, which has about 20 members in its administration, has not met for a very long time. Then I found that the society has had no president since the death of the late Prof O. Fodor 5 years ago. After this first unsuccessful attempt, I tried again to arrange a decision-making meeting of the members of the society, but only three of them assembled and finally there were only two. Finally I was told, "We cannot give a positive answer because no one is organizing these big congresses." This view is in complete contradiction with that of the representative of the Ministry of Tourism, whose functions include the organization of such meetings and who declared himself entirely in agreement, pointing out there is every possibility for the best organization of those congresses. I proposed another meeting after

2 weeks, which was enough time for all members of the society's administration to be invited in writing to attend a session and to thoroughly and responsibly analyze the proposals made to us. After the 2 weeks passed, I visited the Union of Societies for Medical Sciences on Progresul Street, where the second meeting with the administration of the Gastroenterology Society had been announced, together with Dr Ovidiu Pascu of Cluj-Napoca Medical Clinic No 3, Dr Petre Contrasiu of the Salaj County Hospital, and Dr Augustin Lenghel of the Oradea County Hospital, all of whom had attended the last congress in Hamburg. To my surprise there were only four members present. Not to prolong the story, the reply was as follows: "Organizing the two congresses means at least 6 months' work for us actually spent on the medical organization of the congresses. And you, Dr Puscas, can see how difficult it is to assemble people whom we have never succeeded in convening."

/Question/ Perhaps there are some more difficult problems, like financial ones for example.

/Answer/ There is no financial obligation! On the contrary, the only "burden" is the medical and administrative organization of those meetings, and we have facilities for all of that to be done on the highest level. Even a novice can easily see the importance of organizing such meetings in Romania. Let us consider one point alone: Is it a small matter if all the leading representatives of this field of world science come to your home and offer hundreds of thousands of Romanian physicians the opportunity to learn directly of the discoveries and interests of some great medical schools? And there are other arguments too.

/Question/ What would you like, what do you think should be done now?

/Answer/ What do I want? I want what is rational and correct to be done. That is, such a highly important question should not be decided by two or three people. The community of medical specialists should meet and then present the state administration with an opinion and a complete, precise and objective report. That is all I want.

/Question/ Let us hope it will happen, Dr Puscas. It will benefit Romanian medical science and it will benefit Romania. One last question: What will Dr Ioan Puscas' research team produce for the years to come on behalf of the Romanians' health and the preservation of our so hardly won international scientific prestige?

/Answer/ Many new and, we believe, important works for this field of medical research and practice and for human health, because that is the purpose of our work. But I suggest we talk about that on another occasion.

5186
CSO: 2700/375

ROMANIAN CHARACTER OF TRANSYLVANIAN PRINCIPALITIES, VOIVODESHIPS STRESSED

[Editorial Report] An article by Emil Lazea, of the "'Nicolae Iorga' Institute of History," "The Transylvanian Principalities and Voivodeships--an Expression of the Independent Development of Romania," published in Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 July 1981, pp 29-32, cites the importance of the principalities and voivodeships as "original political formations which came into being at the same time as the Romanian people." Excerpts from the article follow:

The principalities and voivodeships were the original and direct creation of our ancestors. They were not a foreign imitation as has been said here and there. The foreign origin of the terms "cnez" and "voivode" (German for the first and Slavic for the second) cannot serve as a sound argument against the indigenous character of these institutions. The tendency to adopt terms with the widest possible circulation was always a common phenomenon in the lives of peoples. The natural conclusion in regard to the origin of the principalities and voivodeships among the Romanians is, as the erudite historian Ioan Bogdan has said, that besides the name, we do not find anything specifically Slavic in the entire development of these institutions.

After Transylvania fell under the domination of the Hungarian feudal kingdom, the majority of Romanian princes and voivodes were forced to submit to the authority of the Hungarian kings. However there were cases where voivodes or princes opposed with arms in hand, the consolidation of the authority of the Hungarian kings and the aggravation of feudal relationships--not only at the time of the conquest of Transylvania but even in later centuries. Those who could not be reconciled to the new situation went over the mountains to the other historic Romanian provinces where they made a valuable contribution to the development of the life of the Romanian state to the south and to the east of the Carpathians.

Examined from the aspect of all their powers, duties and activities, the Transylvanian princes cannot be categorized merely as "a wealthy peasant class" or as "outstanding village dwellers," as they have been characterized by some of our historians.

Even more devoid of all scientific basis is the viewpoint of some foreign historians that the Romanian princes and voivodes of Transylvania were only "guides" or "chiefs of immigrants" who came as leaders of groups of nomadic Romanian shepherds from the Balkans to ask the Hungarian feudal lords for permission to settle on their estates in Transylvania. The existence of princes and voivodes in the other two Romanian countries--Moldavia and Wallachia--negates such an interpretation.

Before concluding this brief history of the Transylvanian princes and voivodes, I feel that it is necessary for me to emphasize two things. First of all, one should stress and keep in mind the fact--which has been proven clearly and powerfully by historic sources--that, in Transylvania, both the institutions of the princes and voivodes and the ethnic composition of the peoples who lived in the villages were always and everywhere exclusively Romanian and that neither Hungarians nor Saxons, who came to Transylvania under well-known historic circumstances, had princes or voivodes as the heads of the settlements in which they lived. Secondly, one must keep in mind that, in the Romanian milieu, the princes and voivodes had a specifically Romanian character and served the vital interests of our ancestors, in accordance with the conditions and possibilities existing at that time. This explains their broad territorial distribution, their viability and the fact that they lasted so long, until the eve of the modern period.

CSO: 2700/378

FAZLIJA REPLACES ZOGAJ AS DIRECTOR OF 'RILINDJA'

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Text] A report from the 10 September meeting of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of SAWP of Kosovo says that on the basis of consultations with all provincial organs, sociopolitical organizations, and other organs of the province, as well as consultations in the "Rilindja" newspaper publishing and printing work organizations, the above presidium selected as director of this organization Aslan Fazlija, member of the Kosovo Provincial Committee of the League of Communists, and Maksut Shehu, a journalist for many years and editor of this paper, as chief editor of RILINDJA.

During the consultations and decision on this cadre solution in RILINDJA, the Presidency proceeded from the need to strengthen the cadre and secure the conditions for effectively implementing the tasks which face this newspaper publishing work organization.

Redzep Zogaj, director up to now, and Fadilj Bujari, former editor-in-chief, have left for other work.

CSO: 2800-359

EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MACEDONIA EXAMINED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 Jul 81 SABOTA supplement p 5

[Article by Ivan Angelov, M.A.]

[Text] The number of students at Macedonian post-secondary, advanced and university-level schools is a hundred times higher today than it was at the time of the formation of the Cyril and Methodius University.

The bases for long-term economic and general development of Macedonia included a policy for increased development of education, other training and necessary personnel. Such a determinant was dictated by a sharply apparent deficit in specialized personnel after the liberation of the country. The result of that long-term policy decision was an unprecedented expansion of the overall system of education and personnel training, particularly for higher education.

Table 1. The number of students per 10,000 inhabitants, attending post-secondary and higher schools and universities in Yugoslavia in academic 1979/80

Yugoslavia as a whole	201	Macedonia	259
Bosnia and Hercegovina	115	Slovenia	164
Montenegro	137	Serbia proper	245
Croatia	152	Kosovo	299
		Vojvodina	215

As an example of that incredible growth, let us consider increases in the number of students. In 1946/47, there were but 530 students at all institutions of higher education; in only 10 years, by 1956/57, that number had increased by more than 10 times, reaching a total of 5,559 students.

By the university's twentieth year (1966/67), there were 16,101 students in attendance. That meant 30 times more than in 1946/47. With this type of expansion of higher education, Macedonia was able to take its place in Yugoslav developmental processes in terms of personnel, but there continued to be a lag in economic and general development in comparison to the rest of the country.

That was a convincing indicator of the need to undertake measures in the direction of planning the development of education, or coordinating the formation of highly specialized personnel with the actual needs for it. Yet instead of implementing

a scientific approach in this highly sensitive area of public life, the following year 1968/69 open enrollment was proclaimed, the only instance of it until today in Yugoslavia. From that time right up until the present, the number of students in Macedonia has grown without limits and has surpassed all expectations.

In the 1979/80 academic year, there were 49,531 regular and special students attending advanced schools and universities in Macedonia. According to data of the republic self-management interest community for education, on 31 December 1980 there were 60,784 regular and special students at the two universities in Skopje and Bitola. This number does not include the students at centers for regular and special studies of the workers' universities and other organizations outside the universities at Skopje and Bitola; they number about 2,000. There are another some 2,000 students from Macedonia attending the university at Pristina.

In the 12 years since the introduction of open enrollment, every year from 12,000 to 15,000 graduates of secondary and intermediate specialized schools and trade schools have enrolled at advanced schools and universities in Macedonia. That represents 85-90 percent of the entire class of secondary school graduates. As a result of this extremely rapid expansion of the number of enrolled students, despite the lowest study effectiveness in the world, every year some 5-6,000 students receive their degrees. Thus, today the total work force contains more than 7 percent of personnel with higher education. In the overall Yugoslav labor force, more than 5 percent of the people possess higher education, while in Slovenia the number is 4 percent.

Where to Go After the University?

In the last few years in Macedonia about 18,000 persons have found new positions or changed their jobs each year, while some 6,000 have been receiving degrees. That means that for every new job, one out of three candidates has advanced or higher education. In the coming five-year plan period, some 30,000 students should receive degrees, while about 90,000 will enter the labor force. Here again, every third job will be occupied by someone who has completed advanced training or higher education. If these trends in the spheres of advanced and higher education continue for the next few years, the proportion of totally employed persons with higher education in the total labor force will reach 10 percent or higher.

Parallel to the numbers of students and employed persons with higher education, the number of organizations of higher education in Macedonia has also grown. In the year analyzed, 1979/80, 37 organizations of higher education were operating in Macedonia, of which 6 were advanced schools and 31 were university departments. There were also interdisciplinary studies in journalism, production and technical education.

For the uninformed or the insufficiently informed, this imposing expansion of general, and particularly of higher education in Macedonia will surely be taken as an enormous accomplishment, which will inspire a feeling of pride. When, however, the matter of the value of this educated, specialized personnel and its contribution to the economic and general development of the republic is considered, one must keep certain principles in mind. There are categories and quantities that can be developed without limitation for the general good of the

community and the individual. That is the case with the development of basic and general education and training, which every society seeks to develop to the highest possible levels in terms of both quality and quantity, to the end of the complete liquidation of illiteracy. This relates to basic and general education and to the greater, or total, involvement of a generation in this level of education.

The Needs That Remain Before Us

Education, however, for all levels of specialized personnel, and in that context education of highly specialized personnel, is not a matter that can develop without reference to the possibilities and especially the needs for utilizing the persons so trained. That is strictly determined and cannot in any circumstances be left to the chance of personal wishes. All modern societies keep strict control of that crucial factor in determining strategy for developing higher education.

Table Two. Even in world terms, Macedonia occupies a very high place in the ranks of number of students, as shown in the following survey:

Total number of students per 10,000 inhabitants, in advanced schools, higher educational institutions and university departments, in certain typical countries.

Austria	129	Egypt	124
Belgium	163	Canada	355
Bulgaria	148	FRG	136
Czechoslovakia	105	GDR	230
France	201	USSR	194
Italy	174	England	143
		Sweden	198

Let us now turn to analyze problems in the developmental possibilities of higher education. The FRG, which has about five times as high a GNP and a corresponding total level of capital accumulation, could certainly open many more institutions of higher education so that it could accommodate more than 80 percent of each generation's finishing secondary schooling. But this country sends barely 15 percent of its secondary school graduates to higher education, and has only half as many students per 10,000 inhabitants as does Macedonia.

According to that, a country's ability to provide education is not a decisive factor for determining developmental strategy for higher education.

Finally, we would pause at the indicator of the needs of the society for a highly specialized pool of personnel. Such needs are determined by the level of production capacity, or the technical and technological equipment available for labor, by investments in economic development, by the social product, GNP and industrial production, as well as by other factors that are closely connected to the ones already mentioned, such as imports and exports.

According to these key indicators and in relation to Yugoslavia as a whole, Macedonia stands as follows: It has 8.4 percent of the total inhabitants, 4.2 percent of total investments in production (the most important index), 6.2 percent

of total investments, 5.6 percent of total social product, 5.5 percent of industrial production, 5.1 percent of exports, and 6 percent of imports.

These indices show that Macedonia stands below the Yogoslav averages, while in terms of the number of students, employees with advanced education, the number of unemp'oyed persons with higher education, and the number of illiterate citizens, Macedonia is far above the Yogoslav averages.

12131
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TEMPORARY RATIONING DECREED IN SLOVENIA AFTER PANIC BUYING

Ljubjlana DELO in Slovenian 19 Aug 81 p 1

[Article: "The News about the Proposal for Raising the Prices of Oil, Sugar and Milk Caused Abnormal Buying"]

[Text] Ljumljana, 18 August--The chairman of the Republic Committee for Marketing and General Economic Affairs, Lojze Klemencic, made the following statement in connection with the proposal of the executive council of the General Association of Agriculture and the Food Industry of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber for increasing the prices of oil, sugar and milk:

"Yesterday and today the public information media published a report from the session of the executive council of the General Association of Agriculture and the Food Industry of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, during which, among other things there was a discussion about an increase in the prices of sugar, oil and milk. This was only a proposal which the association intended to discuss with the appropriate federal organ. It is known that prices are controlled and prices cannot be increased as long as there is a discussion in the appropriate organs of the federation, republic and autonomous province and as long as these organs do not approve the agreement of the republic and provincial councils and of the Federal Executive Council in regard to the price policy for this year; this prevented such an abnormal and irresponsible price increase.

This news caused a reaction in some circles in Slovenia and some members of the community bought sugar and oil in quantities which are not the customary quantities for households.

The Executive Council Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Economic Chamber of Slovenia studied the situation, for the purpose of establishing the facts, and why there were, in some opstinas of Slovenia, disruptions in the supply of these foods, although we have sufficient supplies in Slovenia. With abnormal buying it is not possible to provide supplies for all shops on a regular basis, although the trade organizations are delivering the products to the shops quickly. Therefore, the Executive Council Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Slovenian Economic Chamber approved the order agreed upon in order to achieve a more uniform supplying of the entire area of Slovenia and they recommended that the opstinas and the organizations of associated labor, which have not yet understood, understand the [need for a] temporary restriction on quantities

sold and purchases, until the situation in the markets becomes normalized. So, it is possible to buy, at one time, 2 kg of sugar and 2 liters of oil in plastic wrapping, or refills of oil in bottles.

Since it is a matter of temporary measures, in order to normalize the supply process and prevent speculative buying, we are convinced that the workers and the members of the community in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia will accept the measure with understanding."

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29 September 1981

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1922

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Unionists Attend Havana Conference 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Historians Analyze Need for GDR National, Prussian History
(Various sources, various dates)..... 2

West German Commentary
SED Scholar on 'National History', by Walter Schmidt
Frederick II Biographer on Prussia, Ingrid Mittenzwei
Interview

POLAND

Principles of Authority in Science Reviewed
(Wiktor Osiatynski; KULTURA, 28 Jun 81)..... 11

Sports as Tool in International Relations
(SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, Mar 81)..... 18

ROMANIA

Marxist Philosophy in the Modern World
(Radu Florian; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jul 81)..... 34

Significant New Contributions of Romanian Archeology
(Radu Harhoiu; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jul 81)..... 40

YUGOSLAVIA

Kosovo Leader Vlasi Interviewed on Causes of Crisis
(Azem Vlasi Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 16 Aug 81) 46

Kosovo Paper Reports on Continuing 'Differentiation'
(Editorial Report) 54

Centrifugal, Centripetal Tendencies in LCY Argued
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 19 Jul, 2 Aug 81) 56

Confederative or United Party, by Stevan Niksic
Democratization or Decentralization

BRIEFS

UNIONISTS ATTEND HAVANA CONFERENCE--Led by Secretary Z. Kramec, a URO [Central Trade Union Council] delegation left for Havana on 12 September to attend a conference for secretaries of socialist countries' trade union centers. The conference will negotiate issues of work safety, care of workers and coordinate activities of trade union centers from socialist countries in this area. URO Secretary B. Kacirek and chief of URO International Department E. Grochol bid farewell to the delegation at the airport. [Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Sep 81 p 1]

CSO: 2400/317

HISTORIANS ANALYZE NEED FOR GDR NATIONAL, PRUSSIAN HISTORY

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 98, 6 Jul 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Propagation of Entire German History to Promote GDR National Consciousness." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article by Prof Walter Schmidt cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] A stronger appropriation and propagation of all of German history has been demanded of the SED Social Science Academy by historian Prof Walter Schmidt. This was necessary, he wrote in East Berlin's SONNTAG (No 27, 5 Jul 81), to "consolidate the socialist German nation in our country." "Gaining a national identity" implied that the GDR citizens should know about their historic presuppositions. What was needed therefore was "a national history of the GDR written from the positions of triumphant socialism on German soil." Such a national history should have to face all of German history, chronologically, territorially and socially-structurally. No constriction of this "prehistory" of the GDR, going back a thousand years, to the German areas that today are part of it ought to be allowed. To the end of World War II it should also territorially embrace all of German history, even if the history of the GDR territory was calling for "essentially a much more thorough study" under the aspect of homeland history. Furthermore, the historic activities of all classes and strata of the German people should have to be examined with the question in mind of what of positive value was included in them that should become part of "our store of traditions." That was true even of a "discriminating appraisal of certain representatives even of the monopoly bourgeoisie."

The "central place" in GDR history propaganda, however, in Schmidt's view, should be occupied by the actual history of the GDR. In this context the GDR citizens should be made aware that between the FRG and the GDR there was nothing they had "any longer in common," in terms of historic experiences, norms and traditions. That would promote "most and most profoundly the development of a new, socialist German national consciousness."

SED Scholar on 'National History'

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 34 No 27, 5 Jul 81 p 9

[Article by Prof Dr Walter Schmidt, director, Institute for German Labor Movement History, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "The Past Is Never Finished--What Must Be the Basis for a National History of the GDR?" For other

writings on related subjects by the same author see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Prussian Progressive Traditions, coauthored with Horst Bartel and Ingrid Mittenzwei (pp 20-33), part of "Prussian History to Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage,'" 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823, pp 16-34; "Nation Versus Nationality Concept Analyzed" (with Alfred Kosing), 74590, 16 Nov 79, No 1738, pp 44-60; "Historic Development of Socialist Traditions Analyzed" (with Helmut Meier), 72782, 7 Feb 79, No 1644, pp 15-24; "Development of 'Socialist German National Consciousness' Discussed" (with Horst Bartel), 71116, 15 May 78, No 1534, pp 46-55]

[Text] Anyone who attended the excellent Schinkel exhibition in Berlin, which to see one had to line up, will have noticed the exciting atmosphere and great interest of the many visitors who wanted to familiarize themselves with the creators of historic testimonials belonging to their immediate living environment. That was hardly any different with the Menzel exhibit in Berlin and the Gottfried Semper exhibit in Dresden. It is also shown by many citizens attending to cultural and historic traditions in their region, be it in the Erz Mountains or along the Baltic coast. These are by no means narrow-minded homeland history ambitions. These are needs resulting from the emergence of a new, socialist national consciousness. To satisfy and foster them is all the more important since thereby the citizens' ties with their socialist fatherland of today become closer and firmer.

If you wish, the debate about our attitude toward our cultural heritage, which started in the early 1970's in aesthetics and literary sciences and has recently been revived, has spread to our historical science and has been expanded into the question about our entire historic legacy. This debate was sparked and initiated, as one knows, by the demand of the working class party around the ninth party congress--most strikingly formulated by the SED Central Committee General Secretary--to tap all traditions without restraint. The central committee status report to the 10th SED Congress likewise indicated this orientation toward the broad range of our store of traditions. In his speech at the social science conference in December 1980, Kurt Hager provided important impulses by clearly indicating that in history the past is never finished but that history must always again be newly questioned in terms of any changing conditions and requirements. What is the whole point?

The starting point lies no doubt in the needs of the 1980's for ideological, consciousness-shaping work resulting from the new internal development conditions of socialist society in the GDR taking shape on their own foundations. Many factors should have to be mentioned in this context, but I want to confine myself deliberately to one aspect: the consolidation of the socialist German nation in our country. A most essential element in the formation of the socialist nation, especially in this phase, is the development of a socialist national consciousness. The citizens' identification with their socialist nation, the gaining of a national identity, which fully turns the GDR from a "nation as such" into a "nation for itself" (to apply the distinction Marx made for the development of the proletarian class to this area), also includes, along with many other factors--but certainly not as its least important one--this knowledge about the historic presuppositions of this nation of ours. Thus we need a national history of the GDR written from the positions of triumphant socialism on German soil. To that end, an unequivocal answer has to be given to the question about the historic ground of the GDR.

To become clear about that is all the more urgent because the bourgeois history ideology in the FRG--irrespective of all superficial allegations of a purported "historically grown German community of destiny"--leaves no stone unturned in grossly falsifying the GDR's relationship with German history in other ways. Since Karl Jaspers first tried in 1960 to attribute to the GDR a historic basis of its own that, for all intents and purposes, consisted of Prussian and Saxon history, bourgeois attempts at narrowly confining, in a cheap manner, the historic roots of the socialist German state to the history of Prussia never completely vanished. The political meaning of such constructs is obvious. As one can no longer help recognizing the state sovereignty of the GDR, the socialist German state is to be presented as such as a continuation of Prussia, or rather, is to be maligned as the successor to reactionary Prussianism. At the same time we have to take issue with a "Prussia Wave" that has for some time been going on in the FRG.

Clear Positions

In wanting to become serious about a national history of the GDR, we need a clear definition of positions--also, and especially, for taking issue with bourgeois misrepresentations, suspicions and calumnies. I shall try to outline a few basic positions. Three such positions appear indispensable to me.

Such a national history has to face all of German history, and this in three regards: first chronologically, then territorially, and third, socio-structurally. This means: this national history cannot and must not be understood, first of all, as a direct genesis and development of the GDR but must include German history since the emergence of the German people as an ethnic entity. GDR history does not start as late as in 1949 or 1945. Among our historic premises also is the entire "prehistory" of the first complete break with our reactionary past on German soil which the working people of the GDR accomplished through the socialist revolution under working party leadership. And that ranges far back into German history, all the way to the time of primitive society and the origin of the German people. Socialism on German soil has evolved out of the struggle, of almost 150 years, by the German workers class, but it is likewise rooted in the aspirations of the progressive bourgeoisie and the democratic lower middle class in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Reformation and the Peasants' War of the 16th, and in the peasant uprisings, plebeian revolts and anti-feudal heretics movements in the Middle-Ages.

Second, we must not permit this "prehistory" that lasted over thousand years to be narrowly confined to the German territories which today are part of the GDR. To the end of World War II it must also embrace, territorially, all of German history. The historic roots of our nation are of course not only to be found on German territories in which socialism has already become reality. It includes the operations of the German Peasants' War of 1525 in southwest Germany as much as in Thuringia; the activities of the South German Jacobines after the Great French Revolution and the Mainz Republic of 1793, the first bourgeois-democratic republic on German soil, as much as the Saxonian peasants revolt of 1790 and the big uprising of the weavers in the Silesian mountains, of 1793; the Silesian weavers' uprising of 1844 as much as the miners' strike in the Lugau-Oelsnitz region, in 1867, and so forth.

Equally from the socio-structural vantage point, we must, thirdly, also examine the historic work of all classes and strata of the German people and ask what it contains in progressive, positive elements that have to be included in our store of traditions. Socialism is the inevitable outcome of the entire process of history. But it is an entity full of contradictions the dialectics of which have to be comprehended as a whole. Even if the predecessors of socialism have to be looked for in the progressive classes of the people, yet their physiognomy and role become clear only if one knows what they struggled for and against.

Much remains to be done mainly where it involves the activities of exploiter classes in power or seeking power. On this field of our historic heritage, where progressive elements come most closely and inseparably combined with reactionary ones and frequently enough--if certainly not always--the latter dominate, wherefore it is more difficult than elsewhere to track what is worthy of our tradition, the historians' deliberations and discussions have largely concentrated in recent years. The debate about our Prussian heritage and the traditions inherent in it falls to a good part under this mode of questioning for us(even if not on a priority, let alone exclusive, basis). But it must, naturally, not merely involve the Hohenzollern rulers of late absolutism. Of greater interest to us ought to be a number of medieval German kings and emperors, such as Henry I, Otto I, Henry IV, and certain representatives of the German middle class (Luther, for example), and representatives of the liberal aristocracy in the 19th century. But we must also extend our efforts to appraise with greater discrimination certain representatives even of the monopoly bourgeoisie who were not only imperialists but also great technicians and scientists, such as Abbe and Siemens.

In short, putting it on a common denominator: our view that in the GDR the socialist German nation is developing, that is to say, a nation socialist in character and German in origin, has the consequence that this nation, in its consciousness, as a historic component of its own identity, as it were, has to come to grips with all of German history.

Special Interest

That all of German history until 1945 is our historic ground does not mean we could be indifferent, nihilistic, about the history of the German territories forming our state and nation today. On the contrary, our own view at German history asks for absorbing much more thoroughly the history of our own territory. What has happened here simply is more important to the GDR citizens than are events in Bavaria, Baden or Schleswig-Holstein. Integrating Prussia or Saxony with German history, appraising the Hohenzollern, the Wettin Dynasty or the dukes of Mecklenburg means more to them than do the Wittelsbach or Welf families. And, it seems to me, this specific historic interest is going to become still more pronounced, the more and longer the GDR develops as an independent state and national organism. This one can grasp already if one looks around. A great interest in it exists, as mentioned above with regard to the attendance of the exhibition.

Two things are needed to satisfy this interest:

First: This cannot be managed by simply returning to traditional local history. No narrow parochialism must constrain it. Historic events on our territories must, rather, be shown as part of German history in their significance in setting the stage for socialism on German soil.

From that vantage point, our special attention has to be directed at historic testimonials, processes and personalities that are tied in with the territories now parts of the GDR. They must be given priority in our national history. Looked at it like that, greater interest is warranted in the early feudal state organization under Henry I and Otto I, whose power centers were located in GDR territories, but whose work mainly had to do with enforcing social progress, embodied in feudalism, in the territory of today's GDR, and in the medieval cultivation of the land, which had a lot to do with turning our land into the cultural landscape it is today. To a still higher degree this holds true for Luther's Reformation which, together with the German Peasants' War, marks the first bourgeois revolution in German history, and its localities are found almost exclusively in the GDR territory. Special attention must continue to be paid to the activities of the Prussian reformers and, mainly, to the struggles by the popular masses for enforcing bourgeois progress in the last 18th and in the 19th centuries, such as the Saxonian peasants insurrection of 1790 or the centers of the 1848/49 revolution on GDR soil in Berlin, Dresden and Erfurt. Priority attention is warranted for the major areas of the revolutionary German workers movement in Saxony, Prussian Berlin and Thuringia. The Communist League had important bases in Leipzig, Berlin, Magdeburg and Schwerin. It was in Leipzig where the General German Workers Association was founded. In Eisenach the revolutionary Social-Democratic Workers Party of Germany was founded.

Secondly, however, we also need Marxist local histories. It simply is a fact that on today's GDR territory several territorial states existed in the past, for centuries. We are, of course, not interested in reviving provincial particularism. We must continue resolutely to oppose the anti-progressive elements in feudal German particularist statehood. Yet the history of Saxony, Prussia and the Thuringian and Mecklenburg states was more than just particularism and feudal reactionary misery. In those territorial states, social progress advancing toward capitalism did also prevail, and progressive classes were struggling against reaction. This heritage must mean something to us. Nor can the development of those states in their transition from feudalism to capitalism be gaged solely, or primarily, with the yardstick of national state centralization in terms of the German Empire as constituted in 1871. The debate that has started on the socialist society's attitude toward the historic heritage of Prussia also stands up against that background. It need not be explained that our coming to grips with what the territorial states have handed down to us through history must not be confined to Prussia but must also include the history of Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg. We have to catch up a lot in this respect, no doubt.

Unmistakably

Third: what with all our emphasizing our relationship with all of German history and the particular place value of the historic heritage from the territorial states, GDR history proper must of course occupy the central spot in our history propaganda. For the development of our national consciousness it is by far the most important because this amounts to our own, unmistakable history which differs fundamentally from historic processes in the former Germany and, more importantly still, in the other, imperialist, German state. Here for the first time, in the real historic process, which is truly decisive for the development of historic consciousness, there is nothing any longer we have in common. Instead, both German states have

for over a generation already been following their own historic ways. That has essential implications for the consciousness development of the GDR people and the FRG people. Because history has been experienced differently, contrastingly, each already has significently different historic experiences, norms and traditions. Today, they must already be reprocesses and conveyed as historic values. In making people aware of them, they, among all values of historic experience, can most and most profoundly foster the development of a new, socialist German national consciousness.

Frederick II Biographer on Prussia

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 15-16 Aug 81 p 11

[Slightly abridged version of interview with Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei, GDR historian, biographer of Frederick II; by Guenter Labudda, correspondent, Duesseldorf UNSERE ZEIT, organ of (West) German Communist Party (DKP): "Why Are We Preoccupied With the Prussians?" For a discussion of Mittenzwei's Frederick II biography see translation published under heading, "Prussian History to Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage,'" in JPRS 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823 of this series, pp 16-34. For various references to other items of related information see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Clausewitz Accepted as 'Reformer and Patriot' in German History," 77538, 9 Mar 81, No 1855, pp 10-21; "West German Appraisal of GDR Historiography" (book reviews), 78871, 31 Aug 81, No 1914, pp 1-3; "Importance of National, Local Patriotism Explained," 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823, pp 35-39; "Values, Dangers of Regional Patriotism Disputed" (roundtable discussion, interviews with GDR academic and political personalities)]

[Text] [Question] GDR and FRG historians are increasingly preoccupied with the topic of Prussia. What causes that?

[Answer] There is no direct cause, such as an anniversary, excepting the Schinkel anniversary. Nor is the planned Prussia-Show in West Berlin, which has produced a flood of literature, the cause but a reaction to certain phenomena in the FRG. I find a whole bunch of causes of which the various "writers," the historians or journalists, may remain perfectly unaware.

Some reasons for the show planned for the summer of 1981 were mentioned by the former governing mayor of West Berlin, Stobbe, himself. Through the Prussia topic, with reference to the unification of the empire under Prussia's leadership, they want to assist in "keeping the German question open." That connects with the attempt to reappraise West Berlin by means of history. And finally they are likely to hope they can fight against a certain gloominess about the state by mobilizing the so-called "Prussian virtues."

The GDR's interest in Prussian history is old. It noticeably increased in the last 2 or 3 years, at the same time as in the FRG. In this contemporaneousness I find their only parallel.

Our Entire History Is Our Heritage

As German history was that of territorial states over long periods, our interest is concentrated on the areas that have become parts of the GDR: Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia and Mecklenburg. With a Prussia Wave that has nothing to do.

The greater interest the GDR population has in this part of our past expresses a greater consciousness of history and a broader understanding of our heritage. That calls for taking a clear standpoint of course on each individual part of this heritage. The ideological confrontation going on in this field also imposes further obligations on us.

[Question] In 1947, the Allied Control Council abolished the state of Prussia because it had "always been the buttress of militarism and reaction in Germany." Your biography of Frederick II, called "the Great," has also received great attention in the FRG. Not last because a highly discriminating picture of Prussia was drawn in your book. Must the progressive forces change their judgment of Prussia?

[Answer] You cannot suddenly turn black into white. In that respect the progressive forces need not change their picture of Prussia. The military tendencies that manifested themselves in the age of absolutism in many countries, in Prussia, for definite social causes, became a system that shaped everything. Via intermediate steps these tendencies continued into the 20th century. Which does not mean that militarism was the same in the age of imperialism that it had been in old Prussia. But one of its historic roots undoubtedly lies in Prussia.

Militarism in Prussia shaped the life of the entire population and characterizes an extremely important aspect of Prussian development but not all of Prussian history. Prussian history must not be confined to presenting the Hohenzollern Dynasty. Focusing on the other class forces that lived, worked, thought and fought in that state, whereby they contributed to social development, has for years been a particular concern of Marxist historians. That includes also examining how the ruling class at certain times, under the compulsion from objective necessities, contributed to advances and development.

[Question] You describe Prussia's King Frederick II as a man full of contradictions to whom initially bourgeois liberals related themselves and later, reactionaries of all shades. Many legends have grown up around him. Can he actually be included in German history as a great one?

[Answer] The designation, "the Great," comes out of the 18th century. Contemporaries called Frederick II the Great starting after the Silesian wars. They would admire the conqueror of Silesia, his military talent. Some may later also have thought of his domestic policy. Among the Hohenzollern Frederick II probably was the greatest. He surely towered above the mediocrity of all the other German princely personages. Yet the misuse of his name by the most extreme reaction all the way to the fascists counsels us to be cautious. I therefore, and for many other reasons, plead for a discriminating appraisal of that Monarch. In stressing his aggressive foreign policy and his conservative domestic policy, progressive tendencies must not be overlooked.

The Hohenzollern Dynasty Was Not All

[Question] Prussia and social progress--there are people that have trouble finding a common denominator for that. Which personalities, events, and developments are there that would give evidence for Prussia's share in making social progress prevail?

[Answer] If one accepts as a fact that Prussia must not be held to be one and the same thing as the Hohenzollern Dynasty, and that progress in a class society is a contradictory phenomenon, then one will find in the history of this state personalities, events and developments relevant to the enforcement of social progress: the representatives of the rising bourgeois class in the 18th and early 19th centuries, mainly its ideologists, the men of the Berlin Enlightenment, say, proclivities and propensities within the popular masses which, together with economic requirements, forced the ruling class to adapt itself to new exigencies in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, the liberal aristocratic reformers who significantly contributed to enforcing capitalist relations in Germany, the young workers class in the 19th century, and the developing workers movement.

Reaction and progress were not always diametrically opposed in the past. At times they were intertwined. Instead of many other events I would only remind you of the unification of the empire in 1871. Overcoming the national fragmentation it achieved was definitely an advance. It stimulated a rapid development of the capitalist mode of production and of a modern industrial proletariat and offered the working class a new basis to form on a national level. Along with it, however, Prussian reaction triumphed. Such a dialectical view, disclosing the limits to progressive developments, such as in the Prussian reforms, and examining phenomena which in their basic tendency were reactionary but possibly also had positive social effects, guards against any one-sided glorification or defamation.

No Equivocation About Militarism

[Question] Appraisals of the history of Prussia and the intentions connected with them do not conform, as between the FRG and the GDR. Which essential differences do you detect?

[Answer] In bourgeois historiography it goes in a number of different directions. Apart from clearly conservative historians, who unequivocally mean to paint a rosy picture of Prussian history, there also are more flexible forces that maintain a critical distance from Prussian history. Yet even between the latter and the Marxist historians there are of course unbridgeable contrasts.

If I--and this one should actually not do--disregard all those differentiations, a number of salient points are crystallizing at present in the debate. By overemphasizing the seeds for reform under Frederick II and underrating the activities in the class struggle, the history of Prussia in the late 18th and in the early 19th century, as many FRG historians see it, gives the picture of a continuously "peaceful" development, without any revolutionary leaps.

The tendency to rid Prussia of the odium of militarism finally continues and is led to a high point in the consideration of the relationship between fascism and Prussianism. There, by a one-sided stress on the "Prussian" resistance and by equivocating about many facts to the contrary, they then even "prove" Prussianism and fascism incompatible. All in all--without closing one's ears to voices of warning in the FRG--this amounts to the first large-scale attempt at a "rehabilitation" of Prussia since the end of the war, which in its extreme manifestations not by chance reminds us of what is being published in your country that paints a rosy picture of the Nazi past.

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PRINCIPLES OF AUTHORITY IN SCIENCE REVIEWED

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 26, 28 Jun 81 pp 4, 5

[Review by Wiktor Osiatynski of book "Authority in Science"

[Text] The concept of authority is derived from the Latin "auctoritas," which in a broader sense is respect based on authority. Authority is possessed by that person who awakens in us respect, esteem and trust because of his recognized superiority in knowledge, ability, experience and other values.

Authority is not always indispensable for living, or even for success. A top athlete or an outstanding actor can enjoy prestige based on an emotional response, but the professional achievements do not necessarily constitute a base for authority. If such people do acquire authority, it is most frequently thanks to their actions or attitudes inspiring moral recognition; anyone can become a moral authority, regardless of his profession.

There are at least two reasons why science cannot exist without authorities. The first is the economics of cognition. If every person were singlehandedly to prove all the truths that he uses in living, he would not get very far. He thus has to accept on faith that which previous generations have found as well as what his contemporaries have proved. He must trust their authority.

Similarly, authority is an inalienable component of the very scientific procedure that verifies knowledge transmitted by tradition and expands it to include new assertions. In the natural sciences, the most effective method for substantiating a theory is to confirm it experimentally or to fail repeatedly to refute it. Even in this case it must be determined whether the premises of a theory have been properly selected, whether the conclusions drawn from experiments are correct, and whether all arguments contradicting the new theory have been considered. Verification of theories is, therefore, to a large degree a question of faith, even in the natural sciences.

It is even more so in the so-called humanistic and social sciences, in which neither an experiment nor an attempt at falsification can be applied to a theory. The acceptance of the theory is largely a question of subjective evaluation.

Evaluations are an inalienable part of any scientific activity. Who, then, does the evaluating? The history of science rather unequivocally answers this question.

Those who are to be most trusted possess the most extensive knowledge and the greatest expertise in their specialty. In other words, trust an authority.

The emergence of authorities, their scope and type, the role and functioning of authorities in scientific communities and other problems with the concept of authority in science are the subject of a collective work AUTHORITY IN SCIENCE edited by Pawel Rybicki and Janusz Gockowski and published last year by the Ossolineum Publishing House, The book, containing papers by 19 scholars, resulted from the initiative of the Polish Sociological Society's sociology of science section. This book involves nearly all vital problems of the functioning of scientific authority and, at the same time, rather clearly reflects the atmosphere, the fears and the desires permeating our scholars in recent years.

Referring those interested in all these problems to libraries (the book was printed in a miniscule number of copies, even for the scientific community that it concerns), we shall pause at a few issues.

Authorities in themselves are neither good nor bad. They are necessary in pursuit of science: without them, there would be no major breakthroughs or daily scientific activity. At the same time, serious dangers are related to their existence.

Authorities are the elites of the world of scholars. Membership in such elites gives birth to certain privileges and guarantees an elevated status. Therefore, many would like to make their way into such an elite. Nor is it surprising that existing authorities desire to maintain their elitist position. Hence, on occasion, a sense of personal threat, as well as a tendency to conversation in science, arises in the face of new theories.

Such hazards are supposed to be prevented by the democratic and egalitarian nature of the very pursuit of science--the right to express one's own views and the right to have unhampered scientific criticism, with a collective assessment of rationalizations and arguments (of those who criticize as well as those who are being criticized) by a competent group of specialists.

One assumes that, thanks to the principles of conduct of scientific activity, the scientific community, if left alone, will produce the most appropriate and competent authorities, who will function in a manner most favorable to the progress of science.

But the scientific community is seldom left to itself.

Science as a social activity has always been tolerated, supported and maintained, provided that it furnishes specific benefits to society, more precisely, to institutions and persons controlling societal resources. Science has been required to have practical and ideological usefulness. The first is based on supplying technological, social, political and other solutions; the second, on supplying justification for actions of the authorities, that is to say, on transmittal of a part of the prestige and trust that science enjoys to those exercising power.

The second role assumed a special meaning in the current era of the cult of science. Scientific sanction has replaced religious sanction. Everyone who makes even the most minor decision wants it supported by the majesty of science. Every social organization wants to have scholars in its ranks, while political and social activists aspire to self-ennoblement by acquiring scientific titles.

The fullest consequence of this cult of science is the striving of institutions and persons exercising power toward control over the very organization of science and over the mechanism through which scientific communities function, including conferring titles and academic degrees. The detailed management of science, curricula, research programs and expenditures of institutions is conducive to such control.

This is dangerous insofar as a scientific career must be ruled by principles other than those governing an administrative career. In science, the basis of success most frequently is an open mind, a critical attitude toward oneself and others, and nonconformism and independence. A bureaucratic career on the other hand is conditioned by the very passing of time, loyalty and conformism toward the authorities. After the erasure of the border between science and administration, for the most part opportunists and careerists rise to the higher positions in science. Operating in a domain governed by the principle of authority, they try to obtain official proof of recognition, academic titles and awards. Exactly in this manner, careers without authority are born, in other words, alleged authorities.

A career without authority gives birth to uncertainty and a sense of endangerment. These feelings are often accompanied by envy, fear of open competition and attempts to take advantage of accumulated influence against probable competitors who threaten not only a careerist's authority but also his position. A careerist usually opposes not only novelties in science but in general anything that could undermine his alleged personal authority (e.g., "his" theory or method) and also that which he himself does not understand. He thus tends to limit the freedom of scientific debate and dampens criticism. In effect, criticism ceases to be a selective screening in the process of accumulating knowledge, becoming at best an instrument for personnel infighting.

Only in extreme cases of the disintegration of values, moral debasement and intellectual decadence do alleged authorities fight for privilege, money, fame, power and other benefits, ignoring public opinion. They usually try to gain social acceptance for their scientific achievements and intellectual and moral worth. That goal is served by the phenomenon of creating a scientific legend (analyzed in the already mentioned book by Adam Podgorecki).

Most frequently, legends appear in social and humanist sciences, in which it is naturally more difficult to assess precisely the merit and truthfulness of a theory; therefore, a greater role is played by authority. At the same time, precisely in these fields the strongest trends toward administrative intervention occur, not only in the organization but in the very substance of science. In these, too, alleged authorities are the most numerous.

Even an established scientific legend cannot, however, assure its creator of lasting glory and fame. This is pointed out by Krzysztof Pigon, who writes about careers without authority: "...this kind becomes the more abundant the softer is the voice of the scientific community vis-a-vis that of the institutions deciding about titles, awards and distinction. Such careers used to be made in monarchies by glib courtiers, servile types and sycophants. We know only too well that such careers have not vanished even now. Everyone could cite examples of such careers and, notably, they would be examples of our contemporaries. This is not surprising, since such careers wilt as rapidly as do the flowers on the graves of their creators, frequently even sooner. Nothing remains after these careers, just as nothing remains after mediocre poets, praised beyond measure during their lifetimes and forgotten even by historians of literature several decades later."

This provides a sensible caveat for careerists and a consolation for honest men. Yet when justice is meted out in the form of historical oblivion, the damage inflicted on science by parasitic elites of alleged authority is not checked.

The conditions hindering the formation of such oligarchic (that is, pursuing their own advantages) elites, which are inevitable in science because they have an aristocratic (that is, useful for science and scientific community) character, are the focus of all the papers in AUTHORITY IN SCIENCE. Abridged and somewhat simplified, these conditions can be defined in the following manner:

Science can develop only with freedom of expression and equality, as all participants share equally in raising problems, searching for answers and criticizing proposed solutions. In bureaucratic administrations of all descriptions, however, a hierarchic structure and a consequent tendency to limit the freedom of criticism must exist. For this reason, the impact of the bureaucracy on purely intellectual matters and also on the organization of science itself should be minimized, in the interest of science.

Appointments should be replaced by choice; rotation should be instituted as a principle within the collegial management. A partnership, rather than supervisory relations, should exist between scientific administrators and the scientific community.

As Bohdan Suchodolski said in his preface to John Ziman's book, "Governance over science should not be--as, lamentably, often is the case--a reward granted to those who either have still not demonstrated their skill at the scientific workbench or have already failed."

From a purely institutional standpoint, the decentralization and competition among scientific institutions working on parallel problems would do well to guard the proper functioning of science, selection of proper authorities and "debunking" of scientific legends.

Of course, this would have to be accompanied by genuine, rigorous and impartial, rather than pretended, criticism along with free expression of independent opinions.

The healthy growth of science in general and of each particular discipline is predicated on science being untrammelled. The scientific community must be open to those who recognize prevailing views or scientific theories as well as those who question them. The latter also have a right to present their concepts for assessment by recognized authorities and to claim impartial evaluation.

Openness in science is also fostered by nonprofessional social criticism, especially in the humanistic and social sciences. This is particularly important when professional scientific criticism becomes enmeshed in the bureaucracy and overlooks the deficiencies of these sciences.

Of course, there is no need to explain further that the state of science is directly related to the general condition of society. It would be banal to try to prove that all official authorities in egalitarian and democratic societies find it difficult to abuse power because people reckon less with them or, in any case, are less afraid of them. In democratic systems, there is also a more frequent

concurrence of personal and official authority. In Science, democracy--just as the other mechanisms mentioned here--favors the emergence of an "aristocratic elite," in other words, the selection of proper authorities.

At this point, however, the question arises. What does "proper authority" mean? On what principles and what criteria should the scientific community itself select those proper authorities?

In general, there are no objections to a basis of a genuine scientific authority in knowledge, scientific achievement and skill in transmitting knowledge and developing new generations of scholars. Thus, authority may have its source in the discovery of a new theory as well as in the exemplary conduct of minor research, design of experiments that revolutionize science, ordering and systematizing of knowledge accumulated by others, lectures that fascinate listeners and laborious, systematic training of young apprentices in specific methods of scientific work.

However, a fairly clear distinction exists between the possibilities of assessing a scholar's achievements and genuine merit in the natural sciences and in the social and humanistic sciences. In the former, the criteria are more precise and the assessment is easier. In the latter, the criteria are more fluid; it is not easy to immediately distinguish a genuinely valuable theory from refined speculations bringing little new into science or from downright jugglery with words and concepts. Much more often the question arises in such cases; What measure of merit should be applied?

An unusually valid proposal on this issue was advance by Podgorecki in his paper on scientific legends. He concluded that in the case of social sciences a scholar's personality can become a valid criterion for evaluating substantive merit: "...an essential question emerges: How are we to determine in the social sciences which is the product of solid scientific activity and which constitutes infiltration of unverified concepts supported by a helpful legend? Of course, legitimate methodologies should provide the early screening, selecting out unsubstantiated and poorly verified concepts. As is known, the scientific method can carry out a negative selection. How are positive selections to be made? Apparently, in the area of the social sciences a reasearcher's integrity is of particular significance. An outstanding physicist or chemist may be a complete rascal, yet, despite this, he can accomplish major discoveries based on his having mastered scientific techniques. A scholar in the social sciences is not automatically distanced from the subject of his scrutiny in the same way. He is existentially involved in the research matter that he analyzes. Although in the area of social sciences a scholar may use research results obtained by others, he still draws from his own existential experience the principles for organizing these results in a comprehensive systhesis.

"A paradox of American sociology, notwithstanding all its excellence (visible, for the most part, in an unprecedented flourishing of empirical studies and in the pluralism of concepts used to interpret them) is that the individuals who are carriers of that sociological knowledge have relatively poor social and political experience. A scholar in the social sciences is, in a way, self-contained; he can justifiably interpret only those phenomena within the range of social realities that he earlier absorbed in his individual experience. In this situation, a scholar's integrity emerges as the principal criterion for assessing what is significant in the social sciences."

In other words, in the social sciences a total wretch, scoundrel, cycnic or unethical person cannot be a prominent scholar. This contention deserves some reflection. Although at first glance there seem to be exceptions from this rule in the social-humanistic sciences, especially in modern times, the history of human thought (even of fairly recent times) has recorded a great number of major scholars with the integrated personality of a scientist and an honest man loyal to self-imposed ethical values.

In the nautral sciences as well, the researcher's personality is a significant factor. Even when someone becomes recognized as an authority solely on the merits of a major discovery or a revolutionary theory, an eminent and powerful personality is needed to accomplish such a discovery or to create and then uphold a new theory.

Podgorecki's stipulation combines the problems of authority in science with ethical requirements. This combination--though forgotten at times--is as old as science, society and ethics. The unity of truth, goodness and beauty derives from Plato. In the "portrait of a Greek scholar" traced by Jerzy Lanowski, the qualifications for an exemplary scholar include not only the curiosity and incisiveness of a scholar but also his moral attitude. Elzbieta Kaluszynska and Nina Krasko on the other hand, refer, to modern times when they say that "championing a just cause increases a scholar's prestige, even though he has already accomplished major scientific achievements." Jerzy J. Skowronski, in turn, while regarding the issue in moral terms, views the moral profile as a foundation on which all scientific authority is based.

As seen by Jan Szczepanski, a scientific authority is subordinated to ethical values found beyond science. "Authority in science," Szczepanski says, "is attained by persons with an intellectual horizon broader than that of others, marked by honesty toward their subject matter, courages enough to defend it and willing to adhere to the principle that it dictates."

This definition of authority generates significant conclusions as to how it is acquired. Authority is revealed, for the most part, in critical situations in which the interests of research and science, endangered by popular views or dominating forces, must be defended. A scholar who opts for the interests of research or scientific truth, who courageously propounds his views regardless of the risks, is the only type of scholar to gain authority.

Certain character traits favor this type of attitude and, consequently, an authority. Risks of this kind are likely to be taken by persons who are primarily geared toward the creation of an opus, rather than their personalities or careers. "A man who is geared toward upgrading his resume or promoting his career, Szczepanski says, "will, at times of crisis, rarely put himself uncompromisingly on the side of genuine values. A stance of this kind calls for total self-identification with one's work."

In brief, authority in science can be won only by a person more devoted to science than to his individual social position. To people of this kind, more than any other, we owe the progress of science.

Yet in this fact, a major difficulty for science is ensconced. Bona fide authorities are needed in science not only as outstanding scholars. They are also needed as defenders of values vital for science itself and for the conditions under which science is pursued. The more these values are endangered, the more such scholars are needed, because they are more competent than anyone else to defend them.

At the same time, however, "total identification with the work" and total devotion to its creation do not encourage outstanding scholars to social activity--frequently brutal and sometimes humiliating--that could favor the defense of supreme values. When relationships in science become increasingly poor, when science is subjected to increasing control, when the part played by spurious authorities expands, genuine authorities quite naturally become discouraged and retire from action. At such times, involvement alone becomes morally suspect. When those best-qualified retreat from public activity, the place due them is taken by others who can hardly wait for the opportunity.

This internal motivational contradiction presents a major problem and danger for science. Perceiving this contradiction could expand the scholar's moral accountability. Possibly, this accountability should include the responsibility for the status of science as well.

There is no mention of these things in AUTHORITY IN SCIENCE. This is not surprising, because the book was written at a time that did not foster involvement, a period when there was a proliferation of spurious authorities, careers with no authority and similar phenomena. The most urgent matter has been (and still is, perhaps) to restore conditions for the development of science. For these reasons, too, the book does not devote much attention to the dangers related to the existence and operation of even the most reliable authorities. This, however, is a separate topic.

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SPORTS AS TOOL IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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[Article: Discussions - Sport in International Relations*]

[Text] Michal Dobroczynski: Perhaps the position of sports in international relations is not sufficiently appreciated, at least in public formulas that, in general, yield to the authority of other areas of international relations. However, sports have a colossal range of social and political action, and they influence friendships and international conflicts in a specific manner. Undoubtedly, there already is some scientific agreement on this; however, there constantly are many misunderstandings or conflicting opinions. Sometimes the position of sports in international relations is approached in an extremely idealistic way, and the merits in bringing nations together and pacifying feelings are the only things emphasized. But it is no secret that sports also lead to conflicts and temporary antagonisms. Finally, sports are treated as an instrument of international policy in almost all countries. This appears very clearly in some cases and not so strongly in others, but, overall, perhaps more strongly than at any previous time.

Sports also entail some consequences of a cultural nature, which to a certain extent results in transmitting certain defined patterns of life from one country to another.

Franciszek Ryszka: I am not really an athlete, although when I was young I participated in different sports. Now, like everyone else, I am a sports fan. I write a sports column twice a year for ODRA, which has 9,000 readers.

Much is said about the dependency between mass sports and record-seeking sports. Much is also written about the shortcoming of mass sports and the costly preference for record-seeking sports. The costs are calculated on the basis of stars; this is one of the favorite subjects of newspapers, and not just of sports publications. It is said that funds appropriated for mass sports were taken by stars. Perhaps they did take something, but not that much.

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*Participating in the discussion were Prof Dr hab Michal Dobroczynski, editor-in-chief of SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE; Dr Franciszek Ryszka, professor at the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN); editor Leslaw Skinder, sportswriter; Prof Dr Janusz Symonides, director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM); and editor Maciej Wierzynski, writer; Dr Andrzej Ziemilski, writer, sociologist and worker of the Institute of Culture.

I was always interested in two mutual dependencies: that of record-seeking sports on mass sports, and vice versa. First, the extent of mass sports is an independent variable. The number of people who go in for boxing, skiing, skating, swimming, bicycling, etc., can be ascertained. Record-seeking sports would be a dependent variable. The first hypothesis is the higher the value of the independent variable, the higher, the dependent variable. There is an added high correlation: perhaps it is functional dependence.

However, that is not the way it is, and mass sports are not a recruiting base for stars. These are individual matters and there are no reasons for record-seeking sports to be developing from mass sports, without individualizing the case of each future star. Sports traditions and sports culture play a certain role but not the kind allowing the responsible education of exact dependencies.

Let us try the other way around. Let record-seeking sports be the independent variable and mass sports the dependent variable. Motivation and star models have an influence on the masses. In fact, the idea was expressed that when Fibak placed in the top 10 of world tennis, young people began to play tennis; this field is weakly adapted for mass sports in Poland. This argument was very frequently bandied about in newspapers and immediately negated because it had no basis; the thesis is a false one with seeming merit, because the very example of a star is a weak "factor" (in a methodological sense).

Leslaw Skinder: There is a dependence between mass and record-seeking sports, and conversely. There is no lack of examples of outstanding individuals who appear in sport disciplines not practiced in great numbers: not reaching far, already we mentioned Wojciech Fibak. But in most cases the birth of stars is a consequence of a given sport. We draw from the mass of those practicing, under what in our case unfortunately is a very poor system of selection, the most capable individual, endowed with such motor attributes as speed, vivacity, strength and proficiency, that help to climb the rungs of Olympus more quickly. An example is the nationwide young peoples' athletic meets. These mass spectacles helped to discover many subsequent Olympian medalists, world champions, etc. In turn, the international successes of stars influence the popularity and interest in a given sport discipline. Fibak's successes increased interest in tennis among young people as well as adults. Nationwide tennis court construction increased our playgrounds by some several hundreds in a short period. Let us recall the glamor of the Peace Race years. Almost every boy wanted to be another Krolak. Thus arose the followers: Szurkowski, Szozda, Jankiewicz and other splendid Polish cyclists. I could furnish a substantially larger number of examples. A dependence between mass sports and record-seeking sports does exist.

Dobroczynski: What is the international significance of record-seeking sports and of mass sports? What is the difference between them from the standpoint of external relations?

Ryszka: The international significance of mass sports depends on notions that there are "nations developed sports-wise." The word "sports"--which, note well, once meant a loose love game--is associated with Anglo-Saxons. In fact the Anglo-Saxons passed as an athletic nation; it was precisely this label that international opinion stuck on them very early. In LES SILENCES DU COLONEL BRAMBLE,issued right after World

War I, Andre Maurois writes about the difference between Englishmen and Frenchmen (the action takes place during the war): Frenchmen treat sports as a war, while Englishmen treat war as a sport. Possibly something like that was evident during World War I.

Andrzej Ziemilski: If one wants to the French to become enthralled about a sporting event, one must tell them that the national honor is involved. But if one wants to encourage an Englishman to go to war, one tells him that war is something like sport.

Ryszka: These notions functioned in relation of nation to nation, because notions can be expressed as behavioral motivations. Perhaps people are not "the way they are" but are created that way, and at a given moment they become that way. There is a grain of truth in each stereotype.

Record-seeking sports are very characteristic. The function of record-seeking sports in international relations is extrasporting, but much less important than those who organize, stimulate and administer sports and who want to exploit them for political purposes, believe is the case. The sports power--the GDR--is not rated highly by Western nation opinion while the FRG is rated highly. To be sure, these are the opinions of a certain cultural circle and are politically conditioned, but even among nations that ought to be for or against Germans in general, again, the GDR's attainments do not mean much.

Dobroczynski: However, thanks to sports, a given country can be come world famous.

Skinder: The GDR exerted a great deal of effort to obtain world recognition and its proper position in international relations. What would we say about the effectiveness of the weapon of sport when, thanks to it, the GDR began to be felt despite a conspiracy of silence. The leaders of that country bet on the dynamic development of sports. They knew that, despite various barriers, despite the avoidance by some nations of contacts with GDR athletes, those athletes would be registering their presence with their attainments during the European, world and Olympic championships. And that happened. That triumphal march toward the peaks of world competition began in 1968 in Mexico, where GDR athletes appeared for the first time as an independent, separate representation (previously, they had appeared together with the FRG as an all-German group). A hymn played a dozen or more times after Olympic victories is a promotion of a world breakthrough position. And sports were that breakthrough force. GDR rightly bet on sports, and its action paid off a hundredfold.

Janusz Symonides: Let us consider the role that sports play in internal and external relations. Sports, or rather record-seeking sports, can fulfill a defined function in international relations and can also be an element of confirming national identity.

Some sports disciplines are international, like soccer, but there also are national disciplines, if, at least, Mongolian wrestling. In the latter, the sport plays a certain role above all for a specific community and a specific nation. When I speak of sports as an element of international relations, I have international sports in mind, and, above all, record-seeking sports practiced in many countries.

Can such sports also fulfill positive functions? They can, for they can be an element of rapprochement between nations, the springing up of a feeling of a certain union, an element creating a feeling of belonging to given regions. If representation of one continent against another is presented, if our soccer player is included in a European team, if various European cup matches are played, then unavoidably we begin to think in broader, European terms. In addition, sports become an element for the formation of certain ties on a regional scale. From this viewpoint, perhaps sports are a positive element that brings nations together.

However, first, sports are rivalry. All international games do not bring positive results. Even without the famous soccer war, many international games can be cited where the public reacted in a highly unobjective, chauvinistic way; when this reaction was transmitted by radio and television, it created definite adverse reactions among listeners and viewers in other countries.

Sports functions can be positive, and usually are, but, in some situations, sports can also play a negative role.

Prof Dobroczynski said that sport is treated as an instrument of foreign policy. If the instrument is the means to attain a given behavior of another subject (country), it is doubtful that certain national goals can be attained through sports. Internally, yes, the consciousness that a representative of the country stands at the highest level gives satisfaction that can influence production results. Does it, however, influence others? Most often, it does not. In a certain sense a defeat can exasperate or irritate. Nobody likes to lose: the defeated party in one or more fields of sports does not have to feel at all defeated on other levels.

Ryszka: Sports can contribute to a confirmation of national identity. On the other hand, sports will not increase the country's international prestige nor increase the other qualities attributed to it.

Symonides: Perhaps sports might not arouse love for that country, but a certain prestige, yes.

Ziemilski: If mass sports and record-seeking sports in one country were to be treated as two independent variables that characterize that country, then we could talk about four kinds of countries: Those with mass and record-seeking sports; those with neither; those with mass sports but not record-seeking sports; and, finally, countries with record-seeking sports but not mass sports.

It is quite easy to assign poor African states to countries without sports. It is equally easy to find countries such as Switzerland or Sweden where there are mass sports, while record-seeking sports are marginal. There are countries with both: Finland, the USSR, perhaps the GDR. Finally, there are countries such as Poland where record-seeking sports are healthy but mass sports are deplorable.

What does the "image" of such countries look like on the outside? It is not a matter of indifference whether both elements or one come into play. If we were to study public opinion, would the English having good soccer teams in any way influence the evaluation of England's place in the economy and politics? Is confirmation of the Soviet Union's very strong position in record-seeking sports necessary to characterize that country?

Perhaps the role of sports in the image of the country is overrated? Finland's image is not the tradition of Viren or Nurmi but of order, advanced civilization and a rich heritage of customs.

However, on whom, outside one's own country, do record-seeking sports have an influence? Sports influence on the emigration, for example. This is a classic example for Poland. Sports found their way to Polish emigre centers before culture. The Polish Olympic Committee found itself in the United States amid groups that were not too friendly before others got there, before the groups became convinced about Lutoslawski and before Rozewicz began to be presented.

But one other matter comes into play. Did not Professor Ryszka exaggerate in speaking of nations? To whom are sports addressed--to nations? Is it the English people, its middle class, sitting in the shrieking grandstands? In the FRG, gastarbeiters are among the spectators. Who are the kibitzers in Poland? In most cases, they are vocational school pupils, who are asked to be mannerly, polite and not to use dirty language. Take care in identifying a sports arena with a nation. There is a great deal of male chauvinism in this. If women were asked what they thought of a spectacular sport, our entire world outlook in this regard would fall in ruins. In addition, some social groups regard sports only as amusement. It is nice when there are good results, but, when they are not there, they somehow manage to suffer through that with the help of prosperity. This stopgap of circumstances, wellbeing and stability in Poland managed, at this moment, to arouse such great animosities because there are limits to compensating activities, externally as well as internally. Sports are a compensation of a world without war, but to certain limits.

Maciej Wierzynski: Above all, sports have a compensating character. The greater the compensating character is, the more a community, a society, a nation needs sports as an "opium." To be sure, if authority needs something like that, it also has a compensating character.

What is the range of effective action of that opium? This can be investigated, using the example of reaction to great sports affairs, the coverage by various mass media; this opium functions, first of all, for use by one's own society. On the other hand, it has an extremely limited effectiveness on external, international use.

It is one of those myths supported by sports activists and sportswriters, that a sports score has such a stupendous impact, insofar as the propaganda of a given country on the international arena is concerned, and so on. That is not so.

What are the premises of an appraisal that sport as an instrument of international propaganda is a faulty instrument? The first premise--as in any field--is that there must be a possibility of an understanding with the recipient, of reaching him. Sport is universal only on the face of it. Even soccer is not that kind of sport; for example, it is a marginal sport in the United States.

Recently, a list of the 10 best athletes of the last 25 years was published in the United States. Borg's name headed the list. It was followed by the names of nine athletes whose names are now known to anyone in Europe. There were reports in European newspapers, as well as in Polish, that this was a misunderstanding. It was not so. Different sports are practiced in the United States; namely, baseball,

football, tennis and basketball. Even the name of a swimmer as popular as Spitz was not on that list.

If we wanted to convince the world with the help of sports how fine a nation we are, we would have to send sumo wrestlers to Japan, a baseball player to the United States, a skier to Switzerland and a toreador to Spain. That is not possible.

What happens in such a situation? When large international affairs take place, each country plays up to its own public through newspapers and television stations. Not only venal Polish journalists go to the Olympics and write exclusively about our representatives. The sportswriters of other countries are doing the same thing. During the Moscow Olympics I learned about such an unusual event as Komar's victory from a three-line note in THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, which has a large sports section. On the other hand, there was a great deal in that paper about how the American sprinter was delayed at the start of the race, something that was of little significance anyway, because Borzow was beyond the reach of the competition.

On such occasions, every country writes primarily about its participants and about those sports that are practiced and popular in its country. An awareness is created in this way, with respect to the uninformed part of the public, that the world lives on our triumphs.

Sports do not have as great a breakthrough power as believed insofar as international triumphs are concerned. I made an experiment when we were reveling in the Polish soccer team's triumph. It won thrid place in Munich. I asked friends who won third place in the preceding championships. No one knew. That country was Portugal. Perhaps you will recall the waves of mad, megalomaniac propaganda that ensured at the time. If we were to devote the same amount of effort to the Portuguese triumph, we would die laughing.

Ziemilski: During the Moscow, Olympics, I read NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG. On the front pages, the GDR was upbraided for being politically hardheaded, while on the sports pages it was praised for its results. This is a deviation from practice. For example, there were photographs that introduced GDR swimmers (female) as beautiful girls. Perhaps there is a mechanism operating here, helping the Swiss compensate for their own weaknesses?

Wierzynski: From my presentation it could seem that sports have absolutely no significance. Here is a deviation. The great champions--Comaneci, Borg and others--still arouse admiration in the entire world. But that is "individual" admiration, which is not registered to the national account. Are Comaneci's triumphs added to the account of Romania's triumphs as a country? I am not certain.

Dobroczynski: Those arguments convince me. Sports do not directly influence opinion-making groups.

Symonides: And they are not an instrument of foreign policy in the literal sense of the word.

Dobroczynski: Probably nothing concrete or tangible can be attained in external relations with the help of sports. However, there of course needs and means of

indirect action on foreign societies. This does not concern anything immediate but that the country be noticed and appreciated somewhere or, conversely, as the Republic of South Africa felt the condemnation of international opinion. Sports do not lead to concrete results. But this also pertains to other spheres. Let us compare sports with the arts. A substantially larger number of people in the world knew the names of Polish athletes than of artists.

Ryszka: But what people are they?

Symonides: In some situations the masses decide everything.

Dobroczynski: Is this question already so deeply and closely examined? Sports do not clear the road directly for policy; however, do they not in some sense create a favorable climate for becoming interested? It is important not only that something is resolved right away but, for example, that the country be noticed on the outside as frequently as possible and treated at least with a modicum of recognition. If a country is powerful and developed, it has other trump cards, and the question discussed here may not have greater significance. On the other hand, if one does not have other arguments, why should sports at times not be a useful opening tool?

Skinder: Sports with triumphs that are of significance in the world, like attainments in the field of culture or science, create that friendly climate facilitating talks on international subjects by politicians and statesmen. Otherwise, the composing triumphs of Penderecki, the popularity of our distinguished conductors--Krenza, Korda, Wislocki, Rowicki, Maksymiuk--the appearances on the world's leading opera stages of Zylis-Gara, Szostek-Radkowa, Donat and Ochman are without significance, as are Grotowski's theatrical spectacles, the concerts of the Grand Symphony Orchestra of Polish Radio, the Mazowsze, or Wajda and Zanussi films. In other words, only the negotiations of politicians and diplomats would influence the course of events.

To be sure, there are countries in which sports are not regarded very highly, in which the triumph of an outstanding Polish athlete is acknowledged by a two-line notation in the press. Sports have become a phenomenon of the 20th centruy and they evoke an enormous amount of interest. More than one billion people in the world watch the television transmissions of the Olympic games. Can a triumph achieved before such an enormous audience pass without any echo? I do not diminish this phenomenon, and I do not intend to magnify it. Everything needs to be seen in proper proportions. A sport can create--and in our case, it does create--a climate that clears the way for politicians. Otherwise, the foreign affairs minister of the Polish People's Republic would not be honoring outstanding people from the world of sports each year. Laureates were Szewinska, Rutkiewicz, Chojnowska-Liskiewicz, Teliga, Szurkowski, Kozakiewicz, volleyball players as world and Olympic games champions, etc. Do their names mean something only in Poland, or are they known and appreciated worldwide? Irena Szewinska is an award laureate of the French Academy of Sports; she was presented the award by the French Republic's President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Is this without significance in international relations?

You have reflected, gentlemen, whether a sports triumph can have an influence on raising international prestige. It can. Of course, you can look at Wladyslaw Kozakiewicz's gold medal--one of the greatest and most worthwhile victories during the summer games of the 22nd Olympics in Moscow, linked with setting a world record--as his personal triumph. His triumph, and his trainer's--a physical education

teacher who taught him has sporting ABCs --is the triumph of a Polish athlete, not necessarily of Poland itself. Poland's position and recognition in the world do not depend directly on such attainments. But I would not belittle this type of event. The triumphs of Kozakiewicz create the favorable climate around Polish questions in the international arena. The level of sports in a country reflects the overall cultural level of a given country, in the eyes of other nations.

From another viewpoint, young liberated countries, proud of gaining independence, wish to confirm their identity as rapidly as possible. They are aware of the fact that they can do this easily and quickly through sports. Thus, in the past quarter century we have witnessed an ever more lively participation by developing countries, particularly African, South American and Asian, in international sports competition and above all in the Olympic games, which constitute the best opportunity for demonstrating achievement in the widest possible forum. Beginning with the summer Olympic games in Tokyo in 1964, we are witnessing the massive participation of developing states in the Olympics--on the order of 60 percent and more of total participation in athletic contests--and also dazzling triumphs--for example, the long-distance runners of Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, etc. Sports there grow to the status of a state symbol, and the dependence of sports on politics is particularly large. Frankly, in the present state of relations between people, sports are not and probably cannot be a neutral phenomenon. Sports cannot be separated from the struggle for progress and social rights.

Can sports constitute a weapon in the hands of politicians, and is this weapon effective? I do not intend to exaggerate the events preceding the Olympic games in Moscow, but we ought to look at them closely. President Carter, Mrs. Thatcher, the West German government and other allies of the United States, acting on an assumption that was not aimed at the international Olympic movement, but against the Soviet Union, utilized a boycott of the greatest and noblest sports spectacle as a means of attaining a specific political goal. Although the success of this undertaking was only partial, although it met with a protest by many activists in those countries, particularly a protest by embittered athletes who were brutally deprived of an opportunity to display their skills at the games, this was indubitably an example of utilizing sports as a weapon in the hands of politicians.

Ziemilski: Was this more significant internally? Carter boycotted the Olympics because this was painful internally for the Soviet Union and not for the Olympic movement as a whole worldwide. He wanted to "punish" the Soviet Union.

Skinder: It did not have internal significance. Only a blockade of various types of export deliveries associated with organizing the Olympics to 3 August, that is, to the end of the games, could be treated in that way. Washington's call to boycott the games in Moscow threatened the entire international Olympic movement with collapse. During the 83rd session of the International Olympic Committee (MKOl) at Lake Placid in February 1980, after an unprecedented political, aggressive presentation by U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance--a precedent in the history of the committee's deliberations--Lord Killanin, the helmsman of the international Olympic movement, delivered a dramatic appeal not to use the Olympic games to divide the world but to unite it and not to use the athletes for resolving political problems. In consequence of government decisions of a political, economic or administrative nature, representatives of many countries were missing from the games in the Moscow arenas, but the idea of the Olympiad was saved. There was the threat that the games would no longer be able to take place.

The Olympiads have been a convenient platform for a long time for all kinds of political demonstrations. The history of the modern games at the turn of the 19th century notes symptoms of German-French and Anglo-American conflicts. In 1936, efforts were made in Berlin to use the Olympiad for proving the superiority of the German race and for proclaiming fascist ideology. In 1956, in Melbourne, tendencies were manifested to capitalize on the Suez conflict. The bloody massacre on the Place of Three Cultures just before the 1968 games in Mexico; during those games, the silent protest of the U.S. black athletes against racial discrimination in their country; the act of terror and force against the Israeli athletes in Munich four years later; the unprecedented boycott of the 21st Olympic games in 1976 in Montreal by 27 African countries, with slogans calling for war against racism and discrimination; and finally, the boycott of the 1980 summer Olympics initiated by President Carter--these are the successive manifestations of that tendency.

The Olympic games, which until yesterday were an athletic affair with certain political consequences, have changed their character. They are being used ever more frequently for immediate political purposes.

Wierzynski: Insofar as African countries are concerned, sports are treated as an instrument of national identification. Young nations need a binding agent and heroes.

However, if this is a problem associated with culture, the mechanism is extremely similar. The various triumphs with which we intoxicate ourselves, even if they be the film triumphs of recent years, when Polish films won awards at all film festivals--these are a joy that is principally ours. Polish films hardly exist in worldwide commercial cinematography. Even the Nobel prize for Milosz, in the main, was our holiday. Let us remind ourselves of the kind of response here for the Nobel prize for Quasimodo or for that Greek poet whose name I do not remember. I do not belittle those triumphs; I only want us not to live by illusions.

Symonides: In our discussion we seem to govern ourselves by the assumption that a defined mythology exists around sports. So many opinions and exaggereated ideas have arisen, that we ought to debunk their role and significance. It is difficult not to agree with the view that sports have a compensating character, with all the pluses and minuses of that phenomenon. If a country has no other possibility of finding itself in [press] agency news headlines, then sports create such an opportunity.

Perhaps we also justly called attention to the fact that sometimes sports can lead to the development of nationalism. Situations in which one's own sportsman is mentioned without regard to the position that he held, while the top three who won medals are not mentioned, or when evident defeats are interpreted in various ways, do not teach objectivity but are examples of extending the methods of manipulation and propaganda to sports.

Do sports create culture in the broad meaning of that word? Sometimes they do. The rather select audience at a tennis match that demands greater expertness behaves differently than an audience viewing a discipline that does not require training. The viewers of elite matches behave differently from mass sports viewers. Sometimes sports lead to highly reprehensible behavior, to the primitive discharge of emotions.

It should not be forgotten, however, that, above all, sports are amusement. They are an amusement with the greatest audience--often many millions--simultaneously following the sports events in front of television sets or radio receivers.

If it is such massive amusement, then certain consequences are associated with it. A sports triumph is a fleeting thing, but at a given moment it reaches millions. When I was in South America in 1974 during the world soccer championships in Munich, what I heard on the streets and on the radio and what I read in the newspapers in Poland--and the names of the Polish soccer players. Along with this, there was talk not only about soccer; to some extent all sorts of information about Poland were published. I do not want to exaggerate this, but for some time, perhaps a half-year or several months, our sports triumph paved the way for an interest in our country.

What I want to call attention to is the promotion possibility, so to speak, of the sports function. This pertains particularly to specific fields of sports identified with the use of specific equipment: car racing, gliding, cycling, etc.

Very frequently in international relations, we have to deal with negative stereotypes. A particular nation is considered to be incapable, not very industrious, disorganized, etc. In certain situations, athletic attainments can lead to breaking negative opinions. If it is thought that Poles on a given team cannot accomplish anything and a soccer or volleyball team plays well, this can lead to some extent to a refutation of that stereotype. Sports do not have to teach love but in certain instances can verify judgments and teach respect and objectivism.

Ryszka: We ought to distinguish clearly between elitist culture and mass culture, with this caveat, that elitist culture people can take an interest in mass culture. The reverse is rarely true. Elitist culture can step down while mass culture rarely rises.

It is necessary to differentiate between foreign policy as the conscious activity of a state and the universal conception of another state. We all transmit ideas on a state about which we know something. With the aid of appropriate arguments, we also want to overthrow ideas existing in another state. As a historian of the most recent times, I know of no instance where this had a positive influence. On the other hand I know of instances where it had a negative influence.

The 1936 Olympiad in Berlin was one of the best organized Olympiads. There was no boycott, no disturbance. Seemingly, there was an atmosphere of brotherhood and understanding: black, yellow, "non-Aryan"--all found a place. The organizers acquired the greatest number of medals--I think it was 2/3--that is, they acquired 33 medals, because there was substantially less competition. What was the outcome of that? The incredible masquerade was supposed to conceal the illegalities behind the facade of that athletic holiday. A French team marched in front of the grandstands with their hands raised in a Hitlerite greeting, something thoroughly registered on film.

Mass culture is based on idols. Frequently, irrational segments prevail. An idol, who is an ordinary scoundrel, is loved. This can be a film star (female)--a drug addict or an alcoholic. It can be someone like Muhammad Ali, who serves various gods, principally mammon. It can be a mercenary machine, like Borg, or it can also be a much more authentic figure like Niki Lauda. The personalities of stars vary.

Thus, it differs from an elite culture, where primarily a product is purchased. The act of creativity is more important than the subject of activity.

Dobroczynski: Perhaps the subject also is important.

Ryszka: That is not so important. Actions are more important than people. However, more frequently national problems and national or group affiliations are included, even if artificial, as in the case of Muhammad Ali. In sports, as a component of mass culture, people are also defined by symbols worn on shirts, although frequently these are advertisements of products that have nothing in common with sports--for example, the advertisement of Gitanes cigarettes in the Tour de France.

An identification that flows from a symbol does not necessarily add any importance to a nation. A nation that attains great triumphs in record-seeking sports can be treated as a nation of acrobats, and not a nation in which confidence is placed because it is politically responsible. The criterion is real, which does not mean that we should agree with a stereotyped division of nations into important and unimportant. The dimensions of the nation, its actual superiorities and power status do not remain in dependence or in symmetrical relation with that opinion.

What convinced me? It was the dualism of opinions, that at times something is treated worse as the product of an elitist culture. This is clear with films. It is almost a rule in films that those films that won awards, are boycotted by the public, while the films that make money, as a rule, win no awards. I know of no instance of a film attaining great fame worldwide and receiving an award at any festival. Instead, films that no one goes to see receive awards.

What is the situation with respect to sports? What is the source of rivalry started at a very high elitist level? Obviously, it is a triumph defined by the measure of the achievement, for which its originators must pay dearly by merciless training from early childhood. A matter that is coming back, and which now is particularly fashionable, is the rivalry of both sexes. I read somewhere that Johnny Weissmuller--later famous for his role as Tarzan--today would not win a place in a ladies' 100-meter freestyle race. What is the result of this? Should women necessarily be encouraged to attain such results? I do not know how to reply, although I am afraid that sports attainments can blatantly swerve from aesthetic principles at a given moment, and then record-seeking sports turn against the conventional notions of femininity. This is how men see it, but it would be better if women expressed their opinion.

Ziemilski: I will propose a certain list for consideration: Fibak, Penderecki, Wajda, John Paul II, Kozakiewicz, Milosz. After September, I would add Walesa. This is a list of persons whose names frequently appear in the columns of foreign newspapers and who create a characteristic "image" of our country.

At one time consideration was given in German sociology as to the basis for the feeling of, for example, Poland or Germany "winning" a match. Why can it be said that we won? Why do we identify ourselves? According to the opinions that emerged, what is involved is identification not only with the success itself but also with the process of the selection and training of the elite. Every society creates elites, thanks to which it can survive: leaders, professionals, creative groups. When a

Polish team wins a match, we half-consciously feel that the mechanism of creating the elite in our country (production, selection, training) functions well. We can be proud of our nation because it was capable of forming such elites.

If we look at the list, then I would partially agree. Actually I would be ready to see proof in Fibak that a Polish athletic family functions well. Insofar as the pope is concerned, he fulfills all values esteemed in our national life. He confirms them by his way of life, views, likings and even his origin. All of this is splendid. The same would in some measure pertain to Kozakiewicz (Polish athletic school), Milosz (a great body of national poetry values, its independence), and so on.

However, does not our inability to create other elites, leaders and managers, simultaneously have an influence on our "image?" the inability of leaders to select groups of dependable people? our inability for good management on a macro- and microscale?

The entire personality context existing in a given epoch contributes to the "image" of a nation in the opinion of outsiders. Sports contribute a kind of note, opportunities and possibilities to that. If, however, a series of other elements disputes this, if it turns out that we do not know how to shape all of the important elite in social life in an equal manner, then the role of sports diminishes.

Our aspirations are culturally justified. Society justifies them. Astigmatism in organizing the economy spoils the image. A nation's varied abilities to utilize various prospects contribute to its image. The problem pertains not to talents but to the possibilities of their development, skill in their utilization and incorporation into nationwide functions.

We know how to incorporate nationwide culture and art into functions, despite the difficulties that we have. We also know sport. There are many other fields that we cannot manage. It would be worthwhile someday to investigate how this "image" balances abroad with respect to those prospects, abilities and their realization.

Ryszka: That "image" is created by transmission. We live in a world of increased, faster and better news.

Here is an example from a few years ago when the propaganda of triumph was beginning. A color film about Poland was made. There were pictures from a helicopter: monuments, the Warsaw Castle, Tatra Mountains, the sea and smoking chimneys. During a Polish national holiday in July, I found myself in Paris, French television showed a film about Poland. In general, the tone was sympathetic. But what did it show, what "image"--in the literal sense of the word? A streetcar with "grapes" is moving, there are queues--smaller ones than now, however--in front of stores, lopsided homes in the capital, people in average or worse than average clothes, the kind of morning crowd that spills from the downtown railroad station. And this is Warsaw "in French." To be sure, the commentator said some smooth phrase about a heroic and splendid people. As for me, I flared up in anger because it sounded like irony. Then I thought, yes, that is how it looks on weekdays, not from a helicopter that selectively chooses images for the camera. And here came an ordinarily spiteful reporter with a camera, who photographed what he saw on the ground. It is no matter; such an image is more likely to win over a forewarned receiver.

Does the addition of stars to this image change anything? Perhaps it does in certain opinion-making circles. But it does not change the basic image. The country looks just as it is shown on television.

Dobroczynski: In general, broad opinion is not shaped on comprehensive discernment but on its elements. What does a model of the GDR mean for the many? As a rule, it means not hard work, and not alienated neighbors who do not know how to establish contact with similarly alienated neighbors. On the other hand, it means several selected, spectacular elements such as market supply and excellent organization. Those are selected elements, not the totality. Frequently, the outside world makes the greatest impression on those segments in which one himself is weak. In turn, many people in Western societies are fascinated with the fantasy of a life whose accessibility is so difficult for them. They are not impressed because someone else also has an automobile. In short, they are seeking some kind of compensation. Can sport be a specific form of compensation not only internally--to cover one's own weaknesses--but externally--to pit oneself effectively against those who demonstrate superiority in so many segments? Who can be impressed in this way? The first indication that one is equal frequently is of a fragmentary character. How is it that a nation generally considered as backward, has substantial attainments in soccer or other sports? Does this lead to the conclusion that, if a given society were organized as well in other segments as in sports, it would attain equally as much as highly developed nations?

Ziemilski: In other words, do you treat sport as information about potential? That potential is very specialized.

Dobroczynski: I am constantly concerned about the first signal, about the fact that suddenly these marginal people feel the equal of Englishmen in a given segment and that they are noticed by the world.

Wierzynski: Bikila Abebe started running while Haile Selassie was emperor.

Ziemilski: But what does "becoming noticed" mean? A long time ago, I collected postage stamps. I noticed the French Ivory Coast colony because I had stamps with a picture of an elephant. That is the experience of many people. An entire ideology of philately existed. I would like to see the difference here between sport and philately.

Dobroczynski: Sports are an attempt to compare national qualities. A true athlete of Kenya is compared with an athlete of Great Britain. In postcolonial philately, stamps designed by Europeans and printed in Europe dominate. That is the difference.

No group in any field appears officially as the representative of the nation as a whole, not in science, culture or technology. On the other hand, a soccer match advertises itself as a meeting of Poland versus Italy. That means a Poland as a state and as a community against an Italy of the same type. However, in actuality, 11 Polish boys play against 11 Italian boys. And I have not been aware of any protests to date that this is not Poland but 11 men whom some association selected. Broad identification with the nation and the state takes place on both sides.

Ryszka: This is a contribution to the history of symbols. That is how states and state cultures developed.

Dobroczynski: Exactly why does it develop in sports?

Ryszka: Sports were convenient for that purpose. Sports inherited it from the history of tournaments.

Ziemilski: Let us recall Stanislaw Mariusz's jump from Montelupich prison in Krakow in 1940 and think of the strange connections between a (ski) jump at Krokwia, gliding for abstract purposes, and the jump to save life, a battle jump. This type of symbol is easier where physical activity comes into play. Sports have that tough biologism, the authenticity of existence. But it is equally easy to overinterpret this.

Wierzynski: Do sports bring nations together? I have a hypothesis to propose: At the international level, sports depend on various circumstances, or simply on political manipulations. On the other hand, on a personal or interpersonal level, sports create opportunities for close relations. In short, we meet our colleagues and we strike up friendships.

Ziemilski: This fits the thesis that if a shoemaker from New Zealand meets a shoemaker from Guatemala, there is a common subject pertaining to shoemaking. Despite everything, sports are something a bit higher than this.

Wierzynski: I agree.

Ziemilski: This would create the impression that sports are a kind of community of quasi-professionals, and sometimes entirely professional interests. However, it is a little more.

Wierzynski: Let us return to the role of sports as a specific instrument of international relations. The boycott of the last Olympiad by the United States did not attain the intended goal, which was lowering the status of the games primarily in the eyes of the Soviet society and to affect Soviet pride. The absence of a series of serious contenders could simply strengthen that society's feeling that "we really are strong" and that the Americans did not come because they were afraid of defeat.

Ziemilski: However, it was not so. The absence of the Americans weighed heavily, it touched the entire Soviet society. I was there, I had contacts with various friends in Moscow. It is not true that the boycott did not affect them, or that the absences in the march past (the grandstands) was unnoticed. This gesture did touch them.

On the other hand, it was an inconsequential gesture because many Western countries were represented and also because, in some measurable sports, as being important as never before. In the end, the Americans did not forbid American tourist travel to the Soviet Union. The government did not exercise pressure on scientists or authors--just sports.

Ryszka: We need to consider when the problem of state identification first existed in sports. The institution of traditional, national and folkloristic symbols is a new thing. The Polish national anthem was introduced between the world wars; previously there was no occasion for it. But other national hymns were also introduced

rather belatedly. There is, of course, a parallel "channel," when people of various nations meet, when no one identified himself with a nation but only with himself, that is, his group. This "channel" is older. The history of the organization of sports fascinates me. Which came first, the sport club or national representation? And which is more important?

Ziemilski: In England, probably the club came first.

Ryszka: England is the fatherland of sports, and sports had social roots. Rugby is a simple game, soccer is more complicated. But actually rugby was first adopted as a game by an elegant group of sportsmen. Soccer arose in labor centers in Germany, Poland, Belgium, Spain, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Every identification has significance. If there is a national identity, politics has already made an appearance. If you dress soccer players in shirts and play the national anthem, then naturally the public sees a rivalry between nations in the match. Everyone says without thinking that "we gave the Germans a thrashing" or "that was a Polish-English battle at Wembley," etc.

Dobroczynski: At one time pedagogues said that it is better if people fight in the ring than with knives. Should sports in this sense also be considered as a form of compensation?

Ziemilski: After the famous match at Wembley, I read a commentary in a West German publication that consisted of one sentence: "What did not succeed for the Great Armada or Napoleon, and tripped Hitler, was accomplished by a certain Domarski emerging and submerging again in a sea of forgetfulness." We are inclined to overstretch English katzenjammer, which supposedly encompassed only certain spheres. I do not know if all Englishmen knew that there was something like that at all.

Dobroxzynski: In an international sense, it is not just matches, it is also the so-called demonstration effect. In less-developed countries one accepts certain cultural forms of more highly developed countries, and perhaps vice versa. More than one sport, for example, badminton or turf hockey, was taken over from less developed countries by more developed ones. Thus, sports can be some kind of a factor leading toward equalization, a life style, a way of self-glorification, organization, form of action, adaptation. People in highly and weakly developed countries, more or less equally, want to get organized and trained and to observe the rules of the game in order to attain comparable results. It may be that these traits are subsequently carried--subconsciously--from the sphere of sports to other fields. Has that been studied? Can anything be said on this subject?

Ryszka: Today's record-seeking sports demand heaps of money, and only record-seeking sports can create models.

Dobroczynski: I am concerned with the second stage, the long-range cultural consequences.

Ryszka: People have to see that at the stadium. Very poor countries like India can afford a good turf hockey team. The team will beat others and eventually be heaten. Will people viewing this in stadiums be able to emulate the team? Will they

themselves play, or will they behave as if they practiced sports? They will do neither the one nor the other. Receipt does not evoke repercussions. I repeat: There are no dependencies.

Dobroczynski: It is not the moment that is concerned. What is concerned are changes observed in life style, aspirations, discipline and society's interests.

Ziemilski: Look at student discotheques, see what they are like in America and in Poland. Some types of activity are identical, taken over, remodeled. The discotheque is an excellent example. If you examine the type of action, relationship to improvement, attitudes toward work, it must be acknowledged that sports do not have a great influence.

Dobroczynski: But do they have any kind?

Ziemilski: Yes. Sports have the kind that assures that a soccer player who is trained in the Polish soccer school and goes abroad has identical technical elements as others. However, the way he works, acts, improves himself and his attitude will be different.

Dobroczynski: Many of the consequences of international sports contacts still remain an area of unfinished studies. Many extreme opinions are still held, not only exaggerated ones but also those rejecting the positive consequences of the development of this sphere of international relations. I would side with those who see substantially more social benefits than losses resulting from international competition in the field of sports; however, the matter certainly demands comprehensive studies and cannot be adequately explained via impressions.

I have several observations on the political aspects of this issue. No one negates that sports--in the intrastate as well as interstate dimension--remain the domain of policy, whether one likes it or not. A policy is conducted in various forms and with varied intensity, aimed at various goals--but it is policy. It is sometimes aimed at raising spirits to compensate for one's own weaknesses and at times aimed at an overall increase in the country's prestige in the international arena. And in some instances, it is interested in very clear, concrete results. For example it can be aimed at compromising and isolating political adversaries from the international community (the policy of many world states against South Africa or Chile, the position of the United States toward the Moscow Olympics, etc.) or attaining integration goals, such as those of close relations with African or Asian countries through regularly organized continental games, bringing allied armies closer together through organizing periodic championships, etc. Sports can also constitute an instrument for breaking up various systems and types of barriers between countries, if only to mention here the noisy ping-pong diplomacy, as well as the Balkan games, and other events of this type. Finally, if sports facilitate society's integration, that phenomenon also, of course, has international dimensions and international significance, which surely influences the balance of power in a modest way. Sports under a national flag prevent cosmopolitanism better than they favor nationalism. Perhaps this is a pertinent thought, although it too must be subjected to verification in time as well as space, just as the other effects of an international sports relations policy.

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MARXIST PHILOSOPHY IN THE MODERN WORLD

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[Article by Radu Florian]

[Text] We do not feel that a philosophical and social-political work exists in the history of culture whose imprint has marked a century of history with such vigor as Marx' works have done in our century. The main transforming processes which irreversibly changed the direction of man's history and the political map of the world were and are linked with Marx' works. Also they were and continue to be in the center of the most important and significant theoretical confrontations of the age, rousing more than a few various, often divergent interpretations accompanied by big bitter disputes as well as true streams of hope and innovative searches as well as furious and fanatic adversities.

A future historical goal of the spirituality of this time, the watershed between two directions of social development, cannot help but find that the overall ideas and values worked out by Marx and Engels, implicitly or explicitly, have been the reference system for the most impassioned ideological conflicts of the century, while, in a mediating way, the source of the varied ramification of non-Marxist currents.

For that reason one may state that the decisive influence of Marx' works on this age, sometimes plain and sometimes less visible, but no less constant, is one of the "keys" to deciphering the history of our age, in which man has seen heights but abysses which were hard to imagine before.

That is why to understand our own time, with its contradictory happenings, means, among other things, to know the entire diversity and wealth of ideas of Marx' thought.

The assertion may seem to some people forced and presumptive, since an idea being broadly spread today and maintained by many adherents of bourgeois ideology claims that we no longer can find out anything new about Marx' thought and that all its secrets are more than well known. This viewpoint feels that Marxism, having been a process of the 19th century, no longer has anything or almost anything new to tell us, those who are going through another period of history with many specific problems, to which Marx could not have found an answer.

Two primary facts are forgotten in making this assertion: the first, that the most important scientific discovery of Marx, which made possible all the other ones, is his philosophy. Although worked out in its basic outlines in the 19th century, it

uncovers, through the overall determinations of social existence, the methods for scientific knowledge of the various stages of human history, from the past as well as from the present. Other facts were added to the ones known in the last century and they, however, have confirmed all the theoretical grids formulated by Marx and its nature as an objective truth, a permanent tool for knowledge. It should be noted that the accumulations from various branches of science, including the true information explosion of the last four decades, did not question the of Marxist explanation but merely brought out the need to increase its degree of suitability.

A second basic fact, not taken into consideration from the viewpoint mentioned, is that despite the many changes which occurred in the presentation of history in the 20th century compared with that of the previous age, the determining features of the capitalist system and its social reproduction have remained unchanged in its broad lines or, using a current term,have demonstrated unchanging. For that reason, aspects of the need to replace capitalism with a new society, the socialist one, as well as some of its notes uncovered by the creators of Marxism retain their complete viability today, also. A relevant proof in the regard mentioned is basically the varied phenomena of crisis, from economic to spiritual, in modern capitalism--which not even its apologists can deny any longer--as well as the political trends and movements aimed to changing the world in the direction of socialism.

Another element, most times overlooked, must be added to this and that is the degree of communicability of a philosophical and social-political work with a historical era depends on the thoroughness of its knowledge, of the discovery of its many aspects. Without any exaggeration, in my opinion, one may see that a long road still has to be travelled until the full scientific exegesis of Marx' work.

Many cases, which we mention merely in passing, have contributed to the creation of this situation: the late publication, in our century, of some of Marx' primary works, such as "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," "German Ideology," written in collaboration with Engels, "The Bases for Criticism of Political Economics,"without which his works could not have been studied in their totality and for that reason some of his ideas could not be discovered in their original grid, even in the last decades of the last century, establishment of a positivist and economistic interpretation of Marxism as a result of failing to understand the specific original nature of the thought worked out by Marx and Engels, a fact which placed its imprint up until today, being admitted as the only authentic one; the domination of dogmatism for a period of time during the 20th century, which underestimated the importance of a scientific, critical study of the ideas of Marxism on the basis of Marx' and Engels' original works, in exchange, frequently being a vehicle for theses lacking coverage in their texts. An analysis of Marx' and Engels' works involves utilization of scientific-critical methods intended to discover the diversity of formulations of an idea and to compare them plus disengaging the permanent components from the accidnetal, circumstantial ones.

It is an illusion that a simple reading of a Marx text permits a critical identification of his ideas and their originality and significance in the field of philosophy or social-political thought.

Reciting a work by Marx in the spirit of scientific-critical methods leads not only to broadening the area of communication with it, that is, to uncovering a contemporary Marx of a much greater wealth and depth than that accredited two decades ago, as well as an understanding of its historic destiny, a cardinal problem for the life of many generations in this century, which is nearing its end.

The discovery of initial and original Marx works and the return to the source of Marxist thought are an obligatory condition for understanding the real features of the various political currents formed in its field and facilitate a study of their path, elements for theoretical development and practical opening as well as the way in which simplistic and ecclectic interpretations joined with practices which were either wrong or even deforming.

This direction of research is all the more necessary since an extremist viewpoint--that of the so-called "new philosophers" but also shared by many others--attributes to Marx the theoretical responsibility for the breakdowns in operation, deformations of all kinds recorded in the transition process to the new system, since it did not interpret any eventualities and risks of the dialectics of this process and the means for avoiding them. Through a subtle ideological manipulation, ,it is sought to bring on what at another time I would call the "guilt complex" of all those whom the thought of Marx filled with the socialist ideal and guided their political action.

The subject, in the forefront of many current analyses and controversies regarding Marxism, is too broad to discuss here in all its scope. We shall illustrate just several ideas which I propose to bring out some of the less known aspects from Marx' works but, at the same time, ones which are deeply significant in their contemporary nature.

At a time like right now, when efforts are being made in Europe to bring back into circulation some "philosophies of existence" as the nucleus for a new existentialist metaphysics, a special mention should be made of the fact that Marx is the creator of a highly original ontology replaced basically by a metaphysical and scholastic materialist vision of the existence of reality.

Concisely, the idea of Marxist ontology consists of conceiving of existence in general, man's existence in particular in terms of the special features of relations between men and not as a metaphysical antithesis of matter and spirit. Thus, Marx early arrives at defining the human existence by "praxis" and, within the framework of its form, by practice in particular, that is, by its permanent self-production at all levels of manifestation. This particular feature becomes intelligible only included in and in proportion to the objective existence in its totality. If such an existence would not exist, it would not be possible to create an objective human reality, either, indisputably proven by the historical evolution of the human species or the independent manifestation of man's spiritual state.

These ideas initially expressed even in the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" have only been capitalized on only partially as landmarks of Marxist ontology (philosophy). Three of them, through their openings and resonance, deserve to be recalled in this framework.

A first statement establishes that "man is a generic being and not only because both theoretically as well as in practice he makes race--both his own as well as that of other things--one of his goals as well as because he behaves before himself as a person of the current, living race, a person of universal being, thus free." The characterization of man as a generic being (existence), implicit in the above lines, is explicitly explained in the following. "The practical creation of a world of objects and the processing of nonorganic nature are the self-assertion of man as a conscious generic being, in other words, a being who sees in race his own being or who sees a generic being in himself. For that reason, precisely by processing

the world of objects, man asserts himself for the first time as a generic being. Due to this production, nature appears like a work of his and a reality of his." Thus, man is a generic being, since by processing nature and its objects, he creates an objective reality of great differentiation--which exists as race--and because he sees in his own existence as a race his essence, from where the result is also the overwhelming dimension of his spiritual creation, forms for manifestation of subjectivity and the works it gives birth to.

The third statement from this same work, completing Marx' concept of existence, states that "the nature which develops within the framework of human history--this origin of human society--is the real nature of man."[1] These statements represent the true rupture between Marxist ontology and the previous or later ones, the non-Marxist ones, which should be the beginning for presenting his authentic form. They mark the substantiation of ontology on foundations of scientific knowledge, outlining a direction of great euristic productivity, still not developed today, in the diversity of multiple aspects which it contains.

This direction, thus, is clearly different from the one of the philosophers of existence who, by restricting existence (being) to that of man alone and only to his exclusively spiritual hyposthasis, cultivate a subjectivist and reclusive orientation, inherently arbitrary and transcendental, but not lacking in a clear ideological transparency, at least in some of his representatives.

Also, the rationalist and scientific articulation itself of Marxist ontology is the one which causes dissatisfaction and reticence among those who do not feel that knowledge is the single grounds for revealing the ontological and his determinations.

Another characteristic direction for the modern controversy about Marx' works refers to his contribution in defining the values of democracy in general and the socialist values in particular. In this regard one must observe the insufficient knowledge of and capitalization on Marx' role as a theoretician of democracy, both with regard to an analysis of aspects of exercising popular sovereignty and the mechanisms of working out political decision by the action of social collectives as well as with regard to the attention given to the individual as the central value of democracy and his creative assertion.

So, in one of the works of his youth, "Contributions to a Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law," in which he produces a break with Hegel's political thought, without any ambiguity Marx shows his choice for democracy, his method for conceiving of it as an expression of popular self-determination: "In democracy the state system itself appears merely as one of the determinations, that is, the people's self-determination. Democracy is the resolved enigma of all forms of the state system. Here the state system is continually reduced to its real basic nature, to real man, to real people and asserts itself as his own work."[2]

Marx' option for democracy is based on considering it as a work of the people themselves, in direct and indirect forms as an antithesis to the bureaucratic state, whose methods of exercising power, defended by Hegel, subject them to sharp criticism.

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1. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Writings From Youth," Political Publishing House, 1968, pp 554, 556, 582.

2. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Volume 1, Political Publishing House, 1960, II Edition, p 256.

Bureaucracy represents "the state's awareness of itself," "will of the state," "power of the state" as a corporation. The state must be a corporation and,as a result, an exclusive, separate society, in the state. Even for a non-specialist in an analysis of Marx' texts, the formulation is required through a criticism of the idea of the state as the power resulting from the society and over it. It illuminates the fact that the bureaucratic state is one of divine authority exercised in a corporative spirit. "The spirit of the state, if it is known by everyone, as well as the state feeling appear to bureaucracy as a treason of its mystery. As a result, authority is the principle of science and divine authority is the sentiment of it," which is expressed in the fact that "general matters are carried out without being real matters of the people. The people's real matters are carried out without the people's intervention."[1]

These ideas would be taken and developed by Marx during an analysis devoted to the first historical form of a socialist state in the world, the Paris Commune. Marx conceives of the socialist state as a "true self-governing," as an organism in which exercising of the central jobs of the political leadership cannot lead to the placing of its followers over society so that they continually are subject to effective checking. Public jobs would cease to be private property any longer, conferred by the central government on its people."[2]

With regard to Marx' emphasizing the individual's role as the central value of democracy, it is enough to recall just several of his theses. Even in the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscrip s of 1844" Marx rejects as unfounded the opposing of society to the individual, a viewpoint which may lead to the cult of society's political institutions in relationship to the individual's rights and freedoms. The idea is all the more precious since even this work formulates the thesis of the social determination of the individual, which brings out that the two levels cannot be confused, that the social determinism in which the individual is included cannot be an argument for minimizing him , for underestimating his area of manifestation. By guessing some of the dangers which could appear in planning this component of social relations, Marx called it rudimentary that a future society which denied man's personality would exist. Continuing, the text states: "Rudimentary communism is just accomplishment of this leveling trend, proceeding from an imagined minimum. As little as this eradication of private property is, a true approach proves to us precisely the abstract denial of the entire world of culture and civilization and the return to the unnatural simplicity of the poor man lacking needs, who not only has not overcome private property but has not even arrived there yet."[3]

The idea is not in the least accidental. It returns in one of Marx' and Engels' books of 1873 which, commenting on some anarchist texts which outline a social organization which regulates on the basis of military discipline up to the smallest detail, the behavior of individuals without taking into account the need for their free development, categorically observed: "An admirable example of barracks communism!"[4]

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1. Ibidem, pp 274, 275, 292.

2. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Volume 17, Political Publishers, 1963, p 627.

3. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Writing From Youth," p 574.

4. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Volume 18, Political Publishers, 1964, p 425.

The fact that Marx and Engels wrote in "Manifesto of the Communist Party" the thesis that socialist society must represent "an association within whose framework the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of everyone"* shows once again the attention they gave to achieving this aspect of the future of society.

Another direction in Marx' works which is of profound modern interest is the one which brings out that aspect of building the socialist society is in accomplishing the leap from social and in ividual alienation to disalienation. The process is guessed at in many of their own elements, from having society take over its dialectics in achieving a democratic planning of social relations and choices for their operation to the change in appearance of activity and training of society's members with a view to their participation in all the processes of society's leadership up to the leap of the people's transformation with the goal of social operation and development, of their involvement in exclusively and directly creative activity. The development of socialist society in Marx is indissolubly linked with the progress of disalienation, while this is not an automatic phenomenon but means cultivating and making objective the values of total humanization of social relations.

All this shows that Marx' works not only cannot be considered in any way responsible for the accidents which have occurred in the historical process of creating the new system but, on the contrary, one may find the conclusion--even without going further with the analysis--that they to some extent are due to failing to understand and to carry out some of the landmark ideas in Marx' works.

This conclusion appears as a central argument in the need for the current recital of Marx' works and of a scientific and critical reading which, without making them absolute in any way, without making them sacred, should lead to a fertile enrichment of their dialogue with modern spirtuality. Of course, the transition from a philosophical or social-political idea to practice is not a simple process, since a philosophical idea is not of a normative nature and does not necessarily indicate the mediated links in the technique for carrying it out. A specialized investigation is needed for each package of ideas with a view to working out techniques for action intended to provide adequate implementation of them.

Of course, a reading of Marx' works does not in any way mean falling into another extreme idea as if it would cover the ready answers to the diversity of questions and problems of our time, which, even as an hypothesis, is a theoretical and political impossibility. For that reason, a reciting of Marx' works in order to be productive must be combined with research, in the spirit of it, into the problems of our century, a working out of solutions which correspond to the demands of the current stage of development of society and the complex modern social problems so that , in turn, they mark a new page in the history of human knowledge.

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* K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Volume 4, Political Publishers, 1958, p 488.

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SIGNIFICANT NEW CONTRIBUTIONS OF ROMANIAN ARCHEOLOGY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, 5 Jul 81 pp 28-30

[Article by Dr Radu Harhoiu of the Institute of Archeology in Bucharest]

[Text] The problems of social-political and economic life on the territory of our country at the beginning of the first millen um, particularly during the period following the withdrawal of Roman authorities to the southern Danube,were studied in detail decades ago. Traces of uninterrupted inhabitance were found in the space which always belonged to the natives and independent forms of their existence were stated precisely under the harsh conditions created by penetration of the migrating populations into the Geto-Dacian hearth. On the basis of many archeological discoveries made in the years of socialism, it also was possible to outline aspects of the relations between the natives and the migrators, with important contributions being made to an understanding of the Dacian-Roman continuity in the Carpathian-Pontic-Danubian area and, indirectly, to an explanation of these interdependent complex phenomena at the European level.

Whereas in the years of socialism, research into our people's past achieved important progress, however it is no less true that there still are a number of gaps in the scientific information accumulated. This in particular is due to the momentary stage of research, that is, to the fact that all the sources existing on the territory of ancient Dacia could not be explored exhaustively or that, in some cases, all the conclusions which can be drawn from the material research were not drawn. For example, few people know that the first archeological sites in Romania dedicated to researching some of the basic aspects of the Romanian people's story were opened only toward the end of the 50's or that only in the last decade was sustained activity reached at other similar sites, which meant that the number of archeological complexes would reach more than a hundred discoveries about the 3d-7th century A.D.

The colloquium of researchers in the area of the country's archeology and history during the period of the first millenium, which took place in Tirgu Mures between 16-19 April 1981,with the subject "The Continuity of the Native Population in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic Area and Its Relations With Some of the Migrating Populations," concentrated its attention on five big subjects concering the demographic realities of deep significance which existed in that era on the territory of our country.

A first subject discussed was the continuity of the native population on the territory of the former province of Dacia in the 6th century. An important element in the "file" of this subject was the analysis of written information on evacuation of the province of Dacia (271-275). A critical examination of the literary sources

led to the conclusion that the sources should not be interpreted "ad litteram." They present the event from the viewpoint of the Roman imperial ideology, which was seeking to justify the abandonment of Dacia as a political act demanded by the situation of that time, which would have led to a total evacuation which would not have abandoned the inhabitants of the province to the barbarians. Actually, merely a partial abandonment took place, with only the authorities, army and part of the urban population leaving the province. There are no indirect sources (edicts, laws, inscriptions) or archeological documents proving the actual exodus of the population and, as a result, a massive demographic increase to the right of the Danube at that date, which would have had to occur if a "total" evacuation had taken place. When such an event is produced, a classic example being the move of the Visigoths to the right of the Danube in the year 376, the sources of the era record it promptly and with a wealth of details.

Proceeding from these observations of domestic criticism of written information, the problem was posed of to what extent archeological research reflects this picture or not. A direction of the investigation was guided toward an analysis of the activity of the former urban centers of Dacia. In most of these centers researched until now, it was possible to find a habitat on the path of ruralization of the local population. For the time being there are rather few of these results, since in the case of older research it was preferable many times to follow the imposing Romanian complexes to the detriment of this fragile place, one which was of capital importance for us. So, an orientation would be needed predominantly of the archeological research in the urban centers toward the habitat characteristic of the 4th century. The results existing until now--from Apulum, Sarmizegetusa, Potaissa, Napoca and so forth--must be studied more thoroughly, completed and corroborated.

In exchange, a research and analysis of the settlements in the rural environment permitted a clearer understanding of the continuity of the Roman provincial population both in the old settlements as well as some established following abandonment. We have available a quantity of informative material, richer and richer as the days go by, which permits the formulation of sometimes more circumstantial conclusions. But in order to explain this facies in all its complexity, it would be useful to have the existence of annotated catalogues of the discoveries (settlements, burial places, isolated discoveries, coins, paleochristian pieces and so forth) between the year 275 and the end of the 4th century, comprised according to international scientific standards. Only in this way will this pertinent information become accessible to the scientific world and can it become convincing. Also it is clear that archeological research would gain if it would direct more attention to the habitats with their complex problems, giving up minor and disseminated investigations.

An element of major importance in defining the customs of the native population in the former province of Dacia in the 4th century is the funeral rite and ritual. In the current stage of research one can document the continuing use of former provincial necropoles (for example, Cluj-Napoca, Turda-Potaissa). On the other hand, it was possible to identify and define the burial customs of the population from the rural environment, as illustrated to a large extent by the necropolis No 1 in Bratei. The information obtained in these two cases can be made complete by making the research more thorough and extending it to other regions in Transylvania and Oltenia. At the same time, the need is felt for more fine methods in order to individualize the rite and ritual demonstrations characteristic of the population which, actually, had burial customs at that time with harmless funeral catalogue but which differ from the funeral rite and ritual of the migrating populations. This objective situation is not limited just to the former province of Dacia but is a general European

phenomenon caused, among other things, by the transition to Christianity by the populations in the provinces of the empire.

Significant aspects on the continuity were revealed in Banat, where archeological discoveries confirm that the late Roman fortifications continued to operate a long time along the Danube and where monetary circulation proves an intense economic life by the large quantities of bronze coins used.

Also, in Oltenia, fortresses along the Danube continued to be used until the first decades of the 5th century. Then following a short period of interruption during the 5th century, they were repaired and used in the first half of the 6th century. This state of affairs proves the political-economic position of the Roman-Byzantines in the first half of the 4th and first half of the 6th centuries and their determination not to give up the Danube or the territories belonging to it along the left bank. One of the effects of this situation was the fact that--even if for short intervals--the locals from the former province could regain sociocultural contacts with the Roman-Byzantine population on the right Danube, which permitted to a certain extent a strengthening of their difficult position. With regard to Oltenia, although research of the territory still is at its beginnings, it can be affirmed that the results of archeological investigations in Locusteni-Gropani and Gropsani-Olt have permitted identification of the cultural characteristics of the native population in the 4th century.

A second big subject discussed was the continuity of the native population of Moldavia and Muntenia in the 4th century.

As we know, as a result of the Goths' movement toward the regions in the northern Black Sea and from the Lower Danube at the end of the 3d and beginning of the 4th centuries, an apparently united culture in its general features was born over an extended area between the Olt and Dnepr; however it was not nited in a number of particular aspects: the Cerneahov-Sintana culture of the Mures. One of the basic problems concerning us in this framework is the contacts and relations between the culture mentioned and the culture of the free Dacians, in the case of the Carps, dating mainly in the 3d century. Although in a number of archeological situations somewhat of an interruption was observed in the cultural evolution during the 3d century (which in a certain stage of research permitted the hypothesis of a cesura of residence) today, following accumulation of new discoveries and, at the same time, use of a more improved working method, it has been possible to show the continuity of indigenous demonstrations and even more, some typical local customs within the culture of Sintana de Mures. In other words, at the moment, besides the Gothic and Sarmatic composition in the particular demonstrations of this culture, a clearly native one also is formed.

Undoubtedly, publication of the two big plots of recent discoveries will contribute to a broader and more complex knowledge of this mixed cultural facies: the Carpic necropolis with around 650 graves in Valeni (Neamt County), dating to the 3d century, as well as the vast necropolis with its settlement like Sintana de Mures, from Valea Seaca (Vaslui County) from the 4th century. In this way, the permanence of the Dacian-Roman element in the particular period, currently proven in particular indirectly through the presence of ceramics attributed generally to the free Dacians, as, for example, the Carps, can be demonstrated on a much more solid documentary base. A certain type of ceramic or object restricted zonally cannot offer sufficient foundation for an ethnosocial determination. A well-based analysis of

various types of customs (costume, burial), of cataloguing and so forth can lead much further. From this viewpoint, the two necropoles and the settlement mentioned are an inestimable treasury of information.

The discussions also analyzed the characteristics of the culture of the free Dacians in western Romania. Many archeological discoveries made in this zone of the country, particularly the complex at Mediesul Aurit (Satu-Mare County) has permitted a much more exact definition of the population mentioned. The appearance of elements characteristic of the Przeworsk culture during the 3d century are integrated into a general phenomenon characteristic of the zone from the middle Danube, the cause for which should be sought in the disturbances of certain ethnic groups caused by macromanic wars. It is important that the Germanic elements penetrating our land do not affect the cultural background of the free Dacians; on the contrary, they had a contribution not lacking in importance over the demonstrations within the Przeworsk culture (for example, the introduction of the potter's wheel in the second half of the 3d century).

A third big subject for the colloquium in Tirgu Mures referred to the Sintana de Mures culture, attributed years before to the Goths. Clearly it has resulted that various types of customs (costume, forms of rite and ritual) as well as various forms of housing reflect a polyethnic culture, a fact also proven by the ancient sources. In a monograph dedicated to the history of the Goths which appeared recently ("Geschichte der Goten," Munich, 1979), the Austrian professor, Herwig Wolfrom, shows very convincingly that the different versions of the Gothic nation (Gutons, Gotitervings, Greutings, Visigoths, Ostrogoths) actually are stages of migration accompanied by phenomena of aculturation in the immigration areas, where a determining role belonged to the native populations over which the Goths settled. Within this broad and diverse process, the role of the native Dacian-Roman population, in this case from Moldavia and Munteia, takes on particular importance.

With regard to the period of demonstration of the Sintana de Mures culture, the conclusion has been reached that the earliest stage may be established around the year 300, while the higher chronological limit corresponds to the last decades of the 4th century. At the same time, it has been defined that the area of spread of the particular culture does not affect Oltenia (Lower Dacia), while with regard to the intra-Carpathian Dacia its penetration may be determined only in the second half of the 4th century, with this not changing the cultural background of the local population.

After the end of the 4th century, it is possible to record the continuation of certain cultural aspects related with the Sintana de Mures culture but which, through their internal structure, may be attributed to a great extent to the Roman population.

The continuity of the natives' housing in the 5th century established the fourth big subject discussed. Throughout central and eastern Europe, the penetration of the ethnic congolomerate headed by the Huns caused serious ethnic disturbances. Archeologically, the situation in the zones mentioned is carried out by a considerable thinning out of significant traces. Except for some complexes attributed to the Huns or Alano-Ostrogoths,the other discoveries are few and hard to decipher. Clearly, this general archeological situation also to a certain extent has been expressed on the territory of our country. Yet, recently, both in Transylvania as well as outside the Carpathians, a number of settlements have been identified recently which date either to the end of the 4th century and beginning of the 5th century or toward the end of the 5th century: Bratei (Sibiu County), Sighisoara (Mures County), Soporu de Cimpie (Cluj County) in Transylvania; Ciresanu and Tirgsor (Prahova County) in Muntenia; Costisa (Neamt County) in Moldavia. The still small number of these

discoveries cannot be interpreted automatically as a result of a historical reality, since, undoubtedly, in many regards it reflects the current stage of research. Links between the complexes which can be dated to the beginning or to the last decades of the 5th century will be able to be found in the future through rsystematic investigation. An important step forward thin the problem concerning ius can be made by intense research of microregions, characterized by intense housing. Promising prospects are seen in Tirgsor and Budureascar (Prahova County) in Muntenia, Bratei or Sighisoara in Transylvania and Davideni (Neamt County) and Costisa in Moldavia.

On the other hand, certain relations between the cultural heritage of the 4th century and that characteristic of the 6th century show that the native Dacian-Roman element was present without interruption in the zone mentioned. Publication of the results obtained following digs done in various archeological complex in this age can lead to more solid conclusions on the aspects mentioned.

Another big subject for the colloquium was the continuity of the native population in the 6th-8th centuries.

The results of archeological research in Transylvania, along with identification of Germanic archeological complex (necropoles and settlements), have permitted definition of various forms of ethnocultural demonstration of the Romanized Dacians even in the residences attributed to the Germanics, as proven graphically, among other ways, by the Moresti archeological complex. Also, the demographic rise found in the first half of the 7th century (the number of graves nearly quadruples) may be explained only by a greater archeological expressiveness of the local residents, as an effect of living together and mutual influences between the native and migrating populations. A similar phenomenon also is found in other former provinces of the empire (Gallia, Germany). Appropriate utilization of the results of the research done within the necropoles in Bratei and Noslac (Alba County) as well as picking up the research at the Unirea necropolis (Alba County) again will make important statements on this problem.

With regard to the penetration of the Avars into Transylvania, the conclusion has been reached that they were able to settle approximately around the year 680 and only in a region restricted along the middle course of the Mures.

An important observation which may be made on the basis of our current knowledge on the period of the 6th-7th centuries is that a number of phenomena on the outer Carpathian territories were produced which were similar to those in Transylvania and that these phenomena, against a common ethnic background, are related to the ethnocultural demonstrations appearing in the zones mentioned even in the 5th century.

During the current stage of our information, we do not know one habitat in Oltenia which could be attributed to a migrating population during the 6th century. The few foreign discoveries are totally isolated and refer to the 7th century. Important research from Craiova, in the Facai and Fintina-Obedeanu zones as well as the ones in Gropsani-Olt present forms of the cultuere of the local population and its ties with the Byzantine Empire during the 6th-7th centuries.

The research done in recent years in Muntenia and Moldavia has brought out the originality of the forms of archeological expression of the local population's culture.

Digs from Budureasca,Tirgsor, Baleni-Romani (Dimbovita County), Sima (Prahova County) and Dulceanca (Teleorman County), in Muntenia, Davideni, Suceava-Sipot in Moldavia d cument a chronological level specific to the 6th century, characterized, among other things, by an advanced pottery-making technique, the practice of the craftsmen and of agriculture. This cultural facies is clearly different from the forms of archeological demonstration of the Slavs from the upper Dnepr, culturally very different. The first demonstrations of Slavic culture in their primary form are found on the territory of our country toward the second half of the 6th century, while more certain dating is restricted just toward the end of that century. This situation, for example, is also found in Poland. Together with rise in the elements of culture characteristic of the Slavs, a cultural regression also is observed.

Participants in the Tirgu Mures colloquium gave special attention to the results obtained in the station of Sighisoara-Catunul Viilor. Here, on the right bank of the Tirnava Mare River, immediately neighboring on the municipality of Sighisoara, a native settlement very probably from the last decades of the 3d century has been found. In other words, not much after the province of Dacia ceased to be administered by the Romans. Inhabitance on the same spot also continues in the 4th century, then in the next century and does not interrupt even in the period of the 6th-8th centuries. The 60 archeological complexes discovered until now (homes with ovens or hearths, household pits and so forth) together with their remarkable inventory bring new and important information to the documenting of the phenomenon of the continuity of the Dacian-Roman population. This successive inhabitation throughout the 3d-8th centuries is in a rich zone of discovery from the period of formation of the Romanian people: Just 30 km downstream on the Trinava Mare is an important inhabitation of Bratei, while field research in the area of Sighisoara has identified inhabitation in the period which concerns us. In this way, the Sighisoara microzone seems to be, in Transylvania, one of the most important areas from the period of formation and crystalization of the Romanian people, currently being the subject for broad interdisciplinary research. This research must take place at the broadest possible level by attracting a greater number of specialists. In general it should be stressed that the complex microzonal research is able to offer us a clearer picture of the phenomenon of the continuity of the natives. Due to the increase in population and system for cultivating the land or other economic reasons, the settlements from the 3d-8th centuries are characterized by a certain mobility within a microzonal stability. From this viewpoint, the realities from the Sighisoara zone seem to be relevant.

The documented reports and discussions carried out along with them during the Tirgu Mures colloquium certainly have made important contributions to bringing out important aspects in the history of the Romanian people, to a more detailed knowledge of their various relations with certain migrating populations. Proceeding from the results obtained and with the goal of deepening the scientific research of the country's history, it was decided to organize other discussions on the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area in the period of the 4th-8th centuries, discussions to take place in the future.

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KOSOVO LEADER VLASI INTERVIEWED ON CAUSES OF CRISIS

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[Interview with Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the SAWP, by Aleksandar Novacic; date and place not specified]

[Text] Azem Vlasi, chairman of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the SAWP and until recently a member of the Kosovo Provincial Party Committee, a lawyer by education, was born in 1948. Vlasi is known to the Yugoslav public mainly as the dynamic former president of the Youth League.

Today Vlasi is one of the key political figures in Kosovo, very much involved in the struggle being waged by progressive forces in that province.

"I look with optimism on the process of consolidation of the situation in Kosovo, since the League of Communists and the other progressive forces have finally adopted a strategy for permanent stabilization. To a great extent a new awareness has now become prevalent, above all among party members, concerning the true causes of the 'events in Kosovo,' concerning nationalism, technobureaucracy and other adverse phenomena. And what is most essential, it has become clear to people that this course must be pursued to the end by the League of Communists if conditions are to become stable, since there is no alternative or other way. No one can live any longer in any suspense and say: Well, if we succeed, that will be fine, and if not, perhaps some solution will be found that will be better....

"There simply is no alternative."

[Question] Perhaps this is the first optimistic statement by a leader from Kosovo, or it is at any rate a fairly rare one, one that was made without hesitation and with strong inner conviction. We asked Vlasi to begin the interview by summing up what had been achieved in Kosovo over the last 4 months. To comment on his judgment that the "results are evident, but the situation is still complicated...."

[Answer] The first result lies in the greater awareness of the working people and citizens of Kosovo concerning the true character and nature of the hostile and counterrevolutionary activity. We have managed to expose and clarify the

goals of all the forces which were preparing an attempt at counterrevolution. This was achieved thanks to the intensive and well-organized sociopolitical campaign, which was indispensable. We would not have been able to achieve the victory without the support of the enormous majority of the population.

Later, as time went on, we entered a struggle which is very complicated and difficult, since it is necessary to eliminate all the causes which over a long period of time resulted in the events in Kosovo.

[Question] How is the support of the majority of the population for the new policy manifested?

[Answer] In various ways. I would point to the high level of politicization of the masses. We live in an exceptional atmosphere in which every citizen is closely following everything that is happening, every action, every move we make.... Everything that is being written or said about Kosovo.

[Question] Nevertheless, the situation is still judged to be complicated?

[Answer] Yes, since in essence we are talking about a hostile action which was prepared for a long time, one into which various forces were drawn over a lengthy period of time, along the line of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Those forces forged a conspiracy against Yugoslavia and were waiting for that X day, as experts in matters of security put it, which for those forces was the period after Tito's death. It would be unrealistic to expect that we would be able to quickly repair the situation regardless of the intensity of the action....

[Question] It is being said that the enemy is changing his tactics.

[Answer] We have cut short the activity such as demonstrations or street disorders and suppressed it. But hostile action is continuing through other forms and in other ways. For example, deliberate misinformation is being spread, slogans are written....

[Question] Is this on a large scale?

[Answer] We have quite reliable figures that these slogans are being written by small organized groups at various places in order to give the public the impression that it has some dimension, as though a large number of people were involved. That is not the case.

Our economic problems, our real problems, are being used in the misinformation which is being spread. The hostile forces are spreading pessimism, a feeling of futility, especially in connection with the economic difficulties that Yugoslavia now faces. It is clear, then, that along with continuing the action against the hostile forces, we must vigorously undertake to resolve the acute problems of our social development.

The greater the speed and effectiveness with which we do this, the more successful we will be in achieving stabilization of the political situation as a whole. Here we proceed on the premise that there is no consolidation of political conditions in Kosovo without achieving economic stabilization, overall improvement of the situation in the economy and society, and advancement of the relations of socialist self-management....

[Question] One of the slogans which is still relevant is "Kosovo a Republic." Where did that slogan come from, and how is it that that slogan emerged?

[Answer] The character of our system and relations within the country are such that the preconditions have been created for the full national affirmation of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. From that standpoint the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" is invented and artificial. The main slogan of our system is: power to the workingman, and not power to the Federation or to the republic, to the district or to the opstina. No one can say today that the provinces are in a subordinate position, that within Serbia and Yugoslavia they cannot exercise rights just like the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the republics.

The nationalistic forces deliberately launched this slogan, expecting that this slogan would be acceptable to a certain number of people and they would not see it as an aspiration to break up Yugoslavia, nor a step toward Kosovo's separation. It is becoming clearer and clearer to people what the forces behind that slogan are after. In any case, that slogan offers a different class concept, one that proceeds from the positions of dogmatism and Stalinism.

I should also say that the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" did not emerge as the only and isolated slogan, but was lumped together with other anti-Yugoslav and anti-self-management slogans, which in fact exposes its nature.

Full equality and freedom of the nationalities and ethnic minorities is not realized on the basis of republic or provincial boundaries, but on the foundations of the system of socialist self-management, the class commitment of socialist ideology, policy and relations.

Personnel Changes and Responsibility

[Question] How do you evaluate the major personnel changes in Kosovo which have now been rounded out in the radical changes in the Provincial Party Committee?

[Answer] When we undertook the differentiation, we inevitably realized that specific individuals were responsible for the specific situation. Either they bore personal responsibility, or, if I can put it that way, they bore objective responsibility, since they occupied prominent positions.

There was a need to measure both the individual and the collective responsibility, which we did in fact do. The public was informed about this, and I can say that these personnel changes are truly important and that they have covered all the structures and levels in the province.

[Question] There was probably also resistance to these changes.

[Answer] I cannot say that there was any organized resistance. But there were certain manifestations that were consequences of a lack of understanding on the part of individuals and certain collective bodies.... In actuality, they did not understand the level of responsibility for the situation of which the enemy took advantage, the problems that had been unresolved for years.... But I think that this responsibility should certainly be distinguished from direct responsibility for hostile actions and also from the responsibility of people who had a duty in the field of education and in similar institutions.

As for the responsibility of individuals who held sociopolitical functions, I think that this has been realistically measured, and they have contributed by their self-critical attitude to successful performance of the process of differentiation.

[Question] Does the impression that this has gone slowly nevertheless still prevail with a portion of the public?

[Answer] More essential than that, I think, is that we did not have political deserters. I am certain that many people who had to leave their posts will remain and within the limits of their opportunities will be useful and will remain on the line of the League of Communists.

[Question] It is thought by some that the differentiation went slowly because there are not enough personnel in Kosovo who could replace the team that was previously in power. In other words, that there is a deep personnel gap.

[Answer] Perhaps such arguments have been made, but they are basically unacceptable. First of all because the present actions which we are conducting have shown that there are a large number of party members and others in Kosovo who are ready to undertake an open campaign against the hostile forces. One thing is true: For years, and not just in Kosovo, we have been favoring tendencies which have been narrowing the personnel base. We have always cast our eyes on one and the same group of people in high positions. All the shuffling of personnel came from them, which was a mistake. Nevertheless, in the campaign which we are waging we have discovered a number of people able and willing to carry on the new political line. That is, the personnel do exist, but they need to be given an opportunity to show what they can do....

Too Much Verbalism

[Question] Can it be said that the tendencies which erupted in Kosovo are also present in other communities of our country and that there was a break in Kosovo because that link was weakest?

[Answer] If we are to speak about the deeper causes which favored the strengthening of nationalism in Kosovo, we must examine trends and occurrences more broadly in the country. For a long time now, for example, we have been faced with the tendency toward exclusiveness both in the economy and in other fields.

This could result in nationalistic occurrences within the republics and provinces.

This has been condemned in political forums, but in all of this there is too much verbalism. When the causes that result in exclusiveness are examined in more detail, one comes upon the fact that this is sponsored to the greatest degree by the tie-up between the technobureaucracy and the political bureaucracy. I think that no one in this country believes that such exclusiveness is favorable to associated labor. On the contrary, work organizations are fighting fiercely against this, but the technobureaucracy and political bureaucracy are driving associated labor, are simply forcing it toward exclusiveness, which could be dangerous in many ways.

[Question] Are those the roots of nationalism?

[Answer] Yes, but we have been inclined to underestimate it and we have been quicker to note and issue warnings about "that other" nationalism rather than the nationalism in our own community.

We have done much to set ourselves apart from one another, to shut ourselves off from one another, we are spreading an atmosphere of self-sufficiency even in culture, in creativity, in education.... Take education as an example. We have awkwardly rounded out eight systems of education and in practice we make it impossible for young people from one province or republic to continue their schooling in other communities. We have posed thousands of problems and erected thousands of barriers. And this has had the result that young people have the feeling that everyone is sufficient unto himself in his own republic or province.

We have to take as our point of departure that Yugoslavia is a natural community created by the common will and through a common struggle, on the basis of the common interests of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Accordingly, nothing that happens in one part of the country can be an isolated case which does not concern the other parts of the whole. Wherever something happens, this objectively has its roots in contradictions which, at least partially, are uniform and characteristic of the entire country.

[Question] It is not just Kosovo, then, that is exposed....

[Answer] It would be an illusion to believe that Kosovo is alone in being exposed to the contradictions which resulted in the escalation of nationalism. There are many problems and contradictions which represent potential causes of similar manifestations in other communities.

On the basis of everything that happened in Kosovo, we should all draw certain lessons, though it is clear that a single negative tendency need not manifest itself in the same way in all communities. But if we examine more deeply the causes of everything that is leading toward the destabilization of our community, regardless of whether it involves nationalism and anarcholiberalism or something else, we can always exposed to the dangers of a tie-up between various

domestic and foreign forces which are objectively working against that kind of Yugoslavia.

[Question] You are speaking about the lessons of Kosovo for Yugoslavia as a whole?

[Answer] We in Kosovo have drawn lessons which apply to many periods of time and to many issues. It is not just a question of nationalism. We suddenly understood that we cannot live so comfortably, in the belief that nothing can happen to us. And as for the entire country, I hope that we have drawn the lessons related to the role of the League of Communists as the leading ideological force. The LCY must strengthen its unity in the base, democratic centralism, since in difficult moments, and even generally, the League of Communists is the force that eyes turn to. Of course, the campaign cannot be carried on by party members alone, but the mobilization of the broad masses depends on how the League of Communists guides that campaign and whether it is up to its tasks. Here again we have drawn lessons in Kosovo, but on the basis of that our entire community and the entire League of Communists have also drawn lessons.

[Question] As a former president of the Youth League, how do you explain the fact that the young generation came under a high degree of influence of nationalism in Kosovo?

[Answer] I would first like to say that the number of young people who consciously became involved in hostile activity, recognizing clearly the goals and intentions of the organizers, is really not great. In that we are fortunate. However, we must be disturbed by the fact that the young people did nevertheless become involved, though only partially, in that kind of activity, even though they were unaware of the kind of game they had become involved in. This category is primarily made up of those young people who are confronting various problems and difficulties on an everyday basis, who are looking for answers, but not getting them. We have been working a bit with them, we have done a bit to improve their social status, their uncertainty about jobs and the like. This remains one of our chief tasks.

We have harbored too many illusions to the effect that since we are a democratic, socialist and self-managing society, this will automatically mean that young people will be brought up properly. It has turned out not to be the case, and nationalism knew how to take advantage of that.

I would also say that nationalism is basically a class enemy and that it should be treated as such, regardless of the ethnic community in which it occurs. It always goes against the foundations of our community, against brotherhood and unity. There is no well-intentioned nationalism, no nationalism that is more or less dangerous, but if we have to make some distinction, then it is only that the nationalism of a majority ethnic community in a community is nevertheless the most dangerous, since it directly jeopardizes the interests of those other nationalities and ethnic minorities in that community, who are in the minority. Taken as a whole, every nationalism is equally dangerous to our community.

[Question] To return to the problems of young people. What is the way out of the present difficulties, as you see it? Tens of thousands of people are graduating or have graduated from higher educational institutions, mainly in the humanities, and they have no opportunity to find jobs in the province.

[Answer] Their prospects for employment are not good, to be sure. Everywhere more people are deciding to study the social sciences than are needed. In the process of planning personnel we must combat that tendency. Second, there is a need for reorientation and indeed retraining of young people for occupations and specialties which are in demand even today and of which there is a shortage in both Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

I think that this problem can be solved quickly. This must also be accompanied by a restructuring of the economy, of investments, by an orientation toward tertiary activity, toward agriculture.... This is not a job which can be accomplished overnight. But I think that the main lines of development are fairly clear. This means a different distribution of investments than up to now, a distribution that would make provision for more jobs. Then, there is also a stronger orientation toward agriculture, toward faster exploitation of the natural resources of the province, the aid of the broader community is still necessary, but the channels through which it comes must be different, primarily through associated labor.

On the Writing of the Press

[Question] We would like to hear your opinion about the writing of the press and in general about the job which the news media have done in connection with the events in Kosovo. I think there is no need to issue a reminder that recently there has been quite a bit of argument over these matters.

[Answer] When all that happened, we saw that we were also unorganized with respect to the press, as indeed in certain other areas. To put it simply, the mechanisms failed, and this was not the fault of the news media alone. Later, and over this entire period, it was better, since there was quite a bit of news from Kosovo, an abundance of news about everything that happened and what was done and is being done by the organized socialized forces.

I think that the news media should continue to be very much involved in informing the public about the campaign being conducted in Kosovo. But I would like to say that there have also been articles which were not on the line of the League of Communists of Kosovo, the League of Communists of Serbia or the LCY, and there were articles as well which did more harm than good....

I am not in favor of us becoming concerned with those articles at this point, nor of getting into a discussion of those articles which, we might say, are irresponsible. Instead of that, it is much better to examine what line of commitment by newsmen will objectively and directly promote the process of stabilizing conditions and favor the efforts of the progressive forces in the province and throughout the country.

I have already said that an amazing politicization of the masses has been created and that every word, every article, is followed closely and analyzed. You can imagine that in this situation every failure, every unobjective piece of reporting, essentially represents pouring oil on the fire. Certain articles carried utterances of those with whom the LCY had settled accounts even earlier, forces which judged that their moment had come, that they could reactivate certain of their arguments and views....

[Question] Would you please give an overall assessment of the writing of the press about Kosovo?

[Answer] In their frankness and public presentation of the problems, the news media have been helpful to the socialized forces in Kosovo in winning the battle which has begun. I think that because of certain unacceptable articles the sources of news cannot now be shut off, nor should any campaign be conducted to criticize the press. There are still less grounds for doing this across the board and on the basis of certain divisions which are not valid.

On the contrary, the sources of information should be opened still more, and that greater openness should always be accompanied by greater responsibility and responsiveness to the real political situation and a sense of the need for what could truly help the consolidation. I am not in favor of dressing things up, of making them look better, I am not in favor of keeping things quiet because they are difficult, because they represent something that is not good in our practice or in our present campaign, but the principal preoccupation of both the news media and others must be the interest in stabilizing the situation, the interest of brotherhood and unity, the interest of strengthening mutual trust.

After all, in all difficult situations, this one included, in our Yugoslavia the decisive thing has been that mutual trust among our nationalities and ethnic minorities. Wherever anything unpleasant has happened, the progressive forces from that community have found support in the progressive forces and efforts of people from other communities.

In that context it meant a great deal to us in Kosovo that we had the sincere support of both the working class and all the working people and citizens, members of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities all over our country. That fact is contributing a great deal to the stabilization of the situation. We are encouraged in our actions when we also have the support of the news media in our efforts and in the struggle which is now being waged by the League of Communists of Kosovo and by the progressive forces in the province.

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CSO: 2800/342

KOSOVO PAPER REPORTS ON CONTINUING 'DIFFERENTIATION'

[Editorial Report] The 13 August 1981 issue of the Pristina daily RILINDJA (page 7) reported that in Istok Opstina 43 people had been expelled from the LC (largely from the villages of Kovrage and Prigoda where the basic LC organizations have been dissolved), including three from the Opstina LC Conference, three heads of LC Conference commissions, and seven secretaries of basic LC organizations in this opstina (the latter, for failing to take "necessary action" in condemning the demonstrations). Also, 10 workers, including 6 teachers from the "Vellezerit Ribar" secondary school, were suspended and disciplinary procedures opened against seven others at this school where over 80 have now been identified as demonstration participants. No information has been forthcoming as yet, it was reported, regarding the cutting down of 64 fruit trees belonging to two Serbian families in Kashica and Kovrage. "Serbian nationalism has taken various forms recently" in the opstina. Two Serbian youths in Crkolez set fire to animal feed on the farm of Vukomir Tijanic "in order to start a conflict between the Balaj and Tijanic families who are living as good neighbors."

In another report from Istok Opstina which appeared in the 5 September 1981 issue (page 5) Bajram Vuthi, head of the Opstina LC Central Committee, said that the appearance of hostile slogans had increased recently; those responsible in Banja and Malo Dubovo "were discovered immediately. But in some areas action has not been satisfactory. The situation is still complicated in the villages of Kovrage, Tomoc [Tomance?], Trbuhovac, Crni Lug, etc., where border and more concrete ideological-political action must be intensified." Azem Vllasi, head of the Central Committee of the Kosovo SAWP, who attended the meeting from which the above report was taken, said "one must raise the level of information at the base, clarify the background of hostile slogans, such as "Kosovo republic," etc., behind which are hidden all hostile actions. Rigorous measures must be taken against the abuse of national symbols which contribute toward destroying inter-nationality relations."

The 13 August issue (page 9) said that in Presevo Opstina in Serbia proper on the Kosovo border 20 demonstration participants had thus far been identified (six of whom were sentenced to 30-60 days in prison) and four persons, on whom hostile material had been found, were expelled from the LC, even though "thanks to the vigilance and mobilization of Communists and other progressive forces, the enemy did not succeed in finding refuge or organizing hostile demonstrations in this opstina."

The 14 August issue reported (page 5) that in Glogovac Opstina 105 LC members had thus far been expelled for "passivity, opportunism, and failure to carry out necessary differentiation." Two basic LC organizations have been dissolved (in the "Marshal Tito" secondary school and the "Emin Duraku" elementary school in Orlate). Also, two teachers have been suspended from work, including nine secondary school professors for organizing and participating in demonstrations. "The enemy is seen in various hostile slogans appearing in some local communities in Orlate, Trpeza, Nekovce and other places."

RILINDJA of 16 August 1981 (page 2) reported that in Suva Reka Opstina 15 members had been expelled from the LC, five were given warnings and eight were given final warnings. Those expelled included the director of the "Jeta e Re" secondary school and secretary of the school's basic LC organization which has now been dissolved and replaced with new members. The 5 September issue (page 6) said that between 11 March and 31 August 32 party members had been expelled in this opstina, 41 had been given warnings, and 27 final warnings. It said all schools, including the above, had started on time and instruction was proceeding normally; and "no Serbian family or individual has recently moved out, but...according to Stanislav Andjelkovic, there are about 30 requests now pending to leave, but for purely social reasons, such as school, marriage, a job offer.... But up to now we have not approved any of these requests," he said.

In Orahovac Opstina, according to the 18 August issue (page 8), 16 members have up to now been expelled from the party and 10 have been given warnings in about 12 (named) villages, and the 12-member basic LC organization in the village of Maralija has been dissolved. Hostile slogans continue to appear in these places, it said, and in Zrze "propaganda material from Albania, typewriters, and other hostile propaganda matter were found." The opstina court has sentenced 27 persons, including 17 secondary school students, to 15-60 days in prison for participating in the demonstrations in Prizren, Pristina, and Suva Reka, and for trying to organize demonstrations in Malisevo, Orahovac and Ratkovac. Also, six teachers, an administrator, and a medical technician were fired for hostile action.

Both RILINDJA and JEDINSTVO (Pristina) have also been carrying numerous announcements of job openings for teachers at all levels, as well as for clerical help and an unspecified number of guards at the reformatory in Lipljan (RILINDJA 9 August 1981 p 15) and for a prison guard commandant, a physician, administrative workers, criminal technician, and teachers (18 openings in all), in addition to "an unspecified number of guards" at the Djurakovac section of the Pec district prison (RILINDJA 20 August 1981 p 16).

CSO: 2800/107

CENTRIFUGAL, CENTRIPETAL TENDENCIES IN LCY ARGUED

Confederative or United Party

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croation No 1594, 19 Jul 81 pp 8-10

[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] "We must definitely determine whether we are members of republic organization leagues of communists, in which case we should change our membership cards to show that, or we are members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia...."

This question, recorded in the preceding issue of NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, was posed by Sreten Petrovic at a session of the "ideological" commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, during recent discussions of international relations, following recent events in Kosovo. The same or a very similar question could be heard recently at a number of political gatherings, in discussions that basically were quite different.

Several months ago, at a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, there were warnings about "unacceptable tendencies toward federalization or even confederalization." At the time of the Kosovo events, the discussions at sessions of the highest party forums of that province, of Serbia and of the federation included many words on the responsibilities of party organs in the republics and provinces to the LCY as a whole. The theme of party unity has become very current, in a totally relevant way.

Last week at the session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Organizational and Statutory Matters, several once again directed attention to the danger from "federalization" of the LCY. The purpose of this session was to formulate proposals for changes and additions to the LCY statute, which will be considered at the 12th Party Congress. Certain chapters of the statute will certainly be changed. First, after the death of comrade Tito, the LCY president, the LCY Central Committee passed temporary measures that established the organization and scope of operation, or the responsibilities, of the highest party agencies. Final decisions on those matters, however, can be approved only by a congress.

The commission will propose that the decisions be retained, i.e., a collective political executive council will remain at the "top" of the LCY, and the council

will be composed of representatives of the LCY organizations of each republic and province and one from the Yugoslav National Army. Certain details, however, may be somewhat different than in the present statute. Modalities and alternatives of specific decisions discussed at the commission session still have to be clarified by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. After that, proposed changes in the statute will probably be quickly sent for public debate, as required by existing regulations.

Within the debate on statute changes, there was also talk of the principle of democratic centralism. France Popit, president of the LCY Central Committee of Slovenia, noted that democratic centralism must remain as the basic principle for the relationships, organization and functioning of the party.

He further stated that is not only a statutory but also an essential principle, a key condition for the functioning of the political vanguard of the working class and thereby a condition for the further development of socialist self-management. Considering the current political situation, Popit at the very beginning of his presentation uttered a warning. "Naturally," he said, "statutory norms in themselves cannot either prevent or deflect tendencies to disunity or irresponsibility in implementing adopted policy."

"A Holy Alliance"

Dragomire Draskovic, a sociologist from Belgrade, added to Popit's evaluation. He regards "federalization" of the party as a real danger and said that attention must be paid to that during the formulation of provisions of the LCY statute. Specifically, Draskovic sees a "dialectical unity" between the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of negotiation and the seeking of agreement, but one cannot supplant the other. If negotiation and agreement-seeking were to be legalized in the LCY (as being done in political institutions) instead of being unified, the party would be transformed into a "confederation" of republican and provincial parties. In that context, he warned picturesquely about the danger that a "holy alliance of national bureaucracies" could rule the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In seconding Draskovic's evaluation, Popit asserted that such manifestations as "localism," "republican particularism" and the like do not come only from failure to respect the principle of democratic centralism in the party. He agreed, however, that "drowning communists in particularist interests" was a real danger and that the League of Communists must "rise about particularist interests and defend the mutual interest."

Slobodan Filipovic of Titograd at that occasion saw a great problem because "everyone passed judgment on himself" and there was not always sufficient readiness and ability to admit one's own weaknesses and omissions. He advocates having the work of individual party organizations evaluated "in all enrivornments," even if such evaluations disagree with those "that we give ourselves." Filipovic is convinced that there would be no danger to the independencies of republican and provincial organizations and that, at the same time, it would be very helpful if the implementation of mutually agreed-upon policy were regularly evaluated in "higher" agencies than those today, as a rule evaluate themselves.

"The Leaders" and Their Ambitions

The Sarajevo journal OPREDELJENJA recently published a thematic discussion on democratic centralism in the LCY; once agin the dominant theme was "party federalism." Fuad Muhic said that the roots of the "party federalism" ideology appeared at the beginning of the 1970's, and coincided with the advent of the mass movement in Croatia and "liberalism" in Serbia. Considering that some elements of federalist or even confederalist behavior within the LCY are in current practice, Muhic warned of attempts to "achieve a legal theoretical articulation through demands for revisions of the principle of democratic centralism." Specifically, Muhic condemned the replacement ("substitution") of democratic centralism in the LCY by the principle of self-management negotiation and agreement-seeking. That, he said, would quickly spawn a platform of "party federalism," with prospects for "confederalism."

A definition of republic and provincial leagues as sovereign parties, which would replace the present definition of the LCY as a "revolutionary and unified organization and the leading ideological and political force," would be the start of the "decomposition of the LCY as a revolutionary, integrative and cohesive factor of the Yugoslave community," continued Muhic. "Negotiation and agreement--seeking, without a majority right to authoritiative action in crisis situations, would bring the very existence of Yugoslavia into question," he concluded. In his opinion, "federal party behavior is of a subjective nature and is identical with the ambitions of leaders and the desire to create 'one's own party' and 'one's own place in history'."

Franjo Kozul at the same meeting said that any damage to unity within the LCY "in the name of national equality" would eliminate its basic role in current Yugoslav society. He continued, "It would be realistic to hypothesize a situation where, without the League of Communists, we would already have several Yugoslavias, or states; instead of an integral community of peoples and nationalities, we would get a confederation or something similar; primarily, we would not have a self-management, unaligned socialist community of the type that we have been building since the revolution."

Hamdija Pozderac disagreed with the conflict of the principle of democratic centralism, which should prevail in the party, and the principle of negotiation and agreement-making on the basis of consensus in the delegate system. For him, "the highest form of democratic centralism is unity of decision," which excludes overruling a minority.

Pozderac went on, "At the level of the federation and in the party, there is a process of reaching agreement and reaching unanimous decisions."

Raif Dizdarevic differentiated between the two principles: "No social negotiation and self-management agreement-seeking can replace democratic centralism within the League of Communists. If things were to head in that direction, we would make the LCY into a debate club or something worse." Nevertheless, Dizdarevic recognizes the legitimacy of the principle of negotiation in the party but only in two circumstances: first, at the level of the federation and, the second, "within the framework of a republic that has autonomous provinces." In his opinion, everything

else should presuppose "democratic encounter of all opinions for the sake of taking a united position that must then be implemented."

In the March issue of OPREDELJENJA, Branko Mikulic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that "in this historical period the role of the League of Communists is still irreplaceable, not only as the leading ideological and political force but also as a cohesive factor in our society. The undermining of that unity and that role for the LCY will challenge the unity of Yugoslavia and attack all the achievements won by our joint struggling, under the leadership of our party."

The "Federalist" Tradition

In any case, federalization tendencies have a peculiar continuity in the history of Yugoslav communists. In all the statutes of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, from its first congress in 1919 until the eleventh in 1978, democratic centralism was recorded as one of the basic principles. (Only at the fourth congress in Dresden in 1928 did the delegates fail to approve a statute; rather the statutory materials were regulated by 2 resolutions.) The principle of democratic centralism was not, however, always interpreted the same way.

At the Fourth Party Conference, held in Ljubljana in 1934, a decision was adopted on the formation of national parties within the framework of the unified Communist Party of Yugoslavia. That decision was confirmed at the Split plenum of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1935. In April 1936, however, the party Central Committee session decided to analyze the resolutions of the Split plenum. It was concluded that the only way to achieve a policy of national equality would be to dissolve Yugoslavia.

That same year, in June, the famous Moscow consultation took place with the participation of Tito, Edvard Kardelj and Blagoje Parovic. Under Tito's influence, the position on party unity was revised and the decision of the Split plenum confirmed; that is, the CPY must be a unified party that would struggle for the realization of revolutionary goals within Yugoslavia as a whole. After that, Tito returned to the country, where he soon took over party leadership. Although it included a number of national parties (the Communist Party of Slovenia, the Communist Party of Croatia, and others later), the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as a unified, revolutionary force under Tito's direction, prepared the revolution and led to victory.

"In the party or the LCY, there has always been strength and wise people," Mikulic said, commenting on the history of "federalistic tendencies." These people "rejected such tendencies as conservative, reactionary and counterrevolutionary. At this time as well, such tendencies, if eventually they emerge, will be rejected, for all republic and provincial LCY organizations have enough wise people who are capable and inclined to resist them."

In the lecture "International Relations within Yugoslavia," presented in the 1975-1976 school year at the Josip Broz Tito political school of the LCY in Kumrovec, Dr Dusan Bilandzic, a member of the LCY Central Committee of Croatia and professor at the department of political science in Zagreb, analyzed recent

"federalistic tendencies" in the LCY. He reminded the audience that the national question was discussed as an open question for the first time since the war at the Eighth LCY Congress in 1964. At that time, besides talk of "classic" nationalism, the discussion also touched unitarism. Bilandzic asserted that at the congress "no one disputed the theses of the LCY leadership, but they were not met with enthusiasm. The delegates were very reluctant to speak on these topics, they were probably caught off guard, because no discussion in such terms and with such content had been heard in the LCY for nearly 20 years."

Bilandzic considers that at the time of the constitutional changes of 1967 and 1968 (which emphasized the rights and responsibilities of republics and provinces), the "federalization of the LCY actually began as well. This factor established the direction for constitutional reform of the governmental structure of the federation that was to be put into effect in 1971."

On the same occasion, Bilandzic turned his attention to the tenth session of the Croatian LCY Central Committee, in January 1970, when it was decided that "unitarism as an ideology was the dominant political tendency and danger for the social development of Yugoslavia." Bilandzic said, "Such an assessment by the Croation Central Committee was not previously submitted for approval to the leagues of communists of other republics. That was the first time in the history of the LCY that, at the republic level, the direction of long-term Yugoslav development and its momentary problems and relations were discussed. This was received with great distrust by the Yugoslav public."

The Universal Significance of the Debate

Certain associations along this theme are suggested by the debate on the constitutional structure of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, following the Kosovo events. Although the provincial committee of the Vojvodina League of Communists on 2 July reached a different conclusion on this subject than in some discussions at sessions of the Serbian LCY Central Committee on 6 May and the LCY Central Committee session of 7 May, direct polemics on a public scene have been avoided. The rebuke is directed primarily at the press for "opening the subject for debate."

In expressly accepting only the paper presented at its fourteenth session, according to the public report from the Vojvodina LCY Central Committee session, the Serbian LCY Central Committee indirectly protested the discussions held in the 2 highest political forums of the republic and the federation concerning the constitutional structure of Serbia.

As early as the end of May, a session of the Serbian LCY Central Committee Presidium decided (and a task force formed to implement the decision) that a basis should be prepared in short order for discussion of relations within the League of Communists of Serbia. At the same time, "in the further building of community in the republic as a whole, there must be systematic and organized work to overcome the problems that appear in conscientious implementation of the constitution. For the League of Communists, it is essential that that discussion be conducted in a spirit of complete openess and adherence to principles, understanding and mutual trust."

The debate on democratic centralism in the LCY and on the application of the principle of negotiation and agreement-seeking, or "consensus" in the party, as well as the warnings on the danger of "federalization of the party," will certainly continue until the twelfth LCY Congress. Its significance will likely surpass the dimensions of discussions of some momentarily crucial themes of Yugoslav political life. Problems of democratic relationships in the party, the relationship between the majority and the minority, and similar themes have lived and been resolved in the workers' movement, from the time of Lenin until today. Certain communist parties in Western Europe have deserted that principle, which is tied to the name of Lenin in the workers' movement. They consider it antiquated in modern circumstances. Yugoslav communists, however, have their own, different view, which has not changed.

Last April, Stane Dolanc, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke on that topic in a lecture for the jubilee of the law school in Ljubljana: "Bureaucratic and dogmatic tendencies and conceptions of democratic cnetralism have, in fact, been predominant in the history of the labor movement; Yugoslav communists, regardless of the formally recorded principles of democratic centralism found in one way or another in statutory documents, have in their daily lives, both before the revolution and especially during the course of the revolution and immediately after, been first started to resist such tendencies subjectively and objectively."

Without denying that the danger of bureaucratic and dogmatic tendencies continues, he perceives that in practical life many still think it much easier and quicker to dispose of actual problems by discipline, central leadership and apparent unity. Dolanc asserted, "It is different with those who conscientiously wish to change the principle of democratic centralism into an instrument of centralism, unitarism and statism. There, of course, it is no longer a problem of democratic centralism, but a problem of the conception of the League of Communists role, the denial of our basic programmatic goals and, in essence, counterrevolutionary activity."

The statutory provisions on the position of the republic and provincial organizations of the League of Communists as individual organizations within the framework of the LCY are absolutely clear. Indeed, no one has even attempted to question that. The problem, however, is that the statutory norms do not always coincide with what happens in everyday practice; since there is general agreement that the statutory norms are good and should not be changed, something in everyday practice should be changed.

Democratization or Decentralization

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINCE in Serbo-Croation No 1596, 2 Aug 81 pp 15-16

[Text] Is is permissible for internal LCY relations (democratic centralism) to be less democratic than relations within society (self-management socialist democracy)? On the eve of the Eighth Congress, the critics of democratic centralism were particularly insistent about that dilemma; as in all discussions on the history of the Yugoslav party, the issue was regarded as an artificial one, inasmuch as it separated democracy from centralism. That in itself would not justify placing the same question on the agenda today. Disintegrative processes in socioeconomic life and tendencies to party federalism seem unambiguously to point to the need for strengthening both democracy and centralism as essential preconditions for realizing the

the cohesive role of the LCY. The relationship between democratic centralism and self-management agreement-seeking and negotiation was recently put into a completely new form. These 2 principles are regarded as complementary, which means that they are neither mutually exclussive nor subsitutable for one another.

The Yugoslav constitution provides that, if in the Assembly Council of Republics and Provinces the delegates do not agree according to the established procedure, the Yugslav Presidium (by a majority) may pass a so-called temporary decision. In the same way in the delegate system, if the process of agreement-seeking and negotiations reaches a dead end and threatens to block the functioning of the system, a type of democratic centralism is employed as a corrective mechanism.

Analogously, if democratic centralism is practiced in the League of Communists as an organizing principle for the activities of communists and if decisions are approved by a majority, in optimal situations it will not be necessary to overrule. Specifically, in democratic discussion, if complete agreement and unity are achieved through negotiation and consensus, then there is neither a majority nor a minority; also there is no overruling. In such cases, in the League of Communists, negotiations and agreements take place so that every constructive debate always seeks final agreement of all participants, without the majority seeking to impose its position on the minority.

This view of democratic centralism and self-management negotiation as complementary categories is completely acceptable and theoretically interesting. Its practical shortcoming, however, is its validity exclusively for so-called extreme situations: extremely unfavorable ones, when representatives in the delegate system in the Council of Republics and Provinces cannot reach agreement, and extremely favorable, when through discussion communists in a party reach a unanimous decision without resorting to the authority of the majority.

Principles Being Tested

The protagonists of this view consider, on the other hand, that it is not only functional in extreme situations. They say, "The principle of negotiation and agreement consensus is legitimate in the party as well, but only at the level of the federation and within the framework of a republic with provinces. All other situations are subject to democratic centralism. At the top of the LCY--the Central Committee and Presidium--there is a provision for negotiation and agreement consensus as a procedure for reaching a decision."

Although we disagree with this interpretation, we consider it exceptionally supportive for the further course of pre-congress debates. Directly or indirectly it opens a whole series of questions of significance for our party life and other important considerations.

Would not the installation of the principle of self-management negotiation and agreement-seeking in the LCY, with the principle of democratic centralism, nevertheless question the latter? Instead of a single principle, we would have 2 parallel principles of relationships, organization and party functioning, which would be unprecedented in the international communist movement and would bring not inconsequential difficulties for preserving unity in the LCY.

If as proposed, however, these two principles did not function in parallel, but democratic centralism were a principle only for republic and provincial LCY organizations, while negotiation and agreement consensus were exclusively for the LCY Presidium and Central Committee, then the unity of the party would be unambiguously destroyed. The parts and the whole would not be organized in the same way. Specifically, a number of republican and provincial parties would be organized on the identical, classic Marxist-Leninist principle that has been valid throughout the LCY, but the top Yugoslav party organization would be a mere loose coordination.

Finally, what would happen when members of LCY agencies, such as the Central Committee or Presidium, fail to reach a consensus? Since democratic centralism would no longer be a next resort, or majority overruling, nor would there be any higher level that, like the Yugoslav Presidium relative to the Council of Republics and Provinces, could make at least a temporary decision, the League of Communists would be paralyzed, and its eight parts would begin to function independently of the others.

Any overruling against equality has already been rendered impossible by the personnel structure of the highest party agencies. The composition of the LCY Presidium and Central Committee include equal numbers of representatives of republic and provincial organizations regardless of the fact that the number of communists that they consist of is far from equal. The introduction of yet another mechanism, such as negotiation and agreement consensus, would thus be superfluous; not only would it undermine democratic centralism and thereby the homogeneity of the party ranks, but it would directly open the way for centrifugal tendencies in the LCY, under conditions in which we are constantly emphasizing the need for stronger integrative or cohesive roles for the LCY in society.

It remains to document the assertion that "negotiation and agreement-seeking already exist in the LCY Central Committee Presidium." To the degree that this is an expression of established unity of opinion among communists, reached by democratic debate, there is absolutely sufficient room for it within the framework of democratic centralism. To the degree that no dialogue would take place in the LCY Central Committee Presidium between the most distinguished activists who have the confidence of the overall membership just because they "had risen above particularist interests" (but rather the positions of republic and provincial organizations are brought to agreement through them), that would not be good. Class interest would be pitted against national and republic or provincial interests, or subordinated to them. That would lead to compromises, accommodations, compromise decisions, contention and the like. It would also be against the statutes, for at least in its proclaimed internal structure the LCY is a uniform organization; its leadership cannot be a collective of representatives of the party interests of individual republics, but rather a homogeneous body in which every member, no matter where he originates, represents the interests of the LCY as a whole.

If the truth be told, what is not good, can also exist in the League of Communists, at least as a tendency. It is not difficult to find examples that indirectly at least predict that perhaps negotiations and agreement processes will take place in the highest party structures; the unfavorable consequences can also be found.

Almost every week, film reports from sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium vividly show that members of the uniform leadership of the uniform party regularly sit in strictly separate groups by republic and provincial delegations. Furthermore, it is a true rarity (other than during celebrations and crisis situations) for a member of that same central LCY agency to address a broad political gathering in a republic or province that is not "his home." In the same way, it is striking that the mdeia devote markedly greater attention to addresses by "their own personnel" at central party tribunes, than to presentations by members of the same forums from other parts of the country. All that is true, although, at least according to the statute, no member of the LCY Central Committee or Presidium is a delegate of any republic or province, but rather each member's electoral party base consists of all the communists in the country. These obervations certainly are not sufficient to draw any conclusions, but they offer food for thought.

More Democracy--More Centralism

The thesis "the more democracy, the less centralism, and the obverse," is erroneously used to pit democratization and centralization against one another, for democratism in the LCY refers to the free, equal, active and direct involvement of the broadest membership in the creation of party policy, while centralism refers to uniform, firmly coordinated, consistent and disciplined implementation of what has been decided democratically (by a majority). The more democracy in the agreement process, the more centralism there will be in action, for the communists will not regard party positions as decrees imposed from above but as their own. The expansion of democracy to the process of implementing decisions would, however, lead to anarchy at the base, just as the transfer of centralism to the basis of decision-making would threaten absolutism by the highest party agencies. Decentralization or polycentrism in a uniform party such as the LCY, as defined in its statute, not only would not be an indicator of its democratization but on the contrary would represent party federalism tendencies.

The insistence on the absolute autonomy of republic and provincial party leadership as independent political centers in relation to the LCY organization and agencies is accompanied by militant repression of every dissonant voice at the base. It may appear that we are proposing absolute responsibility to the party for things outside its ranks, but that is not the case. In Kosovo, the line of differentiation was not party members opposed to nonparty members; rather; adversaries were divided equally into each of those categories. If not actively, at least by its passivity, the provincial LCY leadership contributed to the hostile activities. Most people, and especially the communists of Kosovo, were not infected by chauvinism and irridentism. We are publishing ever more direct reactions of workers, farmers and youth, as well as remarks by cultural creative artists, political workers and others, but the question arises as to why their voices were not heard earlier. That was certainly a consequence of the pressures that were exerted, and of their opportunism, but why at that time, as today, wasn't the Yugoslav public scene open to them (including the media, political forums, social tribunes and scholarly gatherings).

Here we reach the warning on the overall Yugoslave situation that emerges from the Kosovo events. That is the dangerous notion of political fair play in interrepublic and provincial relationships, and even within the LCY, according to which everything

becomes an internal matter of the concrete milieu, and any sort of interest "from outside" represented unprincipled interference, paternalism, hegemony, false solicitude and the like. Should one of them dare eventually to make a sound, any public means of information in the country that would publish anything would risk violating the rules of the game or damaging the principle of the peaceful coexistence of our regional narcissism.

Such extremely negative situations--no matter how good they may be as illustrations for theoretical argumentation that federalistic tendencies in the LCY are always the cause and the consequence of parallel violations of both democratic and centralist components of democratic centralism--are equally unfavorable as orientation points for political practice. In other words, it is risky to wait for these disintegrative processes in some segments of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to reach a culminate before turning to decisive action. This is more true since our recent history shows that, when the opposition forces and ideologies (nationalism, liberalism or technocratism) attack, in extremely offensive form, on some narrow, peripheral zone, we never lack parallel symptoms of the same deviations in other environments, although at somewhat lower stages of development. In practical terms, in a certain way, and not only indirectly, the whole is always infected. At this particular moment, that is a symptom of a unique decentralization and de-democratization of democratic centralism and that naturally represents two sides of an identical process.

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2 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1923

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JPRS 79118

2 October 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1923

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
WFTU Document Drafted in Prague 1
Soviet Awarded T.U. Decoration 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Events of Berlin Wall Construction Related
(DER KAEMPFER, Aug 81)..... 2

'Progressive,' 'Reactionary' Conception of Prussia Contrasted
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 3 Aug 81; DAS VOLK, various dates)..... 6

West German Commentary
GDR Focus on Prussia
Socialist Premise for Historiography
FRG Historians' 'Distortions'

HUNGARY

Training at Military Institutes Described
(NEPHADSEREG, 11 Jul 81)..... 13

Youth Must Accept More Responsibility for Its Future
(Istvan Koncz; NEPSZABADSZAG, 20 Aug 81)..... 16

YUGOSLAVIA

Western Comment on Trial of Marko Veselica
(Christine von Kohl; DIE PRESSE, 11 Sep 81)..... 21

Actions on Behalf of Serbian Priest Criticized
(Editorial; OSLOBODJENJE, 28 Aug 81)..... 23

'Islamic Nationalism' of Imam Denounced
(OSLOBODJENJE, 28 Aug 81)..... 27

Concern Voiced Over Refusal To Disclose Information
(D. Nikolic; BORBA, 6 Sep 81)..... 29

Bosnian Official Polemicizes With Belgrade Paper
(OSLOBODJENJE, 21 Aug 81)..... 30

BRIEFS

WFTU DOCUMENT DRAFTED IN PRAGUE--An editorial group of representatives from 21 national trade union centers, international trade union associations and CSSR's Central Trade Union Council (URO) met in Prague on 7 September to draft the main document "Trade Unions and Problems of the 80's", which will be presented at the Tenth World Trade Union Congress in Havana next February. Leading the discussion was Chairman of World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) Sandor Gaspar, assisted by WFTU Deputy Chairman and URO Chairman K. Hoffman, and WFTU Acting Secretary General Ibrahim Zakaria. [Prague PRACE in Czech 8 Sep 81 p 1]

SOVIET AWARDED T.U. DECORATION--On 16 September the secretary of the USSR Embassy in Prague J.V. Medvedev received the Antonin Zapotocky commemorative medal from URO (Central Trade Union Council) Secretary V. Kozik. Secretary Medvedev is ending his tour of duty in the CSSR; the decoration represents appreciation for his personal contribution toward the development of cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions. [Prague PRACE in Czech 17 Sep 81 p 3]

CSO: 2400/318

EVENTS OF BERLIN WALL CONSTRUCTION RELATED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German vol 25 no 8, Aug 81 p 1

[Article signed 'ot': "Twenty Years of Anti-Fascist Protective Wall"]

[Text] "Here are the combined stations of the German Democratic Radio Network." The voice of the newscaster came over the radio on the morning of August 13th with the same calm matter-of factness as ever. "In order to put a halt to the hostile activities of the revanchist and militaristic forces of West Germany and West Berlin, a control system has been introduced on the border of the GDR, as is the practice on the borders of every sovereign state." He was reading the resolution of the GDR Council of Ministers concerning the measures taken for the security of its borders with West Berlin and the German Federal Republic and, following this, a declaration by the states signatory to the Warsaw Pact.

In Mid-Summer 1961

It was clear for all to see, that the aggressive preparations of the West German imperialists and militarists aimed at the GDR were pressing toward their final stages. The Bundeswehr and other strong NATO forces had taken up their final assault positions close to our borders; West Berlin was in readiness as the fuse. The organizers of this adventure, including the rightist SPD and trade union leadership, by their plans to destroy for once and for all the GDR that they so hated, were posing the most serious threat yet to the peace of Europe. They knew without any doubt that the GDR was firmly integrated into the Warsaw Pact and that the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community would act in accordance with their treaty obligations. Yet the imperialists fancied that they were the stronger. Besides that they were firmly convinced that they had taken all steps necessary to soften up the GDR for their assault. The ruling circles in Bonn and their NATO allies were absolutely sure of themselves. In anticipation of their success it was no accident that the West Berlin "Industriekurier" was already hoasting of a "march of the Bundeswehr through the Brandenburg Gate with bands playing" and of a great victory parade down the boulevard Unter den Linden.

Then the Clock Struck 13!

On that night of August 12th lights were ablaze in every SED office in Berlin ... at midnight traffic on the elevated and subway systems was abruptly halted ... buzzers were sounding in the apartments of members of the Berlin workers' militia ... there

was a knocking at doors, telephones were ringing: Alarm! Comrade, to your post!

On that night tanks and artillery of the National People's Army took up their positions close to the sector boundaries facing West Berlin ... thousands of members of the militia of the working classes, together with their comrades from the People's Police and the Border Police formed a living protective wall ... the then Chancellor of West Germany, Konrad Adenauer, fetched rudely from his bed, replied in shock to the reporters of our border security measures, "That just can't be true!" ... the then chief of the West German intelligence services, Reinhard Gehlen, was in a rage because once again he knew nothing of what was going on ... a senior officer of the West Berlin police, gazing at the construction work being carried out by members of the militia, stammered in total consternation, "Are they really permitted to do that?"

On that night commuter traffic for all residents of Berlin's border regions had to be rerouted ... more than a hundred thousand border hoppers, who had sold themselves for a few marks to their class enemy but continued to live among us without qualms of conscience while taking full advantage of all our social programs, were turned back in dismay ... thousands of black marketeers, speculators, body snatchers and other low-life were tearing their hair in desperation because we had so thoroughly spoiled their "piece of the action" ... and the dream of the West German imperialists and militarists of a "Bundeswehr march through the Brandenburg Gate with bands playing" had faded away forever.

When daybreak came, the 25-mile long border between West Berlin and the capital of the GDR was closed. Without the enemy ever having had the least inkling, it was firmly secured and under tight control by the units of the National People's Army that had been alerted shortly before midnight, together with units of the workers' militia, the Border and People's Police, all supported by troops of the Soviet Army stationed in the GDR. The measures taken by our party and our government were, in all improtant respects, carried out in a disciplined and precise manner.

On That Morning

The citizens of the capital read with relief and satisfaction in the slightly earlier editions of the city's papers the declaration of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, in which it stated, "The governments of the Warsaw Pact states address themselves to the People's Chamber and to the government of the GDR, to all the working people of the German Democratic Republic, with the recommendation that a system be established at the West Berlin border, as well as around the region of West Berlin, including its borders with democratic Berlin, that will effectively block the subversive activities aimed at the countries of the socialist camp and that a reliable guard force and an effective border control be guaranteed."

On That Morning

A crew-cut teenager called out from the other side of the wall to a militiaman carrying a submachine gun slung over his shoulder, "What do you think you're doing with that queer looking instrument around your neck?" The militiaman replied with a grin, "You can play some sweet tunes for your Franz Josef Strauss on this thing. Didn't you know that this is a Dawai-guitar?"

With the measures of August 13th our party and our government underscored their determination to do everything necessary to safeguard the accomplishments of our socialist resolution and the peaceful life of our citizens and to show that they were serious in the resolve never again to allow a war to break out on German soil.

A Secret

was reveled by Comrade Walter Ulbricht at a reception of the party and state leadership, which took place on the fifth anniversary of that August 13th in conjunction with a mobilization rally of militia units and to which veteran members of the militia cadres were invited. Comrade Erich Honecker, member of the Central Governing Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, sought the floor in order to propose a toast. An attentive silence filled the hall. But before Comrade Honecker could begin, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, pointing to Comrade Honecker, said, amid the ringing applause of these present, "This man was our chief of staff on August 12th and 13th."

Today

it is apparent to everyone that the measures of August 13th were objectively necessary and historically correct. They have become a milestone in the history of our socialist fatherland. They made it clear that socialism had attained its ultimate victory in the GDR, that the country was strong and capable of defending itself. It was a victory for both socialsim and for peace, just as it was a painful defeat for all the forces of imperialism. It gave lasting proof that the GDR will never be defeated, that this country is a very real force in the service of the peasants and workers, which can rely upon its strongest allies in the Soviet Union and in the socialist community.

At This Moment

imperialism is flaunting its ragged banner of anti-communism and its age-old lie of the "Danger from the East" more boldly than ever before. Arrogantly and blindly it is seeking to make one last venture at the last hour to turn back the wheel of history. With cold-blooded cynicism it is ready to thrust mankind into the inferno of a nuclear war that would annihilate everything. If only they were able! But those days have passed forever. In their place we see a balance of power on the side of progress, with the Soviet Union in the van, the strength and power of the peace-loving peoples of this earth, those who seek to live in peace and not to die in violence; there is no doubt that they are now in a position to force to the peace table those monsters in human form who once had planned to bomb Vietnam and even now the entire globe "back to the Stone Age."

The arms of the imperialists were too short, even at the time of the Great Socialist Revolution of October, to strangle socialism in its cradle. Even more so today. And it fills us with satisfaction that, under the confident leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party, we have been able to make our contribution through the measures of August 13th and through the constant and all-pervasive strengthening of our socialist German Democratic Republic.

We know full well the enormous danger posed by imperialism even in its ever more rapidly ripening final phase; we do not underestimate it by any means. The proof

of this is to be found in our struggle for the realization of the resolutions of the tenth party congress of the SED calling for a further strengthening of the GDR, in our constantly high state of revolutionary alertness and our combat-readiness, in our translation into action of the watchword -- "No quarter to the enemy!" And last but not least it is for us to make clear to younger generations what a heavy responsibility they bear as heirs to the victorious class struggle that took place on that August 13th.

9878
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'PROGRESSIVE,' 'REACTIONARY' CONCEPTIONS OF PRUSSIA CONTRASTED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 114, 3 Aug 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Reservations About Prussia-Show in West Berlin." The article cited below is one of a series of three articles on the "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Dr Siegfried Schmid, history professor, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, published in the Erfurt daily DAS VOLK. Translations of all three articles follow this commentary. For various references to items of related information see translations of East Berlin articles published under the heading, "Importance of National, Local Patriotism Explained," in JPRS 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823 of this series, pp 35-39]

[Text] With growing suspicion the GDR is evidently watching the "Prussia Wave" in the FRG. Jena historian Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt (SED) has now announced political reservations about the FRG's "Prussia hubbub" and the big Prussia-Show about to open in West Berlin. In an article series he has alleged that the "Prussia Wave" in the West had "altogether unequivocally reactionary intentions," it being the first big rehabilitation attempt for Prussia since the end of the war. "Reactionary historians and journalists" in the FRG were trying to draw a rosy picture of Prussian history and "rid Prussia of the odium of fascism and militarism." The Jena professor attacked the Prussia-Show in West Berlin and the events going along with it primarily because "behind this hubbub" allegedly stood the political intention "to reappraise West Berlin by means of history and lend the Prussia Wave all-German nationalistic accents by including the GDR capital in the program, for example." (Erfurt DAS VOLK, 29 Jul 81)

GDR Focus on Prussia

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 22 Jul 81 p 3

[First article of series on "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Prof Siegfried Schmidt: "Not a Revival of Bourgeois Parochial History--Our Criterion for Any Type of Historical Research and Heritage Appropriation: What Was the Ancestors' Contribution to Social Progress?"]

[Text] Still this summer, a big show with the theme "Prussia--Attempt at a Balance-Sheet" will open in West Berlin, close to

the GDR's national border. That will mark the climax of a whole "Prussian Wave" in the FRG and West Berlin. Is it a coincidence or a political design that this is happening just at the same time that among citizens in our country, due to their growing interest in history, the myth and reality of Prussia also has become a topic of conversation? We asked comrade Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt, historian, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, to inform our readers about this and other matters on the subject of "Prussia."

Our adversary, engaged in a big attempt for circa 2 to 3 years at rehabilitating Prussia (more than two dozen books on Prussia were published in the FRG in 1980), would like to impute to us we are "reassessing" Prussia socialistically. Western media have come out with sensationalist headlines such as "Revision of the Image of Prussia," "Comrade Frederick II" (ZDF), or "Prussia's Gloria the Socialist Way" (Deutschlandfunk). There is no truth in any of that. It makes no sense to look for any opportunistic conception of Prussian history, or any other history for that matter, among us because our point of departure in all matters concerning Prussia and Prussian history differs totally from what is reflected by the "Prussian Wave" in the FRG--despite the simultaneity that has occurred.

Rooted in the Progressive Traditions of All of German History

In our country, the socialist German nation is under development. That is a lengthy process which attaches special importance to the development of a socialist national consciousness. As we have to write a national history of the GDR, we also must provide unequivocal information on the historic roots and foundations of the GDR.

Our position of principle has been set down in the SED Program, as issued by the ninth party congress in 1976: "The GDR's socialist culture is committed to the rich heritage created throughout the whole history of the German people." A few comments on that.

The image of history of the socialist German nation embraces all of German society, starting with the genesis of the German people, and it includes territorially, up to the mid-1940's, all areas that were united in the German Empire or, before 1806, in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This is a very important and inviolable element of the socialist German nation's sense of identity. This is a nation which is of a socialist nature and of German origin. The consequence of it: only from the lofty vantage point of triumphant socialism can all of German history make sense to us. I make a special point of this also because there has been no lack of attempts by bourgoie ideologues in the FRG grossly to misrepresent the GDR's attitude toward German history.

So they are disseminating the notion that in terms of national history the GDR is a neuter, without historical roots. Or they seek to confine the GDR historically. Karl Jaspers in 1960 tried to define the GDR as, more or less, "Prussian-Saxonian." And sure enough, a few years ago a book about the GDR was published, entitled "Half Prussia--Half Saxony." The political intent is obvious. The socialist state

is meant to be defamed as the successor of Prussia, or more precisely, of reactionary Prussianism. Yet the GDR is conceivable only as the outcome of all of German history. Its historic roots lie in the struggles by the progressive forces of the German people in their totality (including representatives of exploiter classes in certain phases of history) for social progress.

Territorial States Were Not Only Impediments

And then there is another point to be made. As the GDR is rooted in the progressive traditions of German history, we must account for the whole complexity of all achievements and traditions that have objectively contributed to social progress. But that also means that we must not only look at everything progressive from the vantage point of the centralized national state, as has often been done up to now. The German territorial states under feudalism and during the transition from feudalism to capitalism were not only impediments to the realization of social progress, but progress still prevailed even then, albeit in a deformed condition.

The increasing intrinsic weight of GDR history and the identification of the GDR citizens with the historic areas and landscapes in which they live and work make for the great and growing interest in the history of those regions. And there are objective reasons for it. Socialist society is especially interested in the history of those territories that compose the GDR region. That explains why we are more concerned with the history of Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia, the states of Mecklenburg and the territories of Anhalt, than with Baden, Bavaria or Hesse, for instance.

A Complex Dialectical Image of History

It is perfectly obvious: we seek no revival of bourgeois parochial history, which ultimately aimed only at the glorification of any given territorial princes. In terms of a complex, vital, that is, also dialectical image of history, we seek to get hold more intensively of the progressive traditions in the history of the territorial states, while focusing more strongly on, and differentiating in our evaluation of, that historic legacy that was marked by the intertwining of process with reaction. Thus the question has to be asked which essentially, and partly unintentionally, reactionary phenomena and personalities objectively still had positive effects. That would certainly apply to representatives of the ruling class, not last to feudal rulers like Frederick II, August the Strong, or Carl August of Saxony-Weimar.

These then are no manifestations of superficial "fashion," no political designs such as those of the FRG's "Prussian Wave," but a long-range task of GDR historians in their shaping a complex image of history.

Socialist Premise for Historiography

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 25 Jul 81 p 3

[Second article of series on "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Prof Siegfried Schmidt: "Without Any Magic Wand on the Way to the Factual Sources--On Prussia's Role in German History"]

> [Text] The legend and reality of Prussia, historical research among us and historical distortions in the FRG, in this context, are the subject of an article series for us by Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt, historian at the Friedrich Schiller University, Jena. In his first contribution (DAS VOLK, 22 July), under the headline, "Not a Revival of Bourgeois Parochial History," he presented the point of departure in socialist historiography and historical research with respect to the "Prussia Wave" in the FRG. The present contribution furnishes extensive answers, rich in facts, to questions by our readers about the role of Prussia in German history.

We are concerned with the progressive heritage of all German territorial states (thus not only of Prussia), especially those that composed the area of the GDR. Yet it would be inaccurate, were we to give the impression that the history of Prussia did not essentially differ from the history of Saxony or the history of the Thuringian principalities. It must be remembered that Prussia was a territorial state with a long medieval "prehistory" as the Electorate of Brandenburg, had more to do with the history and development of the German nation than any other German territorial state, and, especially in the 19th century, was a state of super-national character already before the German national state was founded in 1871. Included in Prussia were East and West Prussia, the Rhineland, the Lower Rhine (Mark and Kleve), Brandenburg, Pomerania, Silesia and--since 1815--the Province of Saxony.

That explains the special weight of the problems around Prussia. Our efforts at tapping the progressive traditions of Prussian history make it necessary for our interest to be concentrated on the transition from feudalism to capitalism, mainly on Prussian history since the end of the 17th century up to 1871. But I would like to make it perfectly plain that the gathering of progressive traditions will not cause us to ignore even for a moment our confrontation with reactionary Prussianism, because in Prussian history as in German history there were altogether two different class lines. For that reason we must oppose any attempt by bourgeois ideologists to uncouple Prussianism from imperialism and fascism.

Exposing Progressive Lines

The existence and effect of reactionary Prussianism must not prevent us from exposing the progressive lines in Prussian history. Included also the positive achievements of the exploiter class or of particular representatives of that class. But our procedure must not be subjective, of course. Anyone who studies the biography of Frederick II is likely to find him rather repugnant as a human being, in terms of our humanistic image of man (one may mention his profound misanthropy). Nor was Queen Louise, despite the ingrained legend, exactly a splendorous figure but,

though rather attractive in looks, quite a mediocre lady who did not really understand her time. But let us not apply such criteria. Instead, we are interested in their objective contribution to social progress. We have to inquire into the use of the surplus product worked up by the exploited classes and strata in social progress (e.g., in shaping the infrastructure or developing the land and so forth). Thus we must look at the producing of a surplus product not merely under the aspect of exploitation. And we must also ask about the "historic mission" of exploiter classes, especially of the middle class in the rising phase of establishing the new social order.

Such criteria, naturally, are no magic wand either that would turn the expansion and deepening of the Marxist-Leninist image of history into an easy job for the historians who--the enemy alleges--were reappraising Prussian history for "reasons of a favorable market trend." All this calls for is scientific work, an accurate tapping of sources, the known ones and the ones not yet explored.

Questions About the Relationship Between Progress and Reaction

In all the questions about the relationship between progress and reaction in Prussian history the point has always been properly made that the history of Prussia was not only a history of the Hohenzollern Dynasty. To us, for an understanding of history in the socialist German nation, it mainly also was tied up with the great revolutionary traditions of the class struggles of 1848/49 (Berlin) together with the class battles of the workers class in Prussia since 1830, not last in Berlin.

Even so, Prussia is not conceivable as a state without the activities of the Hohenzollern who came to play an important role in the empire not until the 18th century when absolutism was coming fully into its own in Prussia. On the one hand we now find their accommodation to the bourgeois evolution, the transition from feudalism to capitalism and, on the other, the shoring up of their feudal class domination.

While being thus discriminating in looking at the historic role of absolutism, we yet make no allowances in viewing Prussia as an aggressive military state. Frederick II belongs in the reactionary line of German history. Yet it must also be clearly stated that Prussian militarism of the 18th century is not identical with the militarism marked by German imperialism in the 20th century.

After 1815, however, Prussia becomes the main base of reaction until 1848, and again afterwards. Official politics is determined by a gradual Prussianization of Germany. Yet we must not only look at the Prussianization line that was "crowned" in 1871. We also must look at the Prussian reforms after 1806 which were an essential step toward the bourgeois transformation in Germany (liberal aristocratic reformers, wars of liberation containing essential elements of the popular movement and the bourgeois reform movement and connected with names like Gneisenau, Stein and others). Principally since 1830 Prussia takes the lead in industrial development. From it grew the leading role of the Prussian bourgeoisie with vast implications for education (Wilhelm von Humboldt) and the promotion of science, for example. Finally one must refer to the unification of the Reich in 1871, which offers a most conspicuous example of the complicated dialectics of progress and reaction. Overcoming the fragmentation initially was an important step ahead. It stimulated a

rapid development of the capitalist mode of production and of the modern industrial proletariat. It offered the workers class a new foundation for forming on the national level. At the same time, however, reaction won by Prussianizing all of Germany.

We have started thoroughly coming to grips will all these traditions. But to say it once more: if we draw contradictory matters with discrimination, rich in contrasts and vividly, we never yet forget the legacy that belongs to the core of the whole tradition of the GDR, the legacy of the revolutionary workers movement and its struggles.

FRG Historians' 'Distortions'

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 29 Jul 81 p 3

[Third and final article of series on "'Prussia Wave' in the FRG" by Prof Siegfried Schmidt: "How Window Dressers Present a History Picture"]

> [Text] Prof Dr Siegfried Schmidt of Friedrich Schiller University, Jena, who has already in recent days (cf. DAS VOLK 22 and 25 July) answered some questions from readers about the legend and reality of Prussia, and about historical research in the GDR and historical distortion in the FRG, examines in this final article in the series today the backgrounds and intentions of the "Prussia Wave" in the FRG and West Berlin.

The "Prussia Wave" in the FRG has altogether unequivocally reactionary political intentions. This is the first big attempt at "rehabilitating" Prussia since the end of the war. Warning voices have been raised, to be sure, even from leftist bourgeois historians and journalists. But on the other hand, even in the extreme forms of manifestations it is hard to overlook parallels with painting the Nazi past in rosy colors, which is quite common in the FRG.

Hoping for "All-German" Accents

The design to make desires and imaginations of the present come true is also apparent in the big "show" West Berlin is holding this year. Along with many other things, theater performances and special exhibitions, there comes this big "show" in the immediate vicinity of the GDR's national border entitled, "Prussia--Attempt at a Balance Sheet." It is scheduled to open on 15 August. Behind this hubbub stands, principally, the intention to reappraise West Berlin by means of history and lend the Prussia Wave all-German nationalistic accents by including the GDR capital in the program.

Looking at publications and television programs in this field, divergencies become visible. There are various kinds of flexible interpretations of social history. Wehler, Buesch and others maintain critical distance from Prussia. Yet they still remain unbridgeably contrary to Marxist historians because, ultimately, the critical analysis of Prussian history by Wehler, Buesch and others also only serves to justify and legitimize the imperialist system by detaching it from the reactionary manifestations of Prussian history.

Reorchestration into "Peace Militarism"

And then there are historians who have somewhat of a critical view on some aspects of Prussian history. But then there also are reactionary historians and journalists at work in the FRG who draw a rosy picture of Prussian history and try to rid Prussia of the odium of fascism and militarism. Haffner, for example, writes in his book about Prussia that was already mentioned Prussia had not only merged with Germany in 1871, but the "long dying of the Prussian state" had begun in 1871. Then, according to Haffner, no historic line exists either between Prussia and Prussian-German imperialism. Others have echoed Haffner and somewhat modified his views.

The historian Christian Count von Krockow claims Prussian militarism has always been "peace militarism," even in the time before World War I, for instance. The glory of the Prussian army had been to be good for parades and march music but not for warfare. This risky trend is then extended into the thesis that Prussia had nothing in common with fascism, indeed was diametrically opposed to fascism.

Our Marxist view is not mechanically to identify fascism with Prussianism. But acrobatics in the art of interpretation would be needed indeed to "prove" Prussianism and fascism incompatible. That is what the historian von Krockow is trying to do, buttressing the supposed contrast between fascism and Prussia by making the point that of the big Nazi bosses and leaders of the SS only 17, i.e. 3.4 percent, had been Prussians.

What Corresponds With Our Picture of the World

Finally I would still like to call special attention to the attacks against our conception of Prussian history as against our historical image of the progressive line of tradition in German history as such.

In his interview with publisher Maxwell, Erich Honecker has clearly pointed out our attitude toward the legacy and tradition of Marx and Engels, Mehring, Liebknecht to this day. When new problems mature we shall continue to proceed from the basic principles in the Marxist-Leninist conception of history, which are controlled by the interests of the working classes and strata, mainly the working class. Our answer depends on the criterion of social progress, on the theory of classes and class struggle and the sequence of forms of society. They remain the foundation in our evaluation of the role of Prussia.

But every era asks new questions of history. After 1945 the priority was the struggle against fascism and imperialism and reactionary Prussianism. Today, under the aegis of the developed socialist society, new questions come up for discussion. We are getting the time and opportunity to deal with them because of the ongoing rapprochement among the classes and an important increase in knowledge. To quote from Erich Honecker's biography, "From My Life": "It conforms to our picture of the world to comprehend history in its objective, actual course, in all its dialectics."

5885
CSO: 2300/308

TRAINING AT MILITARY INSTITUTES DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG (SUPPLEMENT) in Hungarian No 28, 11 Jul 81 p 1

[Article: "A Profession"]

[Text] In our country a career soldier of the armed forces is a political factor and a man of public life, in whose actions and example one sees and expects our party's policies represented and served. This respect and confidence manifested by the entire society lends weight to the career as a professional soldier, and broad based social appreciation to the ranks of officer and junior officer. To live up to and satisfy this respect and confidence is truly a manly task requiring a whole man.

The military colleges and junior officer training institutions of the Hungarian people's armed forces continuously provide training to youth suitable for the career of professional soldier, thus providing the replacements for the Hungarian people's armed forces.

The armed forces is waiting for, and invites the young people chosing their careers to join it!

Military Colleges

Favorable family and social environment of the young person, unquestionable political and moral reliability, no criminal record and an unblemished past are important requirements when applying to the military colleges. Military service is also physically taxing on the professional soldiers, therefore a military medical screening group evaluates the physical condition and endurance of the applicants. The basic conditions are that the young applicants have no organic ailments, have perfect sight and hearing, and have no physical handicaps. Being no older than 23 years of age and single are also among the application requirements.

The general requirements for application are made public each year by the Ministry of Defense in the form of competitions. Students of schools can receive the application documents from the principals of secondary schools, while young soldiers get them from the commanders of their service units. In addition to this, interested parties may request the documents from the personnel departments of the megye military recruitment and regional defense headquarters, and

in Budapest from the educational department of the Capital City Military Recruitment Headquarters. These organs will provide detailed information about applying, branches of service, circumstances of the training in the military training institutions, and the order of reporting for service.

The goal of the military colleges is to train officers who are faithful to the principles of socialism and communism; who profess a solid materialist ideology; who live according to the socialist moral standards; who profess as their own the goals our party and of our government; who know and love their vocation; and who, on the basis of their overall personality and training are able to organize and lead the training, activity and combatability of their subordinates.

The location of the Lajos Kossuth Military College is Szentendre. The college trains officers for assignments as subunit commanders in the people's armed forces and in the BM [Ministry of Interior] Border Patrol in the following disciplines: mechanized artillery, tank personnel, reconnaissance, rocketry and artillery, roadway technician, machine operator and above ground construction, BM border guard. Graduates will also receive civilian diplomas in the mechanized artillery, tank personnel, rocketry and artillery, group reconnaissance and border guard disciplines as general mechanical plant engineer; those studying in the mechanical discipline will get diplomas as road construction engineer, above ground construction engineer, or plant engineer.

The location of the Mate Zalka Military Technical College is Budapest. The college trains subunit commanders, technical and troop management officer specialists for the branches and specialized divisions of the people's armed forces. Commander training is conducted in the areas of: troop aerial defense rocketry and artillery, communications, and chemical defense. The graduates will also receive civilian industrial engineering diplomas in control technology or radiochemistry. Technical training is given in the areas of: domestic aerial defense rockets, locator technology, battle vehicle and motor vehicle technology, and general weaponry. The graduates will also receive civilian industrial engineering diplomas in traffic engineering, or in instrument and control technology. Economics and supply training is conducted in the disciplines of military feeding and military finance.

The location of the Gyorgy Kilian Aviation Technology College is Szolnok. The college trains aviation technology and fighter control and observation officers for the flying divisions of the people's armed forces. The airplane and helicopter designers also spend the first year of their studies here, after which their advanced training is conducted in the Soviet Union. The aviation technology training is conducted in the areas of: airframe and engine maintenance for airplanes, airframe and engine maintenance for helicopters, airborne radio technology equipment maintenance, airborne instrument technology equipment maintenance, airborne weapons technology equipment maintenance. Graduates will also receive civilian diplomas as elementary school Russian language teachers, mechanical engineers, and industrial engineers in control technology and communication technology.

The time for training is 4 years consisting of eight academic semesters, each semester containing 600 hours of training (for a total of 4,800 hours). The academic year begins on 1 September and ends on 15 July. During the time between the academic years the students receive 1 month of vacation.

Junior Officer Schools

One must be at least 17 years of age to apply. In addition to graduation from the eighth grade of elementary school which is the mandatory requirement, the armed forces also expects knowledge and practical experience to have been gained in vocational training institutions and in productive work.

The departments at the junior officer training school can be broken down into groups of commanding, technical and management, and supply. The commanding departments are: mechanized artillery, tank personnel, reconnaissance, rocketry and artillery, and defensive. The technical departments are: technician, motor vehicle technology, armored vehicle technology, communication technology, weaponry technology, aviation technology, and radio reconnaissance. The economics and supply departments are: feeding, clothing supply, transportation, quartering, health care, fuel, and business management.

The material taught at the junior officer schools includes all the political and military-professional knowledge in possession of which the graduate junior officers can confidently train, educate and direct their subordinates, and use the battle technology equipment entrusted to their care. During the course of the training the students receive broad based political knowledge. They receive methods and opportunities for active participation in public life and to practice it; to develop their talents and satisfy their spheres of interest.

A significant portion of the training is in specialized areas. Within the framework of this the students familiarize themselves with the modern combat procedures, and with the tasks related to leading and directing the enlisted men in their command; they also learn the jobs related to the operation, maintenance and repair of the battle equipment and the organization and supervision of the repair work.

The training time is 2 years, divided into two semesters for each academic year. The training runs from 1 September to 31 July in the first school year, and to 15 August in the second school year. At the end of the first school year--in August--the students get a 1-month vacation, while the second academic year ends with their graduation as junior officers.

8584
CSO: 2500/380

YOUTH MUST ACCEPT MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS FUTURE

Budapest NEPSZABADSZAG in Hungarian 20 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Istvan Koncz: "Responsibility for Youth--Responsibility of Youth"]

[Text] Of all the key questions of socialist national unity, one of the most exciting is surely: how will the ranks of the rising generation be integrated into the national unity which is now becoming a socialist one; how will society's socialist characteristics be strengthened among the youth; to what extent will the future that is being built for and in behalf of them be built by them as well? Every fourth Hungarian citizen is a youth between 15 and 30 years of age, and 40 percent of the Hungarian workers are under 30. It is not possible to think in terms of "people" and "nation" with out them. It is necessary and worthwhile to think and act not only about them and for them but together with them.

In a socialist society dedicated to the future of humanity, it is self-evident that the youth are t be given special care. Most recently this was pointed out by the declaration of the twelfth congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in accordance with its uniform policy dating back many decades: "Care for the new generation and education of the yough are a concern for the entire society." And this care is guaranteed not only by our constitution but by the law on youth as well. And we do not just preach principles. They are verified by the actions of a whole range of state measures, party organizations, councils, social organizations, enterprises and institutions. Without exaggeration, and keeping in mind the deficiencies, we can state that much has changed even in the thinking of the public, our realistic judgement of the situation of the youth is mostly appropriate, and a feeling of responsibility toward youth permeates deeply the way the older and middle generations are thinking. Even not infrequent anxieties are turning rather into an anxious love.

With the experience of the party

But this is only one side of the mutual responsibility. The other side--namely, that "the youth are also responsible for themselves"--has been formulated in the report of the Central Committee at the 10th Congress of the Communist Youth League [KISZ], and it received emphasis and many-sided clarification in speeches and resolutions as well. Incidentally, it is especially encouraging that voice was given to the responsibility of youth by the youth themselves, [through] KISZ, which is not only a group of communist youth but represents all our youth.

It is true that the responsibility of youth is not a new thought, we have never thought otherwise. We are only talking about the fact that in recent years--appropriately and necessarily--we have put more emphasis on the responsibility of society. And though we have made real progress in this area, and favorable changes have occurred in the situation of our youth and in the judgement of society, on the other hand--not everywhere, but in many places, and not always, but often--the requirements of the responsibility of youth were only quitely assumed and did not receive sufficient emphasis. But this was never superfluous; in the present circumstances it is especially important.

Today, social responsibility toward the youth requires us first of all to educate the youth for greater responsibility. Responsibility for themselves, for their future, for the people, and for socialism.

What is meant concretely by this connection, the two sides of this mutual responsibility, in the main questions concerning the youth?

Our party, [that is] the party members of the older and middle-aged generations, have the heavy obligation to transmit its political experience to the youth. But not even this can be treated as a one-sided responsibility. In a favorable political-social atmosphere it can be expected that the youth themselves will be responsive and receptive to these experiences and to truly learn from them and apply them in a creative way to today's new and changing circumstances--and even more so tomorrow. One reason for the negative features that can be found in certain circles of the youth is precisely the fact that their experience and responsibility have not always and not everywhere been sufficient.

Of course we are not thinking about the kind of endless sermons that start out "Verily in our times..." under the pretext of transmitting or receiving historical experiences. Exhortations and insults of this kind--on the basis which some people dispute the requirements of youth that can be realistically attained and their healthy impatience--will fall on deaf ears with no effect. In fact they have rather a opposite effect, and arouse feelings of opposition.

But no matter how ineffective this kind of talk and stiff obtuseness and distrust are in the face of the different, freer style of the youth who have grown up under socialism, the lack of interest shown in many youth groups toward the lessons of our past and toward our political education in general is even more uncalled for and harmful. The youth frequently say, "Don't teach us to death, " and if in this way they are objecting to a patronizing manner of thinking, and not to education for independent responsibility, they are right. But to question education in general, including the necessity of political education--as many youth do, mostly influenced by some kind of fashionable nonconformity--is wholly unjustified. No one, old or young, can extract himself from the complex influences of education taken in its broadest sense; reality educates all of us; and young people of have the special advantage to creatively accept these influences with flexibility and curiosity about new things. But obviously few of them possess the actual life experience necessary to choose from among these influences.

With Political Maturity

We can only adjust confidently to present tasks, if we also understand the motive, and we can only prepare for the new things to be done in coming years though they cannot be foreseen in detail, if the youth thoroughly know the history of our people, including especially the lessons of the decades of the building of socialism.

Our youth can--and must--obtain political, intellectual, and moral inspiration from struggles and results of indisputable historical importance, from everything that we have successfully solved and which is recognized in the world not only by our friends but also by our enemies. And the youth must also learn from the mistakes as well, so that they will not commit the same errors that their predecessors did in travelling along the unbeaten path of Hungary's peculiar conditions.

And not incidentally: they must learn to discriminate between errors and steps that today, decades later, may have unfavorable consequences, but which were necessary in their time and appropriate, and worthy of pride. Among these latter, for example, we are thinking of certain rigid characteristics of the structure of our economy and production, some of which developed during the initial, intense period of socialist industrialization. We must admit these--we cannot do otherwise--and we can admit them with pride, because backward pre-war Hungary rose through them to become a socialist country with at least average development. We can admit this with a clear conscience, even though perhaps the most difficult--and most painful because of regrouping of the work force--task of today and coming years is perhaps the modernization of this structure of production.

Not only our teenagers but also those between 25 and 30 have no conscious and clear recollection of what the small-peasant agriculture and way of life were like or what a Hungarian village was like at the beginning of 1959. Or of what the housing situation was in the cities in 1960, before the period of the first 15-year housing-construction program. Or of when the scarcity in meat supply ended quietly, almost imperceptibly, or of when and how the flood of automobiles swelled from a few thousand to today's million.

Children of Our Time

Today's youth formulate their thoughts, feelings about life, questions, and doubts openly, freely, without fears or inhibitions. This is natural, since without exception they are the children of the most recent quarter-century. They know only this political climate; only this time, favorable and encouraging to every new influence, which is under a sky that is alternately sunny and sometimes cloudy, but essentially unchanging. They have not , cannot have, and should not have a conception based on personal experience of what kind of strom we had to weather and then start anew--a genocidal, tragic, situation, threatening the foundations of socialism--and what kinds of dark forces had to be defeated and what kinds of causes had to be eliminated. But they must have a clear knowledge of them indirectly, learned from their elders.

The youth, lacking experience from life--and also because of their impatience; an impatience justified in view of the errors, neglect, and backward steps, but an unrealistic one that does not always respect the limits of the possible--are most susceptible to and defenseless against bourgeois propaganda and attacks on socialism. These are without doubt more vehement that a few years ago and more

susceptible to and defenseless against bourgeois propaganda and attacks on socialism. These are without doubt more vehement than a few years ago and more subtle than anything before, which can be seen not only from enemy propaganda in [the] Hungarian [language] and not principally from attacks directed at Hungarian youth. To see through these unambiguous intentions and to arm ourselves with principles against that propaganda which ultimately serves the interests of imperialism are the common task of the youth and of everyone who is responsible for them: older people, family, school, KISZ, party organizations, and state and social organs.

We are also faced with a sea of worries and a situation that makes it difficult to start young people on their way to an independent life. But in order for them to deeply appreciate our own conditions, it is enough for the young people to look at the world around them, enough for them to think about the dangers that threaten peace and international detente, enough to see the uncertain lives and unemployment of the youth in capitalist countries or, keeping "within the family," to observe the experiences of certain other fraternal parties. Every problem concerning the youth can be solved within socialist conditions, only on this ground can they be really solved, and sooner or later, depending on possibilities, with their help and cooperation, we shall solve them. Only let the two most important conditions for it be guaranteed: peace and firm socialist power of the people [with] internal political stability, order and tranquillity. This is our dearest treasure, the vital interest of our entire society, including the youth. The youth must also accept responsibility for it, thinking maturely, independently,in an adult manner.

What kinds of worries are we referring to? Let us just mention the two most important. The most important condition for establishing a family is an independent home. It is true that the youth of the old Hungary could not even dream of the satisfying today's demand for housing quantity and quality, and most of the youth of the capitalist countries still cannot dream of that, except perhaps for certain strata in the economically most developed countries. We know that neither this nor the fact that our state, as it has always done for many decades, is continuing construction at the upper limit of productive capacity in the midst of present economic difficulties is any comfort for today's Hungarian youth who are waiting for housing. But to respect this [situation] and to show understanding for it is absolutely necessary and requires political maturity. The KISZ congress demonstrated the independent sense of responsibility in our youth when it urged a more intense unleashing of youth's own efforts and, to this end, an improvement in economic and organizational conditions and exposure of the grest deficiencies in the management of housing market, instead of working like firemen to solve petty problems.

For Their Own Future

Much is being said nowadays about helping the youth become integrated into the workplace--or to generally integrate them into the working lifestyle. Every supervisor, every recipient collective, and everyone who directs instruction or management of the work force has a political responsibility for this. But this is just one side of the question; it would be a mistake to emphasize it one-sidedly. Let the youth themselves feel a responsibility for themselves and make efforts to integrate themselves, adapt to the realistic requirements of the

workplace and the national economy. We have often heard it said that youth everywhere should be given meaningful tasks. But is is just as important for the youth to seek the tasks, to undertake difficult tasks as well, and to put forth rational initiatives and recommendations. By fulfilling their duties--work, study, defense of the homeland--at the best possible level, they will be acting not in the interest of others, not for their fathers' and grandfathers' generation, but most of all in their own interest; they owe themselves this sense of responsibility.

Today's Hungary is a young Hungary. Not in terms of its composition by age, but first of all in the historical, social, and political sense of the word. It is young because here is the society of the future, a developed socialism is being built. Last but not least, this future will be whatever kind the youth make it for themselves--and for their future children, grandchildren, and generations after them. Our youth are entrusted with responsibility for this future.

9611
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WESTERN COMMENT ON TRIAL OF MARKO VESELICA

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Christine von Kohl: "Extreme Harshness Against Dissidents--Different Style Governs in Croatia"]

[Text] The last in a series of political trials of critical intellectuals in Croatia which had begun this spring ended with a draconian sentence this week. The former university lecturer in economics Marko Veselica was sentenced to serve 11 years in a penitentiary. Nobody had expected that harsh a sentence.

The sentence corresponds to the average sentence being meted out these days against young people of Albanian origin in Kosovo. The indictments against these charge that they violently rebelled against the state and social order, erected barricades in the streets, pelted cars with rocks, wrote counterrevolutionary slogans on walls, forced citizens to participate in demonstrations and the like.

Marko Veselica, on the other hand, had never used any means other than the spoken and written word. He was indicted here because of an interview which, it was charged, he had given to the weekly magazine DER SPIEGEL. The fact that it appeared not there, but in various publications of the emigre press, did not cause the prosecution to become interested in the "German journalist" Hans Bornemann who had told Veselica that he was a SPIEGEL correspondent. The fact that the indictment did not raise any question about this aroused the suspicion that it might know better than Marko Veselica who the person was.

The interview whose extracts constitute the nucleus of the indictment of Veselica in fact does not make pleasant reading for the politicians in charge in Yugoslavia. Nor will all other readers agree with him on all points. However, Veselica is charged with "preparing inimical activity in connection with anti-Yugoslav circles abroad with a view to inimical activity and stirring up hatred between the peoples of Yugoslavia." Without ado, the public prosecutor identified Marko Veselica with the terrorist actions of the anticommunist emigre organizations, liberally connecting events in Lebanon, [Northern] Ireland and Kosovo--all in relation to the defendant.

The defense rightly drew attention to the fact that in the interview--and in his utterances in general--Veselica explicitly dissociated himself from any violence, from any terrorism and from the extremist emigre circles, who he thinks are only creating further mischief. It was pointed out that beside the very harsh criticism

of many phenomena of the sociopolitical and economic system and everyday life in Yugoslavia, the politically constructive elements of the interview clearly predominate. Veselica does not want to change the system but wants the constitution to be followed. He does not want a revolt of any kind but demands a free dialouge between those in power and the rest.

But above all the defense took apart completely the so-called evidence, including statements by witnesses, of the prosecution of Veselica's contacts with the extremist emigration. Three elderly women, who in line with their statements in the preliminary investigation were produced as witnesses for the prosecution, turned out to be witnesses against it. The principal witness was a seriously ill woman whose evidence appeared to be unreliable in every respect. When confronted with the defendant, who she claimed had given her "illegal" material to take abroad, she burst into tears and had to be placed under medical care when Veselica told her that she was lying.

In such political trials it is customary for there not to be even a semblance of any influence by the court on the extent of the punishment. Only outwardly does such a trial proceed correctly. In the case of Veselica, for example, the defendant was allowed to go on talking for 4 1/2 hours--a torture for the entire audience.

Croatians, Serbs and foreign observers agree that trials such as those against Tudjman, the author Gotovac and former high party official Veselica could hardly be imagined in Serbia these days. In Croatia evidently a different style governs these days--one that is expressed also in relations with the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen why the Croatian leadership considers this style, which is arousing violent criticism at home and abroad--as well as the creating of martyrs--proper and useful.

Aside from the political and legal aspect, the case of Veselica also has a human one. Like Gotovac, Veselica reported in detail about the incredible conditions in the Croatian penitentiaries and the arbitrary actions to which political prisoners are exposed. It does not require much imagination to assume that these are hardly likely to face any better treatment when they have to start serving sentences these days.

8790
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ACTIONS ON BEHALF OF SERBIAN PRIEST CRITICIZED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 81 p 3

[Editorial: "Lawyers Representing Benightedness"]

[Text] Something absurd has happened these past few days, something which at first would seem to concern only SVIJET, but which in essence is not something that concerns us alone. SVIJET, there it is, has been taken to court. We had something to say about this in our last issue, and perhaps that would have been the end of it if the suit against us had been filed by anyone other than Nedjo Janjic, former Orthodox priest in Borike, near Rogatica, organizer of the nationalistic feast which is already well known and has been described in the press. It is true that for all the things that happened at that time the priest is now in jail in Zenica, but his attorney is still busy (nor is he alone).

So, we have been taken to court by a person convicted of nationalistic behavior because we stated in our paper what had also been written in the indictment and what ultimately landed him behind bars. The formal pretext for the suit, we have learned, is that our newspaper was unwilling to publish a "correction" to the little sketch we published entitled "The Orthodox Priest and the Lawyer." Actually what we were unwilling to publish was an ill-composed letter of sorts which called the truth a lie without offering a single supporting argument (in any case why should we concern ourselves once again with proving what the court has incontestably established) but containing the threat that we would be taken to court if we refused to publish it.

So, we have actually been taken to court!?*

Since a suit is a suit and is to be taken seriously, we are forced once again to say a few words about Nedjo Janjic and the dance around him which is being led and encouraged on the one hand by extremist members of the Chetnik-Fascist emigre community and on the other by certain cleronationalists here in the country, and yet again, unfortunately, by certain of our "native" journalists, and finally by some of Janjic's relatives. All this, of course, is fairly well synchronized and done on behalf of some sort of "justice" for those "innocent people languishing in prisons."

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* The next issue of SVIJET will carry the editors' statement composed as a response to the suit.

"Harmless" Songs

And what actually did happen in the parish house at Borike on 23 September 1980?

After the religious service of christening Janjic's child, the relatives sat down at the dining table together with their friends and those of like mind to "celebrate" this event. But the party took a particular turn and became nothing other than an unrestrained chauvinistic outburst complete with curses, yelling, and pistol shots. It is of interest to mention at this point that one of our "distinguished" journalists wrote in a letter to the editors of SVIJET that this was nothing more than a small family gathering in someone's house where, they did do some singing, the way one does for the pleasure of it, and how now, my lord, some great scandal has been trumped up out of it.

The participants in this "nice family gathering" at Janjic's house also included Milomir Asonja, a hostelry worker of Rogatica, Momcilo Janjic, a merchant from Ilijas, and Vojo Neskovic, a teacher from Borike. Those "harmless" songs which, it was proven in the trial, were struck up mainly by Nedjo Janjic, who competed with his fellows, were songs well known to our nationalities all over Yugoslavia from the blackest times we remember: "In the middle of Foca I looked around and who did I see but a hodja at the trough with a boar.... He kept on nibbling the boar and biting him, and elbowing him away." It is not certain who began it, but it is quite certain that all joined in the song "Romanija, Leaf Out Early, So That We Can Herd Catholic Girls on Your Slopes." The song "Isn't It Heavy on You, Desimir, That Fur Hat That Weighs Three Kilograms" recalled a Chetnik cut-throat well known in those parts. It is not difficult to recognize in the lines "Shall we build a church for young people in Kaljina" the obvious intention, since it is well known that Kaljina is a village inhabited mostly by Moslems. Finally, it is really difficult to keep from being sick at the very mention of the verse "There is no Moslem now in Foca, the water of the Drina carried him off ...," with which the Chetnik butchers "spiced" every one of their bloody feasts along and down the Drina near Foca.

The Epilogue Is Well Known

What is one to call all this, then, if not an urging of the Chetnik spirit and fratricide? The court has made its pronouncement. And, incidentally, it also seems as if the people of Borike and nearby towns on Romanija have also stated their opinion.

In all of this Janjic has among other things abused in the most arrogant way the confidence of the people who had given him a wonderful welcome in their region. Instead of displaying the nobility of a priest, he attacked one of the greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution, the fraternity and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. With his comrades of like mind, through songs, he recalled those raving "mutterings" with which the Chetniks, with blood on their hands, would accompany their marches. Is one, then, to believe Janjic when he says in the court that "at that moment I did not realize the spirit and meaning of all that," since the singing was done in a state of "loss of self-control and thoughtlessness." What the people think of all this is sufficiently indicated by the words of one individual, a church

member, who said in a meeting of the local chapter of the Socialist Alliance: "Songs as horrible as that did not come from the head of someone who is drunk, but represent a deliberate act."

The epilogue is well known. The court established beyond question that these and other songs with which Janjic's house reverberated are because of their content profoundly offensive to all honest citizens, that they provoke and irritate members of all our nationalities, and that they were calculated to arouse ethnic and religious enmity and disunity among Serbs, Croats and Moslems. With their singing their obvious purpose was to arouse a pro-Chetnik disposition within the hearing of a large number of persons, to call up the ghost of the past, and to glorify the "courage" of the degenerates of the Serbian people.

What happened has been categorized as the crime of arousing ethnic and religious enmity and discord under Article 134, Paragraph 3, and related to Paragraph 1 of the SFRY Criminal Code.

This activity motivated by chauvinism, Serbian hegemony and the Chetnik spirit was punished: Janjic was sentenced to 6 years in jail and Asonja, M. Janjic and Neskovic received 4-year sentences. In ruling on the appeal the court in the second instance reduced Nedjo Janjic's sentence from 6 to 4 years in prison. In so doing it was thinking primarily of Nedjo Janjic's age.

The Manufacturing of an Incident

When the convicted persons went off to serve their sentence, a clever campaign began whose organizers, already mentioned above, tried, as they are still trying, to proclaim that Janjic is innocent, saying that he was "convicted because he sang songs," and they appealed to the freedom of religious profession. Within Yugoslavia Janjic's Belgrade attorney has been very active along this line, as has the newspaper of the Serbian Orthodox Church PRAVOSLAVLJE and also individuals in the Belgrade patriarchate, and, as we have said, Janjic's relatives as well.

It has also been written that the lunch in the parish house was not political, that the priest did not abuse religion, and that the event described was a "quiet and modest celebration." It is also added that all this has been invented by a newsman, who was snapping at Nedjo Janjic."

Reactionaries in the world, the Chetniks particularly, are trying very hard to represent Nedjo Janjic as the victim of a persecution of religious officers in Yugoslavia, and they are spreading rumors about supposed restrictions in our country and so on. They even go so far as to refer to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the League for Peace of the United Nations?! The same is being done by the organization Amnesty International, whose membership all over the world is sending out a great number of letters to our authorities out of "humanitarian motives" in which they call for Janjic's pardon, since he is "in prison though blameless." Certain newspapers of the Chetnik-Fascist emigre community are also writing about the "innocent Yugoslav priest." The fact that is "forgotten" in all this, of course, is that the court did not try a priest, but a person who is obviously an inveterate nationalist, a man who

yearns for the specters of the past. In the behavior for which he was tried Janjic betrayed not only his own people, but above all his calling as a priest. So, the insinuations about the "trial of an Orthodox priest" are transparent and untenable.

All this together will not free Nedjo Janjic from serving the prison sentence he deserves. He will not be released, first of all, by the judgment of the people of Romanija and over a broader area. Nor will he be helped, we are certain, even by the fact that he is taking SVIJET to court (either at his own wish or at the instigation of others).

In all of this there are many more arguments for the assertion that Janjic is a pawn in the hands of reactionary forces of recognizable extremists abroad who for years now have tried desperately to frustrate our development. That is why from an epilogue that is clear to us an attempt is being made to fabricate an incident. The attempt to manufacture the incident is continuing even now with the ostentatious collection of money in the circles of the extremist Chetnik emigre community, supposedly for the aid and salvation of Janjic's family. The same is true of the jeremiads and again collecting of "aid" in the ranks of certain cleronationalists of the Serbian Orthodox Church. There probably should also be a case made on the basis of some sort of "ethnic parity" in criminal prosecution. As though people forget that an enemy of the people and of everything which is most sacred to us is always an enemy and that here there is no "parity," nor will there ever be. Whatever is involved and whatever are the conditions.

And finally, let us return to the beginning of this article: that the convicted person, it turns out, has decided to take us to court. SVIJET is being charged by one who is in prison because of his guilt. The charge is absurd. We are convinced, however, that this absurdity will not be long-lived.

7045
CSO: 2800/350

'ISLAMIC NATIONALISM' OF IMAM DENOUNCED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Dj. Ss.: "The Imam's Label"]

[Text] The working people and citizens of Novi Grad Opstina in Sarajevo vigorously oppose any activity by religious communities outside the religious domain, and recently there have been such attempts.

In Novi Grad Opstina in Sarajevo, as elsewhere in our social community, freedoms exist for religious profession. This is incidentally the result of the democratization of our society, of the positions that we have all adopted together. Religious persons--just like atheists--have all the rights of other citizens as individuals, as members of the Socialist Alliance and as self-managers.

The members of the Presidium of the Novi Grad Opstina SAWP Conference did in fact act in accordance with the fundamental principles in a recent meeting, stating at the same time that the Socialist Alliance is opposed to any form of activity of the religious communities outside the religious domain, since this leads to clericalism. That is, they openly displayed their sensitivity to all attempts at politicization of religion, advocating--exclusively--the freedom proclaimed by the constitution and the basic principles governing relations between the religious communities and society. They also named names in speaking about cases of so-called extrareligious activity (this has unfortunately been manifested in a certain in certain parts of that commune) or abuse of religion.

A serious case was recorded in the Pavle Goranin I Local Community. Here an imam Azem Krupalija maliciously and untruthfully portrayed the situation in our country to children assembled for religious instruction, detracting from the sacred achievements of our society: brotherhood, unity and the cohesiveness of our nationalities and ethnic minorities, socialist self-management ... suggesting to them that they should look for all this in the "world of Islam," that is, in an "Islamic republic." He even went so far as to "put labels" on the children on a religious basis, "condemning" their failure to bear the name of "their own" religion and ethnic community. Those attending the religious instruction themselves fiercely opposed the clericalistic and nationalistic behavior of Azem Krupalija.

There was also discussion at that meeting of certain examples of staying outside the limits of religious activity by other religions in that opstina.

Members of the Presidium of the Novi Grad Opstina Conference of the SAWP are united in condemning these developments, nor are they alone. And they say: they need to be constantly monitored and analyzed so that what is religious is kept separate from what is clericalistic and so that religious people are informed in time as to who at a given moment is playing on their religious sentiments.

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CONCERN VOICED OVER REFUSAL TO DISCLOSE INFORMATION

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by D. Nikolic: "The Truth Under Attack"]

[Text] In a meeting of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee a few days ago Vaska Duganova cited several unusual examples of "covering up information" and of extraordinary reactions by local authorities to the publication of certain "undesirable information." For example, there was the fierce reaction because TV Skopje published statements by people living in the village Bogorodica to the effect that no one had asked them anything about forming a new opstina. The reaction was not fierce because the people had told the truth, but because what they said had been published. NOVA MAKEDONIJA found itself under "attack" because it had published a question by the delegate from Djevdjelija. The delegate had "only" asked why an award had been made to someone who was being prosecuted on criminal charges. The delegate also found himself under "attack" in that a local court sentenced him to 3 months in prison for putting such a question. The director of the local station in Djevdjelija was called to account only because the local radio station carried the news that in a meeting a question had been put as to whether it would be worthwhile to have discussion in the League of Communists before new opstinas were formed. It was also decided in that no information about these "cases" could be issued by anyone other than the chairman of the Opstina Conference of the League of Communists!

The confinement of information to the limits of a factory or the limits of an opstina is by all appearances a disturbing development which has become rather common. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, for example, provides detailed information to opstina party organizations about all its activities, but the information sent in by opstina party organizations consists mainly of formal announcements. If the central committee were to plan its activity on the basis of that information, it would have to conclude that no sort of significant activities are even required because there are no problems whatsoever "in the field."

In many factories the only one "authorized" to issue information is the general director, and sometimes he does not contact newsmen or does so with reluctance. When two BORBA correspondents went to a factory in Skopje to talk with a delegate to the Congress of Self-Managers, the director burst into the office where this conversation had already begun and asked the delegate who had given him permission to make a statement.

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BOSNIAN OFFICIAL POLEMICIZES WITH BELGRADE PAPER

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 81 p 3

[Letter of Milan Uzelac, secretary of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, to Bozidar Bogdanovic, editor in chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES, accompanied by an explanation of the background furnished by OSLOBODJENJE: "Whose Opinion Is Whose?"]

[Text] OSLOBODJENJE Background

Milan Uzelac, secretary of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, has sent to OSLOBODJENJE a letter addressed to the editor in chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES, asking that our paper publish it since the editors of POLITIKA EKSPRES had refused to publish it.

We want to familiarize readers of OSLOBODJENJE with what preceded this letter of Comrade Uzelac:

i. A commentary by the editor in chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES on 29 July of this year entitled "New Games Concerning Kosovo," in which he mentioned among other things a meeting of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, putting the question "Why comrades in the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP were expressing doubt that the political leadership teams of the other republics are capable of coordinating the operation of the news media concerning Kosovo and therefore feel that in evaluating their own, they are at the same time called upon to make a judgment of others, making it known to them that their performance is not good and that they ought to copy the quarter from which the criticism is coming?"

ii. Comrade Uzelac responded to this comment or portion of a comment by Bozidar Bogdanovic on behalf of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP. In his letter, which POLITIKA EKSPRES published on 4 August, Milan Uzelac said among other things: "In a meeting on 24 July the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP took up certain topical issues concerning newsgathering concerning the events in Kosovo, its principal purpose being to derive the necessary lessons from those events for the purpose of political action. In that discussion it could not avoid an assessment of the reporting of the events in Kosovo by all the media involved in informing the

population of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In setting forth its assessment of newsgathering the presidium pointed to the need to enhance responsibility for furnishing timely and objective information by people with class and ideological commitment, based on the positions of the League of Communists and the need for all the media to be involved in the fight against the counterrevolution, Albanian nationalism and irredentism, but at the same time the struggle against all nationalism and irredentism, wherever it might be, and first of all in their own respective community. The presidium at the same time expressed critical evaluations concerning some of the stories carried by certain of the media. Allowing for the possibility of a different opinion concerning the assessments, we want to mention that the presidium did not make a distinction between the media on the basis of the republic or autonomous province they belonged to, but that this was done by the commentator, which in fact he did in an impermissible and offensive manner, comparing anyone who disagrees with him to the propaganda machine in Tirana. One must ask what purpose that serves?

We deem it an impermissible act for the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP to be put in the context of those who are "playing" games with Kosovo, be they old or new, for Yugoslavia to be divided into those who "look on" and "amuse themselves" and those who wage an uncompromising fight against the counterrevolution. In his letter Uzelac also noted that in Bozidar Bogdanovic's comment there is by some strange logic an examination of the question of responsibility for events in Kosovo, both past and present. "The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP rejects any connection whatsoever between its debate on newsgathering with questions put in that way. Concerning these and other arguments contained in the commentary, especially those which raise the question of the SFRY Constitution, of the accountability of the supreme federal authorities, and of the accountability of the republics and provinces, when and if they are debated, we will present our views in the appropriate place," Milan Uzelac says inter alia in his first letter.

iii. In publishing this letter POLITIKA EKSPRES immediately added its own comment, which we give in its entirety:

"The only reason why we have published the letter above is that Comrade Uzelac has taken the liberty to speak on behalf of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP.

"In any case, Comrade Uzelac's explanation and arguments are not on a level which would make a worthwhile dialogue possible. Especially since the purpose of the commentary entitled 'New Games Concerning Kosovo' was not to open up polemics with the personal opinions or peripheral responses, but to indicate the current political digression, which can be corrected only by a thorough analysis of the causes and by an open-minded facing of the truth."

This kind of comment by POLITIKA EKSPRES accompanying Comrade Uzelac's first letter motivated and obliged him to make another statement. However, as we said at the outset, POLITIKA EKSPRES, after holding the letter in the editorial office for 10 days, let it be known that it would not publish it, and we are therefore publishing it in today's issue.

Letter From Uzelac to Bogdanovic

I am grateful that on 4 August of this year you published in the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES a letter which I sent concerning your comment entitled "New Games Concerning Kosovo," and I also read the brief comment concerning my letter. In that connection I must write once again and state the following:

1. I was not presenting my personal opinion. The positions presented in my letter to the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES are the positions of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, and I therefore signed it as the secretary of that presidium.

2. We did not favor, and we do not now favor the opening up of polemics in the press with personal or any other opinions. You state, however, that you would not have published my letter if I had not "taken the liberty to speak on behalf of the Presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference." Does that mean that only your personal opinion can be published in your newspaper?

3. If as you say the "purpose of the commentary entitled 'New Games Concerning Kosovo' was not to open up polemics with personal opinions," why is it, then, that you publish your personal opinion? And if that is not merely your personal opinion, it would be honest, so long as you are publishing it, to state whose opinion it is. Since it is a question of serious assertions and dangerous arguments which you have presented in your commentary and which encourage quite definite ideological and political dispositions and enflame extremely harmful and dangerous passions, we feel that the place for them to be debated is first of all in the sociopolitical organizations and appropriate institutions of our system. I must state in conclusion that however indispensable it is to carry on polemics with your positions, it is yet impossible to do so because of the tone of arrogance, insult and conceited inviolability making up the substance of the text with which you accompanied the publication of my letter.

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END

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7 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1925

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7 October 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1925

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
CSSR-Mexico Youth Meeting 1

ROMANIA

Problems of Standard of Living, Consumption of Goods
(Constantin Grigorescu; VIITORUL SOCIAL, May-Jun 81) 2

Measures to Strengthen Defense Capabilities Examined
(Mihai Arsintescu, Gheorghe Aradavoiace; VIITORUL SOCIAL, May-Jun 81) 19

Views of Foreign Historians on Union of Principalities Combatted
(Viorica Moisuc; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, May 81) 25

YUGOSLAVIA

Grbic Asks Why Laws Not Obeyed
(Cedo Grbic Interview; VJESNIK, 12 Sep 81) 53

Serbian Self-Management Defender Interviewed
(Milovan Dinic Interview; ZUM REPORTER, 30 Jul 81) 59

Charges Against Marko Veselica Discussed
(Djordje Licina; VJESNIK, 12 Sep 81) 72

BRIEFS

CSSR-MEXICO YOUTH MEETING--The Second Czechoslovak-Mexican Youth eek opened in Prague on 22 September. Participating are representatives from four principal progressive youth organizations in Mexico, who during their stay will also visit several locations in Slovakia. The Mexican delegates will be acquainted with activities of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), activities of the SSM at secondary education schools and colleges, and activities and mission of the Prague-based headquarters of the International Union of Students. [Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 23 Sep 81 p 3]

CSO: 2400/6

PROBLEMS OF STANDARD OF LIVING, CONSUMPTION OF GOODS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 81 pp 487-495

[Article by Dr Constantin Grigorescu: "The Way of Life and Consumption in Romania (Theoretical and Methodological Problems);" a text completed on the basis of a study carried out within the framework of the theme "The Population's Consumption of Non-Food Goods and Services," contained in the Institute of Socialist Economy's 1979 plan]

[Text] As an objective reality, the way of life refers to the overall group of conditions of the human community's existence, to man's needs and the manner in which these are satisfied and to the people's behavior in the sphere of social relations. As man's needs become more diversified and involve a broad field of action, life becomes richer in content and man can express fully his creative potentials.

The building of socialism in Romania has brought about the improvement of the well-being of all the people, the formation and development of a new way of life and the ever more fuller satisfaction of the people's material and spiritual needs.

The documents of the 12th Party Congress foresee raising all the facets of the socialist way of life to new levels. The objectives and goals contained in the Directives, as well as in the Program-Directive and, especially, in the Program-Directive for raising the standard of living in the 1981-1985 period and continuing to improve the quality of life, show that along with increasing material production and improving economic and social relations there will also be an improvement of the well-being of the people and the level of culture and civilization for all the people.

The socialist way of life evolves and is gradually being transformed into the communist way of life. For our country, an essential moment in this regard will be marked by the achievement during this decade, roughly speaking, of a multilaterally developed socialist society. As is known, keeping in mind the achivement of this strategic objective, the 12th Party Congress approved the decision to draw up a new Party Program by the year 2000 or 2010. Referring to this problem in his report presented at the Congress, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that the new Program will have to deal with the ways and directions of continuing to consolidate a multilaterally developed socialist society and of "gradually moving to the fulfillment of communist principles for working and living in our country."[1]

The ever stronger affirmation of the new way of life in Romania raises numerous problems for the social sciences, including the economic sciences. In this field, according to the guidelines given by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the social sciences, it seems necessary to further the original thinking of our party regarding the formation and development of the socialist way of life and to thoroughly study from a theoretical point of view those changes that are taking place in the people's way of life and that of the social classes and categories. The furthering of the studies regarding the socialist way of life is, similarly, of interest in combating the myth of the "capitalist consumer society" which allegedly would ensure the well-being of society, would eliminate the alienation of work and would change the "homo faber" worker into the "homo ludens" worker.

1. The Content and Area Encompassed by the Category Way of Life

Recently, specialized literature has demostrated man's condition in society through a number of ideas: "way of life;" "quality of life;" "well-being;" "material and spiritual standard of living;" "life style" and so forth. With regards to the content and area encompassed by these ideas, there is no fully unanimous opinion, and discussions are still going on about them, especially in reference to the idea of "the quality of life." Regardless, however, of the opinions of the diverse specialists, the essential fact is that the diversification of the ideas regarding man's condition in society has, at the same time, meant a diversification of the thematic area of study. We are referring, for example, to the problem of the environment, as well as to those studies regarding social indicators. As has been pointed out, all the above-mentioned ideas refer to man's condition in society, a fact which causes the existence of certain similarities between them. At the same time, there are also differences between these ideas resulting both from the areas they cover and from their intrinsec content.

In order to avoid slipping into a sterile discussion, we feel it is necessary to deal with the content of the mentioned categories according to objective criteria. Principally this refers to: 1. the people's needs; 2. the conditions and factors available to the people in the process of satisfying needs; 3. the quality and capacity of the conditions and factors used by man to creat an agreeable, pleasant life; and 4. the people's behavior.

As is known, man has on one hand a biological nature and on the other a social nature. As a social being, people have a multitude of needs grouped according to very different criteria. With regards to the objective of this study we must remember one of the groupings made by K. Marx, that is, physical, spiritual and social needs.[2]

Needs of a physical nature involve needs for food, clothing, shelter, air, water, sleep and so forth, and their satisfaction ensures the existence itself of man as a biological being.

Spiritual needs involve principally man's needs for communication, knowledge and beauty.

Social needs, like spiritual needs, stem from the essence of man as a social being who enters into diverse types of relations with his fellow man: family, work, community and so forth. Among other things, we have in mind these needs, such as the need for comradeship and friendship, the need for esteem and respect or the need to participate in the organization of social affairs.

Speaking of man's needs, it is appropriate to stress that these are indissolubly linked to the fact that by his nature man is a creative being and a being who works and organically feels the need for equality, and that man is developing as a powerful political and moral being.

The characterization of the manner in which man's needs are satisfied naturally requires the use of certain different categories. This is even more true with regards to the quantity and quality of the goods and services available in a society, as well as the social framework (traditional or legislated) in which different types of social relations are achieved, when they do not always correspond to man's needs. Thus, the idea having the most restricted area encompassed is the material and spiritual standard of living. This category covers the degree of satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, including the consumption of food and non-food goods and services, the meeting of requirements for living space, the degree of education and culture and the status of health.

Well-being is a notion that has a broader area of coverage. In addition to the problems that define the so-called material and spiritual standard of living, well-being refers to an equal degree to working conditions, to the length of the work week, to the organization and zoning of the country and to the environment within which man lives, as well as to the social framework for the workers' participation in the management of economic and social activities.

The category way of life covers the forms of activity and the people's behavior in the process of satisfying their needs and in interactions with the social and natural conditions of existence of society. We are referring to the people's activities in the sphere of production and, beyond this, during work hours and free time, and to man's behavior in the work group, in his family and in society. An essential role is played by the people's behavior as producers of material goods and services, as well as their behavior as consumers of material goods and services. Way of life is the category that reflects the unity between the objective and the subjective and between the conditions that society makes available to man and man's vital activities. Moral norms, ideological values and cultural values of society, social classes and individuals, as well as the hierarchy of these values, have an essential role in the formation and development of the way of life. According to the aggregate level through which people's activities and behavior in society are viewed, we can distinguish: the way of life of each individual taken separately, the way of life of the social classes and categories and the way of life of society overall.

Many years ago the founders of scientific socialism substantiated the category way of life and the dependency of this category upon the dominant social-economic conditions. In this sense, in their work "German Ideology" Marx and Engels pointed out that the means of production must not be viewed only as "the reproduction of the physical essence of individuals. It is to a greater degree a determining means of activities of these individuals, a certain means of expressing their lives and a certain way of life for them."[3] The historic nature of the means of production and the social-economic conditions permit the way of life of individuals to have a historic nature and to bear the imprint of the nature of the social classes and groups to which they belong. Under this aspect, Marx and Engels fought those concepts saying that the way of life of individuals could not reflect changes and transformations along with changes in social-economic conditions. The theses of Marx and Engels have fully proven their validity. The affirmation of socialism in an ever greater number of countries has meant, at the same time, the affirmation and development of a new way of life.

Currently in the specialized literature in the socialist countries there are still discussions with regards to the content of the category way of life. These discussions especially deal with the fact whether the conditions of the existence of man are or are not an integral part of the content of the category way of life. Clearly, the problem also deals with the relationship between the standard of living and the way of life. In addition to the opinions that say the way of life expresses the behavior of man in interaction with his conditions of existence, there also are opinions that say that the way of life also includes man's conditions of existence, including those elements that define the people's standard of living. It is in itself understood that we cannot speak of man's behavior outside of his conditions of existence and outside of natural, technical, economic and social conditions, as well as outside of spiritual values. For example, one is the behavior of man in production when he is the owner and when he is the salaried employee. One significant influence on the behavior of the producer is the fact whether he works manually or uses mechanized equipment and whether throughout his entire life he works on one simple single operation or alternatively takes part in carrying out a number of operations. These relationships are clear but they do not lead us to consider the above-mentioned conditions of existence of man as a part of way of life. It would mean we would have to reduce the basic economic and social categories to the category way of life. Things appear more complicated, however, when we analyze the relationship between the standard of living and the way of life and the behavior of man in society.

A. P. Butenko maintains that the standard of living is a condition and a result of the way of life and not a constitutive part of the way of life.[4] A different position is expressed by Maria Boiceva-Mihaleva who feels that only the level of consumption of material goods and services are conditions of the way of life, with the structure of the consumption being part of the way of life.[5] Without a doubt, the thesis that says that the people's consumption is a condition and premise of the way of life is a just one. The achievement of a food consumption

according to physiological norms, for example, ensures a harmonious physical and intellectual development of man and contributes to the development of creative activities both in production and outside of production. On the other hand, the development of creative activities and the ever fuller satisfaction of the people's cognitive and esthetic needs contribute to the rationalization of consumption, the placement of this consumption on strictly scientific bases and to a certain volume and certain structure of food consumption.

Similar correlations can also result with regards to the level and structure of the consumption of non-food goods and services. And, what characterizes the way of life is not the people's consumption as such, but man's behavior regarding material goods, a behavior that determines a certain level and a certain structure of consumption. We are referring, for example, to the fact that in societies based on exploitation and inequality, especially in capitalism, the consumption of material goods is a symbol of wealth and a sign that shows success in life. This is the source of the cult regarding material goods and the alienation of man regarding the material world and the transformation of consumption from a means of development into a purpose for living. This also explains the waste of material goods, a waste denounced even by specialists who do not share the ideas of scientific socialism. A graphic example in this regard are the works of Philippe d'Iribarne, of which we will mention one that is significant by way of its title: "Le gaspillage et le desir," which appeared in 1975.

Quality of life is an idea that has been less developed. Some specialists place quality of life at the junction between the characteristics of material goods and services, on one hand, and the needs and desires of the people on the other hand. For B. de Jouvenal, for example, quality of life represents the totality of opportunities offered to the individual by society to manage his existence, to make its products available to him and to make its services available in order to organize his own individual existence according to this own needs and desires.[6] A similar position is expressed by K. Baier, who understands quality of life to be the totality of natural and cultural threats and the variety, quantity and quality of goods and services available to all the members of a given society.[7]

Other specialists place quality of life at the junction between the properties of all of the conditions of the existence of the people, including social relations, and man's needs and requirements. Mihai Draganescu and Stelian Beldescu, for example, feel that "for man in society quality of life represents the totality of those elements that ensure his biological integrity (or biological life), to which we can add the degree of satisfying his demands of a social-economic nature and of fulfilling ethical and moral principles and exigencies, as well as the synergetic and concentrated action of the demands that the social arena place on man."[8] The authors feel that the idea in itself can be viewed from two points of view, in relationship to the individual and in relationship with society. Under this last aspect, in the authors' view, quality of life depends upon: 1. the economic standard of living; 2. the ecological standard of living; 3. the variety of life and 4. the quality of human relationships.

A significant contribution to defining the category "quality of life" has been made by professor Ioan V. Totu. Totu stresses: "Quality of life synthesizes the organic interdependencies between the level and quality of all the conditions of social life and the degree of satisfying the needs (requirements) of the members of society and the essential qualitative characteristics of the existence, development and improvement of the individual personality and human community."[9]

Other specialists restrict the content of the category quality of life to the nature of human and social relations and to the capacity of these relations to satisfy the people's needs of a social nature. Thus, professor Vl. Trebici maintains that "the standard of living refers to material needs while the 'quality of life' deals especially with human and social relations."[10] Sometimes directly and other times indirectly the specialized literature has dealt, as seen in the above-quoted reference, with the relationship between the category quality of life and the other categories which define man's condition in society. Professor Emilian Dobrescu, recognizing the proble of the quality of life, feels that this is included in the category dealing with social well-being defined in its broadest meaning.[11] A similar position is held by professor Vl. Trebici with the note that in his view quality of life also includes elements of human behavior, those elements that consider the way of life.

We note, at the same time, that for other Romanian specialists, like those quoted above, the sphere encompassing the category of quality of life is similar to that for way of life. Naturally, one could ask: the category quality of life has its own independent existence alongside of the other categories and, if so, what elements distinguish it, which elements characterize it? In our opinion, quality of life cannot be treated separately from the problem of man's needs, from the physical, spiritual and social needs and from the conditions and factors that ensure satisfying the mentioned needs. The problem of quality is not defined by the sphere or area of reference of the needs and conditions for achieving this quality, but by the degree in which the material and social conditions and factors available to the people correspond or not to the needs and aspirations of the members of society. Quality of life applies to an equal degree both for the problem that defines the material and spiritual standard of living, and, thus, social well-being, and for the problem of the way of life. Moreover, the idea of quality of life has appeared in the specialized literature in the developed capitalist countries precisely as a result of the deterioration of certain fundamental conditions of the existence of man in these countries. We are referring, first of all, to the pollution of the environment and to the formation of certain large human concentrations in a restricted amount of space, a fact which creates numerous problems of a social nature, as well as to the unilateral development which capitalist society places upon man. And, given the multilateral essence of man and the fact that this is defined not only by physical needs, but also spiritual and social needs, the improvement of the quality of life is ensured both by the satisfaction of each need and individual aspiration under the best

possible conditions and by the satisfaction of all human needs and aspirations in their overall aspects. Like the other categories that define man's condition in society, the category quality of life also has a dynamic, specific historical content and a class content. The history of mankind and the realities of the contemporary world offer sufficient examples.

As has been said, the content of the category quality of life is not fully elaborated and there continues to be different points of view about this. Despite all this, the elements to which we have referred offer us sufficient grounds so as not to share the opinions of those specialists who say that quality of life if a bourgeois alternative to the Marxist concept of "way of life."[12]

Romania has gone through significant stages in the formation of the socialist way of life and in the improvement of the quality of life.[13] The Program-Directive for raising the standard of living during the 1981-1985 period and continuing to improve the quality of life, approved by the 12th Party Congress, is a new expression of the unity between economic development and the well-being of the people and of the indissoluble tie between the development of the socialist way of life and the improvement of the quality of life.

2. The Model of Consumption - A Component of the Socialist Way of Life

The consideration of the elements that define consumption in the countries where socialism has been built reveals the formation of a model of consumption different from that in the capitalist countries. The theoretical bases and traits of this model were foreseen by Marxist socialism long before the division of the contemporary world into two systems and the affirmation of socialism on an international level. On one hand, Marx and Engels fought the ideas that stated that the future society, socialism, would be characterized by a "harsh" regulation of people's activities and by austerity, where people would strive "to work more in order to consume less."[14] On the contrary, taking into consideration the elimination of capitalist property and exploitation, Marx pointed out that under socialism the consumption of producers would no longer be limited by the surplus product held by the capitalists, but it would broaden its limits to that volume which, on one hand, would be permitted by the existing social production forces and, on the other hand, would be required by the multilateral development of the members of society. At the same time, socialism based on the Marxian concept is alien to waste and luxury since, as Marx mentioned, "luxury is the opposite of that which is necessary from nature."[15]

Under socialism and through its nature, consumption is not an end unto itself, but a means for the multilateral development of all of the members of society. Moreover, this also defines the general, essential characteristic of socialist consumption. Consumption is designed to ensure the harmonious physical development

of man and to permit the satisfaction of the requirements and aspirations of each person. For its part, consumption is a powerful factor for economic and social progress. Through its decisive contribution to the harmonious physical development of man, to the maintenance of the people's health and to the formation of the workforce, essential premises are ensured for the growth of creative activities and the increase in the efficiency and rational use of the resources available to society.

Research into the problem of consumption in Romania took on a significant expansion after the 12th Party Congress. In this regard, it is appropriate to stress, first of all, the decisive contribution made by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the theoretical elaboration of the problem of increasing and improving the structure of the people's consumption. We are referring on a priority basis to the theses regarding the optimum relationship of investments-consumption and the organic unity between the improvement of the people's well-being and the development of the forces of production; to the optimum use of material production by branch and throughout the country through the prism of satisfying the people's needs; to the creation of the people's incomes, that is to the relationship between the maximum and minimum salary and to the relationship between those incomes stemming from work and those from the social consumption funds; to the placement of consumption on scientific bases which exclude waste and consumption for the sake of consumption; and, to the optimum combination of raising material well-being with developing those conditions for broadening the people's horizons for knowledge and full participation in social-political affairs.[16]

The stage that our country is currently passing through requires a new approach to the problem of the people's well-being and, within this framework, to the problem of consumption so that this will fulfill its fundamental functions under the best possible conditions: satisfying the people's needs, that is, contributing to the multilateral development of the human personality. The development of research into this subject would permit: a) a more rational use of existing means and a greater concordance between the possibilities of the economy right now and the people's demands; b) a more thorough scientific base for following the trends that develop in the people's consumption and c) the formulation of a long-term policy on comsumption that will lead to a model of socialist consumption specific to our country. Any consumption model and, as a result, a socialist consumption model is defined principally by the level and structure of the consumption of material goods and services. In our view, the model is viewed both at the national level and at the level of the social classes and categories. The problem presented is one of ensuring a more profound understanding of the current models and the factors that determine them and of foreseeing future trends under the conditions of furthering the process of social homogenization. A series of economic and extraeconomic factors have an affect upon the formation of a consumption model, including factors of a psychological nature and an ideological nature. The

formulation of a long-term consumption policy requires, in our opinion, the furthering of research into: a) the people's needs under socialism; b) the general functions of consumption and c) the role of consumption both in the incomes stemming from work and in those from the social consumption funds.

Specialized works, including those from our country, contain numerous pertinent ideas regarding the people's needs. Needs have been defined, classifications have been made and ideas have been advanced regarding their measurement.[17] Nonetheless, currently we do not have a unified theory on man's needs in the context of the socialist way of life. Clearly, this requires a thorough, inter- and pluridisciplined study. One particular problem regarding needs is that of creating a hierarchy of needs and the role that different needs have in the life of a person in socialist society. Long periods of existence in societies divided into classes have pointed out that for the moneyed classes the priority needs are needs of a material nature. For the owner classes, needs of a material nature are not confined to the physical, vital needs and to the satisfaction of physiological needs. Their needs become a purpose unto themselves, a means through which they determine social status and differentiate themselves from the other social classes and categories. For that reason, what characterizes the moneyed classes is luxury, waste and ostentatious consumption.[18] In exchange, the needs for work, creativity and knowledge in general have an extremely weak intensity for the moneyed classes.[19] Naturally, there can be individual, separate cases, but they do not render void the general characteristics of the moneyed classes.

Contemporary capitalism has raised these characteristics to a higher plane, while currently the competition in the capitalist markets is so powerful that the domination of material goods is nearly absolute. In order to achieve a need to use capital and certain profits that are as large as possible, new products are constantly created (sometimes without a practical use and even some that are damaging to the physical and psychological health of the people), and artificial needs are stimulated.[20] One could ask: What is the hierarchy of needs under socialism? As has been said, man through his essence feels the need for knowledge and culture and work and creativity, as well as the need for communication and society. The problem that arises is for society to offer an adequate framework so that these traits and potentials which exist in each person will be developed and truly provide a multilateral flourishing of the human personality. Otherwise, we arrive at the restriction of the creative forces, a multilateral development and even the phenomenon of dehumanization.[21]

Given the economic and political-ideological bases upon which socialism is founded (public property and dialectic and historical materialism), we can state on firm grounds that, in differing from those orders founded on exploitation, in the new society needs are structured (as possibilities for achievement) in a new hierarchy. They are developed and expressed in accordance with the essence of

man, of the total and complete man, not the partial and unilateral man. There are specialists who feel that in the new order cultural needs should have equal importance with those of a material nature. Even more, the ideas has been advanced that socialist society should be characterized, in opposition to the capitalist consumer society, as a society of culture and creativity. Being fully in agreement with this opinion, we stress that under socialism the thesis remains valid regarding the requirement to give priority satisfaction to those physical needs for food, water, air, clothing and shelter, those needs which, in specialized literature, we encounter under the name of natural or physiological needs. But, differing from capitalism and other ordersbased on exploitation which bring about an unequal or partial satisfaction of physical needs, socialism creates the possibilities for all people to have material living conditions that are appropriate and to permit the development and flourishing of the human personality. Within this framework, at least two aspects of a principal nature seem to us to be worthy of note: a) socialism is incompatible with luxury and waste and with ostentatious material consumption. This is the result of the fact that under socialism the exploiting classes are eliminated, that a social homogenization process takes place and that the sole criterion for evaluating man is work and his behavior in society and his contribution to economic and social progress; and b) the objective of socialist society is to provide all the members of society a rational, scientifically determined consumption of material goods and services, and not to limit consumption like in the societies divided into antagonistic classes, where these limits sometimes reach the level of survival needs.

In our reference to the problem of the people's needs under socialism, in a practical sense we also dealt with the problem of the functions of consumption. First of all, there is the fact that under socialism consumption is no longer the criterion for evaluating the status of a person. Second, we referred to the utilitarian function of consumption and to the satisfaction of the physical, scientifically estimated needs of the people.

Life shows that outside of the strictly utilitarian function of satisfying physical needs, consumption also has other functions, including that of satisfying certain needs of an esthetic and artistic nature. Most frequently this requirement appears in regards to clothing. Specialists point out, for example, that among the reasons for clothing an essential place is held by those of a practical, moral, social, communicational, psychological and esthetic nature. This is also the source of the requirement regarding the creation of a wardrobe that will satisfy both the useful demands of a practical nature and those of the other demands of the people. Within this framework of ideas, it is appropriate to also mention the fact that equality is a trait of man, that he tends to imitate, to be in step with others and, at the same time, to be different.[22] The interaction between imitation and differentiation generates fashion as a social-objective phenomenon, with implications for the people's consumption and for determining the rational norms of consumption.

New problems are also raised by the fact that fashion has a periodic nature which presupposes that products are morally used up prior to reaching a point of complete physical use. As such, those products replaced are to be subjected to a recycling process. It is presumed that in the future the esthetic feeling will be developed and that the problems raised by the recycling of products will not be more reduced.

The requirement of taking into consideration the diverse functions that consumption has also appears in connection with other products - furniture and durable goods. Housing, however, raises special problems. More than half of one's life is lived within the framework of a housing unit and it must provide a framework and an environment that will satisfy the biological requirements for space and shelter, as well as the requirements for psychological space that is necessary for each individual.[23] Correspondingly, it is necessary for the housing unit to also satisfy requirements of an esthetic nature, a fact that will influence approved construction solutions.

In some works, there is talk about the function of avoiding consumption and it is left to be understood that this is characteristic of all social orders.[24] Among others, there is talk of using certain items or consuming certain products (drugs, alcohol) in order to allegedly eliminate certain tensions generated by hunger, insecurities, lack of affection and so forth. Not by chance, the consumption of drugs has become widespread in the capitalist countries. Under socialism, there is no room, however, for avoidance consumption to become a characteristic of consumption.

The achievement of the socialist consumption model is a complex and long-term problem. The complexity of creating the socialist consumption model stems from a number of circumstances:

- socialism has succeeded in countries which in the past, in the majority of them, were poorly economically developed, a fact which generates a contradiction between the real needs of the people and the objective possibilities for satisfying them. The solution of these contradictions is a dynamic process ensured by the rapid growth of the production forces under the conditions in which (precisely for stimulating the production forces of society) the principle of paying salaries according to the work done is applied. This is the source of the differences and inequalities in the incomes and consumption of the population. Although these differences and inequalities are continuously being reduced, they are a trait of the socialist consumption model. In Romania, for example, the 5.5 to 1 ratio between the maximum and minimum salaries will continue to exist for a long time in the future.[25] In the future of creating a communist society and of carrying out a distribution according to need, there will be a full equality for the population in the area of consumption;

- in the countries where socialism has succeeded, there continues to exist by virtue of inertia a series of practices and customs from the old social order, practices and customs which slow the process of creating the socialist consumption model. In some cases, there can be an appearance of contradictions, recrudescences and prestige consumption, especially in the ranks of those categories of the population having higher salaries. There continues to be, however, phenomena of alcoholism. Similarly, in the area of food consumption there are customs and practices which slow the achievement of a consumption based on scientific norms, including in the developed socialist countries which have an appropriate material base. Changing these practices requires a modification of the psychological position regarding food and the replacement of a quantitative concept with a qualitative one. Deficient culinary practices and customs also exist in Romania.[26]

The creation of the socialist consumption model requires, on one hand, the careful study of the people's requirements and the confrontation of these with the recommendations of scientists and the values of socialism, and, on the other hand, the offering of material goods and services in such a volume and in such a structure that will correspond to the people's demands and the recommendations of the scientists and the values of socialism. Respect for these demands leads to a rational socialist consumption model.

The large outlines of this model stem from the combination of the forecasts for consumption on the basis of explorative methods and on the basis of normative methods. The use of both methods requires taking in calculation as many factors as possible that have an influence. In the case of the explorative methods, we have in mind such factors as: income, prices, urbanization, production and so forth. Projections can be made through unifactoral consumption functions, as well as through multifactoral consumption functions. Clearly, the cognitive value of the multifactoral functions is far superior to the unifactoral ones. The normative methods are based on the findings of specialists regarding the consumption of materials goods or services which will fully satisfy the socially determined needs of man. They analytically take into consideration the multiple functions that a product will fulfill: utilitarian, social-esthetic, psychological and so forth. By their nature, the normative forecasts for consumption are the product of certain interdisciplinary research projects which can involve physiologists, nutritionists, commodity specialists, economists, sociologists, psychologists and so forth. As a result, in recent times in some socialist countries, especially for the development of normative estimates, a new instrument is being developed for guiding socialist consumption - the rational consumption budget.[27] In Romania, beginnings in this regard have been made at the Institute of Planning and Forecasting.

Given the above-mentioned, especially the fact that in the real consumption of the people there are also elements that do not adhere to the socialist consumption model, the normative methods remain decisive in determining this model. Naturally,

the normative method excludes luxury, waste and ostentatious consumption, as well as avoidance consumption. As such, through its essence the socialist consumption model is a rational consumption. Rational consumption requires the full satisfaction of scientifically determined needs, a broad range of products of appropriate quality offered to the people and the individual decision of the consumer to buy one product or another in the quantity and of the quality that he considers necessary. Rational consumption, thus, has nothing in common with a strictly regulated, rationed consumption, with supplies marketed on the basis of coupons or cards. Naturally, under certain special moments situations can appear which require the temporary regulation of the consumption of certain products.

Recently, especially in connection with the aggravation of the energy and raw materials crisis, representatives of political and scientific circles in the developed capitalist countries have advanced the idea of achieving a rational consumption in the capitalist societies (including in the field of producing and consuming material goods and services for the public). Along this idea, Edmond Lisle, research director of the National Council of Scientific Research in France, speaks about the need to move from a consumer society to a society of economy.[28] Although the capitalist state can intervene in the regulation of the operation of certain economic sectors and in the use of resources, the bases of capitalist society continue to exist along with waste, luxury and flagrant inequalities in the living conditions of the people.[29]

The creation of the socialist consumption model will be achieved gradually through economic and social policy measures. The programs regarding the growth of the standard of living, the five year plans and the annual plans for economic and social development are steps which contribute to the modernization of consumption in light of the rational socialist consumption model. The consumption levels outlined in the programs and five year and annual plans mentioned are considered by us to be optimum consumption levels capable of being achieved in the respective stages in accordance with the level of development of the forces of production and the dominant economic and social factors. In the process of creating the socialist consumption model a decisive role is played by the incomes stemming from work, with these being, as has been said, a powerful factor which stimulates the efficient use of material and labor resources. At the same time, an especially important role is played by the social consumption funds which reach the people in the form of money or in the form of services. The fact they are principally distributed according to "the criterion of need" and not according to "the criterion of work" contribute to a diminuation of the differences in the incomes and consumption of the people. Through these funds, society contributes to the creation of equal chances for the development and formation of all citizens, regardless of the size of incomes stemming from the work of the families or the number of members making up the family.

Speaking about the creation of the socialist consumption model it is appropriate to stress the ever larger contribution that public food supply is to have in this regard, including public food supply in schools, factories and institutes. The public food supply units are to have the job of being in the vanguard of placing food consumption of scientific bases and of contributing to the elimination of deficiencies that exist in the food supply system. In this direction, that is, of creating a rational consumption, we can have the common use of certain facilities that satisfy important needs of the people (transportation, cultural-education service units, as well as sport and tourism units). This type of consumption which, normally, is called inappropriate for social consumption, can provide access for a larger part of the population to these services, under conditions of being economical.

The extension of satisfying certain essential needs of the people through the public food supply or through the common use of certain facilities is influenced, however, by the achievement of at least two parameters: a) the cost of this service must be less than in the case of achieving it within the family or through the use of individual resources, and b) the quality of the service must be better. Common transport, for example, must be achieved during a useful time of the day and under conditions of comfort, at lower prices.

The development of socialist consumption requires the use of value and educational key factors in structuring the behavior of consumers in the direction of the model designed. We especially have in mind the use of retail prices and credit as factors of indirect influence on the consumer. These factors can play a more active role in the promotion of the consumption of certain products and services that satsify the natural needs of the people under better conditions and in the slowing of the consumption of other products and even in their substitution. Similarly, the means of mass communication can make a greater contribution to the education of the people in the spirit of the values at the base of the socialist way of life and socialist consumption. The efficiency of the education actions for consumers are helped, however, by the existence of an appropriate offering of goods and services.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1979, p 55.

2. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1960, p 256.

3. Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, "Works," Vol 3, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1955, p 21.

4. A. P. Butenko, "The Socialist Way of Life. Problems and Opinions," Moscow, Nauka Publishing House, 1978 (in Russian).

5. A collective work, "The Building of a Developed Socialist Society Economy," Sofia, 1980 (in Bulgarian).

6. B. de Jouvenel, "Arcadie, ou l'art du mieux-etre," Paris, SEDEIS, Futuribles, New Publishing House, 1971, p 60 and later.

7. K. Bauer, "What Is Value? An Analysis of the Concept," in K. Baier and N. Rescher "Values and the Future," New York, the Free Press, 1971, pp 45-46.

8. M. Draganescu, S. Beldescu, "The Quality of Life and Civilization," in the volume "Socialist Civilization and Its Values. Preliminary Theoretical Studies," Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1975, pp 73-79.

9. Ioan V. Totu, "The Dynamics of Development and the Quality of Life Under Socialism (I)," REVISTA ECONOMICA, No 22, 30 May 1980, p 17.

10. Vl. Trebici, "The Quality of Life - The Finality of the Socialist Economy," in REVISTA ECONOMICA, No 38, 1975, p 16.

11. Emilian Dobrescu, "The Optimum of the Socialist Economy," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1976, p 27.

12. "Voprosi filosofi," No 3, 1975, p 154.

13. Ioan V. Totu, "The Dynamics of Development and the Quality of Life Under Socialism (I, II, III, IV)," REVISTA ECONOMICA, Nos 22, 23, 24, 25, 1980.

14. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works," Vol 18, Politica Publishing House, 1964, p 42[illegible].

15. K. Marx, "The Bases for Criticism of Political Economics," Vol 2, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1974, p 21.

16. "The Economy of Socialist Romania in the Works of President Nicolae Ceausescu," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1978, especially the chapter: "The Correlation Between Investments and Consumption; The Balancing of Economic and Social Criteria in the Zoning of the Country; Material Stimulation and Social Equality; The Humanism of Economic Growth Under Socialism."

17. Aurel Negucioiu, "The System of Economic Needs," in "Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai," Serias Oeconomica, Cluj, 1969, p 35-44; Petre Panzaru, "Needs in the Perspective of Socialist and Communist Civilization (I and II)," in ERA SOCIALISTA, Nos 3 and 4, 1975; J. Galtung, et. al., "Measuring World Development (lito)," in "World Indicators Program," No 2; John McHale, Magda Cordell McHale, "Basic Human Needs - A Framework for Action," New York, 1978.

18. From a historic point of view, Marx and Engels pointed out the bourgeois evolution towards ostentatious consumption. Broadly speaking, the problem of ostentatious consumption was dealt with by Thorstein Veblen in the work "The Theory of the Leisure Class," 1899.

19. M. Pagnal (a member of the French Academy) wrote the following about the behavior of the moneyed class compared to the intellectuals: "The rich ones are very generous with the intellectuals, they leave for them the joys of studying, the honor of work, the pleasure of carrying out duties, reserving for themselves only the second class pleasures - caviar and sausage, a Rolls Royce and central heating in the heart of the danger of a lack of activities" (V. Topaze, Paris, 1965, p 246).

20. Alvin Toffler, "Future Shock," Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1973; Robert L. Heilbroner and other, "In the Name of Profit" (in the Soviet magazine, SSA, Nos 7, 8 and 9 in 1974).

21. The facts point out that in extreme cases removing the individual from contact with his fellow man and from social relations that involve language, attention and affection can result in death and the loss of the individual as such. In this regard, there is significance in the experiment conducted by the German Emperor Frederich, 1194-1250, where he placed 18 newly-born children under excellent conditions of physical care, but conditions where they would not hear a single word from the persons with whom they came in contact. The idea was to learn which language they would speak when they grew up (Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic or the language of their parents). They experiment could not be carried out to conclusion. From a lack of affection all 18 children died between their 9th and 18th month from birth (see, "Man in the Contemporary World," by academcian St. Milcu, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1972, p 34).

22. Georg Wilhelm Friederich Hegel, "The Principles of the Philosophy of Right," Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, 1969, pp 226-227.

23. See "Man in the Contemporary World," by academician St. Milcu, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1972, p 34.

24. Philipp d'Tribarne thus characterizes avoidance consumption: "When it is impossible to sufficiently reduce the causes of the general tensions of existence (forms, insecurities, lack of affection and so forth), the psychological state of balance may be sought somewhere beyond these tensions... All people more or less use this type of avoidance to compensate for the most diverse type of shortcomings. Man's desires are frequently placed upon certain substitutes or symbols which he cannot really obtain" (in REVUE D'ECONOMIE POLITIQUE, No 1, 1972, pp 38-39).

25. The work done by the Central Directorate of Statistics regarding the family budgets of workers and peasants offer a rich statistical material for evaluating the existing differences in the people's consumption.

26. Iulian Mincu, "The Structure of the Food Supply in Today's World. The Food Supply System and the Demands Imposed by the Science of Nutrition," in ERA SOCIALISTA, Nos 2, 12 and 24, 1976.

27. V. Rutgaizer, O. Saenko, "The Use of the Rational Consumption Budget in Planning the Standard of Living," PLANOVOE HOZEAISTVO, No 2, 1978, pp 55-66. In this study, it is pointed out that for the food portion the Academy of Medical Science of the USSR drew up, through the current time, a set of 150 rational consumption norms and felt that the set could be expanded to 400-450 items.

28. Edmond A. Lisle, "From a Society of Consumption to a Society of Economy," ANALYS ET PREVISION, No 4, April 1974, pp 387-413.

29. Patrice Grevet, "A New Quality of Life," ECONOMIE ET POLITIQUE, No 24 (297), April 1979, pp 76-80.

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MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 81 pp 516-519

[Article by Col Mihai Arsintescu and Lt Col Gheorghe Aradavoiace covering a scientific session held in April 1981: "The Romanian Communist Party's Scientific Policy of Strengthening Our Socialist Country's Defense Capabilities"]

[Text] In honor of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party, the Ministry of National Defense organized, together with the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, a session to hear reports and papers on the theme "The Romanian Communist Party's Scientific Policy of Strengthening Our Socialist Country's Defense Capabilities."

On behalf of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and supreme commander of the armed forces, comrade Ion Coman, a member of the Political Executive Committee and a secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party extended a warm greeting to the participants in this event.

The reports and papers presented in the plenum and the sections broadly and argumentively depicted the role of the Romanian Communist Party in Romania's modern and contemporary history and its vast political and organization activities dedicated to carrying out the great goals of the revolution of social and national liberation for the democratic and social transformation of Romanian society and for the consolidation of the country's independence and sovereignty, as well as its scientific policy in the area of strengthening the country's defense capabilities and of creating and training a new type of army.

Within the framework of the problems discussed, an especially important place goes to the presentation regarding the decisive role played by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the substantiation and promotion of our party's and state's military policy and his constant concern for supplying and increasing the combat force of the army and for raising the level of training for the partriotic guards, the young people's training detachments and the other formations within the framework of the national defense system. At the samt time, the reports revealed

the patriotic and political-moral significance of the army's participation in carrying out the country's programs for economic-social development, the indissoluble unity between the people and the army and the correlation of certain branches of science with strengthening our socialist country's defense capabilities.

The report, "The Romanian Communist Party - The Founder and Leader of Socialist Romania's Army," presented by Major General Dr Constantin Olteanu, the minister of national defense, covered the basic points our our party's activities in founding the people's army and the process of the democratic and, later, socialist transformation of the army during the years of the revolution and socialist construction. As in all other areas of the country's affairs, the development of socialist Romania's army experienced a turning point at the Ninth Party Congress. Because of the creative activities of our party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we have a thoroughly substantiated concept regarding national defense and an original military doctrine comprising a body of principles, guidelines and options that ensure a unity of action in the area of the armed defense of the country and that are equally valid for all the elements and factors that determine the country's military power. The author showed the special importance of the party's leadership of the army and the fact that this is expressed and exercised at all levels.

"The Position of the Romanian Communist Party Regarding the Role of the Army in the Country's Social-Political Affairs and in the Struggle for the Country's Defense of Independence and Sovereignty (1921-1944)," presented in the paper by Major General Dr Ilie Ceausescu, was broadly argued with facts and proofs which graphically attest to the party's concern for attracting military personnel to the struggle of the popular masses for democratic rights and a better life and for educating the soldiers in the spirit of understanding and helping the aspirations of those who had been exploited, and for blocking the repressive actions of the ruling classes and developing and broadening the revolutionary battle front. Although the removal of the communist party from the ranks of the legal parties in the summer of 1924 made the carrying out of its work in the army very difficult, this activity was not interrupted. The author of the paper stressed the objective principles of the party work in the ranks of the army and the broad variety of forms and methods used for the purpose of carrying out this work, especially during the period of the growth of the danger of fascism and the fierce struggle against the military-fascist dictatorship and for the overthrow of the Antonescu regime and Romania's alliance with the anti-Hitlerist forces.

In the paper, "The Romanian Communist Party's Activities for the Creation of a New Type of Army. Socialist Romania's Army, a Significant Creation of the Revolution and the Process of Building a New Order" Major General Constantin Antip and Colonel Ion Mihalcea showed the originality of our party's concept

and, furthermore, the means of achieving it regarding the creation of a new type of army in the sense of ensuring a complete agreement between the missions and aspect of the military organism and the nature of the social order that is being built in our country. The process of democratizing the army, a process specific to the first stage of the revolution, was principally achieved through the political and ideological persuasion of military personnel, concomitantly with the gradual establishment of the Romanian Communist Party's control and authority over the army and, in the end, with the army being taken under the direct leadership of the party. The socialist stage of the revolution gave an adequate content to the revolutionary transformation of the army and considerably accelerated its rate.

In the paper "The Determining Role of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the Substantiation and Application of Our Party's and State's Military Policy," Colonel General Vasile Milea outlined the defining characteristics of socialist Romania's current military policy and the fact that this policy, being an organic part of our party's and state's general policies, is naturally defined by the same values as the system to which it belongs: realism, a scientific nature, a lasting substantiation based upon the realities of domestic affairs and the conclusions resulting from the analysis of the evolution of the contemporary international situation, a receptivity and an adaptability to new requirements and a true reflection of the vital interests of our nation and the cause of detente, active collaboration between peoples and peace in the world. In all these defining characteristics, the paper pointed out, it is easy to distinguish the fundamental characteristics of the daring, profoundly revolutionary thought and actions of the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the inspired creator and active promoter of these constructive policies.

Lieutenant General Gheorghe Gomoiu's paper, "The Indissoluble Unity Between the Army and the People - the Basic Source of Our Army's Strength and Its Ability to Defend the Country," pointed out the fact that the unity between the army and the people, an intrinsic component of the socialist unity of our nation founded on lasting economic, ideological, political, social, moral and organizational bases, a unity with strong and multiple roots in the long history of our country, represents a guarantee for strengthening the defensive power of the country and for ensuring its independence. In the concept of our party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the fulfillment of all of the army's functions is conceived and directed to always be carried out in close cooperation with the people.

Dr Florin Constantiniu's paper was entitled "Romanian Historiography About the All People's War as a Means of Defending National Independence." In it he presented the defining characteristics of Romanian historiography regarding the all people's war and the development of this approach in the specialized

writings after the Ninth Party Congress, which also stimulated the theoretical and scientific investigations into this field of broad interest, and the concerns stimulated by the clear concepts of our party and state regarding the defense of the country by all the people and by the guidelines of socialist Romania's military policy.

In the paper "Profoundly Educational Values in the History of the Romanian People and Its Communist Party," Dr Nicolae Copoiu dealt with this group of values, impressive through their humanist dimensions, through the prism of the influences exercised on the political-moral make-up of the country's citizens. He argued the fact that the work of the secretary general of our party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, had projected a new picture not only of the present and the future, but also of the history of the party and the Romanian people, with the great values of history being defined and evaluated in a unified view in accordance with materialist-dialectic philosophy and the fundamental truths of the historical existence of our people.

Rear Admiral Iosif Pricop presented the report "The Army - An Active Factor in the Development of Young People's Social Awareness, A School of Revolutionary and Patriotic Education in the Spirit of Socialist Ethics and Equality." In this report, he showed our party's and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept regarding the objectives and principal directions of action for the communist education of the young people who are trained under the battle flags of the army for the defense of the country.

The multiple interdependencies between mathematics and military science were outlined in the paper "Mathematics and Military Science," by academician Gheorghe Mihoc. He pointed out the fact that more than a few mathematical advances have found their effective application in the military field, which, for its part, gave mathematics diverse theoretical and practical problems. In this context, he presented the value and multiple possibilities opened by gaming theory, which has permitted the analysis of sequential conflictual situations using mathematical models.

In presenting the report "The Creation and the Development of the National Defense Industry - An Expression of the Constant Concern of the Romanian Communist Party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the Strengthening of the Country's Defense Capabilities," Lieutenant General Nicolae Popa and Colonel engineer Nicolae Barbat argued the fact that the progress made in the industrialization of the country and the growth of our economy's technical and technological potential also permitted the development of our own production of defense equipment, which represented, in our times, a requirement for the consolidation of national independence.

"Physics and Military Science" was the theme of the paper by academcian Serban Titeica. In his paper, after he presented in summary several of the significant discoveries of physics with broad applicability in the construction of military equipment, he gave priority attention to the achievements of solid body physics which led to the construction of certain rapid and small-dimension processors and to the progress in the field of decimeter electromagnetic waves with applications for radar.

Major General Alexandru Petriceanu presented the report "The Patriotic Guards - An Important Component of the National Defense System of the Socialist Republic of Romania," referring to the objectives and tasks of the patriotic guards, according to the Directive of the Supreme Commander, during the current five year plan and to the principal means of action for the organizational consolidation of the patriotic guards staffs, for the training of cadre, for the raising of the patriotic guards' capacity to intervene and take action and for the improvement of their cooperation with military units and the other defense formations.

Captain Teodor Tufan's report was entitled "Formations for the Military Training of Young People - A Significant Potential Force of the National Defense System." In his report, Tufan stressed the major directions of action for fulfilling the role given to these formations within the framework of the national defense system through the continued improvement of the methodologies used in the process of training young people and the spread of the positive experiences accumulated both in the military training of young people and in their patriotic, moral and military education.

Professor Emanuel Sahini, in presenting his paper "The Contribution of Physical Chemistry to the Science of Materials," revealed the fact that within the framework of a broad interdisciplinary synthesis certain important fields of physical chemistry, as well as the physical chemistry of macromolecules and colloids, electrochemistry, radiochemistry and photochemistry, all have significant possibilities for applications in different areas of military activities.

Colonel General Marin Nicolescu, in presenting the paper entitled "The Patriotic and Political-Moral Significance of the Army's Participation in the Carrying Out of Programs for the Country's Economic-Social Development," reported our party's concept regarding the army's social functions. Within this framework, concomitantly with its training for the pupose of carrying out its basic missions, there also is the task of actively participating in the achievement of our party's and state's economic objectives, showing the multiple significance of the army's participation in production activities as the clearest expression of our army's patriotism during peacetime.

In the sections dedicated to the principal fields of concern - military art, military equipment, social sciences and economic-financial activities, the 43 reports and papers showed the directions of effort for bringing about the

requirements as outlined by our party and the supreme commander in the army regarding increasing the combat capacities in the commands and major units [mare unitate] and all activities for training young people for the purpose of defending the country.

In the closing speech at the end of the proceedings of the scientific session, the president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, university professor Dr Docent Mihnea Gheorghiu, noted the fact that through the reports and papers presented the participants had outlined the laborious activities of the Romanian Communist Party and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to strengthen the country's defense capabilities as an integral part of the work of building a new society and the especially rich value in the significance and theoretical and practical ideas and conclusions of the problems discussed. At the same time, it showed the fruitful and becoming traditional cooperation between the Ministry of National Defense and the most prestigious institutes of science and culture in our country, a cooperation which has proven fruitful in other areas as an expression of the active presence of the army in all the country's political, scientific and spiritual affairs.

The proceedings of the session, one of the events dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party, constituted a vibrant expression of the unlimited feelings of love and recognition which the soldiers of the country and all the people have for our glorious party and its secretary general, the supreme commander of the armed forces, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

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VIEWS OF FOREIGN HISTORIANS ON UNION OF PRINCIPALITIES COMBATTED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian May 81 pp 853-880

[Article by Viorica Moisuc: "The Year 1918 in the History of the Romanians. Viewpoints"]

[Text] The result, conforming with objective laws, of the social, economic and political evolution of the Romanian nation, a united national state whose establishment was concluded on 1 December 1918 included between its borders the entire Romanian nation. The union of the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Muntenia in 1859, an act carried out by the popular masses and recognized as such by the big powers, was consolidated by eliminating Ottoman suzerainty and establishing full state independence in 1877-1878. As previously, this "fait accomplis" was sanctioned at the international legal level. At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, in eastern Europe, where the big Hapsburg and tsarist backward multinational empires kept a large number of nations and peoples under their domination, the national liberation struggle took on an unprecented scope under the conditions of the sharpening interimperialist contradictions. The establishment of the independent national state had become an imperative of that historical stage. Lenin correctly noted that "very many Romanians and Serbians (in proportion to the total number of Romanians and Serbians) live outside the borders of "their" state and that generally "the construction of a state" in the national-bourgeois direction did not end in the Balkans."[1] The observation was just as valid for the Czechs and Slovaks, under Hapsburg domination, and for the Poles, divided between three empires; the Ottoman empire, dominating nations and peoples in Europe and Asia, had reached an advanced state of destruction and backwardness regarding their own people and the natural framework for their development, the national state; in the Hapsburg empire, the dominating Austrian and Hungarian classes, concerned with "how much" and "how" to exploit the land obtained through force and the peoples deprived of freedom more and more efficiently, were annihilating the creative capacity of their own nations, a capacity that could only be asserted in the framework of sovereign, national, independent states; aggravated up to its culmination in the years of World War I, the economic-political-national crisis in the Austro-Hungarian empire and the tsarist and Ottoman empires could no longer be held back by any kind of repressive, administrative military or other measures. The collapse of tsarism under the blows of the socialist revolution was followed by the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire. By the end of 1918, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian kingdom,and the Polish Republic were acts achieved.[2] With regard to us, on 1 December 1918, the 100,000 Romanians representing the will of "all Romanians from Transylvania and Banat" decreed the union of all the territories they inhabited with Romania, thus concluding the last stage in establishment of the

Romanian united national state.[3] "The flow of historical events demonstrates most categorically that the union was not the effect of an accident, the product of a simple favorable circumstance or of understandings which occurred at the treaty table, but the result of the decisive struggle of the broadest masses of people, an act of profound national right, the achievement of a legal agreement between the objective reality and the people's inalienable rights, on one hand, and the national framework demanded stringently by these realities," stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, continuing to state the undeniable truth that "the peace treaty later concluded only legitimized the existing state of affairs."[4]

The progressive forces of the time, the illuminated people with progressive views and keeping up with the big revolutionary changes unfolding rapidly, fully understood the phenomenon and showed their solidarity with the just struggle of the people for national liberation and expressed satisfaction with carrying out a just cause. On 3 November 1918, a manifesto signed, among others, by Ady Endre, Bela Bartok, Gyorgy Bolony, Zoltan Kodaly and Jeno Varga, stressed: "We have no claim on our sister nations. And we consider ourselves a renewed nation, a now liberated force, as well as those brothers happily rising to a fresh life on the ruins of the monarchy. We wake eased with the awareness that we no longer are being forced to be the pillars of oppression. Let us live next to each other in peace as free nations with other free nations."[5] An act with broad significance for understanding the community of interests of the Romanians and the cohabiting nationalities on the matter of building the united Romanian national state is the unre erved solidarity with the 1918 union of Germans, Schwabians and Jews.[6] For the more than 17 and on -half million inhabitants of the new Romania within its ethnic borders (of which 73 percent were Romanians), a new stage of development was beginning on the path of progress, a stage which was placing on the agenda the overcoming of the big lags at all levels, an inheritance left by the long period of exploitation, plunder and oppression committed by the big neighboring empires.

In a study entitled "History, Is It Art or Science?" contained in the valuable set of manuscripts of ASTRA Library in Sibiu, A. D. Xenopol stated: "For the person who feels that the main purpose of history is a nice presentation, regardless of whether that presentation reproduces the development of life or only a fairytale, for him history is an art; for the one entrusted that history must reproduce the truth about the course of human things, with all the difficulties to be overcome, regardless of whether his presentation is nice or not , for that person, of course, history is a science"[7]; the words of the great scholar remain very current, especially if we bear in mind the circulation of essays in specialized or mass literature, essays which construct the history of certain phenomena in conformity with previously established conclusions. There is a single truth in this literature: denial of objective historical truth, eluding or distorting the facts, formulating "appropriate" theses which rhyme with just as "appropirate" facts. Of course, the question is posed of whether such "fairy tales," as Xenopol called them, deserve the attention of those historians who make history a science and of whether, on such a base, it is possible to have a real scientific polemic. Because what really could be the answer to this kind of question: The break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire following the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations "is a legend diametrically opposed to historical facts,"[8] as if the year 1918 did not even exist in history? Also, what really could be the answer to the assertion that the alliance treaty concluded by Romania with the Entente powers in 1916, a treaty which completely subordinated Romania's participation in the war to a single goal--freeing the Romanian provinces subjugated

by Austro-Hungary and reuniting them with the country--is characterized as "criminal," "imperialist?"[9] Does the thesis according to which Romania is "the product of the 1919 peace" really deserve an answer, simply tossing in the wastebasket all the history of a people who had buried in the earth where they had lived many generations of ancestors, when tribes of migrating populations rushed across these flourishing lands?

Undoubtedly, Nicolae Iorga was right when he said: "The person earnest in his right cannot have any kind of passion. He has passion when he is removed from the place which is not his due, from that place where he felt he was master through conquest and master through oppression. That person has passion."[10] But this "passion" in the attempt to demonstrate that which cannot be demonstrated, that of denying implacable historical truths and of "creating" so-called truths from the peak of the pen, thus, making anti-history, really recalls the times when the Austro-Hungarian or tsarist offices "decreed" that the "national problem" did not exist in their empires, while the repressive measures applied to the oppressed peoples were intended to "resolve" that national liberation struggle which was so dangerous.

Romanian scholars, particularly those who carefully saw to the historical past of their people, deciphering their purposes and their aims, never did "science for science's sake"; the past, with all that was good or not so good in it, served the present, in its most intense moments, while everything was serving the future; and it was more than once, defending a present full of hopes, that the patriotic Romanian scholars spoke out for the truth, that truth which was mixed up withthe very history of their people. On the basis of this truth, then, we shall try to bring to your attention the historical facts which prove that the year of 1918 for the Romanians was an objective law, the act of will and struggle of a nation of nearly 18 million people, a concrete and irreversible reality which the progressive international community helped and recognized as such; this moment--1918--which meant fulfillment of a national ideal for which difficult sacrifices of the entire Romanian nation were made does not permit any defilement or damages from anybody, no matter who it is; that is why, beyond any scientific polemic, beyond what may be called a "difference of opinion," in this case it is a question of the respect due historical truth and the historical evolution of a people who never were brought to their knees during their exence and who do not owe anything to anybody in the work they did themselves, who enjoyed the international solidarity of the progressive forces in various eras.

In an interesting study which proposes to analyze and explain the orientation of Hungarian historiography after 1918 under the new political-historical conditions,which were completely different from the previous ones, Ferenc Glatz points out that the attention of historical literature to a large extent was directed toward explaining the decomposition of the dualist monarchy and, as a result, of "historical Hungary," bringing out "historical" arguments, with the tendency really being "to write about the disintegration of the old state formation as a vital problem of the nation."[11] And the author, trying to explain this phenomenon, feels: "The Hungarian historian--making an abstraction of Marxist historical concept which, also due to its exclusion from Hungary then, could not play an important role--suffered terribly" due to the "Trianon shock."[12] The decisive influence of this "shock," in the author's opinion, explains the orientations of "non-Marxist" Hungarian historiography after 1920, that is, "the historical-geographic unity of Great Hungary " Ardeal considered as "the symbol of the independent Hungarian state," "the historical motivation" of rebuilding old Hungary (since "economic reasoning could be reversed, while ethnic arguments were only partially usable, since merely a small portion of the Hungarian residents were

living on the separated territories"); "the investigation of Ardeal's history was not restricted merely to the subject of the independent Hungarian state of the Hapsburgs, but was broadened up to the presentation of Ardeal as belonging organically to mother Hungary" [13] as Ferenc Glatz points out. The "national problem" in the old empire also held a primary spot in Hungarian historiography after World War I, that is, "the relationship between Hungarians and nationalities." In approaching this latter problem, an important category of study, as Ferenc Glatz finds, "attempted to show continually that the Hungarians can claim the role of political leader on the basis of the right of the one who came first."[14] Another aspect of the "sui generis" method of approaching the national problem in the former monarchy also was the attempt to show, as Ferenc Glatz recalls, that "the Hungarians always lived together well with the other cohabiting peoples in the country, that is, that Hungarian national policy always took the nationalities into account,"[15] in other words, the "nonexistence" of any real national problem in old Hungary.

Actually, with or without the "shock" caused not by Trianon or other peace treaties but by the national liberation revolutions of 1918, the ones who regretted the old states of affairs launched theories subordinate to a single goal for the ones who wanted to exploit them: revising the national-ethnic borders of the states established or completed in 1918, or obtaining a new territorial-political status in central Europe under the federative formula, clearly having Hungary as the center. For example, who does not recall what Paul Teleki, future president of the council, wrote when he maintained that Hungary with the "separated" regions "forms a geographic unit, it has borders and a clearly defined center and its parts are economically and harmoniously completed"[16]; later, fascist Admiral Horthy claimed that dismembering the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was "a madness today regretted by everybody."[17] Horthy, who pushed the slogan "nem, nem soha!" (no, no, never), also maintained with the same conviction the error that "in Transylvania, the Romanians were only a minority" and that, through the action of its troops, Romania "annexed" this province at the end of December 1918.[18] Who also does not recall the theory of the"Switzerland of the East" of Oskar Jaszi* who actually aimed at creating a confederation of states which were former "members" of the monarchy and adjacent states comprised of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Serbia, Croatia, Dalmatia, while Transylvania was offered a "cultural and living independence in conformity with the spirit of Renner's Austro-Marxism."[19] The formula of "rebuilding" old Hungary, as we know, circulated throughout the interwar period in varying ways and with different motivations, among which, clearly, the one of the "impossibility" of the existence of a Hungary lacking Transylvania and the other territories which had belonged to the "Crown" of Saint Stephen was not missing and of the need for rebuilding this factor of "order and balance" in central Europe.

With what justification did Nicolae Iorga rise in 1933 against such aberrations which smacked of "historical science" when he wrote: "Because it was a question of economic life, I do not know what kind of historians of political economics or very political economists threw out the following argument in Budapest: Hungary must be rebuilt, since it was a model of an economic unit. First you ask yourself--which Hungary? The Hungary of Saint Stephen created by the pope for an incentive in the crusades?" "The apostolic kingdom," Iorga pointed out, "is neither territorial or national. It can be big or small. It was big when there were the crusades; there are no more crusades, it gathered nicely within the convenient enough borders which it has now and which it can fill everyday with the national feeling. However, the national feeling," the scholar stressed," does not mean to seek a quarrel with the neighbor in order to take back what you yourself took from him at one time, but the positive, creative and honest national feeling is that which makes you arrange matters well in your own country."[20]

Of course, it is natural that today, particularly after the demonstration made by the 60 years of recent history of the states which, after 1918, formed the subject of so many attacks more or less dissimulated by theories of the kinds mentioned, the truth of 1918 should appear in all its complexity, although, naturally, differing opinions exist with regard to certain phenomena, points, situations.

For example, in a general work on the history of central Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries which appeared relatively recently, G. Ranki and I. T. Berend stress that "the principle of nationalities proved to be incompatible with the dynastic feudal principle of the Hapsburgs."[21] Using many arguments and statistical data, the authors show that at the beginning of our century, of the total of 50 million inhabitants of Austro-Hungary, the two nations whose dominating class held the power, formed only 44 percent , while the people under their rule, some gravitated toward union with their independent countries and others wished to establish their own, independent states.[22] In the years of World War I, they continue to point out, the process developed and the states established were the result of its finalization.[23]

The idea also is developed by Istvan Pinter in a recent article. "Even at the watershed of the century, Hungarian nationalism was an ideological form and basic policy which the interests of the big landowners and industrialists wore and the trends to achieve a Great Hungary, independent from Austria, within which they would oppress the nationalities which were living there. The classes in power in Hungary," the author points out, "understood their domination over the non-Hungarian peoples in the Carpathian basin as a mission, a historic task, and they denied other nationalities' right to national existence."[24] He also stresses another characteristic: "The idea of the thousands-year-old Hungarian state with a bourgeois content became an integral part of the idea that the Hungarians should have a leading role in southeastern Europe."[25]

As we know, the idea of the "historic" mission did not belong just to the Austrian empire or to Hungarian imperialism. Analyzing this feature of the foreign policy of the tsarist empire, the Soviet historian A. A. Iordansky shows that Catherine II, flying the banner of "liberation of the oppressed Christians in the Balkan Peninsula from the Turkish yoke," fiercely confronted Maria Theresa for domination at the mouths of the Danube, Black Sea and the Balkans. In this confrontation, when Maria Theresa annexed northern portion of the independent principality of Moldavia (the future "Bucovina"), to the great dissatisfaction of the Russian peasantry, the latter tried without success to obtain the "move of the Romanian principalities to the rule of the Polish king, Stanislav Poniatowski, the protege of Russia. Since, however,at the same time Poland was living its last days before being divided," A. A. Iordansky states, "Catherine's proposal simply meant moving the principalities to Russia."[26] The tsarist occupation of the Romanian principalities and the great material and political advantages which resulted from this situation for this empire once again convinced Catherine the Great of the importance which would have been held by "establishing a 'Greek-Eastern Empire' in the European part, which would include the Danube principalities, with Potemkin to be placed at the head of it."[27] Dwelling at length on the Austro-Russian-Turkish relations and the situation of the Romanian principalities "caught between two fires "[28] in the last quarter of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, the abovementioned Soviet historian stresses that the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Muntenia were necessary to imperial Russia "as the base for future move forward toward Constantinopole and Trimtori and as the final point in the big water artery of the Danube."[29] As we know, Catherine II's old plan was again picked up in various formulas in Tilsit and Erfurt by her successor,

who also tried to get the other powers interested. Secret understandings between the cabinets in Vienna-Petersburg-Paris regarding the Romanian principalities, whose status of independence had been gravely violated by the tsarist military occupation in the period of the interminable tsarist-Ottoman wars, brought the Soviet historian K. K. Persky to feel that they (the secret understandings) "produced a powerful impression on the Romanians, who understood that both Austria and Russia wished not the liberation of the Romanians but merely increasing the possessions they held at their expense,"[30] while another Soviet historian, N.A. Mokhov, referring to the same confrontation of interests between Petersburg and Vienna, stressed realistically that "the fate of the principalities becomes a currency of exchange in the international diplomatic struggle."[31] Actually, in June 1811, for example, N. P. Rumyantsev, the foreign minister of Tsar Alexander I, wrote to Gen M. I. Kutuzov, supreme commander of the occupation troops in the Romanian principality of Moldavia that "obtaining both principalities would place in our hands the opportunity of making a favorable exchange with Austria, ceding the Romanian Country for another region and even if such an exchange does not take place, then, having the opportunity to then propose Wallachia either as a transfer or as an exchange, we would keep permanently the greatest share in the political system of the Vienna cabinet."[32] So this is how two principalities with status as independent states were treated as "currency of exchange" in the politics of the time's great empires. The deterioration of relations with Napoleon, however, caused Tsar Alexander to reduce his big political plans to what he felt was "achievable," that is, annexation of the principality of Moldavia up to the Siret and Danube where it flowed into the Black Sea, at the same time claiming from the Ottoman Port "financial damages" for "rejection" of the principality of Wallachia."[33] For the latter, Alexander had "to be satisfied with 'such little' compensation in the opinion of the Petersburg politicans," A. A. Yordansky pointed out, "only because at that time the relations between Alexander and Napoleon had become so complicated that war between Russia and France had become inevitable"[34]; this matter, the Soviet historian stresses, returning to the idea of the "liberating mission" of the countries, "finally explained before the Romanian patriots the role of the Russian emperor and the true motives for the interest of 'the greatest Christian power' in the cause of liberating the oppressed peoples in the near east."[35] I should add that, with regard to the Romanians and their principalities, enjoying political, administrative, religious, economic and cultural independence, they weren't in asituation of being "liberated," not being "provinces" (pashaliks) of Turkey. So, as far as they were concerned, the big "Christian" empires could not in any way invoke the motive of liberating the Romanians from the Ottoman yoke."

During a later period, the idea of the "historic mission" also was expressed in other formulas, among which a distinct part was held by that of the "federative state," a formula which had in mind perpetuating the states of affairs in the big multinational empires under the cover of a new form. Along this line of idea, we stress the remarkable contribution of Gyula Merei, the Hungarian historian, to the analysis of the causes for the crisis of the Hapsburg empire. He felt that no type of plan for federalization of the Hapsburg empire could save it, with its break-up being an historical need."[36] Referring broadly to the various formulas for "federation" planned, beginning with the Wesseleny-Garasanin plan and ending with the one advanced by Aurel Popovici in his work "The United States of Great Austria" at the beginning of the 20th century and of Oskar Jaszi during the war, Gyula Merei rejects the idea that survival of the Austro-Hungarian empire under those historical conditions would have been possible any longer, when all the oppressed nationalities wanted their own independent states, regardless of the degree of liberalization which a federative state could offer them.[37] In the same position, the authors of the monograph "Histoire de la Hongrie" published in Budapest several years ago evaluated the inevitable nature of the

break-up of the double monarchy, with the decisive element in this phenomenon being the struggle for national and political emancipation of the oppressed nationalities who were aspiring to establish their own states which were independent and sovereign. With regard to the peace treaty of Trianon, the authors rightfully feel that it "gave satisfaction to the just aspirations" of the nationalities of the former empire.[38]

The problems of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire under the action of the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is treated in a very interesting report presented at the Romanian-Czech colloquium in Bucharest in 1967 and by the well-known historian J. Macurek.[39] Referring to the political-historical context of the Hapsburg monarchy up to 1872, J. Macurek dwells on the phenomenon of the national liberation struggle at various points, showing the development of collaboration between the Czechs and Romanians for one and the same goal: national-political emancipation, reestablishment of the independent states of the Czechs and the Slovaks, the union of the Romanians and the territories inhabited by them which were under the rule of Austria and Hungary, with the mother country.

His compatriot, historian Zdenek Kutina, concerned with the states in central and southeastern Europe established or accomplished in 1918, stresses that "the inclusion of all Romanians and territories occupied by them in a single national state" was the goal sought by Romania when it entered the war in August 1916, while the state achieved through the will and struggle of the entire Romanian nation in 1918 was "a united national state"; thus, we see that the peace treaties of 1919-1920 in Romania's case as well as that of the other states in this geographic zone meant "an actual reality."[40]

Against the same background of idea, Juliu Bardach, professor at the University of Warsaw, and Hubert Izdebski analyze report on the federative principle and the federal state in history, a report presented at the 15th international congress of history in Bucharest (August 1980), the flagrant inequality of treatment between the dominant nations on one hand and the dominated nations on the other, both within the framework of the Austro-Hungarian empire as well as the tsarist empire.These inequalities were more emphatic toward the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, with the national liberation struggle to establish sovereign and independent states becoming a definitive feature of the political-social situation in the big empires.[41]

The acute nature of the crisis in the dualist empire is brought out by Emil Neiderhauser, who stresses the emphasis of the "big contradictions between the oppressed nations and the dominant Austrian and Hungarian classes and between the dominating and oppressed nations" on the eve of World War I. As Neiderhauser points out, "It was natural for the Poles, Romanians, Serbs and Italians to travel the path of unification with their comrades in other states and to wish to part from the empire."[42] So, the national-political emanicipation in the framework of their own states for the oppressed nations of the double monarchy appears in the view of the historian mentioned as an objective historical phenomenon.

Of the multitude of problems belonging to the broad process of the decomposition of the Hapsburg empire, the British historian Kenneth Johnstone dwells on Romania's place in the history of Europe in the modern age, while he expressly analyzes the political-national regime of the Transylvanian and Bucovina Romanians in the context of the evolution of relations between Austria and Hungary on one hand and the relations between the Hapsburg empire and the tsarist empire on the other. This

historian feels that under these circumstances "the stage was set for the big dispute between Russia and Austria for the Balkan countries and what was considered to be the dying Ottoman Empire." This historian feels that due to their geographic placement, the Romanian principalities "were for Russia a natural corridor toward Turkey and the Balkans and, as such, a basic means for movement in the frequent Russian-Turkish wars."[43]

In connection with all this, the Soviet historian N. A. Mokhov, to whose studies we have referred before, in analyzing the political-diplomatic circumstances under which the Austrian-Russian contradictions were aggravated in the Balkan zone and the Danube zone in the last quarter of the 18th century, points out that, after Maria Theresa annexes Bucovina, a severe policy is established in this province against the native population: "The Austrian government insistently colonizes Bucovina with Austrians, Poles and people of other nationalities. Teaching in the schools was in German everywhere,"[44] the abovementioned historian stresses.

Under the international conditions of deepening rivalries between the Hapsburg and tsarist empires for domination and influence in the southeastern zone of Europe, the situation of the Romanians under foreign rule worsened greatly. "The wild policy of Magyarization," British historian Kenneth Johnstone continues to point out, "being conducted by the Hungarian government throughout the half-century which followed" (after 1848) "dispelled any hope for a solution, besides that of total capitulation; the compromise of 1867 ended any dreams of an independent Romanian province under the imperial crown."[45]

We also find similar judgments in a broad work devoted to the history of the Hapsburg empire following 1867 by the American historian Arthur J. May; analyzing the features of the domestic and foreign policy of the "empire of ruin," as Lloyd George called it, in the age of the momentum for national liberation struggle, A. J. May dwells on the Romanians' situation and states that the Transylvania problem without question dominated the evolution of relations between Austro-Hungary and Romania, an opinion in full agreement with reality.[46] The author presents the characteristic aspects of the tough policy of Magyarization of the nationalities as promoted by Count Coloman Tisza and continued by D. Bannfy and later by Count Apponvi and he stresses the steadfast opposition resistance of the oppressed nationalities, who made a common front in defending their rights; in this context, A. J. May formulates the appraisal that the Romanians conducted the most tenacious and effective struggle against denationalization, resorting to extremely varied and clever methods and being permanently supported by their compatriots in independent Romania. The final goal of their struggle, A. J. May shows, was the union of Romanians in a single state.[47]

Again picking up the matter of the Romanians, Soviet historian N. A. Mokhov shows that "finding themselves under foreign encirclement, the people kept their language and customs and, although tsarism hindered national development, it continued; the development of the ethnic awareness also continued among the people."[48] Also, in a collection of studies published in the USSR 3 years ago and devoted to the national problem in the former empire, it is pointed out that "particularly after the 1848 revolution," a revolution for the suppression of which the tsarist armies had a main role in the three Romanian principalities, "the national oppression practiced by tsarism intensified."[49]

The momenum of revolutionary liberation movements in the multinational empires, movements which involved broad masses of the oppressed peoples, demonstrated in many

actions, represents a broad range of problems to which the well-known French historian Pierre Renouvin directed his attention, analyzing predominantly the evolution of the political crisis on the eve of the outbreak of World War I; in this framework, P. Renouvin presents the status of the various nationalities subjugated by the big empires and he brings out the indisputable truth that, despite the harsh policy of oppression, these nationalities "did not lose the awareness of their individuality."[50]

Renouvin feels that the break-up of these empires in favor of the independent national states was a natural requirement of the time, the accomplishing of which could not be halted by the forces concerned with preserving the old states of affairs. He concludes: "'Balkanization' of Danubian Europe, which the diplomats of the Entente powers long felt was an undesirable prospect, was an "act accomplished before the offices even thought to intervene."[51] So, the Danubian peoples decided their future by themselves, independent of the will and plans of the big powers (including the Entente), placing already consumated facts before the peace conference.

Similar conclusions about the way in which the principle of the nationalities took action as a catalyzer of the struggle for political emancipation of the oppressed nationalities in the big empires also are formulated by Herbert J. Muller, who shows that this phenomenon "was a vivid reality of international modern life, a result of a century of unrest,"[52] while Hugo Hantsch feels that the national problem remained unsolved in Austro-Hungary, with the dualism of 1867 giving Austria and Hungary fictitious statuses as unifed states.[53] Robert Kann also speaks of the fictitious nature of the status as unified states given Hungary and Austria which, in his opinion, compromised the federative idea which would have permitted a more liberal status for the numerous nationalities included between the borders of the empire.[54]

Jacques Droz, in a work published immediately following World War II, states, as do the abovementioned historians, that particularly after 1867, a broad "revolution of the nationalities" takes place in the Hapsburg empire for national and political emancipation.[55] (Several years later, Jacques Droz changed his opinio maintaining that preservation of the Hapsburg empire would have been in the nationalities' interest.)[56]

Peter Sugar also takes the same position, feeling that "the only solution" for solving the problem of the Romanians under foreign rule was their union with Romania.[57]

The principle of the nationalities, as a basic element in establishing a new political order superior to what existed in Europe at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, with its corrolary--establishment of united, national, independent states and the nature of "fait accomplis" at the point when the peace conference opened--represents truths recognized in their defining features in many of the older or newer studies. Among the historians concerned with these problems, H. W. V. Temperley, for example, stresses that the principle of the nationalities substituted old dynastic principles in the content of the peace treaties of Trianon and Saint Germain.[58] Also, Maurice Crouzet feels that the liberation of the subjugated peoples in central and southeastern Europe and the establishment of national independent united states put an end to the sharp conflict of a national nature within the former empires, while the borders of the new states in general lines conform with the national aspirations of the people. [59]

Along the same line, Maxim Mourin finds that the union of Romanians in a single national state, achieved by them themselves, was a real reality which the Paris peace conference "was invited to sanction,"[60] while G. D. Spector, the well-known American

historian who was closely concerned with the activity of Romania's delegation to the peace conference, also feels that the territorial changes on the map of central and southeastern Europe were produced much before the opening of the peace conference, with its being able merely to ratify an already existing situation.[61] C. Bratianu, Spector says, "much more experienced than any other of the four big ones," was perfectly aware that actually the conference could do nothing but accept the decisions already applied by the peoples in central Europe.[62] In turn, R. Ristelhueber, stressing that in 1918 Romania "finally achieved its traditional aspirations, uniting all the Romanian lands as in the time of the reign of Mihai Viteazul,"[63] implicitly reaches the same relationship between "fait accompli" and the recording of it by the peace conference. Also, the American historian V. S. Mamatey, after he gives a broad explanation of how Romania--a united national state--and the other states in the same geographic zone came into existence, states, "The peace conference in this way was faced with an accomplished fact in eastern central Europe, which it neither wished nor could succeed in changing.[64] Concerned with the same problems, Robert Lee Wolf shows that the union of Romanians in a single state resulted from expression of the national will in Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918[65]; so, the peace treaties, in his concept, play a secondary role at the level of establishing the united Romanian national state. Identical conclusions also are expressed by Gottold Rhode, who emphasizes that the will of the popular masses brought the act of the union of all Romanians in a single state,[66] while L. S. Stavrianos in turn explains that in Paris the peace conference could only recognize and strengthen the actual situation existing in central and southeastern Europe through its decisions.[67]

Whereas in the great majority of its representative works, modern historiography evaluates the break-up of the big multinational empires and the establishment of independent, united, national states as inexorable phenomena of history ,there also are authors who circulate contrary theses, often with particular insistence, theses which are not original at all and which perhaps take somewhat further those old viewpoints presented by Ferenc Glotz in the study quoted above.

For example, some theses circulated by various historians and which actually result from each other, inevitably lead to a single conclusion: the artificial nature of the states in central and southeastern Europe. Here are several of the links in the chain of distorting historical facts: "Self-determination appeared as an ideology at the point where, connected with some apparently democratic demands, it served both to dissimulate expansion as well as to combat the despotic and aggressive principle, that is, the 'Germanic' principle," maintains Maria Ormos.[68] Pointing out that national self-determination or the principle of the nationalities was supported by the big Entente powers as "ideological camouflage" following "the break-down of the separate peace tries of Austro-Hungary at the beginning of 1918,"[69] the author, in referring to the peace conference, feels that "the decisions in their favor (of the states in central and southeastern Europe--editor's note) were adopted without their contribution." Maria Ormos feels that the states in central and southeastern Europe, natural results of the political-economic-strategic interests of the big powers as well as the plans of France "intended to promote the economic recovery of the region (it is a question in 1918 of reconstruction of the entire Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian and Romanian economies)," the plan of the Danube confederation and so forth--all these "aimed at filling this vacuum resulting from the disappearance of the monarchy with a new unit which would have been created under France's leadership."[70] So,this is how we find out from the abovementioned author that the abolishment of national oppression of approximately 30 million people in central and southeastern Europe generated a "vacuum," while the establishment of independent, sovereign, united and national states led no more or no less to economic chaos. If we take Maria Ormos' judgment further, of course one may say that the abolishment of colonial

exploitation over the widespread territories in Africa and Asia and today's proclamation of more than one hundred independent states were not phenomena of historical progress but they caused a "vacuum," with the "resolution" probably being a formula which would bring back the previously exploited peoples into a so-called political-economic unit placed under the sponsorship of the former parent states. Resorting to this kind of judgment contradicts the living history of hundreds of millions of people and dozens of independent states.

The theory of "vacuum" caused by the break-up of the dualist monarchy and the liberation of millions of people from under foreign domination is also supported by Istvan Dioszegi in an article on the international situation on the eve of the Paris peace conference; for example, he asserts that "a vacuum was created in world politics and in the immediate vicinity of the conquered countries, toward which various forces were demonstrated uninterrupted," with these "forces," in his opinion, being the big conquering powers and the small states of central and southeastern Europe which "strived to fill the void created by the world war,"[71] resulting from his demonstration that the main role in the break-up of the Hapsburg empire was played by the military defeat of the central powers in the war.

Returning to the problem discussed by Maria Ormos, we find that the failure of all France's attempts and rejection in the coming years by Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia of other numerous actions initiated by the big powers with the idea of economic "reconstruction" of the central-southeastern European region would have resulted in maintaining the vacuum created in central Europe by the break-up of the dualist empire, and the author asks: "Why did the small states in central Europe make the French plan fail, the idea of unity of the region; why did they want to preserve this vacuum in central Europe?" And we find the answer to this in the following statement: "The fact that the policy of these countries was determined by the past explains the atavistic fear, the archaic picture of the enemy. This is a general phenomenon but it becomes a private phenomenon in central Europe due to the narrow politic outlook of the small nations and perhaps also due to the fact that the backward consciousness is connected too closely with defense of the recently achieved independence and by the nationalism brought on by this."[72] Thus, making a total abstraction of the centuries of struggle for national and political liberation of the nations oppressed in the multinational empire, completely forgetting that the year 1918 existed when the subjugated nations chose the path they would take in the future by themselves, failing to take into consideration not even the simple chronology of the facts which establish that Romania, Czechoslovakia, the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian kingdom and Poland existed as independent states by the end of 1918 and that the treaties of Saint-Germain and Trianon brought nothing new from this viewpoint, Maria Ormos sees a big political and economic vacuum in central and southeastern Europe following the break-up of the Hapsburg empire and she believes that only "recovery" of the economic unity of the zone could have brought "salvation." But what is very difficult to imagine for a historian today is the idea that the defense of national independence would be attributed to a "backward awareness"; commenting on the background for such a concept, we see that national independence is equal with chauvinist nationalism, with economic anarchy, with the refusal of any cooperation, while the melting of national independence and borders into an "economic unit" placed under the sponsorship of a certain power would equal historical progress. The lack of originality of Maria Ormos' assertions also is proven by the fact that the well-informed people of the 30's were rising decisively against the ones who were maintaining that the independence and sovereignty of the states would be "stumbling blocks" in the path of progress and peace." "To recommend under current conditions the abolishing of national independence as a remedy for eternal peace

not only recommending an inadmissible prescription but means throwing the world into chaos and anarchy if we were to proceed on such a road and to preach that the remedy for eternal peace is destruction of the national sentiment not only is an impossibility but is taking from man the most important support of his present individuality,"[73] Nicolae Titulescu said in the German Reichstag in May 1929. And he also emphasized another generally valid truth: "For that reason, today, international right seems to everyone in particular as a law of coordination, not subordination, while the position of each state separately, compared with the other states, is a position of independence, not dependence."[74]

In close connection with the abovementioned theories and in the same view of treating the problems, the thesis of the "economic unity" of the old empire is also formulated, the empire "destroyed" by the Trianon peace treaty decisions. "The territories which formed an economic unit in the old days," Magda Adam maintains, "were separated from the political and legal viewpoint" into what the author calls "parts with a unilateral economic structure, competing among themselves and incapable of full independence."[75] So the states in central and southeastern Europe established through the national liberation struggle are, in the opinion of this historian, "parts" of an economic "whole" which had been the dualist monarchy. Oaszkar Jaszi also supported this thesis in 1921, when he predicted the "break-up" of the new states due to the "impossibility to survive" following the destruction of "the economic-political" whole which had been the monarchy." "It is impossible to destroy one half of a complicated economic organism and for the other half not to be contaminated by eath. Eastern and central Europe," O. Jaszi found, "are facing the total fuin of dissolution: production cannot proceed, unemployment is increasing each day, moral and state ties are falling apart."[76] This thesis contradicts objective, well-known facts. For example, we know that far from being an "economic unit," the Hapsburg monarchy presented the picture of big inequalities from one region to another with regard to economic development. Transylvania, for example, permanently remained in the situation as a supplier of raw materials and the market for sale of industrial goods. "We from Transylvania," wrote Gheorghe Barit in the middle of the last century, "are as poor as we should be wealthy, because we have a) a total lack of credit; b) a lack of commercial markets; c) almost total lack of scientific institutes for agriculture, industry and commerce; d) immeasurable tributes to the circumstances shown in the three points; e) the stronger mad luxury of a large portion of the Hungarian aristocracy, while it will be of the bourgeoisie of all nationalities 20 years from now."[77] Transylvania's situation was aggravated together with the creation of dualism in 1867, when the province was integrated in the united customs system of the monarchy; the Austrian and Hungarian bourgeoisie kept Transylvania in a state of colonial dependence, placing here a large quantity of industrial products and obtaining their raw materials under advantageous conditions.[78]

We also know that the process of creating the national economic complex for Romania, prepared centuries on end by the close economic and spiritual links between all the Romanian provinces, entered into a higher phase in 1859 and 1877-1878, sped up through the organic integration of Transylvania in 1918,as well as of the other provinces inhabited by Romanians who had been under foreign rule, into Romania's economy. The formation and development of the national economic complex was imposed as a legal objective law of the development of the national economy , one which was valid for all states. Under the cnew conditions, the international division of law took place in the new dimensions, concerning both the various branches of the national economy as well as the geographic-administrative regions; new economic branches and units appear and develop, ones which are needed for the national economic complex. Magda

Adam's viewpoint according to which "the bourgeoisie of the newly established countries refuses the old economic and political ideas of collaboration,combatting the division of labor established within the monarchy," and ignores the economic bases for the "new ideas" which were incompatible with the anachronistic division of labor within the Hapsburg monarchy. The new states' renunciation of the "old economic and political ideas of collaboration" caused by the imperialist division of labor as well as organization of the national economic complex in conformity with the objective needs of the independent national state represent an act of historic progress also confirmed by today's development of a similar process in the countries liberated from under colonial domination.

A problem today returning to international discussion in connection with the socio-political-national changes in central and southeastern Europe in 1918 is that of world revolution, as we know, a thesis supported by many communist militants and theoreticians at that time. Recently, for example, L. Nagy Zsuzsa, referring to this question, feels that the program of the Hungarian revolution on abolishing the borders and establishing a world proletarian republic "was a concept with a broad outlook. It is expected that the sufferings caused by wars, social contradictions as well as the policy conducted by the victorious Entente should lead to the rapid revolutionization of Europe's peoples, during which the dictatorships of the proletariat takes place, which, in this framework, will ally itself on the basis of proletarian democracy and national bourgeois contradictions also will be solved fast."[79] Proceeding from the idea that "creation" of independent states in central and southeastern Europe--"national bourgeois states"--was a poor solution which "could only promise the beginning of a new period of violence," Dioszegi Istvan also feels that "the conquerors and the conquered should have kept in mind the current facing mankind caught by the future national conflicts and prospects for supranational, internationalist solutions."[80] With the same view but in a manner of extending the theoretical and practical problems of 1918-1919 to present history, Andres Firon feels that "neither at that moment did solution lie in mapping out borders, no matter how carefully this would have been done" and that "the political realism of 1918-1919," in his opinion, lies precisely in the fact that the Hungarian revolution of the councils came out against territorial integrity and against the borders. The abovementioned author feels himself capable of evaluating that "a closed policy within national limits," understanding by this the new national states' own independent policy, would, in the perspective of history, have proven to be a poor political formula which caused new conflicts. "A solution is needed and the whole world feels this," the author finds. But solution can only be b ought by the socialist historical perspective for eastern Europe taken as a whole," Andres Firon asserts unequivocably.[81] With regard to Janos Kende, he feels that the formula recommended by the Republic of Councils of Hungary, that is, a Soviet socialist republic of peoples of the former monarchy, a formula through which the "Hungarian Communist Party separated from the policy of territorial integrity," "could have represented an appropriate counterweight to the imperialist plans of the Entente."[82]

So here, revived after more than 60 years, are the theories whose erroneous essence was even revealed from the beginning by history and which is continually revealed by today's realities. To feel today that world revolution is the best solution to the big problems of 1918 as well as that its failures then"do not prove the correctness of the adversaries but rather, at most, the superiority of their force," to feel today that a "supranational republic" would be a possible organizational framework for developing human society mean not only to formula and support utopias, to pick up old theses again, ones which were outdated and refuted by history itself, but also

mean in particular failing to take into account the objective laws of economic-social-political development with regard to the nations' inalienable right to exist independently and to organize their lives within the independent national states, states whose preservation in time cannot be determined exactly, at least during the current stage of historical development.

In connection with the theses formulated by the abovementioned authors, several clarifications are required.

First, it is a question of a narrow and deformed understanding of the world revolutionary process. As we know, the great diversity of contradictions in modern society causes extremely diverse forces and components of the world revolutionary process which bringtogether in a single stream the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and capitalism, the national liberation struggle, the anticolonialist struggle and so forth. It includes all the phenomena and processes which cause structural changes in society life at the world level in favor of social progress, national liberation and democracy. To place an equal sign between the world revolutionary process--a highly complex phenomenon which takes on extremely varied forms--and the world socialist revolution proves a great narrowness of views; the opinion according to which the national liberation revolutions and democratic revolutions are not part of this process but only those which are of a totally anticapitalist nature lead to basic denial of historical progress, a direct result of the world revolutionary process in the multitude of its manifestations.[84] This way of viewing the revolution was characteristic of many of the socialist and communist militants and theoreticians in the years of revolutionary elan. For example, before the international socialist congress in London in 1896, where the resolution entited "Political Actions of the Working Class" was adopted, which specified "direct and unequivocable recognition of the right for all nations to self-determination," Rosa Luxemburg had published the article "Neue Stromungen in der Polnischen Sozialistischen Bewegung in Deutschland und Osterrich," in which she criticized the leaders of the Polish Socialist Party for their position favoring creation of an independent Poland[85]; in 1913-1914 under conditions of the upsurge of national liberation movements, the discussions on the problem of self-determination were picked up again on an even broader level, confronting the two main concepts: the Marxist one which came out for the nations' self-determination up to the separation of the multinational states and the establishment of national, independent states and the Austrian social democratic concept (Otto Bauer, Karl Renner) which rejected the idea of self-determination, opposing national-cultural independence. Even after the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and adoption of the historic document on the right to self-determination up to the separation for all peoples held for cefully in the former empire of the tsars, positions and concepts going along the old line of Rosa Luxemburg, Otto Bauer and Karl Renner continued to be demonstrated in the national movement. Of course, we know how in the time of the Hungarian revolution of the councils the point had been reached which asserted that "nations do not exist, just classes"[86] or that "nationality was a type of grouping of second rank people," feeling that "national oppression is actually oppression of the proletariat"[87]; from here the finding was reached that "in Soviet Hungary there is no national problem."[88] In the series of lectures held by the leader of the Hungarian revolution, Bela Kun, on changing the party program, the above theses are presented in a broad way; proceeding from the idea that "the entire right to self-determination is, from our viewpoint, an idle fiction, since we do not want the right to self-determination, we do not want separation, but we want the unity of the proletariat, regardless of nationality, without taking into consideration the national borders," Bela Kun formulates the goal of the Hungarian revolution; that is: "Unified kingdom of socialism achieved at the international level"[89] and he

states that "we must break with the policy of territorial integrity, since this is an insignificant problem" which is excluded by itself within the world revolution. Also, judging any phenomenon of that time through the prism of the concept mentioned, the Hungarian revolution refused to recognize the legitimacy of establishing independent national states as the result of a legal process, an irreversible one, which put into concrete form an objectively necessary historical stage of historical progress. For example, the documents of the time state that in central Europe "new militarist states have appeared like magic,"[90] while on 1 April 1919 NEPSZAVA declared: "We shall erase any color from the map. The world revolution will bring world peace"[91]; on 7 April, during a popular meeting in Kaposvar, assurances were given that "in several weeks, all of Europe will be in flames and proletarian dictatorship will govern everywhere."[92]

In the years of World War I, when the national liberation struggle had taken on unprecedented scope, Lenin treated the problem of self-determination in the program of the socialist movement, analyzing it in correlation with the thesis of doing away with the frontiers and the so-called world republic. "We assert that to reject achievement of the nations' self-determination under the conditions of socialism would mean a betrayal of socialism," Lenin felt, showing that national oppression is "one of the forms of political oppression; that is, keeping a nation within the state borders of another nation through force."[93] Liberation of the oppressed nations involves, on one hand "full equality of rights" and, on the other, "freedom for political separation." Stressing that Marx' thesis remains valid for the socialists, the thesis on "recognition of the necessity of the state," Lenin criticizes those who "imagine either that the democratic state of socialism victorious will exist without borders (precisely as a 'complex of sensations,' without matter) or that the borders will be established 'exclusive' in accordance with the needs of production."[94] He rightfully felt that, under the conditions of the victory of the socialist revolution and achievement of the right of the peoples to self-determination, "the borders will be established democratically, that is, in accordance with the will and 'sympathies' of the population."[95]

Second, the thesis on the "supranational" state (republic) obligatorily excludes the equality among nations and fuses political independence and sovereignty into a relationship of subordination. There is no more than one step from here until the formula of the "historic mission" of one nation or another. Also, Oscar Jaszi stated clearly, but in 1919-1921, that for a "new order" in central Europe under conditions of the break-up of the dualist empire, "the single condition is precisely true democracy, honest independence and a launching on the road of rational socialism with all the forces. In such an international order," he stated, "the Hungarians, unchained from the feudal and capitalist ties, would become one of the most productive factors, fuller of initiative and most enthusiastic in the Danube basin," while "the German nature, freed of the militarist and imperialist chains, will be the natural guider and consolidator of this new balance."[96] So, even in 1919-1921, simply and clearly expressed, is a formula for "supranational" republic, in which the participating peoples would be given independence, with "the natural guider" for such a state formation being the "German nature"; what is absurd is precisely the fact that the initiators of the formula found that only in this way could one reach a "true democracy," the so-called "rational socialism." However, what is certain is that neither in 1918 nor later were the nations disposed to accept perpetuation of the old situation of subordination and political-national-economic-cultural discrimination, they refused any "guidance" or "advice" from outside, regardless of who assumed this "historic mission," and they rejected any political formula with these kinds of obligations.

Third, in connection with the above, the problem of internationalism arises as approached by the abovementioned authors in a view which has proven to be bypassed by history, by the facts. If in 1919 it still was being maintained that the "internationalism of the worker movement, the international nature of the revolution is what should serve as the departure point in creating all the programs of the worker parties"[97] and, in this view, it was stressed that "the workers of various countries do not have different interests, they have a single interest--that of the international liberation of the revolutionary proletariat, a liberation which can only be the task of the world revolution. The program must start with this job," then time and the facts have shown that this kind of "internationalism" meant the existence of a single leading center, the use of single methods and means in working out the revolutionary tactics and strategy without taking into consideration the specific nature of the national socio-political-economic framework in which the parties of the working class were taking action. For example, this is how Bela Kun explained the matter in a lecture held on 15 May 1919: "The Third International differed from the Second International, particularly because the first is a united organization, whose unity is expressed not only by the principled and theoretical bases which are united but also its tactic also is a unified one, its method of struggle is unified and the party of each country separately must be considered, as, in their time, the first workers' parties headed by Marx and Engels were, as sections of a unified international organization." Criticizing the concept of the "national parties," Bela Kun believed that "all actions of the worker movement must be guided in a unified way because only a unified international action is capable of showing the proletariat the path to follow in order to escape from the chains of capitalism."[99] In this view, then, the proletariat should have acted under the guidance of a supranational forum, whose purpose was to work out a "unifed" strategy and tactics which were obligatory for all the communist and worker parties and simple sections of this forum. Naturally, under such conditions, the concepts of national independence and sovereignty disappeared, while militant solidarity between the communist and worker parties, based on equality and mutual respect for the independence of action of the working class in each country and independence of each party in working out its own program of action according to local conditions and in determining the goals of its struggle to conform to the interests and aspirations of all the people, were replaced with relations of subordination to a foreign leading center.

The documents of the Romanian socialist movement in 1880-1890, proceeding from the postulate that "socialism is merely a well-known direction for social progress"[100] and demonstrating that socialism "is not an exotic plant" in Romania but appeared and developed naturally in Romanian society,[101] considered it "indisputable that, from the viewpoint of tactics, Romanian socialism must have its own weapons, economic conditions and economic field on which it would have to work, being its own," while "with regard to the methods by which this goal is to be reached, each is to use what is required by the special conditions of his country."[102] So, accepting the generally valid principles of socialism, the Romanian socialists saw their accomplishment in Romania only in relationship to the specific conditions and stage of development of Romanian society and the vital and major interests of the popular masses.

It is not useless to recall that a number of aspects of the narrow and defective way of understanding "internationalism" were subject for analysis for Engels, even at the end of the 19th century. For example, in a letter to Kautsky of 12 September 1882, in analyzing the liberation process in the colonies of Africa, America and other continents, a process which would be led to a good end by the domestic forces, Engels emphasized that "the victorious proletariat will not be able to make any foreign

people happy under compulsion without undermining its own victory through this, a thesis which Lenin took over in July 1916, commenting on it in this way: "Engels formulates a single principle as being 'undoubtedly' and indisputably internationalist and he applies it in the case of all foreign people that is, not only to the colonial peoples: to make them happy under compulsion means to undermine the victory of the proletariat."[103] With regard to the importance of the goal of national self-determination as an integral part of internationalism, Lenin formulated a number of truths which are perfectly valid today, but especially true in 1916-1919, when tens of millions of people were putting into practice the principle of self-determination in the central, southeast and east of Europe: "The center of gravity for the internationalist education of workers in the oppressor countries must unmistakably be the propagation and support of the freedom of the oppressed countries to separate. Without this, internationalism cannot exist."[104] Lenin gave such great importance to the self-determination of the oppressed nations and to establishment of independent national states that he characterized it as "an absolute requirement, even if the separation could have been possible and achievable only in one case in a thousand before the establishment of socialism."[105]

Even from their assertion in the political life of our country, the Romanian socialists felt that the national liberation of all Romanians and their union with the country into a single independent state was a major problem of the struggle for socialism in Romania. This is how clearly this goal was expressed in 1892: "We want a great and powerful Romania, however a Romania which is free and comprised of citizens who are free economically and politically. This is our ideal with regard to the national question."[106] As the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations in the multinational empires was intensifying, parallel with sharpening of the regime of terror and denationalization under conditions of the deeper internal crisis in these empires, the national problem took on a greater and greater share of the revolutionary theory and practice of the Romanian socialists. At the same time, they felt that only national self-determination, finalized in establishment of independent national states, permitted a real and powerful internationalist solidarity of the proletariat headed by their own socialist (national) parties in the struggle against imperialism and for the victory of the principles of socialism. For example, stressing that the social democratic party in Romania was the only "democratic and national" party "in the most profound meaning of the word," the Declaration of 28 October 1918 came out "against any national subjugation. It supports the nations' rights to decide their own fate" and, at the same time, stated: "the social democratic party is an internationalist one. Only through the fraternal link of the proletariat in all countries, of all religions can work be made free and war eliminated,"[107] in other words, "internationalism was seen as a broad militant solidarity of the proletariat in all countries to fulfill the ideals of socialism and in no way as a cancelling out of the particular national features or independence of action of the socialist parties in each country. The Romanian socialists understood the existence of the perfect compatability between the national and international in the struggle for socialism and communism. This idea is expressed in the documents of the socialist movement in Romania of these years in all its complexity. Thus, coming out unreservedly for the union of all Romanians in a single independent state, this being "a condition sine qua non for our future," the Romanian socialists felt that "a decentralized people can never develop their particular national features for the good of all mankind,"[108] a thesis whose significance needs no commentary. At the same time the evaluation--rather well disseminated in 1917-1918--was considered mistaken and "naive," according to which the union of Romanians under the rule of the great empires with the "Kingdom of Romania" actually would mean an abdication from the principles of socialism,

with the formula being taught being that of the world revolution and the Soviet republic without borders. "The kingdom in its origin cannot be accepted by socialism even in principle," it was stressed in a document of the Romanian Transylvanian socialists around the time of the union. But "thousands of arguments exist which claim the union of all Romanians" and only in a unified state, guiding the energies of the people at the national level, Romanian socialism which "has its own ideal," can immediately put it into practice when it has available the necessary force."[109]

As we know, acting in the spirit of this concept, the Romanian socialists participated actively in implementing the great act of the Union of 1 December 1918 in Alba Iulia. Once again, the documents of the Social Democratic Party Congress of Transylvania and Banat, held in January 1919 in Sibiu, stressed: "The congress finds that the union of the Romanian people in a single independent state is an historic need, based on the right for all peoples to have a free state of mind and Romanian social democracy, when it followed implementation of this ideal of Romanians everywhere, in no way exceeded the principles established by the socialist international congress, which always recognized the right of each oppressed nation which was divided under many foreign rulers to struggle first for its own independence."[110] The self-determination of the Romanian nation and its union into a single independent national state, together with the self-determination of other oppressed nations in the big multinational empires as was natural was considered not only a legal phenomenon but also a component part, a necessary stage in the struggle of the working class and the socialist parties for the triumph of the principles of socialism. "The socialist party of Romania," the Declaration of 13 February 1919 points out, "appeals to all the proletarian and socialist forces in Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania for their unification, forming a single socialist bloc, a single proletarian party which will lead forward the struggle of the working class of the new Romania toward achievement of its socialist ideal of freedom from under the bourgeois-capitalist oppression. Today's new Romania must become the socialist Romania of tomorrow."[111]

These ideas expressed in the program documents of the Romanian socialists in 1916-1919 were in agreement with the natural evolution of society and with the big changes which were being produced at the sociopolitical plevel in the period of the proletariat's assertion as the most revolutionary force in society, in the period when the national problem had become the most ardent problem in the multinational empires. The truths expressed by them were in keeping with the historical progress of society, just as denial of the principle of self-determination up to the separation of the oppressed nations and propagation of a borderless state--that "complex of sensations without matter," as Lenin called it--were the deliberate denial of certain striking realities.

As I asserted earlier, the various theses in circulation regarding the so-called economic and political unity of the former dualist empire and the "historical error" of destroying it, regarding the "world revolution" and the "borderless" states regarding subordination of the people's national liberation to carrying out the socialist "world revolution," and so forth, with their many political-ideological ramifications, are links in a single conclusion, that is, the states in central and southeastern Europe are artificial* creations of the Paris peace treaties of 1919-1920, a conclusion which results logically from the failure to recognize the legitimacy of the acts of national self-determination of 1918 and establishment of unified, sovereign and independent states. I shall dwell briefly in the following on some of the aspects of this question.

Proceeding from the idea that World War I in its totality was an imperialist war on the part of all the warring sides, the historian V. N. Vinogradov states unequivocally: "The nature of Romania's participation in World War I and its goals were determined

not by the Romanians of the "old kingdom" to unite as well as those from Transylvania but by the line of bourgeois-landowner oligarchy which wrapped the most bold and gross conquest in the national flag,"[112] and this "conquest" of territories, the author points out, "was directed toward the four cardinal points."[113] And V. N. Vinogradov's conclusion is as follows: "In Versailles, Saint Germain, Trianon and Neuilly, the representatives of the Romanian government signed treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria at the victors' table, treaties which nearly doubled the state's territorial area ."[114] Other historians, who dwell on the "conquering intentions" of Romania with regard to Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina, treat the problem of establishment of the unified Romanian national state in the same view.[115]** Referring expressly to the Trianon peace treaty, Istvan Pinter considered it "an unjust, imperialist peace" and this was "because it made important concessions to the greed of the bourgeoisie which had come to power in the new neighboring national states."[116] Historian Frank Zwitter. also selecting the thesis that the states in central and southeastern Europe were the result of the imperialist world war of 1914-1918, however, also makes as bizarre a "completion" as possible: "In general, however, the results of World War I, were yet another victory for the ahistorical ("unhistorische") peoples. Clearly, he feels that the Austrians and Hungarians are "historical" peoples.[117] In turn, Maria Ormos, in an ther recent study, picking up the theses we already have referred to, gives the just national claims of the peoples hardly liberated from under the rule of the dualist monarchy the qualification of "nationalist imperialism" and he feels that in Paris, these small "imperialist" states succeeded in obtaining at least partially the satisfaction of their territorial claims "in the name of anti-Bolshevism and defense of democracy."[118] Magda Adam, taking the same position, adds that the peace of Trianon"codified the claims based on economic and strategic interests of the bourgeoisie of the successoral states which deviated from the national principle propagated in Paris," while the borders of Trainon, in the author's opinion, "became the source for grave contradictions between Hungary and the successoral states."[119] Istvan Dioszegi feels that with regard to Romania of 1918 one cannot admit the thesis to which "historiography and politics" resorted, that is, "reunification of Romanian territories"; Romania as well as the other neighboring states in the zone, he maintains, were the result of the "policy of force of the victors and of unchained nationalism." The conclusion he comes to is that "the system of bourgeois national states, after four years of bloodshed, could only promise the start to a new period of violence."[120]

Although small in number, historians like the ones mentioned above maintain the historical and political absurdity which, far from being able to argue them scientifically, they place into circulation either with historical falsehoods or with philosophical-political speculations or with deliberate ignoring of certain all too well-known facts.

For example, the thesis on the "imperialist" nature of Romania's participation in World War I is a deliberate historical falsehood, because:

Romania declared war only on Austro-Hungary, from whom it was claiming its national territories--Transylvania, Bucovina, Banat, Maramures, Crisana, the territories inhabited by Romanians;

The strategic concept and military war plans of the Romanian army were completely subordinate to the political goal of the entry into the war; liberation of the Romanian territories ruled by Austria and Hungary; the same nature of participation in the war--liberation of the territories inhabited by Romanians--was even preserved when the offense was taken up again in November 1918;

The decision to liberate these territories was taken even in the summer of 1914 and not following " maneuvering between various groupings of the big imperialist powers," siding with the most powerful[121]; far from being a cabinet decision, this decision answered a desire of the entire nation, while the struggle to reunite the country was led by all the Romanian pepple on both sides of the Carpathians;

Romania's entrance into the struggle in August 1916 was made following ultimative pressures from Russia and France due to the precarious situation of the allied armies;

Romania's military defection and occupation of the greatest portion of the national territory by the armies of the central powers were due to the failure of France, Russia and England to respect the commitments made through the treaties with Romania in the summer of 1916; it would be interesting to know how the tsarist army "saved Romania from being crushed during those days."[122] Lenin, for example, referring precisely to "those days" at the end of 1916 and start of 1917 when the tsar and the Germanophile party around him were heading for a separate peace with Germany, wrote about the reasoning behind this kind of separate peace from the viewpoint of the interests of tsarist imperialism: "If 'we' run after too big a spoils in Europe, we risk completely exhausting'our' military resources and not get almost anything in Europe and lose the opportunity to get what is 'ours ' in Asia--that is how tsarism reasons and it reasons correctly from the viewpoint of imperialist interests." "If we have no way of taking more in Europe, even after the rally of Romania and Greece (from whom 'we' took what we could), at least let us take what we can! England cannot give 'us' anything now. Germany would give us back Kurlanda and part of Poland, and, undoubtedly, eastern Galicia."[123] And, referring directly to Romania's place in the relations between the two kingdoms, Lenin felt it was justified to assert that they would divide Romania, Galicia and Armenia between them: "One cannot know if such a conversation took place or not," Lenin wrote on 31 January 1917. It is important that matters evolve precisely in this direction. If the tsar did not remain convinced of the arguments of the German diplomats, in exchange the 'arguments' of Mackensen's army in Romania should have had a more convincing effect. Regarding the plan to divide Romania between Russia and the 'quadruple alliance' (that is, the allies of Germany, Austria and Bulgaria), there is direct talk of this in the German imperialist press."[124]

In V. N. Vinogradov's opinion, Romania's "sal vation" from destruction lay in these imperial plans to divide Romania , about which Lenin spoke and toward which innumerable facts from "those days" converge. I feel that it still has not been stressed enough that the salvation then was the job of the Romanian people themselves, the heroism of millions of people, known and unknown, of political firmness and diplomatic ability. As many other times in their history, the Romanians saved the existence of their state and took action through all means to free their country.

The thesis according to which Romania--a unified national and independent state--was a creation of the 1919-1920 peace treaties and that it was comprised of "foreign" territories obtained through military conquest also is an historical falsehood, because:

Self-determination up to the separation from the old state formations and union with the country of the provinces inhabited by Romania was carried out in 1918 by plebiscite acts representing the will and decision of the Romanian nation; these decisions for union were merely ratified by the Romanian government;

The decisions for union with the country expressly specified the ethnic borders of reunited Romania; these borders in general lines were maintained and confirmed through the peace treaties.

So it is clear that the decisions made by 17 millionpeople to live in a single independent country, decisions sanctioned by the country's legal government and recognized by the international peace conference in Paris have nothing in common with the acts of force, imperialism and annexation, but are precisely counter to them.

Finally, the thesis according to which establishment of the states in central and southeastern Europe meant the victory of the "ahistorical" peoples, in our opinion, is much more than an historical falsehood; here we are facing a total ignorance of history itself. By what criteria can peoples be divided into "historical" and "ahistorical?" The strict meaning of the term would determine peoples "with" history and peoples "without" history, which becomes absurd; the Romanians, for example, are the most ancient people in the places where, just a thousand years ago, the Hungarian tribes led by Arpad settled, a fact stated in all the encyclopedias. The supporter of the formula mentioned, however, has something else in mind, that is, that which improperly is called "historical" in the sense that the territories which the "ahistorical" peoples established for their own states in 1918 belonged to old "historical" Hungary and just as "historical" Austria through "historical tradition." In place of any other commentary, we shall print a portion of a speech entitled "Order in Thought," delivered by Nicolae Titulescu in Bratislava in June 1937: "Finally, what is this so-called historical right? It is a theft sanctioned by time." I would just add that the "historical right," a concept circulated a lot in the two decades between the first and second world wars had a multitude of derivatives as "historic mission," civilizing mission," going right up to the theory of superior races and inferior races with all the cortege of political-social implications; on another level, we know very well the concepts of an arbitrary division of states into states with "general interests" and states with "limited interests," the security of the big powers and of the small powers and so forth, with all these being in open conflict with the principles of international right, with democratic rights and freedoms. Revitalization of the theory of "historic right" in the era of the unprecedented wave of people's liberation on all continents, of assertion of small and medium-sized states in international life, with the majority having obtained independence recently, no longer are a matter of "speciality." This theory purely and simply is inadmissible, a residue of times which history for good.

The question is correctly posed of who is served today by cultivating the nostalgia of the centuries of Austro-Hungarian imperial domination over other peoples. Reality shows that precisely under the conditions of freedom and equality for peoples of the world--including for those in southeastern Europe--can progress along the path of civilization, well-being, while international solidarity--with its required attribute of respect for the individuality of each people and of their independence and sovereignty--is translated not only in the mutual aid in the struggle for progress and peace, but represents a broad base for multilateral cooperation among the progressive forces all over the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, Ed. II, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1964, p 355.

2. For all this see "Assertion of Unified Independent National States From Central and Southeastern Europe (18291-1923)", Publishers of the Academy of the SPR, Bucharest, 1979.

3. See Ion Popescu-Puturi, Augustin Deac, "The Union of Transylvania With Romania, 1 December 1918," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1970; M. Musat and I. Ardeleanu, "The Great Union of 1918 and Its Confirmation at the International Level" in "Romania's Independence," Publishers of the Academy of the SRR, Bucharest, 1977, pp 385-412; Stefan Pascu, C. GH. Marinescu, "International Echo of the Romanians' Struggle for National Unity," Dacia Publishers, Cluj-Napoca, 1980; Stefan Pascu, "The Grand National Assembly of Alba Iulia,Crowning of the Idea, Trends and Struggle of the Romanian People for Unity," Cluj 1968; N. Fotino, I. Calafeteanu, "On the International Consecration of the Grand Union" in REVUE ROUMAINE D'HISTOIRE No 4/1978; Viorica Moisuc, "The Treaty of Trianon--International Consecration of the Legitimacy of Transylvania's Union With Romania" in ANALE DE ISTORIE XXII, No 3/1976 and so forth.

4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 17, Political Publishers, Bucharest 1979, p 275.

5. "Assertion of Unified Independent National States From Central and Southeastern Europe 1821-1923," p 37.

6. Ibidem, p 39.

7. ASTRA Library, Sibiu, Manuscript Collection, folio XXI/12.

8. Maria Ormos, "L'Europe Centrale de Saint Germain et de Trianon: Cooperation ou Nationalisme," a report presented at the international colloquium on the subject "L'Europe de Versailles 1919-1923," Geneva, September 1979.

9. V. N. Vinogradov, "Vstupleniye Romanii v Pervuyu Mirovaya Voinu" in NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIA No 5/1976, p 63.

10. N. Iorga, "The Historic Purpose of the Union," a speech held for the Cultural League at the Dalles Foundation, Valenii de Munte, Datina Romaneasca printers, 1933, p 9.

11. Ferenc Glatz, "Trianon es a Magyar Torteneltudomany" in TORTENELMI SZEMLE No 2/1978, pp 411-421.

12. Ibidem.

13. Ibidem.

14. Ibidem.

15. Ibidem.

16. "Memoires de L'Amiral Horthy, Regent de Hongrie," Hachette, Paris 1954, pp 112-113.

17. Ibidem, p 140.

18. Ibidem , p 90

* The well-known Hungarian sociologist and director of HUSZADIK SZAZAD (20th Century), Oszkar Jaszi,receivedinto the Karolyi government the leadership of the ministry of nationalities. Hope was placed in Jaszi that he would be able to preserve in the same "Hungarian country" the foreign nationalities, assuring exclusive right of the Hungarians over such a type of motley state. Oskar Jaszi's lack of perspicacity on this problem and his insistence on the impossible action he was undertaking appear all the more lacking in sense when, in the period in which he had begun application of the renowned Apponyi law, Jaszi had made a "sociological" survey in Transylvania and had become convinced of the Romanian realities. "Despite his vast culture and his progressive ideas, Jaszi could never rise above the narrow outlook of the 'thousands-year-old, national, unified Hungarv,'" one of the brilliant **representatives** of the generation of the Great Union, Onisifor Ghibu, felt. The nationalities, although they formed more than 50 percent of the country's population, had to be satisfied with the situation provided them by the rulers; they had to be 'patriots' in the meaning decided by those who a thousand years before had conquered the land of the country by the sword," (see Onisifor Ghibu, "At the Barricades of Life. My Years of Teaching," Dacia Publishers, Cluj-Napoca, 1981, p 200.

19. See Ignac Ronsics (maitre de recherche a l'Academie des Sciences de Hongrie), "La Question Nationale et Sociale Sous la Republique des Conseils de Hongrie" in LA PENSEE No 206 (July-August), 1979, pp 51-63.

20. N. Iorga, "The Historic Purpose of the Union," p 15.

21. Ivan T. Berend--Gyorgy Ranki, "East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries," Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1977, p 11.

22. Ibidem, pp 15-18.

23. Ibidem, pp 77-80.

24. Istvan Pinter, "A Magyar Nacionalizmus a Masodik Vilaghaboru Elott es Alatt" in TARSADALMI SZEMLE No 10, 1979, pp 38-49.

25. Ibidem.

26. A. A. Iordanskiy,"Rumaniya. Narod, Ego Istoriya, Ekonimika Politika I Vooruzheniye Sili," Moscow-Leningrad, State Publishing House, 1926, pp 71-72.

27. Ibidem.

28. Ibidem, p 71.

29. Ibidem, p 75.

30. K. K. Perskiy, "Rumaniya," Misliy Publishers, Petrograd, 1924, p 75.

31. N. A. Mokhov, "Pages From the History of the Many-Centuries-Old Friend, "Stiinta Publishers, Kishinev, 1977, p 122.

32. Vneshnyaya Politika Rosii XIX i Nachalo XX Veka. Dokumenti Rossyiskovo Ministerstvo Inostrannikh Del," Series I, Moscow, 1962-1967, Volume VI, p129.

33. Ibidem, p 182.

34. A. A. Yordanskiy, op.cit., pp 75-76.

35. Ibidem.

36. Merei Gyula, "Foderacios Tervek Del-Kelet-Europaban es a Habsburg-Monarchia 1840-1918," Budapest, Kossuth-Konyvklado, 1965, p 54.

37. Ibidem.

38. "Histoire de la Hongrie des Origines a Nos Jours," Corvina Editions, Budapest, 1974, pp 431-432.

39. J. Macurek, "Les Tcheques et Les Roumaines a L'Epoque du Reveil des Nationalites en 19-e Siecle" Bucharest 1967.

40. Zdenek Kutina, "O Politicky Charakter Velkeho Rumunska" in SLOVANSKY PREHLED No 4/1968, pp 280-289.

41. Juliusz Bardach and Hubert Izdebski, "L'Etat Federal et le Principe Federtif en Histoire," a report at the 15th world congress of history, Bucharest, August 1980.

42. Neiderhauser Emil, "Haivan ev. Az Osztrak-Magyar Monarchia Folbomlasa" in NEPSZABADAG No 244/15 October 1978.

43. Kenneth Johnstone, "Romania's Place in European History" in HISTORY TODAY, June 1978, pp 397-405.

44. N. A. Mokhov, "Pages From the History of the Many-Centuries-Old Friend," Stiinta Publishers, Kishinev, 1977, p 124.

45. Kenneth Johnstone, op. cit.

46. Arthur J. May, "The Habsburg Monarchy--1867-1914," Harvard University Press, 1965, pp 100-101.

47. Ibidem.

48. N. A. Mokhov, "Studies on the History of the Formation of the Moldavian People," Moldavian Book Publishers, Kishinev, 1978, p 117.

49. "Moldovane (Ocerki Istorii, Etnografii, Ikcustvovedeniya), Stiinta Publishers, Kishinev, 1977, p 47.

50. Pierre Renouvin, "La Crise Europeenne et la Premier Guerre Mondiale (1904-1918), Cinquieme edition Revue et Augmentee, France University Press, Paris, 1969, p 649.

51. Ibidem. See the same ideas also in "Les Grands Problemes Internationaux Pendant la Premiere Guerre Mondiale," Marzorati, Milan, 1964, Vol II, p 785.

52. Herbert H. Muller, "Freedom in the Modern World, " Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1966, pp 348-349.

53. Hugo Hantsch, "Die Geschichie Osterreichs," Verlag Styria, Vienna, 1968, Band II, Band II, p 376.

54. Robert Kann, "A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918," University of California Press, 1974, pp 332-335.

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56. Jacques Droz, "L'Europe Centrale," Payot, Paris 1960, p 8.

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67. L. S. Stavrianos, "The Balkans Since 1453-1947," Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York 1961, p 572.

68. Maria Ormos, op. cit., p 8.

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70. Ibidem, p 12.

71. MAGYAR NEMZET, 31 December 1978.

72. Maria Ormos, op. cit., p 22.

73. "Nicolae Titulescu, Speeches," Scientific Publishers, Bucharest, 1967, p 328.

74. Ibidem, p 330.

75. Magda Adam, "Magyarorszag es a Kisantant a Harmincas Evekben," Budapest, Akademiai Kiado , 1968, p 28. Henry Bogdan, reviewer of the work mentioned in REVUE D'HISTOIRE DE LA DEUXIEME GUERRE MONDIALE, no 85, January 1972, p 106, also takes the same position.

76. Oszkar Jaszi, "The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy,"Chicago and London The University of Chicago Press, 1966, p 153.

77. GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI No 42, 26 May 1862, p 1666 (following Victor Jinga,"Principles and Guidelines for Romania's Foreign Trade (1859-1916), Dacia Publishers, Cluj-Napoca, 1975, p 189.

78. See Victor Jinga, op. cit., pp 187-191.

79. KRITIKA, Budapest, 7 June 1978.

80. MAGYAR NEMZET, Budapest, 23 January 1979.

81. ELET ES IRODALOM, Budapest, No 46/18 November 1978.

82. INTERPRESS MAGAZIN, Budapest, November 1976.

83. ELET ES IRODALOM, No 46/18 November 1978.

84. See "Historical Progress and Modern Life," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1976, pp 155-158.

85. DIE NEUE ZEIT, Nos 32 and 33 of 1895-1896.

86. "A Magyar Munkasmozgalom Tortenetenek Valogatott Dokumentumai. A Magyar Tanacskoztarsasag 1919 Marciu 21-1919 Auguszius 1," Kossuth Konyvkiao, Budapest, 1959, Vol VI, Part I, Document No 75, p 69.

87. Ibidem, Document No 177, p 174.

88. Ibidem, Document No 471, p 527.

89. Ibidem, Document No 437, pp 493-494.

90. Ibidem, Document No 22, p 25.

91. Ibidem, Document No 106, p 97.

92. According to O. Jaszi, op. cit., p 117.

93. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, p 18.

94. Ibidem, p 21.

95. Ibidem.

96. O. Jaszi, op. cit., p 165.

97. "A Magyar Munkasmozgalom Tortenetenk Valogatott Dokumentumai," Vol VI, Part 1a, Document No 437, pp 486-487.

98. Ibidem, p 487.

99. Ibidem.

100. "Documents From the History of the Worker Movement in Romania (1879-1892)," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1973, Document No 38, p 78.

101. Ibidem, Document No 105, p 321.

102. Ibidem, Document No 259, p 726.

103. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, p 51.

104. Ibidem, p 44.

105. Ibidem, p 45.

106. "Documents From the History of the Worker Movement in Romania (1879-1892)," Document No 294, p 786.

107. "Documents From the History of the Worker Movement in Romania (1916-1921)," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1960, Document No 41, pp 105-106.

108 Ibidem, Document No 59, p 142.

109. Ibidem.

110. Ibidem.

111. Ibidem, Document No 65, pp 166-167.

* Even today's realities, the establishment of dozens and dozens of independent states under our eyes, a process taking place on all continents, are felt by some theoreticians to be "artificial," created "in a "forced" way. For example, in this regard, see Roger Paret, Jacques Vernant, "Tradition, Identite Nationale et Developpement" in POLITIQUE ETRANGERE No 6/1975, pp 663-664 and Marcel Merle, "Sociologie des Relations Internationales," Dalloz, Paris, 1974 p 242.

112. V. N. Vinogradov, op. cit., p 63.

113. Ibidem, p 63.

114. Ibidem, p 53.

115. VOPROSY ISTORII No 9/1971; NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA No 5/1971.

**. It should be stated that in some history works which appeared in Romania in the 60's and partially in the 70's, the thesis also was supported according to which Romania's participation in World War I was determined by annexationist goals, while Romania in 1918 was characterized as an "artificial" state created by the peace treaties of Paris in 1919-1920. In very many cases the "arguments" of these old and unscientific works are being taken over and used by some modern authors.

116. Istvan Pinter, op. cit.

117. Frank Zwitter, "Internationale Problem und Gesellschaftliche Struktar in der Habsburgermonarchie" in OSTERREICHISCHEN OSTHEFTE, 19 Jahrgang , 3 Heft, August 1977, p 157.

118. PARTTORTENEI KOZLEMENYEK, Budapest, No 3/September 1979, p 161.

119. Magda Adam, op. cit., p 10.

120. MAGYAR NEMZET, Budapest, 23 January 1979.

121. V. N. Vinogradov, op. cit., p 57.

122. Ibidem.

123. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, p 191.

124. Ibidem, p 342.

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GRBIC ASKS WHY LAWS NOT OBEYED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 81 SEDAM DANA Supplement p 6

[Interview with Cedo Grbic, president of the Constitutional Court of Croatia, by Vlado Rajic: "The System Needs To Be Reexamined"; date and place not specified]

[Text] If the conclusion is valid that a large portion of the troubles we have are caused by the already proverbial lawbreaking, then it is strange that it should be so difficult to answer the question: Who is it who is not obeying the law? Following the step of logic and being careful not to generalize, it follows that "some people" are not abiding by laws. Who are these "some" (that is, not all) who by ignoring the law are causing troubles for the entire community? And, if these "some" constitute a minority, then why are there so many problems because of a minority?

Self-management acts, self-management accords and social compacts, the resolutions of party congresses, meetings of self-managers and worker caucuses, and the decisions of workers' councils ... these are a step further than laws (if the latter are regarded as a part of the mechanism of government coercion). These self-management statutes, if we can call them that, did not come about as a consequence of the functioning of the government apparatus, but are presumably an expression of the will, the interests and the commitments of those who drafted those standards. But we are not abiding by them either?

We talked with Cedo Grbic, president of the Constitutional Court of Croatia, about these two dilemmas.

[Question] I am taking the first question from numerous resolutions and guidelines we have adopted: Why is there such a gap between what has been put down on paper and reality, between the legal norms or those of self-management and their implementation?

[Answer] I would issue an immediate caution, we do have laws and legally binding measures which are in force, especially in the field of economic policy. For instance, enforcement of regulations and the measures set forth which burden the income of organizations of associated labor, norms which fix contributions, taxes and similar payments, is especially effective. On a broader basis than that, collections which the banks make on the basis of credit arrangements with business are also effective. Consequently, there are two different situations

in which we should examine and evaluate enforcement of norms. The first is that which is stated, and the other situation is the one in which there is no effectiveness. Concerning this latter we should be mindful of the fact that every norm, aside from setting forth and regulating a constructive social relationship, is oriented toward solutions which alter particular socioeconomic relations. This is where the gap between the norm and actual practice is most obvious, especially with respect to fulfillment of the requirements of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor concerning the realization and distribution of income on the basis of joint income. It is with this idea that the credit relations and the banking system are to be superseded and the influence of the working class on expanded reproduction established. But the opposite has happened: The economy's share in financing expanded reproduction dropped from 40 percent in 1966 to only 35 percent in the last medium-term planning period. It is for that reason that the forms of linkage and pooling are making slow progress, and it is also evidenced in the fact that joint revenues represent only 9 percent of gross income, and the share of joint income is only 0.2 percent of total income.

Forces Offering Resistance

[Question] Do you say that about the centers of alienated power, as we like to call them, which have been mentioned so many times, or about a concrete distribution of forces in society in which certain people are responsible for making decisions and others for carrying them out?

[Answer] Call it what you like, the fact still remains that the old socioeconomic relations are stronger than many of the arrangements set forth in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, that they stand in opposition to establishment of the relations which they have proclaimed. We thus come to a real topic for reflection: Has this principle proclaimed in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor been well stated, with accuracy and precision? Does it not leave some ambiguity, an empty space which is then filled by those who are better suited by the old system? It is obvious that the system needs to be reexamined; by the way, why shouldn't it be, we are a developing society. In so doing we should make a distinction and we should accept and build on what we have already implemented, for example, the conception of the organization of associated labor which has by and large been implemented, and we should insist on a change of relations in those processes which have not yet even begun.

[Question] It is a well-known case of thesis [and antithesis]. On the one hand there is the assertion that we have a "good system which should be implemented," and in response the other assertion: "a system is not good when for such a long time it is not implemented."

[Answer] In my opinion there is no dilemma about whether the system is good or bad. Posing that dilemma needs clarification. The essential thing is whether some institution that has been sketched out is inapplicable because it has not been realistically examined in particular social relations or, on the other hand, because the problem lies in the socioeconomic relations and the forces that operate through them. The problem, then, lies in the forces which resist every change which takes away their power and in the excessively slow

construction of the system, both of which, parallel to one another, are frustrating implementation of the institutions of self-management as they have been outlined.

[Question] The thesis that construction of the system needs to be completed is something that can be debated. After all, completion of construction of the system is something that can be accomplished only if there is a different lineup of those forces you speak about. Shouldn't we first of all change that balance of power? What I mean is this: If we take the resistance offered by power centers as the reality, and nonimplementation of norms as its parallel, then we end up with a closed circle. These forces are at the moment, you say, stronger than the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, and the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor ought to be supplemented so that those forces are not so strong.

[Answer] It is true that that parallel does exist in our system, the simultaneous showdown with the old and construction of the new, will not be successful so long as the status of the workers and their influence are blocked along many lines. We all know that the decisions about certain essential issues of this society are made outside the working class, and there is no need to reiterate that one essential issue, the realization and distribution of income, is not in the hands of the workers. This then would be the main reason why so many things bypass the system, and it is feared that the gap between the constitution and practice is greatest.

Protection of Self-Management

[Question] There are many opponents who frequent amendment of the constitution. Opponents, that is, of that process which we have long ago adopted as the way to complete construction of the system. For those who do not think that amending the constitution is a sign of weakness the real question is this: If we spend so much time putting finishing touches on the constitution, why is it that we do not read it?

[Answer] Here again you are right, since we all swear by the constitution, even those who are openly working against it. Of course, no one is going to say in public that he is against the constitution; he would then get caught in the cross winds of commitments, and he would be risking the power which he possesses today. It is therefore better to hide behind the proclamation, and behind it work on the creation of self-management and to determine how much self-management the working class can get. So long as our commitments to principle and provisions pile up, so long as declarations are more important to us than their implementation, our self-management will be optional, rigged and measured out in doses. This is made possible by the fundamental provisions of the constitution which are not being adequately implemented and are not being added to by practice. If lengthy application and insistence on addition to the provisions of the constitution do not alter relations, then the constitution ought to be changed.

[Question] You mentioned awhile ago decisionmaking, referring to it as a form without content. Does it seem to you that the entire matter of evading laws and

other regulations, even self-management norms, lies in the simple fact that decisionmaking is precisely a form without content? And, if that is the case, what is it that obliges me to abide by norms, decisions and declarations? Because there are so many of them?

[Answer] There is criticism in numerous quarters to the effect that we have too many regulations, too many laws, and especially too many economic policy measures which strike deep into business life. What I would call this sort of trust in the government, this confidence in the reach of government norms, is indicative of a weakness of self-management, of the insufficient strength of self-management institutions, which by virtue of their own strength ought to be regulating social and economic relations. And when we already have so many government measures, then we ought to speak about elements of state socialism in our country. And that calls for changes in the system, changes that I would think of in terms of a mechanism to protect self-management. The purpose of that mechanism would be to prevent the government from intervening without very good reason in the relations of self-management and other relations.

[Question] If what you say is so, then all this time we have been building a dual system, self-management as an exhibit, and the government for specific business.

[Answer] It seems to me that even we have not been bypassed by the influence of what is an almost worldwide process of stronger government. All systems are going toward government regulation when new relations lack internal strength. And the relations in society are increasingly complex, so that strengthening of the government is becoming an objective fact. This is the case even in our country, and we should reject the illusion that the state will soon wither away. It is our great ambition to establish the socialist relations of self-management, whose strength must replace the role of the government. For this to happen social contradictions need to be resolved through self-management, and not with the help of the government. And that is the thing that is out of tune in our system. Contradictions exist, we feel them, and we often react in such a way that by uncontrolled pressure we demand rapid rescue measures and laws. All those urgent measures, and during the time of stabilization we have had a great many of them, do not demonstrate the effectiveness of the system, but rather its weakness. And every time there is criticism to the effect that laws are being enacted slowly, those people emerge who favor government intervention. Do I have to cite examples of the laws which we have adopted in haste, and then 3 days later they prove to be bad ones. And then in their haste the delegates are in a situation where they just raise their hands and pass a law or some measure. Here again there is neither self-management, nor the delegate system, nor ultimately even enforcement of the regulations.

Who Is the Government?

[Question] You are always speaking about the state, the government. Who is the government? That is, when we say the government, isn't there something else hiding behind that. The struggle for power, for example?

[Answer] I think that that is not the essence. Just look at how many declarations we have from party, self-management, trade union and all other gatherings. Let us look at how all these gatherings abide by the basic commitments of the constitution and laws in their declarations. But why do we not implement the resolutions of those gatherings? Obviously, declarative support alone is not sufficient for implementing the propositions of the constitution. Something concrete is needed, needed, moreover, in two directions. First, those things that are no good, which hold back and interfere, those things that should be changed and supplemented. Second, ideological action, above all by the League of Communists, must be more concrete, more precise; it must not consist of mere repetition of commitments and nothing more than that. That is why the work of primary organizations of the party, the trade unions and other sociopolitical organizations is swamped in generality.

[Question] Now that we have "dropped down" to the base, let us also discuss the plans of OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] for a moment. Aren't these plans a matter of the commitment of the workers on behalf of their progress, their development, and so on. Yet even these plans, even though they stand as a law governing behavior, establish guidelines, and so on, remain only words on paper?

[Answer] I do not think that a plan is a law. As soon as one says that, then the conception is already the conception of state socialism. The plan ought to be a social compact concerning development, a self-management decision of all those involved in the plan (but this we have not achieved). Today our plans are a mixture of the desires of the self-managers and the government with respect to future development. It is our obligation to build the system of self-management planning as soon as possible, and that system presupposes strictness in fulfillment.

[Question] We have not understood one another. When I said that the plan ought to be a law, I was thinking of our custom of frequently debating a decision, even after it has been adopted, while up to that point we behave toward that same decision as someone else's job. What I mean is that we have therefore altogether forgotten work discipline. That is why nonfulfillment of plans is a consequence of formal decisionmaking and informal implementation.

[Answer] Today's plans, I agree, are so much a matter of principle and generalities that they do not convey a sense of having to be fulfilled. Who has ever been called to account for failure to fulfill the plan? But the essential question is how to arrive at a self-management plan?

[Question] As you have said, the way it is people in working organizations can have a clear conscience, even when they have not fulfilled the plan.

[Answer] The adoption of plans is not exclusively the concern of the workers, at least not at present, nor do the workers always know what the plan is all about. It would be another matter if the workers had occasion to consciously participate in drafting them, if the specialized staff services did not create the policy, but only assured the conditions for better information, for substantiating particular proposals, and alternatives.

The Pattern of Behavior of State Socialism

[Question] The worker is not incompetent (if one can speak at all about incapacity) so that he cannot make decisions on his own. The public debate of the Social Compact on Income, for example, "dredged up" about 2,000 proposals, suggestions, points of criticism and amendments for the proposed compact. And in a meeting of the commission which was working on it I heard the objection that very, very few of those suggestions were honored.

[Answer] That is, of course, an incomprehensible procedure. As for public debates about a new legislative bill, I know that the procedure is the opposite of the one in your example. Even the poor and tendentious proposals have to be examined, since they also are indicative of the field which the law is supposed to regulate.

[Question] Let me just clarify; objections are often made to the effect that public debates are lukewarm, and the attitude toward the suggestions of workers and individuals in previous debates is forgotten. So if a man is ignored in the public debate, then he will also ignore the "product" of that debate.

[Answer] Here we are talking about outright usurpation of small groups, of a breakdown of the delegate system, of getting around the laws, etc.

[Question] Let us go back up a little from the base. This summer the delegate system was "on vacation," and the administration was minding the store. Is there room for the judgment that the emergency measures that were adopted this summer might have been enacted even earlier in the debate with the delegate assemblies, since the things they were supposed to influence did not spring up yesterday?

[Answer] That issue of the so-called emergency measures is in any case a very important one. Our administrative agencies are too little concerned with the problems of implementing policy, which is their principal job and the one for which they bear greatest responsibility. And the harsher the public demand that they do so, the more they turn toward the problem of development policy and its formulation. That, of course, is not their job. Here we see the influence of state socialism, which I have already discussed. However, the problem of enforcing the laws, of implementing the postulates of the system, and so on, is also a matter of the activity of sociopolitical organizations and communities, which are also too little concerned with this. If the approach were different, then there would be no need for us to talk about nonenforcement of laws, self-management legislation, the resolutions of political gatherings, and so on; at any particular moment we would know what is not working and should be changed and which things should be persisted in.

Enforcement of laws, accords and compacts, resolutions and proclamations, to be sure, is a matter of the conscience of every individual, but sincerely this is also everyone's job duty, from the basic organization of associated labor to the government administration.

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SERBIAN SELF-MANAGEMENT DEFENDER INTERVIEWED

Belgrade ZUM REPORTER in Serbo-Croatian No 787, 30 Jul 81 pp 20-23

[Interview with Milovan Dinic, public defender of self-management law in the Republic of Serbia, by Branko Vukovic in Belgrade: "Thieves With a Cover"; date not specified]

[Text] "Not long ago a university professor from here in Belgrade came in. His school at the university was refusing to put him on the waiting list for allocation of apartments, and the professor was seeking my intervention. But they had not put him on the list because until recently he had an apartment. In the meantime he has been divorced and wants a new apartment.... The school has already drawn up its waiting list, but this fellow did everything for them to put him on the list immediately, to treat him not as an individual with an apartment, but as someone without housing. And it is only logical that I had to tell him: 'You know what, it is your right to get divorced and remarried, but a certain time has to pass for that altered situation, and then you can apply for a new apartment.' The professor, of course, went away mad."

This conversation with the impatient professor was only one of many similar conversations which Milovan Dinic, republic public defender of self-management law, has every day. A variety of people in distress knock on the door of his office, people who have knocked on many doors in their quest for justice. And they all expect that it is Milovan Dinic that will resolve "their case" once and for all.

There are thousands of such "cases." As a rule they are very complicated, so that it is by no means easy to "cut through" the matter and find a fair solution. After all, people can develop very bad blood, especially when their personal interest is at stake. Thus many of these cases can easily be put under the heading "Believe it or not."

Why the Public Defender of Self-Management Law Exists

It is the task of the public defender of self-management law to protect the self-management rights of the workers and social property. His job is a responsible one and by no means easy.... This institution of ours is a relatively young one, and there has been quite a bit of misunderstanding and resistance, especially at the outset. Certain responsible comrades were not enthusiastic about the idea of having alongside them an official entity that would be "ferreting about," presenting embarrassing matters and "making problems...." You

know, no one wants to be constantly monitored in his work, to have someone examine his acts, and moreover take steps against him as well.

[Question] It is said that you have rather broad powers?

[Answer] There has been talk about that recently, when we were preparing amendments of the federal constitution and the constitutions of the republics and provinces. There have been attempts, isolated ones to be sure, to have certain arrangements reevaluated. Along the line of whether excessive powers had not been granted to public defenders of self-management law, whether they hadn't been set up as a power outside our system, and so on. The judgment is that these objections are not valid, that there is no need to amend the provisions of the constitution on the public defender of self-management law.

[Question] Your interventions are more of a political nature than legal?

[Answer] The steps which we take are free of the usual formalities. When we spot some irregularity, we first give notice, we go to the organization of associated labor for a talk, we give advice on solving the problem that has arisen. There is no danger that we are usurping someone's rights in this, since we have no power to impose penalties. For example, we cannot go to the OUR [organization of associated labor] and say: "Comrades, you were wrong when you allocated that apartment to Marko, you have to make a decision to allocate the apartment to Janko, and we are penalizing you so much and so much." The public defender of self-management law does not have that power. But he can advise the OUR that its workers are appealing to him frequently and that it should be more mindful of this. He can point out that the regulation and distribution is not in conformity with the law and that it should be amended and supplemented, and so on.

Which means that we first take steps to resolve the matter within the OUR, we join with comrades from the OUR in seeking solutions, and only when we fail in this do we use legal means. By contrast with us, law enforcement agencies or the courts, for instance, are unable to say: "Comrades, your worker Petar Petrovic has stolen so much and so much, ask him to return the money...." I have simplified it a bit, but these are certain specific features of the activity of the public defender of self-management law.

Now You See Him, Now You Don't!

[Question] You have been active for 7 years now. Can it be said that you have fully established yourself as an institution?

[Answer] At the beginning many people did not even know about it. Even certain of the high officials asked me: "What is this public defender of self-management law, what is it you really do?" Some people were unable to remember the title....

Today matters are different. Most people know what the public defender of self-management law does, how and how much he can help. At the beginning of last year the Federal Assembly also issued a favorable assessment of our work. And then, as far as I know, there is not a single opstina assembly which has

complained about the work of the public defender of self-management law. But it is not my job to evaluate whether and to what extent public defenders of self-management law have established themselves. We recently wrote a report on our work, which will be examined in the fall by the Serbian Assembly. That will give the best insight into what and how much the public defenders of self-management law have achieved.

[Question] You have been fairly self-critical in that report?

[Answer] That is to be expected. Not all public defenders of self-management law have had the same performance. As everywhere, we also have those with good performance and those with poor performance. That is why we openly said in that report that there had been oversights, that we had not all been equally committed to protecting self-management rights and social property. The great majority of public defenders of self-management law have been and are performing their function conscientiously--especially in Belgrade and certain other towns--but there have also been some who have simply spent a certain time in the job--without any noticeable results.

[Question] In some opstinas there has not been a public defender of self-management law even after 7 years?!

[Answer] Yes, unfortunately, some have still not appointed a public defender of self-management law. These are the opstinas of Knic, Cicevac and Rekovac. In Golubac and Sjenica they did so only at the beginning of this year. I therefore put a frank question: Who gives those opstinas the right not to have a public defender of self-management law even when 7 years have passed since this institution was created by the constitution?

However, there is a greater problem. There are a number of opstinas where the public defender of self-management law has left his position, has been dismissed, has been assigned to other work, and a new person has been appointed to replace him. In other words, as the saying goes, now you see him, now you don't! Raca Kragujevacka, for instance, has not had a public defender of self-management law for 4 years now. In Krusevac the public defender of self-management law retired all of a year ago, a bit embittered after an awkward article about his personal income, and a new public defender of self-management law has not been appointed to replace him. The public defender of self-management law from Trstenik was appointed my deputy more than a year ago, and there is none there. In Varvarin they named the public prosecutor public defender of self-management law, so that in effect they did away with the post of public defender of self-management law. Recently this has also been done in Batocina: after the key official for the economy was arrested, they immediately appointed the public defender of self-management law to his position, but that left them without the public defender. We therefore are inclined to ask: what is the situation of those workers who until yesterday had a public defender of self-management law, but today do not?

Let us be clear: I am not against public defenders of self-management law moving to new positions even before the end of their term of office. But what I cannot understand in this personnel policy of ours, is that a new individual is

not "produced by the personnel system," if I can put it that way, to fill that vacancy. That is impermissible!

They Are Glad To Leave

[Question] Those who left were not very sorry to go?

[Answer] Unfortunately, a sizable portion could hardly wait to leave that position. And when you talk to them about this, all of them emphasize difficulties and numerous problems in their work. Beginning with the fact that this is a relatively new job, inadequately defined and practiced, and beyond that we are still building up the method of our activity, and going all the way to pressures and lack of understanding on the part of various official structures.

One of the first of the public defenders of self-management law, who took up this position enthusiastically, told me later when he was assigned to the post of director of the Social Accounting Service: "I am glad to go, since there I have a staff, I have staff service, I have people who do their job, and I am not directly responsible for anything. Here I am alone, as a practical matter I have no one to work with." Another public defender of self-management law has told me: "I am in a position here to turn people against me more and more, and I don't know how I will get along afterwards. I am not afraid, now, but when my term of office is over.... It is therefore better to leave when a good chance offers itself."

[Question] Which means that something must be changed in personnel policy?

[Answer] That is clear, since this personnel turnover is not good. I am especially against any promotion to a better job when he has not produced at all in this position. Though it turns out that this was some kind of place created for him, a place to bide his time awhile and wait for better days. One public defender of self-management law spent 3 years in the post in that way, and we do not know of a single case he followed through on. After that he left for a higher position! Another left the position of public defender of self-management law to take an important high administrative post in the region, and only when the new public defender of self-management law came in did we establish that there was no documentation whatsoever on the work of his predecessor during the previous 3 years! So we see that he took it easy, prepared for his master's degree and waited for his moment.... These are, of course, exceptions. There are far more public defenders of self-management law who have affirmed themselves, who have gained a reputation and who have gone to better positions.

[Question] Have some been replaced?

[Answer] Over the last 2 years 30 percent of the public defenders of self-management law have left before the end of their term of office. Only one was dismissed against his will, the others left to fill vacancies.

Two Public Defenders of Self-Management Law--Two Opinions

[Question] A moment ago you mentioned pressures on public defenders of self-management law. Who is exerting these pressures, and why?

[Answer] The pressures come mainly from failure to understand the nature of this post. When the public defender of self-management law was established, the principal idea was actually for it to be an independent public entity. It therefore was strongly emphasized in both the constitution and in law that the public defender of self-management law was an independent body of the social community....

[Question] And not a body of the opstina....

[Answer] ... And not a body of the particular opstina and so on. However, in practice this has sometimes not been the case. For example, in some places people have understood from the fact that the opstina assembly appoints the public defender of self-management law and furnishes the funds for his work, that he is a body of that opstina, and not a body of the social community as a whole. The public defender of self-management law is therefore called upon to act solely from the positions of that opstina, to neglect the general public interest. If public defenders of self-management law give in to that pressure, then we have an absurd situation: two public defenders of self-management law have diametrically opposed views on the same issue! But that is unacceptable from the standpoint of our overall function.

When the campaign was waged for certain components to withdraw from the Beograd Agricultural Combine, we found ourselves in an unpleasant situation. The public defender of self-management law and his deputy in Vrsac argued persistently that components of the Beograd Agricultural Combine in that opstina should withdraw from the SOUR [complex organization of associated labor]. The public defenders of self-management law in Belgrade followed an altogether different line of argument: that there was no real need for that withdrawal, that this amounted to enclosure within opstina boundaries, and so on.

[Question] What other ways are pressures put on the public defenders of self-management law?

[Answer] There are a multitude of forms. For instance, in cases of what is referred to as gainful misappropriation of funds, pressure is exerted on the public defender of self-management law not to take steps, because this was "good for the organization," it "increased its income," "this man put nothing in his own pocket," and the like. Or the president of the opstina will telephone the public defender of self-management law: "Listen, buddy, why are you getting after that organization of associated labor, don't you know that's where we get our living?"

[Question] And when personnel, individuals, are involved?

[Answer] Then pressure is exerted on the public defender of self-management law not to "spoil" certain juggling of personnel involving particular individuals....

Recently we had a flagrant example in Belgrade. In one Belgrade opstina an official's term of office had expired, and his friends in the opstina planned for him the post of assistant director in a large work organization. However, the public defender of self-management law found that such a job slot had not been envisaged in the bylaws, and he opposed the appointment of that official. Well, the entire political elite of the opstina immediately called him in for a talk, where the public defender of self-management law was sharply criticized. They tried to "convince" him to change his opinion. Fortunately, the public defender of self-management law had the courage to resist the pressure resolutely, he did not give in.... They had to look for another job for that official, who had already been appointed to the position of assistant director.

"He Makes the Workers Restless"

[Question] Public defenders of self-management law frequently disturb "wasp nests," they get into confrontations with influential people. What are the consequences?

[Answer] It is not just a question of "wasp nests." It is more a question of powerful individuals occupying positions. By contrast with us, for example, the court is dealing with a person against whom proceedings have been instituted and charges filed. The prosecutor has in front of him a man who has been indicted, and so on. We are dealing with people in associated labor who occupy high positions in the organization of associated labor, the self-managing community of interest, or the sociopolitical community. And here, whether we file charges or want to learn something on our own initiative, it is not easy at all. These people, these influential individuals, are often very perfidious and subtle when they need to obstruct the public defender of self-management law. They try to discredit him publicly, they use misinformation and slander, they pin labels on the public defender of self-management law and accuse him of "making the workers restless," of "protecting slackers," and the like.

I will give you an example of the former director of the Hotel and Restaurant College in Belgrade. This man developed an entire system of misinformation about the public defender of self-management law. It is amazing the strings this man pulled to prevent intervention of the university committee, and it was a question how the public defender of self-management law would ultimately fare.

A fresh example of that of the director of one of the COUR's [basic organization of associated labor] in the cement factory in Paracin. This man also fabricated a wealth of lies, instituted a campaign, wrote letters everywhere....

We devote particular attention to this form of resistance and attack on public defenders of self-management law. We try to suppress them, though it is not easy. It is important to emphasize that this resistance is not waged by workers, but precisely by those against whose behavior the public defenders of self-management law are taking steps. They want to frustrate the public defender of self-management law, to prevent him from raising "hot topics," they want to divert him onto petty issues of no importance. Insofar as the public defender of self-management is concerned with these key and more difficult problems, then, to that extent he is exposed to a greater danger and greater risks....

Who Is Protecting the Slackers

[Question] What is the most frequent reason for workers to appeal to the public defender of self-management law?

[Answer] Over the last 3 years we have intervened most frequently because of violations of rights arising out of the employment relation (hiring and termination of employment, work assignment, pronouncement of disciplinary measures, etc.). Then come problems in the housing field, which are becoming more and more common. In third place are matters related to distribution of personal incomes.

[Question] Are there frequent cases of efforts to get rid of workers who speak openly and critically?

[Answer] There are, of course, such cases. Sometimes a person who has spoken critically about the problems in distribution of income is assigned to a poorer job or receives a disciplinary penalty. Sometimes the entire management structure plots against the worker, and this is difficult to stop and to protect the person. I am surprised that even his trade union organization usually will not come to his defense. Not to mention the legal service!

[Question] What view do they take in the workplace toward workers who appeal to the public defender of self-management law?

[Answer] They do not look on him with sympathy! They usually say: "You didn't have to go there, we could have resolved this among ourselves." Many workers say in their criticism that they have been persecuted, abused and punished because they sought our help. This is a disturbing phenomenon.

[Question] You are accused of protecting slackers. Recently we read in the papers a statement by a director to the effect that there was no point in trying to get rid of slackers, since the public defender of self-management law and the courts would reinstate him.

[Answer] I do not believe that is the case. It is not true that the law, the courts and public defenders of self-management law are protecting slackers. However, it is true that there are quite a few slackers who escape responsibility. Why? Usually for formal reasons. But since there is no content without form, we demand that the prescribed procedure be followed in the taking of steps. A person cannot be fired without getting a hearing. Proceedings must be conducted, evidence must be presented and the facts established. And then when the decision is made in the first instance, he must be allowed to appeal. I am in favor of speeding up this procedure, but I don't agree that it favors slackers.

Habitual Litigants

[Question] You also receive requests from people for whom nothing is ever right, for whom everyone is to blame and dishonest. How do you deal with them?

[Answer] Nearly 20 percent of the applications are unfounded. Then the public defender of self-management law does not intervene. I think that this is not a disturbing percentage, since it would be quite a situation if everyone who complained was right. Then our society would be a society of lawlessness.

These unfounded petitions indicate that we are also dealing with slackers, with people who see only their own rights, but not their obligations, with habitual litigants. Some people indeed want to wangle something in a way that is unlawful and contrary to self-management, using impermissible means and methods. This is typical in resolving housing issues and then with unjustified sick leave and the like.

You have people who have complained to everyone all along the line and everywhere they have lost. And now he thinks that the public defender of self-management law is the one who can resolve the matter on his own--regardless of the decision of the court, regardless of the decision of the self-management body, regardless of the decision of the agency of the sociopolitical community. And when you explain to him that what he is doing makes no sense at all, he still does not lose heart: "I will go elsewhere, I will complain even about you!" What are we to do, go ahead and complain! Even public defenders of self-management law are not infallible....

[Question] Do you sometimes manage to convince them?

[Answer] There was a man named Jovanovic from Vranje who listened to me. For 6 years he had a dispute with the cotton combine. He went to the federal public prosecutor, and even there he did not win support. Then he came to me. We talked as one comrade to another. I told him: "Give it up, man, calm down, there are no grounds for intervention." He listened to me and gave it up. I have heard that he is doing good work now.

There is one man I am trying to convince right now. He has married twice, twice he has obtained an apartment. Now he has married again, again he wants a new apartment. His reasoning is this: "A new wife--a new apartment!"

[Question] One gets the impression that not a single apartment can be allocated without intervention from the court and the public defender of self-management law.

[Answer] There are a great many of these disputes. And the problems which arise in this area are numerous. There are few apartments, there are many more applicants. Often the apartments are allocated under the influence of individuals or groups. In some places apartments are allocated, but self-management acts have not been adopted at all. There are many errors, oversights and abuses by those seeking apartments. It is not a rare thing for a father to give his apartment to his son and then to apply for a job as a person who does not have an apartment. Family households are fictitiously divided up, there are divorces, and so on. All this results in a large number of disputes and intervention by the courts and the public defenders of self-management law.

The Limits of Avarice

[Question] Recently flagrant attacks on social property have become more frequent. The scandals in Beograd Engineering, the Rakovica Opstina Assembly, and certain self-managing communities of interest.... How do you explain that?

[Answer] Social property, especially in certain spheres, is seriously threatened. The mechanism for protecting social property is not functioning well. We therefore constantly have cases of very bold attacks on social property. You mentioned the self-managing communities of interest. I honestly cannot give you a single example where workers' control in some self-managing community of interest has taken measures or has made a name for itself in protecting social property. But it is here that there is the greatest illegality and the largest number of "cases."

[Question] The delegate system seems not to be functioning at all in this area?

[Answer] Enormous assets of society are concentrated in the self-managing communities of interest, and the secretaries and staff services have the decisive role in spending them. Their behavior, the quality of their work, the size of the staff, and so on, indicate that the self-managing communities of interest are becoming more and more alienated centers of power over which the workers cannot exert an influence. Nevertheless, the establishment of new self-managing communities of interest is being proposed, though there is no real need for them.

[Question] We asked you ...

[Answer] Yes, yes ... Beograd Engineering, Rakovica.... I can cite you a number of other examples of losses to social property and of enrichment without work. Public defenders of self-management law have done quite a bit here, they have made a name for themselves in specific examples and have resolutely stood in the way of abuses. To be sure, we have not always wanted to get press coverage, but there are a number of examples when the public defenders of self-management law have been the first to rise up.... That was the case in Vrnjacka Banja, Sokobanja, Smederevo, Cukarica, Rakovica, Krusevac and elsewhere. It is a question of abuses in the allocation of lots and credits for housing construction.

We advocated, for example, that the lots and credits be allotted in a self-management way, through competitions and under equal conditions for everyone. We were also resolutely opposed to the expropriation of the property of private persons, and then allocating that same land to individuals to build on after 2 or 3 years.

How do I explain these cases? The mechanism which is supposed to protect social property is often absent. Second, people have a weakened sense of responsibility when there are no penalties. I often wonder at the degree to which some people become avaricious and insatiable. What does it mean when someone obtains a lot in the center of the city for a song, without a competition, under the

most favorable conditions? Kragujevac is unfortunately just one example here, not the only one.

Everything Is "According to the Law"

[Question] Not infrequently the scoundrels you speak about take pains to put things in a legal form.

[Answer] Of course, since no one is any longer so naive as to undertake outright theft. They seek a cover in the decisions of the legal authorities, so that at first it seems that everything is "according to the law," but flagrant losses are nevertheless inflicted on social property.

[Question] Some time ago the issue of embezzlement in the former Association of Journalists was raised once again, rather timidly to be sure. It seemed as though everything would be covered up.

[Answer] That was a case in which social property was passed out with both hands. I have something to say about this in a meeting, but the press did not carry it in its entirety, and it dropped.... I do not share the opinion that investigatory agencies and the court work slowly, since this is truly an enormous job. We are dealing with several hundred names and I therefore do not have the impression that they are trying to cover anything up. In fact, I did not speak about that, but I took the position that these matters must be dealt with by administrative agencies responsible for income as well. That is, did he declare that income or not? If one and the same person turns up as the recipient of a high fee of the Association of Journalists, in the Business College, in some other college in Rijeka, that is, at several places, then that person must pay nearly 70 percent of his earnings in taxes. So, if he has regularly reported all that and honestly paid his tax.... In fact, I am critical of the staff of the administration for income because it only assesses the tax, but it does not run a check on how much tax I as an individual have declared. And that will be especially important now when we are discontinuing these commissions for investigation of the origin of property.

Self-Managing Bodies Are Violating Self-Management

[Question] According to certain figures, violations of the self-management rights of the workers and social property are committed most frequently by the bodies of self-management, i.e., by bodies which the workers have elected themselves. Isn't this absurd?

[Answer] I will give you precise figures on who is infringing on the self-management rights of the workers. We have found that of the total number of violations' of workers' rights last year about 23 percent were committed by workers' councils. Then about 22 percent by commissions and committees. Nearly 11 percent of the violations were committed by directors, more than 8 percent were made by other supervisory personnel, and violations were committed in 5.7 percent of the cases by worker caucuses.

In analyzing this phenomenon we came to the conclusion that the specialized services and key supervisors often offer unlawful arrangements to the bodies of self-management, and the latter simply adopt them. In other words, they are being deceived in a way. In addition, we have also detected cases of threats, pressures and manipulation of the bodies of self-management. That is why defenders of self-management law insists that these people be called to account. And that means all of them--members of the workers' council and commissions, directors and other supervisors. After all, we cannot allow our behavior to be governed by the well-known adage: "Tie up the horse where the aga tells you." No one is entitled to the excuse that he did not know or anything of that kind.

[Question] Can you illustrate with specific cases?

[Answer] Here is a drastic case. It occurred in one OOUR in the cement plant in Popovac. Thanks to the good situation on the market that plant today has no problems whatsoever in operation of its business. Well, though they do not have a regulation on innovations, the workers' council of that OOUR adopted a decision to pay the director 108 million old dinars on behalf of innovations. Of course, the public defender of self-management law had that decision struck down in the court, since it was unlawful. And what happened? The workers' council does not acknowledge its error. It does not agree that such decisions may not be adopted without a general self-management act, but again meets and decides. This time--50 million! Then the bidding begins.... So, we will again have that evaluated. We will call upon the court to evaluate those 50 million as well and state whether it is alright or not.

The next example is also drastic. The director of a boarding school in Leskovac went off to obtain coal for heating. He rushed off to Bosnia, traveled by taxi, looked for it and found it. He justified his action by a decision of the council of the boarding school. What is more, he managed to buy the coal! Everything is alright, we said, but how about the way in which he did it? Does this mean that he might also have gone by airplane?! And now you have a conflict. On the one hand is the public defender of self-management law, who feels that this is an abuse and squandering of social resources. On the other side is the council of the boarding school, and its position is that if the director had not gone, they would be left without coal!

As I say, there are many examples. That is why we are constantly pointing to these cases and calling for a more responsible attitude. It is a question of responsibility. No one can seek cover behind the decisions of a collective body, everyone must bear personal responsibility. But that is what we lack today.

An OOUR With Three Workers!

[Question] Public defenders of self-management law are also pointing to group-ownership behavior.

[Answer] Not only the public defenders of self-management law, but we are all speaking about that frequently, we are adopting resolutions and positions, we are making evaluations, and so on. However, when it comes down to pointing

specifically to those who are behaving after the pattern of group ownership, here we are slack, here we water things down.

To be specific, we detect group-ownership behavior in certain scientific institutions when it comes to realizing and distributing income. In large institutions it is not uncommon for scientists not to divide up income at the level of the OOUR, but the income goes to certain teams, work units, and so on. So, if a certain team has done more work, if it has someone with stronger connections who brings it work, he earns more. The money is divided up within the team, within the work unit, and not at the level of the OOUR. We managed to put a stop to that practice in the Institute for Foreign Trade, but we have not entirely succeeded in the Institute for Chemistry and Technology. And in the latter, incidentally, they had an OOUR with three workers for a time!

To go on, as we see it, the cement factory in Popovac was an example of group-ownership behavior. Everyone is getting along fine, they are earning high personal incomes, and it is not unusual for them to reason: "Since we are all getting along fine, let's give our director 100 million or so for innovations"! And who has the right to interfere with their doing so, when that is theirs! Of course, when we describe this as group-ownership behavior then problems arise.

The Unpleasant Side of Self-Management

[Question] There has been reference to the flood of legal enactments--laws and general self-management acts. As if this is justice on paper....

[Answer] That problem does exist, and we confront it in a serious way. We have a sea of laws and self-management acts, we endeavor to regulate everything, to cover every situation in life with some norm. It makes it difficult even for a professional attorney to get his bearings, much less an ordinary man. It also opens up possibilities for abuse, and, what is important, it increases the size of the administration. We have precise figures on this.

In 1977, for example, in Serbia proper we had 851 work communities in associated labor. Two years later the number had increased to 1,164. Since work communities consist mainly of office workers, it is clear that we have a large growth of administration. In addition, the number of persons employed in these communities has been growing very rapidly. Often the work communities are poorly set up from the organizational standpoint, and their tasks have not been precisely set forth, their responsibility to the OOUR's has not been defined. It is therefore no wonder that the OOUR's are setting themselves apart and increasing their own administration, since they are dissatisfied with the quality of services from the work communities.

[Question] Every day you encounter various illegalities, abuses, and arbitrariness on the part of individuals and groups. Isn't there too much of this?

[Answer] It is our function to be concerned less with the sanguine side of life and more with the other side. It is true that the number of petitions and applications to public defenders of self-management law has been growing year after year. However, it would be a mistake--I always give this particular

emphasis--for us to conclude from this that there is less self-management, that everyone is violating the law and self-management acts. It is actually the opposite--this demonstrates that the working people have become far more critical toward the acts of individuals and institutions and that they are becoming more aware and freer in seeking protection of their rights. This in actuality means that the working people are increasingly ready to get involved in the struggle against those things that are hampering the development of self-management and democracy.

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CHARGES AGAINST MARKO VESELICA DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Sep 81 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 17-18

[Article by Djordje Licina: "Counterarguments Without Evidence"]

[Text] "It is not I who is doing you harm, but the material which you gave me to carry across the border!" That is what Mila Sram, key witness for the prosecution, very calmly and resolutely said on the fourth day of the trial to Dr Marko Veselica, former university docent, thereby for all practical purposes completing the exposure of his hostile activity, thus proving what the prosecutor had long since asserted: that Marko Veselica, one of the principal ideologues and organizers of what has been referred to as the mass movement in 1971, has since his release from prison not only been engaged in hostile propaganda, but has even deliberately entered into relations with Ustasha terrorists abroad, giving them and receiving from them guidelines for activity against Yugoslavia.

The words of the witness--Veselica's secret messenger--pronounced during the confrontation of witnesses in the trial, that is, in front of a broad and diverse audience, were indisputably the most dramatic moment of the 7-day trial. They had the effect of a kind of psychological mallet which mercilessly crushed Veselica's very last hope that he would manage to prove the opposite. The last day of the trial also showed how fateful that woman's testimony was for the defendant: Veselica's concluding speech lasted more than 4.5 hours; in it he talked more about his well-known nationalistic theses, supporting them with various quotations, presumably so as to give the idea that there are also others who think like he does, and less about the allegations of the indictment, though there were reasons in plenty for the latter. He spoke about the witness Mila Sram less than 2 minutes. In order to completely discredit her testimony or because he simply did not have counterarguments against her assertions? It is obvious that the latter was involved, since the course of the trial has unambiguously shown that Veselica suspected that this secret channel of his to the fascist emigre community abroad might be discovered and cut off, so that at one moment--as the witness very convincingly reconstructed--he asked for his report to the Ustasha emigres not to be sent from Bratsk but from Berne, where Mila Sram had previously spent time on several occasions in performing a similar task.

Veselica's ties with the fascist terrorist organizations abroad is an altogether new detail (the president of the panel of criminal judges referred to it as a

new attribute) in his continuous hostile activity. In its hearing on the verdict in the first instance in 1972 (when he was sentenced to 7 years in prison) the Supreme Court of Croatia said that it had not been proven against Veselica, who operated from counterrevolutionary and nationalistic positions within the framework of the ideology of what was referred to as the mass movement, that he had established links with the fascist emigre community. Now, however, that new attribute has come to light, proving the assertion that this most recent case did not involve merely indirect contacts having to do with propaganda, but in fact a coincidence and identity of views and opinions and ideological ties.

Emigre Examples

That is, it is beyond dispute that Veselica had been heeding, following and analyzing the actions of the extremist emigre community, just as it is quite certain that that political underground had honored the defendant's opinions and positions. This incidentally is also indicated by certain reports which traveled to Veselica from abroad and from Veselica abroad. Via his messenger last October Veselica received from the well-known Ustasha emigre Tihomil Radja, who lives in Switzerland, the guidelines of a fascist organization under the code name "Jack London," according to which all documentation on persecution was to be delivered abroad, and that documentation was to be used as a provocative act in Madrid at the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. According to those same guidelines of Radja's, Veselica was to send exhaustive data on the economic situation in the SFRY and the impact it was having on the Croatian economy. A directive also arrived from Berne in October calling for the accused and those holding the same political views to establish links and cooperation with the dissidents in Belgrade, with Djilas and others, in order to set in motion a campaign for amnesty of political prisoners.

Nor, however, was Veselica only on the receiving end: In a report sent to the Ustasha emigres Mirko Vidovic and Tihomil Radja he gives advice on what should be done and which task is urgent: "Attempt to organize groups of intellectuals and public figures of various countries ... to which letters of protest and appeals addressed to their own and our government for halting the persecution in Croatia could be sent for certification. As was the case a few days ago of the German newsmen and the intellectuals of the journal PRAXIS, who sent an open letter to the president of the Serbian Assembly. Unless all this together is done and world public opinion set in motion, there could be large-scale persecutions and consequences for the destiny of Croatia."

The conviction has been created in recent years in the hostile political emigre community that the "battle for an independent new Croatia" can be won only by forces within the country, and that the emigre community can merely offer its aid in this. We are well aware which forces those are. That is why it is altogether impossible to remain in doubt as to why this connection suddenly cropped up between Marko Veselica and fascist exponents abroad. In planning and carrying out its hostile activity, especially activity to sow distrust between Croats and Serbs, the fascist emigre community has sought and is constantly seeking the most outspoken proponents of this kind of nationalistic platform. In Veselica's interview with the West German newsman Hans Joachim Bornemann they saw an exceptional occasion for warming over their malicious theses and for inciting ethnic

enmity. Though Veselica tried throughout the trial to convince the court of the supposed harmlessness of the political messages and the tolerance of the views expressed in that conversation, the interview is among other things a typical example of deliberate dissemination of intolerance and enmity toward other ethnic communities in Yugoslavia. It is indeed full of provocative messages and irritating insinuations, theses which are pronouncedly nationalistic, and it advocates indivisible national sovereignty, that is, pure ethnic exclusiveness. It also attempts to impose the conviction that the Croatian people in Yugoslavia is culturally subordinate, neglected and denied, while SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia is exposed to systematic and arrogant plundering by the other republics and provinces. "If, then, Montenegro is to be able to catch up with SR Croatia and the other advanced portions, it must exploit the Croatian economy to a horrifying extent, while at the same time it bears no sort of moral or economic motivation to conduct its economic activity efficiently," Marko Veselica says in one passage.

"Large-Scale Persecutions"

In his interview, which the Ustasha emigre community hastened to publish in certain of its periodicals (and Hans Peter Rullman, agent of a foreign intelligence service who 10 years ago was tried for espionage in Yugoslavia, followed their lead), Veselica did not actually say much that was new. He chewed over certain of his theses already exploited in the period of the so-called mass movement, embellishing them only with certain new "scientific discoveries and new knowledge." Including this among others, in which he alludes to the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium in Karadjordjevo: "But then the dark fell, the darkness known to everyone, out of which has sprung the brutal and large-scale persecution of innocent Croatian youth, intellectuals and the people, a persecution that leads nowhere.... Thus, though we who were tried in 1972 and 1973 are now out, and we were tried as alleged members of the mass movement and the counterrevolution, we are being followed by new groups of innocent people who have been convicted...."

What sort of "large-scale persecutions" are actually being referred to? Veselica's "information," however, is refuted by ordinary statistics: In 1979 117 persons were charged in SR Croatia (though not necessarily tried), all of 98 percent of them for minor political crimes (curses, insults, etc.). A year later 275 persons were charged and the percentage of those for minor political offenses was almost the same. In the first 6 months of this year only 32 persons have been charged, 11 of them for a serious form of political crime.

It is obvious, then, that through his thesis of alleged large-scale persecutions in Croatia Veselica is actually trying to launch the conviction which he scrupulously advocated in the major portion of his interview: That "the modern thing is to constantly maintain criticism of fascism concerning Croatia in order to halt the process of its democratic expansion and so as to nurture in a programmed way the feeling of its permanent guilt and frustration even when it is altogether innocent...."

It needs to be said, however, that Veselica is not the only nationalist who has persistently and systematically revived the imagined guilt complex in the

Croatian people. This has been done by others before him and after him. With always the same goal, to build upon it their chauvinistic program of revanchism.

In his interview with the West German newsmen Veselica gave answers typical of him to the difficulties with which our community is burdened, and his already well-known constant stood at the heart of all those answers: that the Croatian nation has been reduced to an oppressed class within the borders of Yugoslavia and that the Serbs are a privileged bureaucratic and ruling class. He therefore holds that the Croatian people is thereby menaced, and at one place in the interview he says: "Never will the beatings and persecutions which some Serbs are unjustifiably administering to Croats and other nationalities of Yugoslavia destroy the Croatian dream of greater freedom and achievement of full sovereignty of the Croatian people guaranteed it by the new constitution, but denied it by the actual power structure in which the Serbs have in Croatia an absolute domination which at present is not jeopardized nor controlled in any way...."

What is actually the purpose of sowing this kind of systematic suspicion toward another nationality in Croatia? Obviously not merely to set the two nationalities at odds, but also to establish a line of politics that would rehabilitate the darkest part of our recent past and would actually be aimed toward general disunification, which certain foreign appetites could hardly wait for.

It is also in that context that we should examine the motions of the defense in the evidenciary proceedings in which it called for an ethnic recount of persons employed in federal bodies, agencies and organizations, Yugoslavia's foreign diplomatic and consular missions, leadership bodies of opstina committees of the League of Communists, and also law enforcement agencies and the army. The nature of these demands by the defense does not at all coincide with the well-known demands made in the time of the so-called mass movement, which came down to "absolute personnel purity," which really is nothing other than an obvious harangue against other nationalities and ethnic minorities. We believe, however, that this demand was more a deliberate provocation than a sober move motivated by justice.

A Memory Block

What else did the trial just ended prove? Many objective observers were left entirely of two minds when they listened to the testimony of the witness Zora Heger, who had known Marko Veselica and Mila Sram and later had established a permanent link between them. They remained of two minds simply because this witness declared that she was not acquainted with Dr Marko Veselica at all. However, this testimony sounded absolutely unconvincing when certain documents proving the contrary were shown to Zora Heger: to the effect that she not only knew Marko Veselica, but was in fact his devoted collaborator. This emerges from the following material facts: When Zora Heger's apartment was searched, a photocopy of Veselica's interview with the newsman of the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL was found in it. The witness testified at the trial that she had found the interview in her mailbox rolled up together with some other material. Zora Heger then began to copy the interview she had "found" on her typewriter. Why? She gave a rather laconic answer in the trial: for practice. The interview ultimately ended up in Heger's stove, which she did not use. It was found

hidden there together with a pile of other hostile propaganda material. She was unable to give a reasonable explanation as to what she used this material for. However, Mila Sram provided an altogether logical answer: "I received that material from Tihomir Radja and I was to deliver it to Veselica."

The trial showed that Zora Heger's apartment was the "mission headquarters" and the point of origin and destination of the illegal channel whereby Veselica maintained relations with the Ustasha extremists. This is also confirmed by the report entitled "Political Processes in Croatia" which Veselica sent by his messenger to the emigre Mirko Vidovic in Lyon. This report was written on an Erica typewriter owned by Zora Heger. In the trial, however, the witness declared that it was not clear to her how that was possible, since she, she said, did not type that report. Zora Heger was also unable to give a logical answer to the question of how a letter came to be found in her apartment which had been sent to Marko Veselica by the so-called European Helsinki group, a nongovernmental institution abroad which has been infiltrated by foreign intelligence services and of which Mirko Vidovic the Ustasha emigre is also a member. Nor could she remember what her motive was when she gave Mila Sram, on the eve of her last trip abroad, a message written in her own hand containing certain details about the criminal proceedings against Marko Veselica.

How is it that Zora Heger suddenly suffered this total memory block? The prosecutor explained this phenomenon in his conclusion in approximately these words: We know who Zora Heger is. She was tried immediately after the war for collaboration with bands of Crusaders [members of a Catholic clerical organization--translator's note] and served sentence in the Criminal House of Correction in Slavonska Pozega, where she also came to know Mila Sram (sentenced to 4 years for illegal trade). This past of hers and her political conviction are the answer to the question of why she was protecting Dr Marko Veselica.

What did the trial also show? Among other things ... the untenability of Veselica's main line of defense that he is being tried because of his beliefs. In presenting the information contained in the interview, he said, he was exercising his legitimate right to free expression of thought and conviction. In so reasoning Veselica has obviously forgotten the nature of our legal statutes: No one can exercise that freedom and those rights to conduct hostile activity against the SFRY. And what Marko Veselica has said and done cannot be described otherwise than as a deliberate hostile act. Which is why the sentence of 11 years in prison (8 of them for establishing relations with the fascist emigre community) should be viewed as a logical answer to these "beliefs" of Veselica's, and especially to the supposed nonexistent tie between him and the Ustasha emigres abroad.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 October 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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No. 1926

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
TU Congress Announced 1

HUNGARY

Varnai Attacks U.S.-Chinese Relations
(Ferenc Varnai; NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Sep 81) 2

POLAND

Training, Correction of Soldiers Discussed
(Adam Kulbiej; PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH, Jun 81) 6

ROMANIA

'Creative' Socialism of Ceausescu Hailed by Rautu
(Leonte Rautu; ANALE DE ISTORIE, May-Jun 81)..... 12

Romanian-Soviet Symposium on Internal Party Life
(Nicolae Raus; ABALE DE ISTORIE, May-Jun 81) 19

Excessive Buying Causes 'Disturbances' in Food Supply System
(Various sources, various dates) 29

Customers, Clerks Guilty, by I. Butnaru
Speculators, Hoarders Condemned, Editorial
Food Distribution System Improved, by Mircea Scripca
Food for Bucharest Markets
Wine-making Depletes Sugar, by I. Stefan

Effective Operation of Workers' Democracy Hailed
(Ioa Florea; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Jul 81) 36

Failure To Appoint Women as Factory Foremen Examined
(Rodica Serban; SCINTEIA, 17 Sep 81) 44

Briefs
Death of TAROM Director 48

BRIEFS

TU CONGRESS ANNOUNCED--The Czech ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) Congress will be held in Prague between 26 and 28 February 1982, as approved during a plenary session of the Czech Council of Trade Unions on 24 September. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 25 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 2400/5

VARNAI ATTACKS U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Ferenc Varnai: "Almost Allied... Concerning the International Strategy of the Chinese Leadership"]

[Text] Since the removal of Hua Guofeng from the post of chairman of the CCP and the appointment of Hu Yaobang, who stands close to Deng Xiaoping, to this function bourgeois commentators have been using an awful lot of paper to evaluate the "de-Maoization" of China. More than a few have conceived of and still conceive of a departure from the ultraleft policy and plans aimed at modernization of the economy as a break with Maoist policy. But the essence of the Maoist conception never lay simply in the ultraleftist policy of the "great leap" and the "cultural revolution:--at most these were manifestational forms of the ideological system and policy of Maoism for a briefer or longer time. The essence lay primarily in the nationalist, great power chauvinist ambition which is increasingly gaining the ascendancy in the foreign policy of the present Peking leadership.

Peking and the Trilatralists

This is also indicated by the rapprochement which is taking place between the present Chinese leadership and the Reagan government, which is sharpening international tension at an accelerating pace. The visit of Haig, the American general and secretary of state, to Peking at the beginning of summer not only opened the door for US arms shipments to China but also led to an agreement pertaining to harmonization of the strategic plans of the two countries. A conference which took place in Peking at the end May, on the eve of Haig's trip, a conference about which the bourgeois and Chinese press has remained quite silent, betrays especially much about the development of links between Peking and Washington. The capitalist news organs, so hungry for sensations, proved extraordinarily discreet on this occasion; they limited themselves to a brief statement of the facts. But this was a sensation, one of the best.

What happened was that the Trilateral Commission, which includes many leading strategists, politicians and businessmen of the United States, Western Europe and Japan and which helps to work out and coordinate the policy of international monopoly capital and get it implemented in the policy of imperialist governments, held its regular scheduled meeting in Peking (!). This fact indicated that the policy makers of the capitalist world were thus including the Chinese leadership in an institutionalized form in the harmonization of their political, economic and military strategy. It also indicated that the host was demanding for himself a part

in the development and implementation of the policy of the imperialist powers! (Deputy premier Ji Pengfei announced: "The prospects for cooperation between China and the Trilateral Commission are broad." To which David Rockefeller, chairman of the commission, hastened to add: "There are many more common traits than differences between China and the trilateralists, and even the differences can be overcome.")

To prove that this is not some sort of presumption or overestimation let us quote the West German FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU which recently leaked, under the headline "China Wants to Form an Alliance Against the Soviet Union," the report read at the conference, which belongs to the army. (No one in Peking denied the text published by the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU.) We quote parts for this report below.

The Leaked Report

"The Soviet Union is striving for world hegemony--without war; or, if necessary, with war too.... The strategic target of the Soviet Union is Europe.... If the Soviet Union should occupy West Europe then the United States would be in immediate danger also.... At this time the chief expansion target of the Soviet Union is the southern front, the area rich in strategic raw materials, primarily the Near East and the oil along the Persian Gulf, which is of vital importance for the western economy.... If the Soviet Union should cut oil supplies to the West, on which its life depends, then the entire strategy of the western world would be inoperative. What would Japan, the United States and Europe do?"

This so-called analysis agrees letter for letter with those assertions with which the most extreme circles of American militarism justify the arms race and their adventurous actions. But let us see how Xiu Xin summed up the task for joint action against the Soviet Union:

"1. The United States, Japan, West Europe and the third world countries should jointly oppose Soviet hegemonism....

"2. A front for the united struggle against hegemonism must be formed in Afghanistan and Cambodia....

"3. The Soviet Union must be weakened politically, economically and militarily; it must be caused the greatest possible difficulty....

"4. The important role of the third world must be developed to full extent in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism.... For this reason the West must evidence a careful behavior and policy in regard to the third world. At present it must treat wisely primarily the Palestinian and Namibian questions."

"We would gladly unite our forces," he added, "with the United States, Japan, West Europe and the third world countries in the decisive struggle against Soviet hegemonism on any front." He then bragged in this way: "We are fully conscious of our role in the united international struggle being waged against imperialism (this is how they name the Soviet Union--the editors). One quarter of the entire military strength of the Soviet Union is tied down on the Chinese-Soviet border and the great bulk of the Vietnamese armed forces are tied down on the Chinese-Vietnamese border."

Parts of the other two Chinese speeches have leaked out from western diplomatic sources also. Pei Monong, deputy director of the Chinese institute dealing with the study of international questions, emphasized:

"That strategic link which has come into being between China, the United States, Japan, West Europe and some of the third world countries took form in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism. The foundation for this link is a common strategic interest."

Xiong Xianghui, vice-president of the Chinese People's Foreign Affairs Institute, said no less than what we now quote:

"The Chinese leaders have said on numerous occasions that they regard the Soviet Union, and not the United States, as the fundamental source of war.... It is incorrect for the Trilateral Commission to use the expression 'Communist China' in its publications. This expression is not precise; it suffices to say simple 'China.'.... It is not correct for the Trilateral Commission to refer to China in various of its documents as an 'eastern country,' together with the Soviet Union, nor is it correct for the Commission to say that the world today is divided by an 'East-West conflict.' This conception reflects views fashionable in the early 1950's and it does not correspond to the reality of the present world situation."

The Logic of Maoist Development

In the light of all this it also becomes clear how the Peking leadership interprets the so-called "three worlds theory" which is being developed into the foundation for China's foreign policy and which was repeatedly confirmed by the most recent 6th plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP. This "theory" is based on the idea that the so-called "second world" (the industrially developed countries, without distinction, with which China lists itself) must fight with united strength against the "first world" (the Soviet Union and the United States, again without class distinctions). But for the present Chinese leadership only the Soviet Union, out of this "first world," qualifies as an enemy. What has happened is what the Central Committee of the CPSU said--at its February 1964 session--about the logic of the development of Maoist policy:

"The Maoists, betraying the class interests of the workers and the ideals of the Chinese revolution, will sink from leftist pseudo-revolutionary calls for the immediate annihilation of the 'paper tiger of American imperialism' to making direct military-political deals with them.... Proceeding on their own anti-Leninist mistaken road the Chinese leaders must come to a practical intertwining with the reactionary, militant elements of imperialism."

Unfortunately, this has happened. For the present American leaders China has been raised to the rank of the "almost allied."

Two Sorts of Conceptions

Under such circumstances the anti-American Peking criticism voiced from time to time in the Taiwan question has the misleading role of keeping nationalism alive or rather of reassuring theforces wary of excessive subordination to the US. The already quoted Pei Monuong formulated it this way before the Trilateral Commission:

"The Taiwan question is not simply a bilateral problem but is a part of the general strategy. So we cannot permit the Taiwan question to result in a reversal in Chinese-American relations because all things like this have a harmful effect on the development of the strategic contacts which are of primary importance."

Of course, the American and Chinese strategies which have found one another on the soil of anti-Sovietism are far from being uniform in regard to their long-range plans. Each is trying to bind the other more closely to its policy, while trying to retain a free hand for itself.

When the Chinese leaders, with their offers of alliance, urge the United States, Japan and West Europe to step up their arming against the Soviet Union, when they applaud the upsetting of the SALT agreement, the western European deployment of medium-range missiles and the manufacture of the neutron bomb, they are basing their calculations on the idea that all this may result in a clash which could lead to the destruction or weakening of all their potential rivals. And they lull themselves in the illusion that they themselves may remain outside the zone of destruction and the leading role in the world which they so long for may fall in their laps. This is nothing other than the unadulterated dream of Mao: "The wise monkey sitting on the peak of the mountain watches the struggle of the tigers in the valley."

Washington's conception of the Chinese-American rapprochement is obviously entirely different. Joseph Sisco, former American under-secretary of state, wrote as follows in the article titled "Selective Pledges" which appeared recently in FOREIGN POLICY:

"An Enduring Soviet-Chinese hostility will tie down resources which otherwise Moscow would concentrate against the West."

In other words, China is getting partial tasks in the realization of the Asian plans of the American leadership--Peking is to exercise pressure on Vietnam, hinder the changes taking place in people's Cambodia, support the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and, especially, follow an anti-Soviet line everywhere and in everything, so as to tie down "Soviet resources."

Increasing Resistance

The Chinese leadership--being the weaker party--is actually selling the sovereignty of their homeland. Among other things this is shown by the fact that Peking has permitted the deployment on Chinese territory of American monitoring and reconnaisance stations directed against the Soviet Union. Some Washington diplomats are already pondering when their medium-range missiles directed against the Soviet Union can be deployed in China also. The United States--as in the case of West Europe also--wants to attain strategic superiority against the Soviet Union at the price of risking the existence of others.

The Chinese hegemonists, whether they want to play an independent role in the Far East or undertake "partial tasks" from the plans of the imperialists, are in any case acting against the fundamental interests of their neighbors, the peoples of the area, and especially, their own people. For this reason their policy is running into strengthening resistance.

8984
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TRAINING, CORRECTION OF SOLDIERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 85-87

[Article by Master Capt Adam Kulbiej: "The Shaping of Personality"]

> [Text] Personality is a combination of closely connected, fundamental, relatively stable and lasting psychological qualities formed under concrete conditions of social life, delineating the behavior and activity of a soldier. The subject of military training is a young man of 19-21 years, who is supposed to master specific knowledge connected with his role in defense of the country and social life. A young man of this age is still not fully formed psychologically and physically. Every trainer and commander must be aware of this and form his own conclusion.

As a social institution, the military exerts a definite impact on the shaping of the personality of the young citizen. And it is for this reason that exceptional moral responsibility lies with a soldier's superiors.

Unlike other institutions, in which the age range of trainees is broad, in the military youth constitute a social group equalized with regard to age. Moreover, every day of a soldier's life is defined by regulations, the order of the day and particular orders. This creates quite a different situation for the trainer and trainee here than in other institutions.

The aims of training. The aim of military training is to prepare the soldier for action on the field of battle and for life and work in socialist society. Shaping the personality of subordinates as creative, rational and noble defenders of the fatherland prepares them for work and life in the civilian environment.

Principles of training. This refers to the most general norm regulating the conduct of the trainer during the training process.

The principle of the personality. Conscious human activity depends primarily on the defined ideas which one lives by and which guide human behavior. In accordance with this principle, a soldier should have a good understanding of the aims and tasks in the name of which he must surmount difficulties, endure ordeals and always be prepared to work for the good of the fatherland.

The principle of the systematic training effect depends on exacting tasks from the soldier, increasing requirements and means of action, and the continuity of training endeavors.

Respect for personality. The individual treatment of each trainee guarantees respect for the trainee's personality. Thanks to respect for the soldier's dignity, relations between superior and subordinate are becoming easier. Then the training impact is greater. Familiarity with the soldier's mental characteristics, character and temperament allows the superior to define his suitability for a specified function and to anticipate his behavior in one or another situation.

After he has started his basic military service, a young man frequently encounters difficulties with which he cannot cope. The new environment, tasks requiring physical and mental stress, a tightly organized life regimen, strict discipline, sudden separation from family and friends, the need to rebuild the whole lifestyle that the soldier has had until now--all these changes demand great physical and mental effort on the part of the soldier. Therefore, all commanders, especially in the initial period of military service, should remember the individual approach to each soldier.

Training work. This cannot be limited only to instructions, orders and stories. Soldiers are trained by people, a situation, exercises, labor and military life, and the conditions prevailing in the collective. The training process is a constant process; it cannot be planned for certain hours, days and weeks. The basic training work aimed at positive personality formation is the commander's recognition of the individual traits of each member of the collective.

Recognition of personality. In the recognition process, which is governed by familiarity with the general principles of human personality structure, the following factors should be considered:

--the soldier's personal data;
--the influence of his way of life up until now and his upbringing;
--his state of health;
--his intellect;
--his emotions;
--his temperament;
--his character;
--his essential capabilities, habits and skills in his work;
--his interests; and
--his world view.

The more important ways of recognizing the soldier's personality are: observation, individual interview and data obtained from documents.

Pedagogical tact has a great influence on relations in the subunit, especially during meetings and individual conversations between the commander and his subordinates. This is the ability to feel, the way that one should behave and act in various situations with people. You can tell a person everything, but you have to do it in a way that will not cause negative training effects.

Work With Problem Soldiers

Many problem soldiers are capable, but they put their abilities to inappropriate use. Sometimes they are leaders of informal groups which have an unfavorable influence on the surroundings. Therefore, it is rather essential to conduct corrective work with them.

Practice with correction shows that the mind of an undisciplined soldier cannot be reshaped using penalties alone. Corrective methods should depend on the person upon whom they act. Desired changes can be achieved only be creating an atmosphere of cooperation between the commander and subordinate based on mutual respect for human dignity. This follows, moreover, from the basic principle of pedagogical humanism. By eliminating negative attitudes, the subunit becomes integrated.

The foremost training task is to strive for complete development of the personality of the subordinates and for his integration into the subunit.

We know from practice that the problem soldier who is continually punished does not change his behavior but rather, as a rule, behaves even worse, no longer fearing subsequent penalties. Moreover, the penalties release obstinacy and aggression in him. The use of a work penalty, out of turn, without thinking it out properly also has similar effects.

The aim of socialist training is to inculcate a liking for work and good fulfillment of obligations. When work starts to be a punishment, achievement of this aim is impossible. Punishing someone with work out of turn seems advisably only when it is meant to correct harm that has been done or to benefit the public. This should be explained accurately to the person being punished, and he should be made to understand that--notwithstanding the punishment being meted out to him--respect is being shown for his human dignity.

Punishment cannot be the only means of correction. It is supposed to solve the problem, and not to create a new one. Therefore, one must not constantly remind trainees and mention punishment. It is essential to restore the punished soldier to the rights which the regulations give him (furloughs, periodic leaves) as soon as possible. The point is to make him understand that his persistance in a posture of rebellion against his superiors and his environment is inadvisable, that in his case this posture has lost its effectiveness.

As a rule, punishment itself does not lead to the cessation of undesirable habits. A significant role is played by conversations--held freely, in a sincere atmosphere--on the subject of family circumstances and future life plans and by knowledge of the conditions in which the soldier was brought up and the environment from which he came to the military.

But a problem soldier has not always brought that baggage of negative traits with him when he joins the military. The sad fact is that these soldiers are "created" in the military by commanders with poor pedagogical qualifications. Such commanders think that they can build up their authority by meting out harsh punishments. I believe that the restive soldier notices only the ruthless and relentless commander. Frequently, these commanders use outcries, name calling, and threats, and they do

not fulfill the soldier's desires. This kind of behavior has negative results. Rigors are the mainspring of correction, but thoughtless repression in the form of punishments always causes an increase in negative reactions. Let me give you an example. A problem soldier has committed an offense (not for the first time); his commander has punished him by confining him to quarters, but at the same time he has told the soldier: furloughs do not apply to you, and you'll go on leave in civilian life. Although these promises usually fall into oblivion, nevertheless there takes shape in the mind of the soldier a very negative reaction--a reaction of aggression and rebellion: "there is no way for me to improve myself, because I don't have any chances." Such punishments kill the soldier's desire to improve himself, and they affirm his feeling that the situation is hopeless. By the same token, they destroy the important source of inner coercion, so important for matters of leadership and training.

Consistency is a basic training directive, without which it is difficult to achieve the training goal. To achieve consistency requires placing well thought out and great demands on the subordinate, maintaining constant supervision, and evaluating the progress and general attitude of the trainee. Only the consistent commander enjoys the confidence of, and authority over, the subordinate. These things are acquired not by the threat of punishment or by vindictiveness, but by having the commander place demands on the subordinate and on himself. Consequently, trainers should act in accordance with these recommendations:

--show interest--and sincere interest--in your subordinate, especially in the problem soldier;

--give preference to the individual approach to every soldier instead of having a schematic, equal attitude towards everyone; and

--include problem soldiers in the active life of the subunit.

How should the commander act so that singling out a subordinate or punishing him will play a positive role in the process of resocializing problem soldiers?

Primarily, it is indispensable to combine the training efforts of commanders at all levels. Including the problem soldier directly and actively in the mainstream of the life of the subunit also plays an essential role in the resocialization process. Initially the allotted tasks should be quite easy, but the commander cannot forget about singling a soldier out for accomplishing these tasks in an exemplary fashion. Singling soldiers out when this is not justified has very negative training effects. At first the problem trainee will argue that he is not anxious for this distinction. But this is only a feigned attitude. For there are no people without ambition, and everyone has a need for recognition in others' eyes. Therefore, it is better to single out a soldier even for small accomplshments than to punish him unnecessarily or harshly even once. Singling out (also punishing) a soldier belatedly is ineffective, and sometimes the absence of an anticipated distinction acts like a punishment.

In the complex of pedagogical reactions to problem soldiers, many remarks are devoted to the appropriate adjustment of the environment to these soldiers. The creation of an atmosphere of goodwill by the commander is important, but so is the creation of regulated order that is binding on everyone. It is easier to correct a soldier who

is convinced that people wish him well and who wants to be helped. Sometimes punishment is an indispensable corrections medium. Whether or not it fulfills its task is determined by the way in which it is meted out. Conduct that offends human dignity, sarcasm, and also engaging in name calling, abusive language, and threats will not yield the desired result. For a subordinate's feeling of inferiority runs deep, killing the feeling of his own worth. Depriving a subordinate of the function which he is fulfilling is a painful punishment, which it sometimes is more advantageous to mete out in an appropriate manner and under suitable circumstances.

Offense that warrant disciplinary action should be considered during the official daily briefing. Primarily, the commander must stimulate the perpetrator of an offense warranting disciplinary action to evaluate the situation and to look at it from the standpoint of a superior or colleague. For the reaction to be a positive one, in the conversation preceding this confrontation the act being censured should be qualified impartially, without discrediting the punished individual in any way. The soldier must be convinced of the validity of the punishment. Only then does he not occupy the position of an enemy and adversary in relation to the commander-trainer, but, rather, he takes on himself the responsibility for the offense, submitting of his own free will to the consequences resulting from this offense. It should be remembered that the soldier has ample opportunities to better himself and to remit his punishment for good behavior.

Among the many training actions, persuasion occupies an important place. It is not a matter of moralizing trivially, but of patiently transmitting experiences, knowledge, and capabilities. The arousal of the need for stability in military society, for recognition in the collective, plays an essential role. This effect is achieved precisely by persuasion--similar to the overcoming of frustration, that is, the state of unpleasant mental stress caused by the failure to satisfy some needs or by the inability to attain some goal, and primarily by the failure to have geniune training contact between the soldier and his commander and the soldier collective.

Thus, pointers can be specified with regard to corrective behavior toward problem soldiers:

--Corrective activity should be based on persuasion, encouragement, and recognition, assuring cooperation with the problem soldier when a decision is made regarding him, and with renunciation of supervision of the problem soldier that is based exclusively on domination.

--It is essential to arouse in the problem soldier the feeling of self-control and of responsibility for achieved tasks and attitude, and to increase the requirements for his acceptance.

--The trainee's conviction concerning his commander's goodwill and desire to come to his aid should be confirmed.

--Strive to arouse the need to obtain approval and reward, and to create an atmosphere of sympathy, goodwill and mutual trust.

--Utilize resocialization possibilities sometimes overlooked by the circle of military youth.

In particular cases, when all the pointers discussed here fail, there is another method, that of sending problem soldiers, including perpetrators of offenses meriting disciplinary action, to the soldier collectives for training. The forms and principles of this method are defined in a detailed manner in guidelines No 8 from the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish military from 14 December 1970 on the principles and forms of activity of soldier collectives in the process of correcting perpetrators of crimes and offenses meriting disciplinary action in the military.

8729
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'CREATIVE' SOCIALISM OF CEAUSESCU HAILED BY RAUTU

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 81 pp 61-64

[Article by Leonte Rautu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee, president of the Leadership Council and rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "The Creative Approach to the Problems of Building Socialism in the Activities of the Romanian Communist Party and Those of its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu"]

[Text] From its birth and throughout the entire course of its activities, which are rich in moments of great tension and drama, as well as great events and victories, the Romanian Communist Party as expressed itself as the legitimate successor of the lofty traditions of our people's struggle for national and social liberacion. It is a fact full of significance that the Party's Program itself contains a synthesis of the entire path covered by the Romanian people during its millenary history as an expression of the idea that there is an indestructible organic link between the past, present and future of the Romanian nation and that without delving into the deep meanings of its historical evolution and its crucial moments the view into its status today and for tomorrow will appear incomplete.

One of these crucial moments, whose real significance in historical perspective was understood at the time by the most lucid and enlightened minds, was the founding of the Romanian Communist Party. Under its leadership, as pointed out by one of the recent documents of the party, the working class and the workers forged a glorious path of struggle and victories, carried out the great goals of the social and national, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution, ensured the democratic and socialist transformation of society and laid the lasting foundations for today's socialist Romania as a prosperous, independent and sovereign country.

The 60th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party, it was stressed in the report, offers an opportunity for a review of the great achievements and the radical revolutionary transformations that have occurred in all the areas of social affairs in our country since the party has been at its helm.

A turning point in the history of the party and our people was the Ninth Congress and the election of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to head the party. The work of great theoretical and practical complexity that it undertook, a work profoundly hostile

to any rigidity and dogma, to any immobilism in political thought and practice and to any theoretical fetishes, was based upon and is based upon a profoundly scientific, objective and courageous analysis of the course traveled, including the errors that were made, upon a penetrating examination of the new realities in all their aspects and upon an intransigent struggle against things obsolete and an uncovering of the mature requirements for the later development of society.

The structural modifications and profound changes that have taken place in recent years as a result of the dynamic development of the forces of production, the growth of national wealth and the continued improvement of the people's standard of living represent the supreme criteria of the justness of the party's policies, its scientific nature and the ability that our socialist society has to consciously direct the economic-social processes.

We all know that our party and its leadership have a strong feeling for reality and are directly involved in all aspects and facets of practical activities. At the same time, narrow and commonplace empiricism and practicism are totally foreign to the party. The Romanian Communist Party represents, as has been said more than once, an immense laboratory of theoretical thought, of synthesizing accumulated experience, of forecasting future development, of profoundly investigating the new phenomena and processes at the national and international levels and of drawing up both certain innovative theoretical theses and highly original forms and methods for specific social actions. The indissoluble and organic unity between theory and practice is one of the guiding principles for the manner in which our party understands how to work. For that reason, the stress given by the secretary general of the party is of a principled exceptional significance in that the theoretical study of the problems of the development of the new order and the forecasting of the future evolution of socialist society represent an objective requirement for the advancement of our country towards communism.

Beginning with this, the speaker particularly stressed two aspects that are, furthermore, closely interrelated and characteristic of the manner in which the secretary general of the party deals with the problems of revolutionary theory.

A fundamental aspect refers to his passionate plea for the spread of new social experiences on a theoretical level, as well as the spread of the recent data of human knowledge, going beyond a dogmatic concept that is hostile to the spirit itself of revolutionary thought, a concept which states that Marxist theory is something closed and intangible and that Marxism represents a type of closed system that is blind to the profound changes that have occurred and are occurring in the history of humanity. On the contrary, the report noted, Marxist revolutionary theory is a forever living theory whose essence is constantly being renewed from the spring of universal thought and knowledge, from the advances of all sciences,

from the profound social and political changes that are taking place in contemporary social affairs and from revolutionary practices. As was shown in the Report to the 12th Congress, an essential condition for success in the struggle of each revolutionary party is being guided by the concepts of dialectic and historical materialism, by scientific socialism and by the thinking in the classics of revolutionary theory. "At the same time, it must be understood that we are living in another historical era and that this requires a new approach to the fundamental problems of social development."

A second aspect, revealed by the speaker, lies in the original, appropriate contribution to the enrichment of revolutionary thought and practice and in the creative application of the fundamentals of revolutionary theory, as contained in the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in other party documents and in the daily activities of the party, to the specific social and national conditions of Romania. An especially valuable contribution made comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and our party to the enrichment of revolutionary theory can be found in the thorough elucidation of the dialectic relationship between the general and the particular and between national and international in the socialist revolution and construction, in the criticism of tendencies to present laws that have operated or are operating under other circumstances as absolute truths drawn up once and for all and in the substantiation of the thesis, inalterable under current conditions, that the only thing that is mandatory from a theoretical and practical point of view are those things that contribute, under the specific-historical conditions of each country, to progress and the advancement of society and that the establishment of strategic and tactical objectives and the ways and forms of action represents the exclusive attribute of the revolutionary forces of the respective country.

In essence, the speaker pointed out, our party is guided by the precept that authentic loyalty to a revolutionary theory is expressed by creativity, an innovative spirit and original, independent thought that is adequate for the constantly changing domestic and international realities.

In response to the superficial-idyllic or mechanistic-automatistic views about the construction of a new society, our party and its secretary general have elaborated and developed the thesis of the continuity of the revolutionary process in Romania, based on the objective fact that the innovative transformations in the material and spiritual affairs of society do not end with the working class's assumption of political power and with the establishment of socialist production and social relations.

Like any living and complex social process stemming from objective requirements, the socialist revolution and construction do not know of and do not have at hand miraculous solutions, cannot simultaneously and instantaneously resolve all the problems that arise and do not represent a linear movement.

Beginning with such a dialectic, processual concept of the building of socialism, our party has created a strategy for economic-social development guided by the imperative of building a multilaterally developed socialist society for the purpose of fully achieving the characteristics of socialism and bringing about as fully as possible all the values of the socialist system for social organization and leadership.

The laws of dialectics, the struggle between old and new and the transition from quantitative accumulations to a new, superior quality are working as motive forces and as an active, stimulating factor for progress under the conditions of building a communist order.

Continuing, the vastly encompassing objectives set by the party for the current five year plan and in the perspective of the coming years were presented: the continued growth of the country's economic potential, the provision of a preponderantly intensive and rationally and scientifically balanced growth, the powerful development of industry concomitantly with the carrying out of a profound agricultural revolution and with high efficiency in economic activities, the modernization of the entire national economy on the basis of the advances of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, the growth of social labor productivity as a decisive factor for increasing material production and national income, the development and furthering of socialist democracy, the lifting of the people's standard of living to a higher level, the uninterrupted and multilateral development of the human personality, and the spiritual prosperity of the entire society. All of this requires not just simple quantitative growth, but qualitative changes, marking a new stage of the revolutionary process.

In referring to one of the fundamental characteristics of dialectics - the unity and the struggle of contradictions, the speaker pointed out, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed that the party has constantly worked for the achievement of an agreement between the new mature requirements for moving ahead and the forms for organizing and managing the economy and society in general, resolving the contradictions that appear in the development process. An illustration of such an approach is represented by the measures to improve production relations as expressed in the new economic mechanism, the extension of self-management and self-administration to all economic-social affairs and thus the creation of a broad sphere for expressing the multiple qualities of the workers - as producers, as owners of the means of production and as users of the results of their labors.

The report pointed out the fact that a lucid and responsible attitude towards systematically resolving the contradictions of whatever type that inevitably appear in the process of revolutionarily transforming society represents one of the clearest expressions of the creative spirit in the policies and practical actions of the party.

Our party has repeatedly come out against any tendencies of complacency, of ignoring contradictions and of failing to take into consideration the requirements that place economic-social development on the agenda, and against any expressions of subjectivism and voluntarism. A decade ago comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the specific analysis of contradictions in their dynamics and the elaboration of adequate solutions to overcome them constitute essential elements for the scientific management of social processes, and that deficiency in this regard could mean an aggravation of these contradictions and even lead to states of conflict, tension and imbalance in society. This is the basis for the conclusion of capital importance for the activities of a governing revolutionary party: "It is, therefore, necessary not for us to state that under socialism there can be no contradictions, but, in recognizing their existence, for us to work to understand them and to establish the most appropriate means to constantly resolve them in accordance with the interests of creating a socialist society."

Far from representing a circumstantial, passing attitude, the thesis regarding the contradictions in socialism represent an essential constitutive element of a realistic, scientific view on the process of building a new society and on the strategy and tactics designed to ensure the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement towards communism. As the leading political force in society, the party has the mission of finding solutions for the new problems of the socialist development of the country. Beginning with the great achievements accomplished and a profound confidence in the social order's ability for self-improvement, the Romanian Communist Party, animated by a high sense of historical responsibility, cultivates a militant, revolutionary attitude towards any type of non-fulfillment or shortcomings, works in close contact with the masses in order to overcome difficulties and improve all the areas of social life, and focuses the creative energies of all the social classes and categories and the workers of all nationalities in the single direction established by the party's programmatic documents - an expression of the country's long-term interests.

Continuing, the speaker pointed out that, within this framework, one cannot suggest covering the extremely broad area of problems in the building of socialism, which are dealt with with an acute sense for the new by the secretary general of the party. His definition of the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society, the ideas regarding the nature of economic growth during the current stage of development in our society, those referring to the improvement of our political system in all its compartments and the definition given to the role of the nation in the historical past, as well as the emphasis of the truth that the prospering of the nation represents a basic factor in the successul building of socialism and communism and the other theses and ideas of great value, represent valuable elements of our party's theoretical heritage and significant contributions to the enrichment of the store of revolutionary theory and practice. Following this continuing effervescence of thoughts, we could speak of a truly "tireless creative spirit" that is receptive and sensitive to the phenomena and trends that come forth during the process of socialist construction. This also refers to the great events and confrontations in the contemporary world, whose shrewd analyses in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works, together with his broadly echoed initiatives, are the source of his high prestige on the international level.

A remarkable example of this tireless creative spirit is represented by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recently formulated ideas regarding the nature and role of the party, as analyzed as a function of the changes that have occurred in our society. In these ideas we see a continuation and an amplification of the constant concerns in the direction of achieving a just relationship between the party, the classes and the masses, and between the leading role of the party and democracy in the spirit of the concept regarding the organic integration of the party in society's affairs.

We frequently encounter a somewhat restricted point of view regarding understanding the subject of leadership in a socialist society. For us it is axiomatic that the communist party, as the leading political force in all of society, fulfills the principal role in the topic of social leadership. At the same time, it must be precisely stated that it is the nucleus of an entire system whose components participate in the leadership of society: the socialist state, the system of public organizations and the multiple institutional forms which ensure the ever broader democratic participation of the members of society in leadership and decisionmaking activities.

These realities refute the claims of the opponents of socialism which state that there is an "irreconcilable contradiction" between the leading role of the party (and its growth) and the development of democracy in a socialist society.

Keeping in mind such "claims," the speaker pointed out that a distinctive characteristic of our political system lies precisely in the fact that in addition to growth in the party's leading role there is a furthering of the original forms of socialist democracy, a broadening and improvement of the organizational framework for the effective participation of the working class and all the workers in the leadership of society, an active involvement of the broadest masses in the work of building socialism and a stimulation of their creative powers and initiatives through all means.

The dialectic relationship between the party, as the most advanced force of the people, and its mass nature and the ever more organic blending of the party's activities with the affairs of all the people are one of the richest and most interesting chapters of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's creative contributions in the domain of revolutionary theory and practice.

From the perspective of our development along the path to socialism and communism, as our Party Program points out, "the gradual raising of the awareness of the broad popular masses to the level of social awareness and responsibility of party members and the blending of non-party and party members, from an awareness point of view, will lead in the end to a blending of the party with the masses." In its social-political practices, our party consistently works to stimulate this long and complex process on a number of planes.

In placing the milestones of our historical development, the 12th Party Congress estimated that in the next decade we will achieve for the most part the goals of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

We are in the presence of a forecast based upon a realistic evaluation of our opportunities and abilities, a forecast based upon the prediction of changes that will occur in the area of social structures and relationships, the evolution of our political system and the evolution of the people's material and spiritual standard of living. The achievement of the objectives outlined by the Congress for the 1981-1990 decade will mark a new, higher stage in the revolutionary process. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "This will mean that in a period of approximately 50 years since the revolution of social and national liberation there will be a giant leap in the history of Romania and in the destiny of its people, in fact confirming the superiority of the new social order."

In referring to these perspectives for future development, we naturally reflect upon the tasks that stem from this in ideological activities, activities for creating socialist awareness and activities for stating the principles of socialist equality and equity and the high values of socialist humanism. We are aware that there is need for a new quality in formative-educational, ideological and cultural activities and greater intensity in them in order to be in step with the requirements of an impetuous development of society and to create the spiritual and moral conditions for the profound changes as determined by the party.

In the spirit of the remarkable creative theoretical activities of the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and in the spirit of the expressed exigencies, the last part of the report pointed out, we must concentrate efforts for research into the social and political sciences in the priority directions dictated by the transformational processes that characerized socialist society and we must conduct a thorough and courageous analysis of the problems of forecasting our economic-social evolution, as well as the fundamental problems of contemporary social-political development and the evolution of the worldwide revolutionary process.

8724
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ROMANIAN-SOVIET SYMPOSIUM ON INTERNAL PARTY LIFE

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 81 pp 219-227

/Report by Nicolae Raus on the Romanian-Soviet Symposium on "Improvement of the Party's Internal Relations Essential to Development of Its Social Leadership"/

/Text/ On the basis of the agreement for scientific collaboration between the Institute for Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, the Romanian-Soviet Symposium on "Improvement of the Party's Internal Relations Essential to Development of Its Social Leadership" was held in Bucharest on 26 and 27 May 1981. It is the fifth symposium on historical problems held by the representatives of the two institutes.

The delegation of Soviet historians was composed of Dr Petr Aleksandrovich Rodionov, first deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee and head of the delegation, Dr V. I. Bondar, chief of the Party Construction Section of the same Institute, N. D. Okonova and A. F. Kadashev, candidates in history and chief scientific researchers in the same section, and R. S. Yemtsova, a scientific researcher.

The Romanian delegation was composed of Dr Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy scientific director of the Institute for Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee and head of the delegation, Dr Gheorghe Surpat, section chief at the institute, Dr Marin Nedelea, university reader at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and activist in the Propaganda Section of the RCP Central Committee, Dr Ion Tiberian, university reader at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Nichita Paraschiva, chief scientific researcher, and Gheorghe Tudor, scientific researcher, both at the institute.

Dr Gheorghe Zaharia delivered the opening speech.

The proceedings of the symposium were chaired alternately by the heads of the two delegations.

The Romanian historians delivered the following reports: "Ideas of the RCP and Its Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu on Development of the Party's Leadership in All Activities," by Dr Gheorghe Zaharia and Dr Marin Nedelea, "From the RCP's Experience in Consolidating Its Ranks, Improving Its Members, and Forming Their Moral-Political

Characteristics To Meet Current Requirements," by Dr Gheorghe Surpat and Dr Ion Tiberian, "Improving the Working Methods and Approach of the Local RCP Organizations and Organs in the Present Stage," by Paraschiva Nichita, and "Expansion of Internal Party Democracy Basic to Communists' Greater Responsibility for Implementing Party Policy," by Gheorghe Tudor.

The first report of the Soviet Historians, prepared by Dr P. A. Rodionov, was on the subject of "Continuing Improvement of Internal Party Relations As a Main Requirement for the CPSU's Successful Performance of Its Growing Role in the Society of Developed Socialism."

The author said, "The period of developed socialism marks a new stage in the life and development of the party itself. In this stage the interaction, determined by historical experience itself, between internal party life and the extent of its influence upon the various processes of social development are considerably more important or, in other words, the role and importance of the influence of internal party life upon the entire life of society are more important." He also said in his report that the technical literature in the USSR quite rightly brings out "the influence of social relations, built on socialist and collectivist foundations, upon the party itself and upon its internal life. In other words, there is an organic bond between social relations and internal party relations."

P. A. Rodionov pointed out that the party influences the development of society and socialist democracy both directly, as a guiding force and a nucleus of the political system, and by the example of its internal life. The characteristic standards and principles of socialist democratism were first evidenced and asserted in the practice of the Communist Party and then became basic to the operation of the whole political system of socialism. This "repetition" of the standards and principles is "due to the fact that both the CPSU and the Soviet political system have the same social foundation and are developed on the basis of the same intrinsic laws, which are either common or very similar. And the party, as a leader and organizer with a sound knowledge of the laws of social development, plays the deciding role in defining, preparing and promoting the standards and principles of the political system of society." The author said that many standards and principles of internal party life as well as ways and means of party and administrative work "now serve and will serve all the more in the future as major criteria and the best models for gradual improvement of the entire system of socialist democracy and for setting the standards of communist self-management."

After considering a wide range of problems of definition of internal party relations as a general concept and as a category of party construction, and after quoting the subject literature with exhaustive references to the Romanian works and studies emphasizing aspects of internal party relations, P. A. Rodionov took up the mechanism whereby internal party life and relations influence social experience. He said, "The dynamism of contemporary social experience and the constantly growing proportions and complexity of the socioeconomic changes are making increasing demands upon the party and its internal life. The party is making every effort to meet those demands and to perfect the whole system of internal party relations, regarding it as one of the major requirements for its success in managing communist construction, intensifying the influence of its internal life upon society as a whole, and gradually setting the standards of communist self-management."

In this connection the report examined some problems of the party's internal development and its internal relations, such as party membership and growth of the CPSU's ranks, development of internal party democracy and consolidation of party discipline, communists' greater responsibility, consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, and party democracy as the democracy of revolutionary action.

P. A. Rodionov said, "The great prestige of the CPSU, which reflects the entire people's interests and aspirations, is clearly indicated by the constant growth of its ranks. But this growth is not spontaneous but closely and purposefully regulated according to scientific criteria that have been substantiated and verified by a wealth of experience, so that the composition of the CPSU will enable it to perform its tasks of social management successfully." And he went on to say that the CPSU attaches primary importance to improvement of the qualitative composition of its ranks in every way and to intensifying the communists' activity and responsibility for fulfillment of the regulation obligations. "The whole effort to regulate the growth of the party's ranks and to intensify the communists' activity and responsibility is based upon the Leninist principle that the importance of the quality of the party member must be increasingly emphasized, and the fact that the party membership is fundamental to party construction."

The report brought out the fact that "Conditions have been created for further strengthening the party's ties with the working class and the entire people and for raising the standard of general and cultural-technical studies as well as the political indoctrination of the workers, leading to greater possibilities for improving the qualitative composition of the CPSU. It also follows that development of society and the party itself increases the demands upon the party's qualitative composition, which should reflect social changes and help to improve the allocation of the party's forces. This policy serves the cause of organizational, political and ideological consolidation of the CPSU as a supreme form of social-political organization of the working class and the Soviet people as a whole."

The report pointed out that now that the social base of the party has become the entire people, the leadership of the working class "is not only not declining but on the contrary is growing in our society, and though the party has become a developed party of the entire people under socialism, it has been and still is the party of the working class, the decisive force in the struggle to implement communist ideals. The CPSU solves the problems of regulating the party's composition on that basis.

"The party also supplements its ranks with representatives of the kolkhoz peasantry, in the interests of further consolidation of the alliance of the working class and peasants, and with representatives of the intelligentsia and especially specialists in the national economy as well as scientists and intellectuals. This is a reflection of the growing role of the intelligentsia in the developed socialist society."

It was pointed out in the report that consistent development of internal party democracy and greater demands upon every party member "are not a past stage but the basis of party development in our time. By proceeding steadfastly in this direction the party and all its units have made good progress in consolidating their organization in further stimulating and invigorating internal life, in extensively involving the masses of communists in preparation and implementation of general party policy, in further strengthening collective management, in developing citicism and self-criticism, and in tightening party discipline.

"The party has made a steady effort to improve its organizational structure to meet the requirements of democratic centralism. Successful efforts were made to find organizational forms of construction (primarily of the lower echelons and especially of the primary party organizations) in keeping with the contemporary requirements and especially with the processes going on in connection with allocation of the productive forces and continuing intensification of socialist socialization through development of the production, scientific-production, agroindustrial and other associations and interunit complexes."

P. A. Rodionov pointed out that "Full perfection of the democratic foundations of its internal life has been and still is the first consideration in the party's development. As experience shows, by taking that course the party achieves the necessary organization and coherence of its ranks, keeps expanding its ties with the masses, and further strengthens its authority as a leading and guiding force in society.

The healthy, creative atmosphere in the party is decisive in creating the general atmosphere and favorable political climate in the nation as well as the Soviet people's good attitude toward work. Therefore it is also important in the future to improve internal relations in every way on the firm basis of the Leninist standards and principles of party construction."

At this point the author took up the problems of further development of internal party democracy and reinforcement of party discipline. "Party democracy is based upon unconditional implementation of a series of important traditional principles that determine the democratic character of internal party relations. It is primarily a matter of eligibility, the system of reports, and the collective nature of decisions made together and consequently in a democratic way. Intensifying internal party democracy means carrying out those principles in consideration of the new conditions, demands and possibilities of life."

As the report pointed out, development of the CPSU's internal democracy has always been inseparable from consolidation of party discipline. "Increasing importance is attached to the ethical factors of political maturity, profound communist awareness and high sense of discipline of the communists and to development of their sense of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in their own collectives and in society as a whole and for implementation of the general party policy."

In conclusion, P. A. Rodionov pointed out that "The Communist Party, like any living social organism, is developed and perfected as the tasks presented by the historical process change and grow more complex. The party's structure, social composition, ways and means of practical activity, tasks and tactical policy change according to the particular conditions. As it said in the Report to the 25th Party Congress on the Activity of the CPSU Central Committee, 'The party and the nature of its activity are by no means inflexible. Party work acquires a new content in every stage.'" For the further growth of the party's leadership, "development of the party itself and of its internal relations on the basis of Marxist-Leninists ideas and principles is becoming critically important. The party's growing and increasingly complex tasks cannot be accomplished unless it develops as a living organism and unless its unity, coherence and diligence are continually intensified in the course of that development. That is why the CPSU attaches critical importance to the strictest and most consistent observance of the Leninist standards of party life and the principles of management by the party, and to improvement of the approach and ways and means of party work as well as the whole system of internal party relations, in order to constantly

strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the CPSU's ranks in that way and to enhance the party's prestige and influence as a leading force in the society of developed socialism in the future as well."

Then Dr V. I. Bondar's report on "The Nature of Internal Party Relations and Their Evolution Under Present Conditions" was read. The author pointed out that internal party relations "are relations based upon the communists' ideological convictions and dedication, their awareness and sense of responsibility, and their intensive activity and strict observance of party discipline. Based upon the eternal Leninist principles and the standards of party life, internal party relations in the period of developed socialism embody the glorious traditions of our party's organizational construction while reflecting the creative nature of the Leninist doctrine of the revolutionary party of the working class. Developed and enriched in the revolutionary struggle and in the course of socialist and communist construction, these relations entirely correspond to the objective laws of the party's development and reflect the scientific character of party construction."

As it said in the report, the maturity of internal party relations in the stage of developed socialism "depends on the sustained effort to improve the party's composition, to carry out the principle of democratic centralism consistently, and to consolidate the unity of the party's ranks." The 26th CPSU Congress "set very high standards of observance of the norms of communist morality for those who join the party and all party members. Including all the ethical principles of the socialist way of life, the party ethics require communists to guide themselves in their behavior by standards in keeping with the high title of a party member and his mission, namely the provisions of the Program and Regulations and the general and particular rules operative under the circumstances specified by the respective documents, as for example the traditions of a profound optimism, of friendship and mutual aid on an ideological basis, of sincere and friendly relations, of an effort to create a friendly and constructive working atmosphere in a collective, etc."

V. I. Bondar said the further improvement and development of internal party relations are based upon consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, all-around development of internal party democracy, development of the spirit of initiative of the communists and the party organizations, and upon strengthening their sense of responsibility and their discipline. Strict observance and correct application of the principle of democratic centralism enables the party to make effective use of all communists' creative initiative, energy and abilities. Thanks to this principle, the activity of the communists and the party organizations is precisely and well directed, local, personal and group interests are subordinated to the general interests, and all party activity is consolidated and aquires a new power because of strong internal discipline. The principle of democratic centralism lends great flexibility to the party, unity to all its detachments, and efficiency to their work. "Only strict observance of the democratic principles of party life in close connection with consolidation of the centralized character of the party's actions makes it possible to ensure the correctness of internal party relations and the successful performance of the leading role of the CPSU."

It was pointed out in the report that one of the most important means of achieving this end "is unity of the party's ranks, the fact that all its members and organizations are guided by uniform ideological, tactical and organizational principles that they carry out in practice."

The author said, "Regular information about party policy, one of the most important aspects of internal party relations, is essential to optimal operation of the entire party mechanism, the best interaction of all its units, and its high level of organization, militance and flexibility." The 26th CPSU Congress required "internal party information to be further improved, made more effective, and used as a means to consolidation and further development of internal party relations."

V. I. Bondar pointed out in conclusion that "The CPSU is a powerful social-political organization that influences all the nation's activities, economic, social and intellectual. As a uniform and well-organized force, the party imparts this level of organization to the ranks of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, merging all their creative efforts in a single stream toward a common goal. Accordingly internal party relations are designed and developed so as to fully contribute to implementation of the tasks of managing the construction of developed socialism and communism that are facing the party."

N. D. Okonova presented the report on "Development of Internal Party Democracy and of the Communists' Active Spirit and Sense of Responsibility As an Important Factor for Developing the Role of the Primary Party Organisations in the Present Stage." The author pointed out that development of the CPSU's role in scientific treatment of the problems of communist construction, in determining the correct political policy, and in organizing the masses for the latter's practical implementation directly depends upon the activity of all party organizations and concerns all party echelons from top to bottom. It is particularly important to amplify the militance of the primary party organizations. They are the foundation of the CPSU, form its ramified root system, and serve as active disseminators of party policy. The more intensively they act the more extensively and completely is the party's leadership implemented and its political policy promoted.

As it said in the report, party democracy begins with the primary organization, where the communists go through the school of practical work and acquire their ideological indoctrination. The nature of the primary organization's democratism is primarily reflected in consistent promotion of the principle of eligibility and of the reports. "V. I. Lenin defined democratism as the general application of the principle of eligibility. Accordingly the eligibility of the party organs and their leaders, raised by the Regulations to the rank of a standard of party life, is one of the most important criteria for democratic organization of the party. The rule adopted by the CPSU to propose and discuss the candidacies for the party bureaus and party committees of the primary organizations is a profoundly democratic one, and it is developed by the party."

The author said that in consistently following the policy of further development of internal party democracy "the CPSU is trying to consistently apply the standards of the reports to all the primary party organizations. The reports system as well as eligibility are general and obligatory, being the most important way of involving the masses of communists in the solution of the problems confronting their own organizations and the party as a whole and a tried means of heightening the sense of responsibility for the state of affairs, of developing the spirit of intiative, of influencing the activity of their own leaders, and of controlling the activity of the management organs elected by them." Each reports and election campaign "bears witness to the intensive activity of the masses of party members and is an important aspect of evaluation of the communists' growing initiative. The communists' increasingly positive attitude, their constructive approach in a working spirit to the problems of

communist construction, their widespread criticism and self-criticism, and their aspiration to improve the approach and methods of management with greater perseverance are distinctive features of the party election and reports campaigns held in recent years."

In the development of the system of reports on the communists in its most varied forms "the party sees the most important means of reinforcing the control of the masses of party members over the activity of the party organs and their leaders and of continuing to develop internal party democracy."

As it was pointed out in the report, democratism in the life and activity of the party organizations is clearly evidenced in the implementation of the principle of collective management. "Collective management in the primary party organization means the common activity in complete harmony not only of the members of the elected organs but of all the communists in planning the work, preparing the party assemblies and meetings and those of the party committees or bureaus, and drafting and implementing the decisions. Hundreds of thousands of communists serve on commissions of the primary party organizations to exercise the right of control over the administration's activity and millions of them serve as lecturers, speakers, propagandists and agitators. The participation of every member of the primary organization in party activity, in formation of the management cadres, in preparation and implementation of party policy, and in evaluation and control of the cadres' activity is proof of the dialectical interaction of the particular and the general and the combination of the political interests and efforts of the communists with the interests of their own party collective and of the party as a whole. The CPSU is perfecting and developing internal party democracy fully realizing that it is the only way to secure extensive possibilities for the most complete development and application of the creative powers of the army of many millions of communists."

In the author's view the continuing structural improvement of the primary organizations and the appearance of new organizational forms (uniform party organizations in the production centers, councils of secretaries in the agricultural and production associations, party committees in the construction trusts and in large sections, and expanded party committees) permitted further development of the democratic bases in the life and activity of the CPSU's primary organizations. For instance the council of secretaries of party organizations in production centers helps to direct their efforts toward the common goal of resolving the main problems confronting the collective, without interfering with the autonomy of the party organizations in branches. The council is a consultative organ operating on the principles of equal authority and equal rights of all members. The expanded party committees represent a new and important step in the development of the democratic principles, initiative and active spirit of the primary organizations. They began to be formed after the 24th CPSU Congress in the largest party organizations in order to strengthen their ties with the masses of workers and the cadres of engineers and technicians, and for purposes of more qualified management of production by the party.

N. D. Okonova went on to say that the enrichment of the ways and means of the primary organizations' individual work with party members and candidates was an important development in party life. Individual work with communists is based on study of the level of the active spirit of various groups of communists, the criteria for it, its manifestations, and the effect upon it of various aspects of party work. For this purpose sociological studies are made and scientific conferences and practical programs are organized to generalize the results of development of the communists'

active spirit. Those problems are examined regularly in the primary organizations. "The exchange of party documents, which took place within the CPSU in the first half of the 1970's, helped a great deal to develop and perfect the forms of individual work and to further enhance the communists' active spirit. This actually constituted a review of the party's forces and a graphic verification of the way each communist carries out the party's decisions in practice and fulfills his regulation obligations."

The author said at the close of the report that having extensive possibilities and effective means of education and perfecting the ways and means of indoctrination, "The primary party organizations try to bring out the creative personality and the active party militant in every communist. Accordingly development of internal party democracy in every way is the most important means of improving the communists' active spirit and initiative and of creating in the party organizations an authentic Leninist atmosphere and internal party relations essential to the party's life and activity and to its performance of its growing role as a leader."

In his report on "The Leninist Approach and Internal Party Relations," A. F. Kadashev analyzed the Leninist approach "as one of the major factors that favorably affects the formation and improvement of internal party relations. The report said its power "lies primarily in the fact that it is a creative, revolutionary approach free of subjectivism and characterized by scientific treatment of all social processes. It has most fully embodied all the characteristics that distinguish the party of the new type as a party of scientific communism, all that its nature calls for, all the revolutionary changes that have been made under the party's leadership, and V. I. Lenin's qualities as a theorist and founder of the party. Consequently it is characterized by adherence to party principles, scientific and constructive treatment of the problems, revolutionary breadth and the communist working spirit, collective management combined with personal responsibility, close contact with the masses, deep respect for people and effort on behalf of their education and welfare."

The author said that the 26th CPSU Congress "held in an atmosphere of close coherence, is eloquent evidence of the party's boundless devotion to the cause of the great Lenin, his principles and his approach." The documents and decisions approved by the congress "vividly express the will of the party, its full approval of the Leninist policy and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee, and its firm resolve to take united and immediate action to perform the great new tasks of communist construction."

The meetings of party activists, the assemblies of communists who discussed the results of the congress,"and our whole daily experience strikingly confirm the fact that the comprehensive and productive work of the congress, its Leninist approach, and its unanimous decisions that are now being consistently implemented are contributing to the further consolidation of the CPSU, to the monolithic unity of its ranks, and to the greater coherence and militance of all its echelons and of the communists' leadership. They are teaching us to work constructively in the Leninist way.

A. F. Kadashev said, "The creative, truly revolutionary nature of the Leninist approach and the strictly scientific treatment characteristic of it open up a broad field for the spirit of initiative of the communists and all Soviet people. The party's entire activity is characterized by the revolutionary scope and breadth of the changes and the participation in them of vast masses of workers. The CPSU is making constant efforts to combine this scope with the spirit of organization and a practical approach to the problems. It is quite clear that the party's creative, precise

approach to the great tasks of communist construction require that approach to be characteristic of all the party's organizational units and organizations, which consequently must be headed by people with creative capacities, initiative, competence and a high sense of obligation to the party and the people." It was noted in the report that the party is indoctrinating administrative personnel and all its members in such a spirit. "On this lasting basis it is also improving internal party relations, which are increasingly distinguished by development of the communists' creative spirit and initiative and by the more and more intensive aspiration to participate as actively as possible in the life and activity of the party organizations. The working character of the party assemblies, the bureau meetings, and the plenums of the party committees is developing noticeably. All this is unquestionably leading to greater coherence of the ranks of the party collectives and creating in them an atmosphere of progressive work, effective unification and organization, and mutual confidence and respect."

The author said, "The Leninist approach corresponds in the highest degree to development of internal party relations because it is a principled, party approach. The party character of the work of a party activist, as we know, lies in the conformity of all his actions with the party's policy and interests and with the interests of the people. Adherence to principles is the essence of the party character of the communists' activity, and the respective concepts are insepable. The communist ideological convictions, an alloy of disciplines, convictions and practical actions, are basic to party spirit and adherence to principles."

In closing the author concluded that "The influence of the Leninist approach upon internal party relations is the stronger the more completely the requirements of the Leninist approach are met in the activity of the party, of all its organizational units, and of all party organizations and the more completely discipline and the spirit of real work are combined with bold initiative (as it was said at the 26th CPSU Congress) and the aspiration to great goals, and intolerance of defects with firm confidence in the historical advantages of the chosen course." In their turn the internal relations established in the party no less actively affect the party's approach. As experience proves, it is only with correct and mature internal party relations and a party discipline of great awareness that the party succeeds in teaching every communist, regardless of his position, to master the Leninist approach. Being in a profound interaction, our party's Leninist approach and internal party relations constantly perfect each other and accordingly favor intensive development of the CPSU's leadership in the life of Soviet society and in communist construction."

R. S. Iemtsova took up in her report a series of problems concerning "Control and Verification of Task Fulfillment As a Major Means of Improving Internal Party Relations." In the author's view party control is a higher form of socialist control, which includes both state and public control. "The difference between party control and other forms of control is that by its nature party control is a political control to which, in addition to organizational tasks, the tasks of communists' political and moral education are entrusted." The report mentioned that the importance of party control in the present stage is determined both by the purpose and by a number of factors affecting it, namely the volume and complexity of the tasks of constructing developed socialism and communism, the higher level of the party's entire organizational activity, improvement of internal party relations, and the continuing development of the initiative and active spirit of the communists and the masses of workers.

In its practical activity the CPSU "proceeds from the fact that control and organization of task fulfillment form a single process of party organizational activity and

directs the communists who exercise control to carefully distinguish all that is positive, to discover the causes of the defects and help eliminate them, and to maintain in the collective an atmosphere of security and of work and a creative state of mind, which has a considerable effect upon development of internal party relations."

In the process of improving control, "The preventive nature of control and its main purpose of preventing any possible errors and defects in the work are becoming increasingly evident. To this end, criticism and self-criticism are being constantly developed, the favorable results of control organization are being better generalized, and direct participation of managers in control is being increased."

R. S. Yemtsova said, "An outstanding part in enhancing the effectiveness of party control was played by the CPSU's measures to enlarge the circle of primary party organizations authorized to control the administration's activity. Extension of the right to control the administration's activity to nearly all the primary organizations considerably enlarged the scope of party control and enriched its content and methods. "This increased the opportunities of the party organizations to influence all aspects of the activity of the collectives in enterprises, institutions, educational institutions etc. effectively and with a well-defined purpose."

In connection with the firm establishment of the policy of essentially increased demands upon party members on both the political-ideological level and the level of moral ethics, the report pointed out that within the CPSU the core of party control has been and is the unremitting struggle for strict observance of the CPSU Program and Regulations, of party and state discipline, and of the standards of communist morality. In making the most exacting demands upon its members, the CPSU also considers it "necessary to approach communists in full conformity with the democratic character of our party and with the Leninist recommendations and guidelines on this subject, which are fraught with concern for friendly confidence, high standards and justice."

The report said in conclusion that analysis of party experience reveals the main idea that "Improvement of the ways and means of organizational work in all party echelons exercising control helps to improve the party's approach, to further improve internal party relations, and finally to raise the level of administrative activity."

Discussions were held on the subject of the Romanian and Soviet reports presented at the symposium, and they contributed specifications and qualifications as well as new analytical considerations. The discussions were conducted in a businesslike atmosphere characteristic of the spirit of close and friendly collaboration.

The delegation of Soviet historians, headed by P. A. Rodionov, was received by Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee. The meeting was the occasion for presenting the good results of the Romanian-Soviet scientific meeting, which conformed to the traditional policy of the good relations established between the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, making new contributions in that direction. A number of ideas were also mentioned that followed from facts and aspects of significant interest and impact in the histories of the RCP and the CPSU, as well as the power of diffusion of those ideas in our time and their role as a basis and subject of fertile and lasting collaboration between the two parties and countries and between the Romanian and Soviet historians on that basis.

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EXCESSIVE BUYING CAUSES 'DISTURBANCES' IN FOOD SUPPLY SYSTEM

Customers, Clerks Guilty

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by I. Butnaru: "'Generous' Customers, With the Intention of Speculating--Some People Hoard Out of Greed, Others, to Resell at High Prices"]

[Excerpts] The supplying of the population with food products is a complex commercial activity, based on the natural needs of the population, on the immediate and long-term requirements. Taking into consideration the continued increase in consumer demands, fluctuations in the population as a result of the intense process of urbanization and other demographic phenomena, the trade network has provided for and ensured, especially in regard to basic products, increased quantities of food, from year to year.

However, spurred on by a desire to make money and to obtain profits without earning them, some individuals go to the stores and the markets obsessed by thoughts which are completely different from those of the majority of citizens. They buy much more than they actually need, some out of greed and others out of a desire to speculate. Such people end up by throwing out the rancid oil, the spoiled flour or meal and the other products packed into their pantries. They are guilty before society for the destruction of necessary products and the artificial creation of gaps in the supplying of the population.

The phenomenon is like this: by buying large quantities a disbalance in the normal supplying of the population is created, both directly and indirectly, (causing a psychosis). In the next phase, the situation created is exploited by the practice of speculation. This is a word which is related, in essence, to oversupplying. And other things are related to speculation--preferential or "under the counter" sales, the concealing of goods, the use of higher prices, etc.

Such "reptiles" have raised their heads during recent weeks in Bucharest when some individuals have taken advantage of the period in which the trade network has been intensifying season preparations. Here are some examples: Gheorghe Alexandru (Soseaua Berceni 30) collected 100 kg of sugar in his pantry, "using it" for the others on the block, "so that everyone would be satisfied," especially ...

his pocket. The clerks Vasile Radulescu and Vasile Banateanu from the Obor market, were also thinking of their own pockets, waiting for more "generous" customers for the 195 kg and 91 kg of olives. But their actions are relatively minor compared to those of the managers of the food store on Calea Mosilor No 238--Gheorghe Oprisan and Stefan Banu--who hid (and sold to "lovers" of hidden stock, at speculative prices) hundreds of boxes of imported preserves, 114 kg of flour, 1,028 liters of apricot brandy, 970 liters of plum brandy, and 240 kg of olives. The planned selling system has been diminished by the actions of these speculators.

We have not listed all the cases here. We have presented these cases only as an illustration of the causes which result in disturbances in the proper supplying of the population and which create difficulties in the trade sector. Obviously, such phenomena are intolerable and require a combining of the efforts of the population, with high civic responsibility and awareness, in collaboration with the authorities and with the workers in trade, for the purpose of putting an end to these practices immediately. There is a sufficient supply and variety of food products. Supplies of the major products for the winter have been set up and are being set up. The fruits of the autumn are rich and we need a thrifty spirit and a firm civic attitude to enjoy them fully.

Speculators, Hoarders Condemned

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 23 Sep 81 pp 1, 5

[Editorial: "A Sufficient Supply of Goods, Superior to Previous Years, for the Normal Supplying of the Population--But Some People Are Buying 'by the Sackful,' for Speculation or out of Greed"]

[Excerpts] According to Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, during the third quarter of 1981, 29,500 tons of meat were made available to the people of Bucharest, compared to 28,900 tons in 1980, as well as 9,475 tons of meat products, compared to 8,168 in 1980, 82,500 tons of bread, compared to 75,600 tons in 1980, and 66,000 tons of vegetables, compared to 43,000 tons in 1980, etc.

Of course, such increases--which, as we know, require great efforts on the part of the state--are felt in practically every family. Romania ranks among the top 10 countries in the world in respect to the number of calories consumed per capita, a fact which is eloquent proof of the effect of the program for the proper supplying of the population.

Therefore, it is all the more necessary for us to use this food supply with special care and with high civic responsibility, in the interests of each one of us. However, this obligation is violated by those who confuse their own pantry with a depository for food products! There are some--always the same ones--who never stop buying, either out of ferocious egoism or, more seriously, to speculate with the respective products, thus defying, intolerably, the efforts of the state, our work, our interests and the interests of the majority of the citizens.

In all countries, the stock of products is planned for a normal supplying process, in accordance with real consumer needs, so that each one can be supplied. But if some people swarm in like locusts, buying much more than is necessary then, obviously, no matter how rapidly the shelves are restocked, irregularities result. It is logical to say that those who buy by the sack-load actually are taking products away from the market bags of the citizens, of the many, of those who buy according to their needs.

Unfortunately, this fauna of "professional buyers" simply empties the racks and bins, buying, by the lot, all sorts of things, in far from negligible quantities--to stock up or even to speculate.

How do such "Harpagons" manage to get sugh quantities? They go from store to store, collecting 2 kg here and another 2 kg there. They cover up their greed by starting all sorts of rumors, without any real basis. For example, Dumitru Gheorghe of Calea Vacaresti No 51 bought several kilograms of sugar from the store at Calea Vacaresti No 30. The head of the unit, Elvira Florea told us: "The next day we saw him again, asking for more sugar. He was told that his actions hurt the other citizens. He raised the roof. It is no wonder that last month our store sold 8,000 kg of sugar. This amount used to last for several months."

But it is not only sugar which is being piled up in the pantries of some people. How much salad is Ioana Udrea making to use 18 liters of oil (in addition to 29 kg of sugar)? Let us remember what Ioana Leondari, chemist in the health and anti-epidemic center said: "Food products are perishable and are good for a certain period of time. After this, they taste and smell differently and they can cause digestive disturbances and other health problems." Therefore, the "pack rats" are not collecting solely for their own use. One such speculator is Dumitru Puscasu who has been arrested for business dealings amounting to hundreds of thousands of lei; his shelves were filled with 100 kg of sugar purchased for the purpose of making alcoholic beverages illegally, for the black market.

Was it not for speculation that Rebeca Gheorghe and Vasilica Maruntelu (of Mihaiesti-Arges Commune) bought 700 kg of flour? The fact that it is a question of business and not of normal supplying was evident since they did not hesitate to bribe Lenuta Mosteanu (salesclerk in food store No 1 in Jilava), offering her 630 lei. We cannot fail to mention the responsibility of workers in the trade network who do not prevent these flagrantly destructive practices although they are supposed to be responsible for the wise administration of the supply of products.

Examining these few examples which, justifiably, arouse the indignation of all people of good will. We emphasize, once more, the need for firm intervention on the part of citizens and of public opinion, to put an end to all tendencies toward hoarding and speculation.

During the fourth quarter of this year, 38,000 tons of meat, 12,437 tons of meat products, 311,000 hl. of milk, 14,600 tons of sugar and 8,500 tons of oil will be provided for the people of Bucharest. This year's harvest ensures the normal supplying of the population, up to the next harvest. What we must understand and what is demanded of us is the obligation to manage the entire stock of products with high responsibility and use it wisely and sparingly.

Food Distribution System Improved

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Mircea Scripca: "The Supplying of the Population for the Fall and Winter--What Action Is Being Taken to Execute the Program"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Corneliu Nicolae, director of the trade directorate in the General Economic Directorate for Horticulture in the Ministry of the Food Industry told us: Our entire apparatus is involved in actions in the area of supply, undertaken in the countries for the execution of the important tasks assigned to us in this peak supplying period.

During the month of September alone, some 88,000 tons of potatoes, 160,000 tons of field vegetables, including onions, peppers, tomatoes, etc., 26,000 tons of fruit and 40,000 tons of grapes have been sold or will be sold to the people. During October, even larger quantities will be provided for sale: 120,000 tons of potatoes, 200,000 tons of field vegetables, 40,000 tons of fruit and 60,000 tons of grapes.

In order to be able to market such a large volume of vegetable products, measures have been taken to set up more than 10,000 seasonal sales units in markets, in localities in the country, in districts, next to large enterprises, etc. Also, numerous salespersons from other commercial sectors have been brought in. I would like to emphasize that the yields of potatoes, vegetables and fruits this year permit us to ensure the good supplying of the population.

Question: What details can you give us in this regard?

Answer: According to the supply program drawn up for the fall and winter, the following will [be] placed at the disposal of the people for this entire period--until the new harvest appears--: more than 500,000 tons of potatoes (38 percent more than in the preceding period), about 650,000 tons of field vegetables (57 percent more), 56,000 tons of hothouse vegetables (7 percent more), 132,000 tons of root vegetables (94 percent more), more than 200,000 tons of cabbage (39 percent more). Also, compared to the previous period, 164,000 tons of fruit (13 percent more than in the preceding period) and about 100,000 tons of grapes (69 percent more) will be put on the market.

The continuing contribution of Covasna and Harghita counties in harvesting and delivering potatoes and of Arad, Constanta, Bihor, Dolj, Olt and Teleorman counties in regard to field vegetables should be noted. In the other counties, all forces

should be mobilized to obtain results like those of the outstanding counties, so that the entire yield of vegetables and fruits will be harvested and delivered on time. Large quantities of potatoes, vegetables and fruits are being brought, on a continuing basis, to the depositories for the storing and ensiling of products. In this way, the necessary reserves for the regular supplying of the population during the cold weather will be ensured.

In addition, special attention is being given to improving conditions for the marketing of vegetables and fruits, by the modernization of existing markets and the construction of new markets where necessary. Comrade Nicolae Blajan, deputy director general in the Ministry of Domestic Trade, informs us that after the new markets, including the modern food market in Bacau, are put into use and after others are expanded and rearranged, additional work will be done this year. For example, a modern market with an area of 3,500 square meters and 24 rows of stands has been set up in the "Bucaresti" district of the city.

The list of new constructions and renovations of markets for agricultural and food products for this year includes: markets and sales areas for products in Craiova, Botosani, Slatina, Miercurea-Ciuc. Markets in Tirgu Jiu, Sfintu Gheorghe, Tulcea and Dragasani will be renovated. In order to improve conditions for supplying food to the miners in the city of Motru, the existing food market is being expanded and modernized and this work will be completed in the first quarter of next year.

Question: What is being done in this area in the capital?

Answer: Bucharest has more than 40 food markets. As a result of modernization, a good part of these have become real trade centers. Last year, markets such as Amzei, Dorobanti, Militari II and Rahova have had their sales areas extended and covered so that they can carry on their activity under good conditions in the cold weather. This year the Marasesti, Ferentari and Moghioros markets are undergoing the same type of renovations.

Question: There are other markets, such as the one on Strada Aurel Vlaicu, which, are not sufficiently utilized, although they have been modernized. Why?

Answer: Indeed such situations occur despite the measures taken by the trade organs. The Aurel Vlaicu market, although small, is very useful to citizens in the district. However, in addition to the poor support received from the supply units, the individual producers were not instructed to bring their products here and the citizens started going to other markets. There are other similar shortcomings. We believe that the six markets in Cluj-Napoca Municipality are insufficient for a population of about 300,000 residents.

We believe that it is necessary that the responsible organs take measures to provide sufficient space for the sale of vegetables and fruits in the new districts and in the older districts of the localities and to ensure that existing space is better utilized. The markets should be kept clean and the products should be kept in good condition. There should be a stricter control over the price system,

blocking any attempts at speculation. In particular, there should be a more thorough control over those people--who are not agricultural producers--who buy up products second or third hand and then resell them at higher prices. Every attempt to profit in this way should be curbed. Also, all the personnel in the sales units should be engaged in selling products at all times. There are some trade workers who leave their workplaces to take care of personal business or who hide in the back of the units and this results in artificial lines of customers.

Food for Bucharest Markets

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Excerpts] As has been stressed, there are sufficient supplies of agricultural and food products to satisfy the needs for rational consumption for the people of Bucharest during the fall and winter. The figures presented in the course of a conversation with Comrade Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bucharest municipality, made public on 23 September, clearly showed that for the principal products the quantities sold so far this year are considerably greater than those sold last year.

The supplying of the market will continue at a rate which is in accord with rational consumer demands. Since the third quarter is almost completed, we will supplement the data published 2 days ago with the definite prospects for the supply of commodities for the next few months of the year.

Products	Surpluses in tons for the third quarter of 1981 compared to the third quarter of 1980	Surpluses in tons for the fourth quarter of 1981 compared to the third quarter of 1981
Meat	600	8,987
Meat products	1,307	3,037
Butter	365	354
Oil	1,394	431
Flour	4,346	2,000
Milk	19,600 hl.	68,000 hl
Eggs	24 million	12 million

As one can see from the table it is a matter of substantial increases. Although during the 3d quarter of the current year larger quantities were delivered than during the corresponding period of the preceding year, these quantities will be greatly exceeded by deliveries during the 4th quarter.

This is why it is advisable and necessary that the population supply itself normally and avoid tendencies to over-supply. This will contribute to the development, under good conditions, of the activity of the stores, the markets and the entire food trade system.

Wine-making Depletes Sugar

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by I. Stefan: "'The Sugar-Eaters' and 'Privately-Made Wines'--Practices Which Violate the Provisions of the 'Law on Vineyards and Wine'"]

[Text] This year is proving to be a good year for harvesting grapes. The markets of Bucharest, supplied with all sorts of grapes requested and appreciated by the people are evidence of this.

The strange thing is the appearance in different markets of the capital, including Piata Obor, of large-capacity trucks--hired by various agricultural units--which market grapes directly, not by the kilogram but by the hundreds of kilograms. Then the grapes are taken home by customers in cars or trucks. Some private producers are also selling grapes in the same large quantities. What connection can the sale of hundreds of kilograms have with the demands for rational consumption?

For what purpose are these quantities of grapes purchased? Obviously, for wine-making. Certainly not by vinegrowers, not by persons who grow vines legally on the lands which they cultivate. The "purchasers by the ton," defying the norms of ethics and equity, have created an illegal source of profit from making grapes into wine, using sugar bought on the market to increase their "own" production of wine--and, of course, to increase the profit. To the grapes purchased by the car-load one adds the sugar purchased--by the same and by different means--by the sack, or more precisely, by the sacks.

It is obvious that this creates difficulties in the supplying of sugar to the people. In addition, such practices violate legal provisions in force and the "Law on Vineyards and Wines." The responsible organs must intervene to curb these practices so that the quantities of grapes intended for winemaking will be processed in the units stipulated by law and the agricultural units will honor their obligations to the state and table grapes will be sold to the population for normal, rational consumption.

CSO: 2700/5

EFFECTIVE OPERATION OF WORKERS' DEMOCRACY HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 Jul 81 pp 1-3

[Article by Ion Florea of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "The Functionality of the System of Our Workers' Democracy"]

[Text] The Second Congress of the Workers Councils is recorded as an important moment in the ever more powerful affirmation of socialist democracy and self-management. The fact itself that it discussed and approved the draft sole national economic-social development plan for the country during the current five year plan, just as the Congress of the Peasantry earlier examined the draft five year development plan for agriculture and the food industry, illustrates the broad democracy in our social life and the fact that socialism opens the perspectives of democracy in which the people, lead by the working class, are the actual holders of the power, which they exercise to their own benefit. The exclusion of relationships of exploitation and domination and the establishment of certain relationships of alliance, unity and cooperation, equality and equity, and collaboration and self-assistance give a new content to democratic life. Certainly, socialist democracy is not affirmed in and of itself by virtue of an implacable determinism that would work in the operation of a new social order. Objective requirements and laws are not spontaneously imposed, with conscious factors acquiring a special weight and role in the creation of conditions for actions for the masses.

The process of building a new social order is not, however, safe from certain dysfunctionalities and contradictions and the possibility of the appearance of certain phenomena that alienate and violate democratic principles and of certain bureaucratic manifestations. In order to avoid the appearance of certain dysfunctionalities and contradictions that are foreign to the nature of the new order and the essence and design of the socialist state and its organisms, the party expresses concern for optimizing the activities of the state and social organisms and for strengthening the ties with the masses and furthering their democratic means of operation.

Such an overall socialist society and the institutional system of democracy constitute a living organism which evolves and develops along with the working class - the leading social force in society, with the peasantry and with the intelligentsia, while improving the relationships among them in the sense of

weaving their activities more closely together and homogenizing society. Such processes were also shown at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils where the party's concerns were revealed for providing increased efficiency in the system of our socialist democracy, for the pupose of ensuring the effective participation of the workers in making decisions and carrying out worker self-management. In fact, the transition to the principles of economic self-management and self-administration has meant overcoming a contradiction that had appeared between the institutionalized democratic framework and a too-centralized economic mechanism, thus resulting in the strengthening of the decisionmaking powers and direct responsibilities of the collective leadership organs and the workers.

The ever broader democracy that characterizes our socialist society creates conditions favorable to the active participation of the workers in management and in the elaboration and adoption of decisions in diverse areas. Certainly, these conditions do not automatically in and of themselves lead to good management and planning, but it can be accomplished through the people called upon to use them, to permanently improve activities, to adopt new forms and methods of work and to eliminate obsolete ones.

In our country, throughout the years a broadly representative overall system of democratic organisms has been put in place. Thus, the institutionalization of general assemblies as supreme leadership organs for the owners and producers constitutes a living expression of workers democracy in which the popular masses make decisions upon the problems of economic-social development. In the system of socialist democracy, an especially important role is played by the workers councils, which bring together approximately 114,000 people from over 6,000 economic-social units. Similarly, fora, such as the Congress of the Workers Councils, the National Council of Workers and the other congresses and councils that discuss and make decisions in the fundamental problems of Romania's domestic and international policies, express the democracy of our socialist order. All these organisms form a harmonious system, unique in its own way, which represents a new, superior form for planning and leading society in which the popular masses participate directly in the making of decisions and carrying them out. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, "it is necessary for us to ensure an ever closer intertwining of the activities of the state organs with the new democratic organisms, giving them to a greater degree a series of responsibilities in the areas of planning and managing economic-social activities. This ensures the true democratization of state organs, the strengthening of the role of the popular masses in making decisions and carrying them out and the strengthening of the control of the working class and the popular masses over all the activities of the state organs."

The unified system of leadership in the country and the intertwining of economic and social democracy permit the broader use of masses' creative initiatives, experiences and abilities, with the essential element being ensuring the proper operation of this democratic framework and the complete use of the opportunities that it offers. Ensuring the functionality of the institutional system of socialist democracy, of each form of management of economic-social affairs and of the direct

participation of the masses in economic administration and in the solution of public affairs represents one of the significant objectives of the current stage. In this regard, the party is concerned about the continued improvement of democratic forms and methods and is adopting new means for the working class's and all the people's active and direct participation in the management of society and for the masses' permanent control over state organs. Corresponding to such orientations are the new measures adopted by the Second Workers Congress. Thus, it was decided to establish county workers councils in which all the industrial, transportation, finance and trade units in each county are to be represented. Keeping in mind the fact that the semi-annual general assemblies discuss all the problems of these units, it was felt that it was necessary to organize special general assemblies in September-October in order to discuss and approve the production plan for the next year. Similarly, it was decided to hold discussions and give approval in the leadership councils, general assemblies or conferences of the workers' representatives regarding proposals to appoint new personnel - directors, chief engineers and so forth - prior to the decisionmaking of higher organs. At the same, beginning with the position and responsibility that the worker management organs have in the proper administration of that portion of the national wealth entrusted to them, the reception of new people within the collectives in the enterprises or institutes is to be carried out with the approval of the leadership council and the general assembly in the section or sector where these people will be working. Similarly, proposals for punishing or removing people from the collective who violate order and discipline will be discussed within the framework of this collective.

At a central level, it was established that the government will annually present before the National Council of Workers reports regarding the fulfillment of the state plan and the economic-social development of the country.

Naturally, in order to give an ever more democratic sense to and increase the efficiency of the management of all economic-social affairs it is necessary, as was shown at the congress, to improve the organization, forms and methods of work within the framework of all the organisms that exist in our society - from the state organs to the trade unions, from the organizations for democracy and socialist unity to those for the youth and women. It is necessary to have everywhere a dynamic, revolutionary work style that is open to new things and capable of mobilizing and directing the creative energies towards the fulfillment of the goals of socialist society.

Giving all the social classes and categories and all the citizens participation in political affairs and in the leadership of society under conditions of full equality, liberty and awareness of the cause, the socialist order and our socialist state represent the most democratic expression of the leadership of society by the people. Thus, we are standing before certain new social-political realities which bring to the daily agenda - on a theoretical level and on a social practice level - the notion of worker democracy or a state of worker democracy, a notion that corresponds to a new historical stage of socialist construction and clearly reveals the superiority of the new social order.

In our party's view, socialist democracy in general and workers democracy in particular constitute a means of organizing social and interpersonal relations according to the principles and values of the new order, beginning with the workers' position as producers, owners and users. It is incompatible with a lack of discipline and spontaneity as a mentality, concept and mode of action, and with a tolerance for certain acts contrary to the interests of the people. At the Second Congress of the Workers Councils comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "The continued development of workers democracy and the improvement of the framework for the direct participation of the popular masses in the management of all sectors require the firm application of the state's laws and the strengthening of order and discipline, collective responsibility and individual responsibility for the proper operation of all activities in the respective enterprises and institutes." Participation in management requires the full involvement of each person in the fulfillment of decisions that have been made, of plan tasks and of responsibilities on-the-job, and the responsibility towards the collective for any nonfulfillment and for any act of indiscipline and violation of the country's laws.

The strengthening of the role of the socialist state and its organs in economic-social management and planning does not exclude, but, on the contrary, requires ensuring the conditions for the ever broader participation of the working class and all social categories in the drawing up and substantiation of the plan and in the management and exercise of the people's review of the state organs in the different sectors of activity. This blending between the two facets of the operation of our profoundly democratic political system, which in the current stage and in the future will become ever more closer and deeper, is capable of protecting the state organisms from the danger of alienating the masses, of losing contact with life and warning about the dangers of the temptation of abuse, technocratism and bureaucratism.

Giving all the social classes and categories and all the citizens, regardless of their nationality, participation in political affairs and in the leadership of society under conditions of full equality, liberty and awareness of the cause, the socialist order and our socialist state represent the most democratic expression of the leadership of society by the people. Under these conditions, in which there is a broad system of direct and representative economic and political democracy through which the masses participate in the leadership of society, to use the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat to define the content of the socialist order and the state's activities would mean our applying an old label to a content that it has not fit for a long time, thus misrepresenting the democratic essence of the socialist state. The replacement of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the idea of workers democracy or a state of workers democracy better characterizes the essence of our social order and socialist state.

Such an interpretation fitting the social-political realities in Romania has in mind, at the same time, the historical perspective of the disappearance of the state, which will be achieved through the development of the democratic forms of leadership of society, through the furthering of self-management and the blending of the state's activities with those of the organisms of socialist democracy, through the assumption, in the end, of the leadership functions and the review of all social activities by the people themselves and by the organisms of worker and public democracy, and through the broadening of the working class's and all the people's participation in the leadership of society. This process is achieved in a certain incipient form, certainly, under our own eyes, with some structures of democracy constituting the premises for the future evolution of the state. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out: "Through our democratic congresses and organisms we are, in fact, carrying out these forms, which are combined with the activities of the state's organisms and ensure the working class's and the people's assumption of the functions of leadership and the collective review of all social activities."

The dialectic of blending the activities of the state's organisms with those of the democratic, public organisms involves, at the same time, a system of democratic organisms created years ago which simultaneously fulfill attributes of the party, state and public sector. The accumulated experience gives specific expression to the growth of the role of the political and democratic factor in our society, to the people's direct leadership of social life, to the ever more powerful affirmation of the forms of direct participative democracy, to the growth of the weight of political methods and to the restriction of the sphere of administrative methods. All this cannot mean, certainly, the substitution of public and democratic organisms for the role played by the organs of state power, the confusion of the specific attributes and functions of these organs and the decrease in the efficiency of their activities, but it raises the problem of giving a much more exact definition to the specific nature of their activities and of eliminating the tendencies of excessive centralism and voluntarism.

This perspective of the state, which cannot be understood except through the expansion of the participation by the working class and all the people in leadership, is closely tied to other processes which mark the evolution of society, such as the ever more organic integration of the party in the affairs of all of society, the raising of the general level of political-ideological and professional training and the elimination, in the future, of the differences between communists and non-communists on the level of training and responsibility on the job and in social behavior.

The exercise itself of the party's leading role is inconceivable outside the democratic framework put into action in which the party is a dynamic democratic political organism and is the vital center for initiatives and actions and whose policies ensure the uninterrupted progress of the country. The party's leadership of society is carried out not from outside of, but within social, state and economic organisms through its ever more organic integration in society.

The party's relationships with the other democratic organisms, with the mass and public organizations and with society itself are not of an exterior nature or of leadership coming from outside of them, with these appearing as simple "transmission belts" between the party and the people, but rather they are of an interior nature, of leadership from within them. The most graphic proof of this dialectic is the structure and means of operation of the Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity which, by bringing together the public and mass organizations and all the social classes and elements that make up our society under the leadership of the party, gives expression to the system of our socialist democracy and the unity of interests and aspirations of all the people, and constitutes the broadest and most representative organism of socialist democracy.

Stressing that in the new stage of development of our socialist society it is necessary to improve the general planning and leadership of society through the furthering of self-management and self-administration and through the continued accentuation of the democratization of the state apparatus, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, along with the need to consistently apply the provisions of the law on planning, that the plan will be prepared from bottom to top, from the enterprise towards the central, the branch and the ministry on the basis of a broad participation of all cadre and workers and that there is a requirement to take into greater consideration in planning the role of the market and demand, the actions of the law on resources and other economic laws, with this being an essential condition for carrying out efficient economic activities. Any social management and planning carried out in the most democratic manner must be connected to reality and its requirements and to the transformations in society. Under such conditions, without a consistently dialectic, daring, revolutionary thinking, keeping in mind the fact that both the organizational forms and the ideas referring to social-economic and political affairs are not and cannot be perpetual, presented and defined for now and forever, the forms of organization and social leadership cannot be improved. And, some of these and others and the notions and forms of social organization and leadership are modified and replaced by new forms and notions or are improved in a content corresponding to the new realities of the stage of development in society, new knowledge and scientific discoveries. Without this agreement, there can be no talk of scientific leadership, the only leadership capable of ensuring a dynamic, processual nature having a truly revolutionary policy and the adequate solution of the new problems that appear.

The consistent promotion of socialist democracy represents the appropriate path for solving contradictions, together with the people, through their direct participation in "smoothing out" the path of progress and ascension of the socialist society.

Leadership and participation in leadership represents, certainly, a conscious process achieved only in being aware of the cause. This requires involvement and responsibility and the understanding of the means of action to implement decisions, objectives and tasks. To the degree in which all the people actually participate in the exercise of self-management and self-administration and in the solution of problems of public interest and in which one can state that the state, as long

as it exists, is composed of workers, in order to ensure the full functionality of the system of socialist democracy it is necessary to raise the level of political and professional training and of the revolutionary education of all citizens. "Holes" in the education of cadre and citizens are incompatible with the optimum operation of the democratic framework and they inevitably lead to dysfunctionalities in the manner in which each democratic organism carried out its attributes and to phenomena of deviations and alientation. Passivism and the lack of interest on the part of certain citizens regarding social problems, negligence and backwards attitudes are explained both through a lack of a thorough training and through gaps in education and the influence of backwards mentalities and concepts foreign to our ideology and morals. That is why it appears necessary to strengthen the educational process and to accentuate the role of the activities of all cultural institutions and the means of disseminating information for the purpose of spreading the values of socialism to the awareness of the masses.

The social efficiency of the democratic framework depends upon the organic combination between the participation of the masses in decisionmaking and the fulfillment of these decisions and the achievement of programs and plans for economic-social development. The practice of socialist democracy has nothing to do with festivities and idle talk. Our democracy must be expressed in an ever greater manner as a democracy of decisions and deeds at the same time, of work and creativity, as a democracy of promoting and emulating authentic values. It requires a revolutionary spirit and an intransigence regarding lack of discipline or any type of dodging work, a critical attitude regarding reality and a courageous uncovering of shortcomings, rejecting demagoguery and words not accompanied by deeds in work. Each worker - as a producer, owner, user and participant in decisionmaking - has the responsibility of using production facilities and manpower at a maximum level of efficiency for the development and material and spiritual progress of the country. This is the fundamental sense of combining economic self-management and self-administration.

A condition for the efficient operation of the system of socialist democracy and self-management is the blending of the masses' participation in decisionmaking with the review of the fulfillment of these decisions. Our party has created a complex and unified system for exercising review and for the masses' participation in it, combining the carrying out of this review by the organs of state and administrative power with the operation of worker review and the review conducted by the party as a leading political force in society. A special role in the system of self-management and self-administration is played by the review and self-review of the workers' collectives, combined with the financial review, which is designed not only to discover, but also to help eliminate certain irregularities, errors and violations, and to improve activities.

The fundamental political value of socialism and socialist democracy becomes fully functional only to the degree in which the consistent practice of its principles and forms and the mastery of democracy are actually carried out in

style of management and behavior of each manager and each worker. By ensuring the functionality and efficiency of its forms, socialist democracy will decisively contribute to the promotion of the values of socialism, to the development and uplifting of the human personality and to the bringing about of a new quality in all our social life, becoming an emulative force for values and a force for stimulating creative work on all levels and the material and spiritual progress of our people.

8724
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FAILURE TO APPOINT WOMEN AS FACTORY FOREMEN EXAMINED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Rodica Serban: "What Stimulates and What Hinders the Promotion of Women in Production"]

[Excerpts] Our party and state have initiated important measures--in the economic social, organizational and legislative spheres--stimulating the affirmation of women in the life of society and recognizing the multilateral contribution which women are making and can make in all spheres of activity.

In industry, for example, women represent 40 percent of all the workers; their activity is characterized by a high level of professional training and conscientiousness, reflected in the quality of their work and in their visible contribution, both in the production sectors and in the management of workplaces, units, industrial centrals and ministries. It is no longer a surprise to find a woman sitting at a desk behind a door marked "director" or "minister." What is important is competence, good organization, and prestige.

But the process has not been completed. There are still great resources for increasing the contribution of women in economic and social life. And there are still some disharmonies, bureaucratic obstacles and even dissimulated prejudices which are diminishing this contribution. The present survey is concerned with this anomaly.

The role of the foreman in directing the production process is well known and unanimously acknowledged. Only 4 percent of all foremen are women. Why?

--In the 40 units of the machine building industry for which we train cadres, we have had only two or three female graduates of the foremen classes in the entire history of the institution, even though many of the trades were specifically feminine in character--the director of the "Unirea" training group in Bucharest said.

--We have not had and do not have this year any female candidates in the school for foremen--the deputy director of the "23 August" training group told us.

The percentage of women working in the "23 August" enterprise in Bucharest is 30 percent. More than 80 percent of them work in the production sectors. Is

it possible that, of the more than 3,000 women who work in the different sections of the enterprise, a few of the best might be selected and trained as foremen?! Undoubtedly not.

--We just did not think about it, the chief of the personnel and training section acknowledged. I believe that they do not want such responsibility. The complexity of the functions of a foreman is well known.

Is this the way it is? To cast some light on the situation, we asked the people concerned:

--Have you ever thought about becoming a foreman?--we asked Joita Teodoriu, quality controller in the machine tool section.

--Not only have I thought about it but I have also talked about it with my colleague, Georgeta Iordache. My husband is a foreman in the cardan shaft section. I think that I would be able to get along as well as he does.

--Why have you not pursued your intention?

--To be honest, I gave up my intentions when I saw that more attention was being given to men. And then, no one came forth to nominate me.

Maria Ciobanu is a quality controller in the same section. She is most highly regarded as a checker. But no one thought about nominating her although she would like further training.

These dialogues reveal one of the primary causes of the failure to include women in the schools for foremen: the passivity of some persons who are responsible for training cadres, insufficient concern--out of lack of confidence, out of laziness--for the utilization of existing resources for the purpose of training women as future cadres in production.

Another cause, a more unusual one, is found in worker sectors which are specifically and primarily feminine. In "Electroaparataj" we spoke with Comrade Elena Oana, chairman of the trade union committee:

--Only women work in the two installation sections but 16 of the 17 foremen are men. After years of effort, finally, this year, with great difficulty we succeeded in sending another woman to the school for foremen.

--You talk about effort, difficulties. What are they? Do the women have enough professional training to be recommended for a higher form of training?

--Certainly. We have numerous capable female workers who would be able to handle the training and the job of foreman in an exemplary manner.

--Then why do you not propose them as candidates for the entrance exam?

--Because we cannot.

An incredible response, especially in an enterprise in the electrical engineering subbranch in which there are many female workers. The same state of affairs exists in other domains. For example, in the schools for foremen for the chemical industry--a field in which there are also many female workers--only 6 percent of the students are women. Even in light industry, where women represent more than 70 percent of the labor force, there are few women in the schools for foremen.

It is not easy to find a man to send to the school for foremen in a section factory or branch in which practically all the workers are women or in trades which are specifically feminine. This has resulted in an even stranger practice: candidates for the position of foreman in specifically feminine enterprises are recruited from the ranks of men who work in other trades! And sometimes even from sectors not directly involved in production!

Here is an example. The last class for textile foremen in Industrial School No 6 of "Filatura romaneasca de bumbac" in Bucharest has 37 graduates. Only 7 of these people were recruited from among the ranks of female spinners. The majority of them come from other trades and work not with yarn but with iron.

--Are the foremen who come from other professions better?

--How can they be? Foremen should be chosen from the ranks of the best workers in the area of specialty. A machinist might know more about the mechanism of the looms but only the weaver knows the secrets of weaving and can appreciate the quality of the cloth--Comrade Eng. Georgeta Tafta, director of the Directorate of Personnel and Training in the Ministry of Light Industry told us.

There is no doubt that, regardless of field, the foreman should be promoted from the ranks of the best workers in the respective trade. In addition, this is what the law states. Then, you might ask, how can such abnormal situations occur?

We were told that they were a result of a certain "interpretation of Law 6" (of 1977) on the role and functions of the foreman. It is a question of Article 23, paragraph 2 which stipulates a number of conditions including the following: "The recruitment of candidates for admission to the schools for foremen takes place among the workers in the last or second-to-last category of employment." This text gave rise to the dilemma, scholastic in appearance, but with serious practical consequences in reality: is it a question of the last or next-to-last category for the respective trade or the last category which is theoretically possible for the branch or unit?

The viewpoint of the ministries directly concerned is that which is prompted by the interests of production: the future foremen should be recruited from those workers who have obtained the last or next-to-last category not in other trades but in the profession in which they will work as foremen. This is a viewpoint which can be found in official communications, signed by persons in positions of leadership in the respective economic departments.

The viewpoint of the Ministry of Education and Instruction--which bears the unitary responsibility for the professional training of cadres--is identical. Nevertheless there is still confusion in some directorates of other ministries which maintain that the recruitment of candidates for schools for foremen should be carried out among workers in the last or next-to-last category of employment in the wage system of the branch--regardless of their actual work place and regardless of the specific nature of the activity which the future foremen will be coordinating. This means, in practice, that many trades performed primarily by women, such as installers in the electronics and electrical engineering industry, textile workers, clothing workers, etc, will not be eligible for producing foremen. There have been numerous discussions and many arguments have been used but the facts show clearly that the persistence of confusion in the application of the law bars the way to the promotion of women in positions of foreman in activities performed mainly by women. Could not the specialists, noting these discrepancies, initiate analyses in the units where the test of the law comes up against life and its demands, and on the basis of the conclusions reached, formulate the explanations which are absolutely necessary?

CSO: 2700/1

BRIEFS

DEATH OF TAROM DIRECTOR--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 September 1981 p 4 reports the "unexpected" death of Colonel Aviator Sofian Craciunescu, director of "TAROM" [The Romanian Air Transport Company]. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 2700/1 END

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13 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1927

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Council of Ministers Decree on Disaster Control Published
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 8 Jul 81; GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, 29 Jun 81)..... 1

West German Commentary
Text of Decree

Medical Treatment During National Emergencies Discussed
(Eberhard Winkelvoss; VOLKSSTIMME, 19 Jun 81)..... 9

HUNGARY

'MTI' Official Interviewed on Role of Mass Communications
(Tamas Szecsko Interview; ELET ES IRODALOM, 29 Aug 81)..... 13

KISZ Council of Young Intellectuals Meets
(Zoltan Gyulay; MAGYAR NEMZET, 6 Sep 81)..... 17

POLAND

Air Force Personnel Polled on Views About Democracy in Military Service
(Eugeniusz Walczuk; WOJSKO LUDOWE, Jul 81)..... 20

Proceedings of PZPR IX Congress Reported, Analyzed
(Istvan Pataki; PARTELET, Sep 81)..... 31

YUGOSLAVIA

Western Press Notes 'Wave of Repression' in Yugoslavia
(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 16 Sep 81)..... 36

West German Comment on Veselica Trial
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 11 Sep 81)..... 39

Western Comment on Verdict in Veselica Trial
(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 11 Sep 81)..... 41

West German Comment on Nationality Policy
(Viktor Meier; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 21 Sep 81)..... 43

Catholic Press Discusses Attacks on Church
(Editorial; GLAS KONCILA, 30 Aug 81)..... 46

Mostar Bishop's Letter to President Kraigher
(Pavao Zanic; GLAS KONCILA, 13 Sep 81)..... 48

Situation, Arrests in Medjugorje Related
(GLAS KONCILA, 30 Aug 81)..... 50

Western Comment on Ivan Supek's Political Memoirs
(Fran Rudin; NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 22 Aug 81)..... 52

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE ON DISASTER CONTROL PUBLISHED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 99, 8 Jul 81 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "Reorganizations of Disaster Control in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin GESETZBLATT decree cited below follows this report]

[Text] The East Berlin Council of Ministers has published a new decree on disaster control. It goes into effect on 15 July, rescinding corresponding provisions of 1971. Disaster control in the GDR remains a part of civil defense, but its central management now comes under the Council of Ministers, no longer under the civil defense chief. A central disaster commission is being set up under the Council of Ministers to coordinate all disaster control measures. In addition, special government commission may be set up. The new decree provides broader and more specific rights in disaster control for the local council chairmen. They now have the right to issue instructions to all enterprises and facilities in the disaster area and may compel GDR citizens who are able to work to perform in it. New is the provision that the preparation and implementation of measures in preventing and fighting against disasters in border areas and restricted military areas must be authorized by the military command.

Text of Decree

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 20, 29 Jun 81 pp 257-260

[Official text of "Decree of 15 May 1981 on Disaster Control" signed by W. Stoph, chairman, Council of Ministers, 15 May 1981]

[Text] On behalf of a uniform preparation and implementation of effective disaster control measures, on the basis of Article 15 of the Defense Law of 13 October 1978 (GBL, Part I No. 35 p 377) on the implementation of Articles 5 and 6 in that law, and on the basis of Article 5 of the introductory law of the GDR Labor Code of 16 June 1977 (GBL, Part I No. 18 p 228), the following is decreed:

Article 1

(1) Disaster control is part of civil defense. Its task is to protect the population, the economy, the vital facilities and cultural values from disasters.

(2) Disaster control entails
--preventative disaster control and
--defense and countermeasures against disasters and the elimination of their effects (termed countermeasures against disasters in the following).

The main efforts are to be directed at effective preventative disaster control.

(3) Disaster control is concerned in particular with
--(a) presciently recognizing, disclosing in time and immediately eliminating sources of danger which facilitate or could lead to disasters;
--(b) taking fast and effective countermeasures against disasters that have occurred by fully using all personnel and material resources and normalizing public life;
--(c) ensuring order and security under disaster conditions.

Article 2

(1) Disasters in the sense of this decree are grave natural events including extreme weather phenomena and other cases of damage or misfortune large in scale and, normally, beyond a local level, countermeasures against which call for a coordinated employment of forces, material and technical means and for uniform, complex territorial leadership.

(2) Industrial accidents are no disasters in the sense of this decree. Preventing and fighting against them goes in accordance with regulations issued for it.

Article 3

(1) The central state management of the disaster control measures is the obligation of the Council of Ministers.

(2) For the uniform management and coordination of countermeasures against disasters a central disaster commission is formed under the Council of Ministers.

(3) To direct the countermeasures against disasters, government commission may be assigned on orders from the Council of Ministers or its chairman.

Article 4

(1) The ministers and the heads of the other central state organs, the managers of economic management organs, combines, enterprises and facilities and the chairmen of the cooperatives, in their capacity as heads of civil defense, are accountable for the countermeasures against disasters in their fields of responsibility. In particular they are obligated
--(a) presciently to recognize and disclose in time sources of danger which facilitate or could lead to disasters, analyze or determine their potential effects and set down, and systematically realize, all measures needed for eliminating the sources of danger;

--(b) to make the necessary specific arrangements for the safety of the population, the protection of public property and the safeguarding of the reproduction process, to prepare management and information documents and always keep them up to date;
--(c) to prepare the capacities and means available to them for being used as countermeasures against disasters;
--(d) to ensure always strict management under disaster conditions; and
--(e) to exercise constant direction and control in implementation of the countermeasures against disasters.

(2) The managers of enteprises and facilities and the chairmen of the cooperatives, above and beyond the stipulations of section 1, are obligated
--(a) to submit the information and documents needed for territorial operational planning to the chairmen of the competent local councils; and
--(b) to make available the capacities and means available to them, if the situation calls for it, for assignments beyond the boundaries of their enterprise, if so instructed by the chairman of the competent local council.

Article 5

(1) In their capacity as heads of civil defense, the chairmen of the local councils are responsible for managing disaster control. In their given territories they are accountable for the complex planning, coordination and control of the measures in preventative disaster control and for the management of the countermeasures against disasters.

(2) To meet the tasks assigned to them in accordance with section 1, the chairmen of the local councils have the right
--(a) to issue instructions and assignments, in conformity with Article 5 section 4 of the Defense Law, to the heads of civil defense in the economic management organs, combines, enterprises, facilities and cooperatives, irrespective of their normal chains of command, as well as to the citizens;
--(b) to commit citizens that are able to work to take part in the countermeasures against disasters and to order the employment of manpower and of technical and material means of the enterprises in their territory, irrespective of normal chains of command and property relations. In government bureaus, enterprises and facilities of the centrally managed transportation system, the post office, the water economy, the construction industry and the coal and energy industry, and in areas of special national defense production, agreement must in principle be obtained from the head of the next higher organ, unless danger is imminent;
--(c) to sound the disaster alert when there is a danger of disaster or a disaster has suddenly occurred, to provide operational readiness of management organs, capacities and means, and to alert the population.

(3) In terms of preventative disaster control, the chairmen of the local councils have the duty, in particular,
--(a) to maintain a general view of all territorial foci of danger and of the effects that could arise from disasters;
--(b) to organize a uniform system for complex countermeasures against disasters and have prepared for it, based on the assessments of the danger foci, the requisite management and information documents;

--(c) to direct and control the state organs, enterprises, facilities and cooperatives in implementation of the tasks incumbent upon them with respect to preventative disaster control; and
--(d) to enlighten and inform the population about preventative measures and countermeasures against disasters.

(4) Through the countermeasures against disasters the chairmen of the local councils have to secure the uninterrupted management of the organs and capacities and means used that are involved in the elimination of the direct effects and in the normalization of public life. They are entitled to assign the management of direct countermeasures to heads of competent state or economic management organs.

(5) The chairmen of the local councils plan, coordinate, and control the measures of preventative disaster control and conduct the countermeasures against disasters with help from the civil defense staffs.

(6) If countermeasures against disasters require the use of capacities and means from various areas exceeding the boundaries of the bezirk, the head of the GDR civil defense is in charge of coordination, unless the chairman of the Council of Ministers issues different orders.

(7) Once the central disaster commission has started operating, the lord mayor of Berlin--GDR capital--and the chairmen of the bezirk councils (henceforth referred to as chairmen of the bezirk councils) have to direct their requests for a use of capacities and material means exceeding the boundaries of the bezirk at the chairman of the central disaster commission.

Article 6

The central direction and control of preventative measures against disasters, except as they concern the armed organs, is up to the chief of the GDR civil defense. Within the scope of this task assigned to him, he has the right
--(a) to ask for an accounting from the ministers (excepting the armed organs) and managers of the other central state organs and the bezirk council chairmen, inspect the disaster control documents and reports, charge civil defense officers with inspecting them, and ask for information;
--(b) to order control measures and have controls carried out by civil defense officers or control groups including associates of the ministries and of other central state organs;
--(c) to analyze control results with the responsible persons and offer recommendations on the generalization of progressive experiences and the elimination of deficiencies ascertained;
--(d) to levy fines, to reconstitute legality, when violations or deficient handling of disaster control regulations have been determined; and
--(e) to request opinions in assessing major danger foci and in elaborating decision proposals, or request experts from the areas of the ministries and other central state organs.

Article 7

(1) For preparing and conferring on fundamental tasks and measures in preventing and fighting against disasters, the following advisory organs exist:
--(a) for the bezirk council chairmen, the bezirk disaster commissions; and
--(b) for the kreis council chairmen, the kreis disaster commissions.

In especially endangered towns and communities and in municipal districts of bezirk towns, the chairmen of the higher-level councils may order disaster commissions to be set up.

(2) Members of the disaster commissions are state and economic functionaries in the given territory. They are appointed members of the disaster commissions by the local council chairmen, irrespective of their normal subordination relationships.

(3) The activity of the disaster commissions does not infringe the personal responsibilities of the managers of state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises, facilities and of the chairmen of the cooperatives in their respective areas of responsibility.

(4) For solving specific tasks in disaster control, the local council chairmen have the right to assign groups of experts.

Article 8

(1) The preparation and implementation of measures in preventing and fighting against disasters in border areas, restricted national defense areas and in areas reserved for the armed organs and the civil defense are subject to agreement from the competent commanding officers or heads of the armed organs or of the civil defense.

(2) In reservations and mining areas measures for preventing and fighting against disasters require concurrence from the competent organs in control there.

Article 9

(1) The German People's Police, the fire department of the Ministry of the Interior, the local volunteer fire departments and the industrial fire departments solve the tasks they have in countering disasters on the basis of the law of 11 June 1968 on the tasks and authorities of the German People's Police (GBL, Part I No 11 p 232) or the law of 19 December 1947 on fire protection in the GDR--the fire protection law-- (GBL, Part I No. 62 p 575). The use of capacities and means follows the instructions set up for it by the Ministry of the Interior and the Chief of the German People's Police.

(2) Requisite capacities and means of the NVA and the GDR border troops have to be requested by the bezirk council chairmen via the chiefs of the competent bezirk defense command of the NVA. Once the central disaster commission has started operating, Article 5 section 7 applies. Such capacities and means are employed, in conformity with military regulations issued, by the Minister of National Defense.

(3) In the case of imminent danger, the bezirk council chairmen may ask the bezirk authorities of the German People's Police and the chiefs, commanding officers and managers of the NVA or GDR border troops headquarters closest to the place of disaster to assign capacities and technical means without delay. The bezirk council chairmen have to inform the chiefs of the bezirk defense commands at once about it. The use of additional capacities and means of the NVA or the GDR border troops is subject to the stipulations of section 2.

Article 10

(1) All citizens have the obligation to report observations and determinations of existing sources of danger and of disasters that have occurred to the state organs and to take an active part in fighting against disasters.

(2) The state organs have the obligation to report at once information from the population or their own observation of sources of danger or of disasters that have occurred to the competent council chairman.

Article 11

(1) Working people recruited for participation in countermeasures against disasters are excused from their jobs, in conformity with Article 182 of the GDR Labor Code of 16 June 1977 (GBL, Part I No. 18 p 185). While on that assignment they are getting paid on the average wage level.

(2) Working people who were ready to do their job but could not meet their contractual labor commitment because of a disaster, in departing from the stipulations of Articles 84 to 88 in the Labor Code, are to be assigned different work in their enterprise or, if that is not possible, in a different enterprise where they live or elsewhere. As to their getting paid, the provisions of Articles 89 and 90 of the Labor Code then apply.

(3) For working people who because of a disaster-incurred traffic jam could not get to their job
--(a) the provision of section 1 apply when they can prove they made themselves available to the competent local state organs and were engaged in the countermeasures against the disaster; and
--(b) the provisions of Article 115 of the Labor Code apply when their conditions did not conform to those referred to under letter (a).

(4) While being engaged in countermeasures against disasters, insurance protection is in effect in conformity with legal regulations applying to it.*

Article 12

(1) State and economic management organs, combines, enterprises, facilities, cooperatives and social organizations must in principle bear the costs caused by countermeasures against disasters themselves.

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*In effect at this time: Decree of 18 November 1969 on the insurance of state organs and state institutions (GBL, Part II No. 101 p 679), Decree of 11 April 1973 on expanding insurance benefits for accidents during social, cultural or sports activities (GBL, Part I No. 22 p 199).

(2) Financial compensation for the costs incurred by countermeasures against disasters may be requested
--by state-owned enterprises and facilities, from their superior organs; and
--by cooperatives, social organizations and enterprises under other forms of ownership, from their competent kreis council.
Such an application can be made only if the costs that have arisen can, by evidence, not be made up for by increased cost reduction efforts of their own or by thrifty economizing. Payments of financial compensation are up to management decision in the organs that have executive control over the enterprises and facilities or to the bezirk and kreis councils in their area of responsibility.

(3) To the extent that compensation cannot be made by the economic management organs, combines and local councils, the ministers, heads of other central state organs or the bezirk council chairmen have to send recommendations to the Council of Ministers to decide on the financing of such compensation.

Article 13

(1) Appeals are possible against decisions except those according to Article 12 and against fines in the field of disaster control.

(2) Such an appeal has to be submitted in writing or orally, by giving its reasons, no later than 2 weeks after the receipt of the decision or the fine notice to the chief who has made the decision or levied the fine.

(3) An appeal cannot be postponed.

(4) The competent chief has to decide on the appeal within 2 weeks after receiving it. If it is not, or not fully, accepted, it must be handed over within that period to a manager on a higher level. He makes the definitive decision within another 2 weeks.

(5) If in exceptional cases a decision cannot be made within that period, he who has made the appeal must in good time receive an interim report explaining the reasons for it and projecting the deadline date.

(6) Decision have to be explained to the appellant.

Article 14

(1) Anyone who deliberately or negligently
--(a) destroys, damages, misuses, removes, improperly deals with installations, facilities or equipment of disaster control or interferes with or prevents their use by other ways and means, whereby he slightly infringes measures for the prevention or fighting against disasters;
--(b) acts in violation of instructions or penalties in conformity with Article 5 section 2 letter (a) or Article 6 letters (b) or (c); or
--(c) neglects his obligation to prevent or fight against disasters in accordance with Article 4, Article 5 section 2 letter (b), or Article 10,
may receive a reprimand or a fine from M 10 to M 500.

(2) If a deliberate irregularity in terms of section 1 was committed out of gross contempt for the requirements of disaster control or repeatedly in the course of 2 years and punished by a fine, or if the deliberate irregularity caused, or could have caused, more serious damage, a fine up to M 1,000 may be levied.

(3) The adjudication in such proceedings is the responsibility of the local council chairmen.

(4) The conduct of the proceedings and the levying of fines come under the law of 12 January 1968 on fighting against irregularities--OWG--(GBL, Part I No 3 p 101).

Article 15

Implementation regulations for this decree are issued by the Minister of National Defense or the chief of the GDR civil defense.

Article 16

(1) This decree goes into effect on 15 July 1981.

(2) It rescinds the decree of 13 January 1971 on the prevention of and fighting against disasters (GBL, Part II No 16 p 117).

5885
CSO: 2300/5

MEDICAL TREATMENT DURING NATIONAL EMERGENCIES DISCUSSED

Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME in German 19 Jun 81, Supplement p 4

[Article by Prof Eberhard Winkelvoss, MD, director, Military Medicine Department, Magdeburg Medical Academy: "Treatment in any Eventuality"]

> [Text] To do everything for the good of the people, for the happiness of man--therein lies the meaning of socialism. And most especially, a life in health, in the enjoyment of life and with efficiency all the way to old age is part and parcel of it. Therefore the 10th party congress has resolved: the sociopolitical program for improving our citizens' quality of life is resolutely being carried on through the achievements of our people and the strength of socialism despite all foreign economy burdens. Imperialism, however, envies the successes in our economic and social policy. It fears the radiation of social security, full employment, educational policy and economic stability, fears the continued recognition of our GDR on the international scale as a state of peace, an efficient industrial state. Again there is saber rattling, again they are pushing their top mobilization and high profit policy. After more than 35 years of peace, the supreme human right--the right to life--and our citizens' basic need for peaceful work in the interest of further improving the material foundations of our life are threatened most severely. This forces our state to take precautions for any eventuality.

GDR health and welfare by the end of 1979 had 33,089 physicians, i.e., one physician for every 506 inhabitants, one on call for every 957 inhabitants.

The 10th party congress balance-sheet furthermore stated that our fast medical aid system had been developed in all bezirk towns and many kreises. That system has proven itself well, we know, in our city and most kreises in our bezirk. The urgent house-call service assures around the clock house calls to more seriously ill citizens, relatively fast, by a physician in basic medical care. He starts the treatment that may be necessary, makes further arrangements and, if necessary, has the patient transferred to a hospital.

Our emergency medical services, furthermore, is specialized mobile medical emergency treatment which can quickly be dispatched, by ambulance, to someone in a life-threatening situation, who has become ill, has been wounded or has been in an accident, bringing the needed medicines and medical-technical facilities and a medical specialist to him. Under medical observation and with the chance for further medical care he is then transported to specialized stationary facilities.

Emergency Groups in Operation

Fast medical aid also is ready, with public health officials and the comrades of the German Red Cross, when there are larger accidents with many casualties. One emergency group, composed of a medical specialist, a first-aid specialist and a medic as a driver, in an ambulance equipped with emergency medical facilities and radio, is dispatched in accidents where up to five persons were seriously hurt, five moderately hurt and 40 slightly hurt.

When twice as many were hurt, i.e., up to hundred persons need medical aid, the radio station dispatches two emergency groups.

Three groups are assigned when there are up to 20 seriously hurt, 20 moderately hurt and 160 slightly hurt persons. The medical specialist, to be able to give effective medical aid in situ must rapidly find, and diagnose, the sick or wounded in a life-threatening situation. He must rate the casualties, i.e., find those who must get medical aid at once and cannot wait because their vital functions are threatened, those that can wait a while for a medical aide or physician, and those who can wait longer without any additional harm coming to them.

Medical Protection for the Population

Especially in recent weeks, during Comrade Erich Honecker's official visit to Japan, commemorating the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with a memorial for those victims being unveiled, we were once again made aware of the imperialist annihilation strikes against Japan and of the planned use of means of mass destruction by the NATO armies. But we also know from those bombings and from U.S. experiments in the Nevada desert that knowing the effective factors in mass destruction weapons, proper conduct, deliberate actions and the correct use of even simple possibilities will make survival possible and can often absolutely avoid all health damage.

The mission of our society and of our health and welfare system is to create the objective and subjective preconditions for providing our population, through civil defense, with effective medical protection.

Medical protection for the population through civil defense means the work of health and welfare in the defense situation, enabling the associates, through training and material equipment, to preserve the lives of as many as possible in case of aggression and the enormously high number of wounded in its wake, avoid complications for all that have been saved, if possible, and repair their working and living conditions as fast as possible. Enabling health and welfare to work successfully in the situation of socialist national defense then also is a sure precondition for coping with medical aid for persons hurt in natural and industrial disasters. Medical protection for the population through civil defense is a complex of meaningfully interacting measures and mutually dependent components.

Aware Participation Is Demanded

During a science conference of the Medical Society in early 1981, Professor Hinderer of Halle, the noted jurist and member of the medical-juridical working circle of the GDR, said to the physicians of our bezirk that they must be well prepared and trained for providing medical care under catastrophic conditions because panic and chaos seldom suggest the right decisions.

There are three major aspects for providing the population with medical protection: (1) an aware participation by the population; (2) measures for steady production and distribution of goods; and (3) assigning, and training, operational forces in the civil defense formations.

Aware participation, conscious conduct by the population is possible only when the effects of mass destruction weapons are known, which makes rapid and correct action possible. That is served by informing the population, which must be handled, in the enterprises, cooperatives and organizations, under the personal responsibility of the state manager, in terms of a 14-topic program, and is to be carried out also in residential areas.

Ninth grade civil defense training and at the universities and technical schools serves the same purpose. University students have to be trained as leadership personnel for civil defense formations. That we are now intensifying our civil defense training must be seen as a matter of catching up, as it were, because all socialist states have long had that kind of training systems. Targeted activities to that end have been carried on since 1952 in the capitalist states like the United States. Schools and universities give instruction in survival, the organs of U.S. civil readiness conducting basic courses and one-year college courses.

Securely Coping With Selfhelp

Another task lies in creating preconditions for securely placing the citizens in their residential area and enterprise. Right now we have the assignment to build in principle, such protective structures into all large buildings, rest homes, children's facilities and polyclinics, making them airtight or placing them under detritus or putting them in afterwards. The specific medical protection serves the instruction in the handling of so-called structural breathing and body protection devices and the production and use of makeshift protection possibilities. This also includes instruction and practice in simple selfhelp and mutual medical aid measures that can be learned easily, which constitutes an indispensable prerequisite for successful help in medical-military treatment given in the communications zone. Through such simple measures, properly carried out, one's own life and the life of one's neighbor shall be preserved until trained medical care by health workers, medical aides, physicians and nurses arrives. That also means placing the wounded in the proper position so that they do not choke, inhale mucus or vomit, and keep their respiratory channels open. It also includes applying sterile bandages to avoid contamination or infection.

The special knowledge in medical aid includes the applying of tourniquets, to tie off strong arterial bleedings, temporary bracing against pain and stabilization against shock. Urgent, immediate, critical medical aid means artificial respiration and external heart pressure massage that briefly, temporarily, affects automatic centers.

It is imperative for every citizen to be familiar with these immediate measures in emergency medicine and for every medical aide, health assistant, everyone, in fact, to apply and cope with them properly, so that under any condition help can be provided effectively, as many lives can be saved as possible and complications can be averted as well as permanent disability and incapacity for possibly all that have been rescued.

Deploying Civil Defense Formations

Operational civil defense personnel and formations are deployed with an eye to population figures, population densities, territorial structure and industrial sprawls, and here the principle has to be emphasized that these people are working people who along with their handling their production obligations acquire technical skills and practical abilities for making ever more expedient use of the constantly improving general and technical equipment. These formations serve a rapid and successful implementation of recovery and repair projects that might become necessary such as

--salvage activites;
--providing first aid;
--providing initial medical aid;
--decontamination, deactivation and disinfecting;
--hygienic-anti-epidemic measures; and
--many other skilled and specialized activities that might become necessary to engage in successful action against any kind of virulence.

The GDR is a state that has a consistent peace policy and an economic and social policy that serves none but the welfare of the people. It threatens no one. Its work is aimed at the constantly growing material and cultural standard of living of its people. It could grow still faster and be higher, were we not forced by imperialism to apply all measures for the protection of our citizens, for the secure protection of the life and achievements in our socialist fatherland.

5885
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'MTI' OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF MASS COMMUNICATIONS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 29 Aug 81 p 7

[Interview with Dr Tamas Szecsko, manager of the Mass Communications Research Center of Hungarian Radio and Television, by Istvan Wisinger: "The Timid Giant: A Conversation about the Contradictions of Electronics"]

[Text] Our era, with some exaggeration, used to be called the era of television. But there is no exaggeration at all in saying that simultaneously we have become eyewitnesses and actors in that revolution in mass communication which has television in its focal point. Using the name given to it by McLuhan, the famous American sociologist, the "timid giant" has taken courage: with its explosion-like growth the electronics industry all over the world is becoming the most important means of relaying decisive changes. The so-called global television has come within reach with the aid of the manmade satellites, and the "holy trinity" of entertainment, information and dissemination of knowledge will soon be joined also by the fourth social function of television viewing: that of providing services. The first phase of this process is popularization of the recording of TV sound, teletext [sic] and picture recording. The second phase will be the coupled use of the telephone, the computer and the television set. This process is taking place simultaneously, and is spreading while supplementing one another. Dr Tamas Szecsko, manager of the Mass Communications Research Center of Hungarian Radio and Television speaks about some of the basic characteristics and social consequences of this situation.

[Question] How could the significance of this process be illustrated with a good, practical example?

[Answer] A recently established American magazine reported on the most bizarre consequences of the change: soon people will be getting paid to watch TV. According to the calculations, the hourly wage of 50 cents to $1 appears to be economical. The guiding role in all this, of course, belongs to the advertising industry, which in the classic era of TV watching "buys" a certain number of the viewing masses from the owner of the TV company, and in exchange for this the financing firm's products are advertised on the given channel. And the viewers do not pay a subscription fee. After this came cable television, and in this system some of the viewers paid for the absence of advertisers on the program. Now the table has turned: the firms are even willing to pay the viewers not to see that program--on cable--on which advertisements are also seen.

[Question] Such influence of the advertising industry is not operational in this country, but I think we are also arriving at the gate of the second era. Why is it that in this country the viewer notices precious little of the new era's phenomena?

[Answer] The fact that we can not "play" with the new tools of communication. Due to the limited nature of our society's resources--I could also word it more drastically: because we are poor--we are not in the historical situation of luxury of being able to run glass fiber optics cables into several hundred homes and thus model with this "game," costing billions, the possibilities of mass utilization of relaying information by means of glass cables. Or, of experimenting with the zero-series video disc's development. This situation is forced on us, and we share it with quite a few European countries better developed than we are. However, we can for the most part blame ourselves for not looking the facts in the eye in our plans and prognostications: the electronics revolution is here at our border, and it is even within the country now. In my opinion the reason for our shortsightedness is multiple confusion of thought, a split in our conscious in the areas of information policy and cultural policy. In our system of social institutions we still have not found the place mass information--or, with a more classical term: agitation and propaganda--deserves in the third of the twentieth century. I think that the priority of politics can truly prevail not in opposition to information but rather by means of the very same thing. On the other hand, our public educational system--even if not by declaration, but certainly in its reflexes--still considers television to be some kind of a foreign object. (Not so much any more with radio). And it has a particular aversion towards those new tools which it can see only in outlines, if it can see them at all.

[Question] What is it that it should already be able to see?

[Answer] For example, that there are so many picture recorders in the country that we should methodically watch their use. But this has not yet sank into the conscious. Just as it also has not that in addition to the two domestic TV channels at least two other stations from abroad can be received almost everywhere; at some places, as many as four or five. For example, almost 3 million [Hungarians] can watch the Austrian TV's program. And, what is even more: the reception area of foreign TV programs will significantly expand within years by means of the already operating and proliferating cables of the large community antenna systems and the manmade satellites which beam the programs directly. And on some sets soon one will be able to also read a picture tube text which will be able to be "turned" like the pages of a newspaper. And the program casettes and discs made abroad will hardly pass us by. The electronic games are popular, and even now they are not beyond financial reach. The communications technology can already now do what we will only ask it to do 20 years from now.

[Question] Isn't this an exaggeration? Or a utopia, with the practical questions of which it is too soon to deal?

[Answer] No. The present society has no communication desires or needs which could not be satisfied with the current technology. But, let's say, 20 years from now, if a person connected into the complex information system feels in his apartment that he needs a certain microbiological information from the library or the archives of a research institute in Paris, he can already now fulfill this

curiosity with technology's present situation. Our informational fantasy is more finite than technology's possibilities.

[Question] Will the "cold waves" of the international political situation perhaps stand in the way of future progress?

[Answer] Fortunately or unfortunately, but no. This "progress" is very contradictory. That is, we must not forget that in the final analysis the advanced telecommunication, or even the electronic entertainment industry is a civilian "distillate" of the military industry. On the other hand, it is also obvious that in a more tense international situation the ideological battle also becomes sharper, thus the tools of "battle:" the mass communication media are developing almost at a forced rate. But no matter at what rate the periods of easing and tension keep replacing each other, development of the communication technologies continues. There is no alternative to that!

[Question] It seems certain that the technical separation between telecommunication and mass information will soon cease to exist. Telephone and radio will become integrated, and the transmission and cable relay of the programs, information and signals will be intertwined with each other. It is a new phenomenon, however, that to some extent this process will be independent of the central decisions.

[Answer] Initially nobody owns the new technology, due to the very reason of its newness. In this country the large community antenna systems and the development of teletext have arrived in this important phase. Many of the former are already operating in this country. The largest one is the one in Szekesfehervar where theoretically 20,000 homes can receive 7 TV programs (and both standards of the UHF radio bands) from one single antenna. And at the same time the councils and the educational institutions can also use it to forward information, manage traffic, and remotely control the water works and remote heating facilities. The situation in teletext's case is that among the socialist countries, so far only in this country have adaptation development and transmission experiments been conducted. But if this lack of ownership will continue long, our problems will only increase. Instead of taking advantage of the benefits the system offers. The outlines of a dual task are becoming evident: it would be desirable to centrally organize as soon as possible the technological and legal conditions of the new communication technologies, and at the same time no limitations should be placed on--on the contrary, we should expand--the community and residential initiatives already developed.

[Question] In the final analysis, are the reasons for the slow-down and for the backwardness financial, or ideological?

[Answer] Perhaps the economists will stone me, but in my opinion it has financial obstacles because the ideological reasons have too much influence. We could provide partial assistance against the backwardness by regrouping our financial resources, or by distributing them differently. Just one example: the construction and maintenance of a cultural development house consumes significant funds to supply a limited stratus of the population, when the same sum could satisfy the needs of a much broader stratus in the form of television investment. An obvious counterjustification is that by contrasting the two different types of institutions I am confusing different kinds of relationship and institutional systems, since

the cultural development houses also make it possible for the population to personally and actively participate. However, the automatic nature of the contrast is the very thing indicating the ideological backwardness, since television could also be used to educate for personal and active participation. The poorer our economic situation, the better we must concentrate our resources. In international forums I feel at times that our ideology is less modern than that of the developing countries. That is, in those countries the growth of the existing communication systems is taking place so fast that they have no choice but recognize: the newest communication technology is the most economical.

[Question] What could be the consequences if the world surrounding us, and mainly if our ideological foes get significantly ahead of us?

[Answer] The world will be here even more so within the borders of this small country: in terms of information, entertainment, and the spreading of values. Even though subjectively it is possible not to like this situation, but objectively it will accelerate the development of information systems. It is therefore smarter to take it into our calculations, rather than trying to ignore it. There is no way we can answer the challenge by isolating ourselves. Of course, the big question is how general this recognition is, and how well will it urge action in the various institutions and shops. Active and offensive counterstrategy is needed, the essence of which is: to increase our own authenticity, our own credibility. The information policy which treats the population as adults must be continued even more consistently in the new situation. And that starts out from the fact that the socialist democracy generates a demand for large volumes of information. And also from the fact that mass politicking also has cultural prerequisites--and vice versa.

[Question] Are these realistic ideas even considering the technological backwardness?

[Answer] Partially, yes. In my opinion we do have some intellectual reserves suitable to initiate the process. Especially if we recognize that the improvement of quality is closely related to the spreading of democratism. Tibor Vamos stated at the most recent general meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in connection with the social consequences of this country's technological progress: "...ahead of us stands the possibility of a society with qualitatively different composition, and one with a different quality of government." One of the most important tools and spreaders of promoting such thoughts can be the television, practically as a matter of necessity. It can provide much help to democratization by spreading information, proving models, and spreading the values. Of course, the decisive majority of our tasks falls along the lines of information policy and educational policy. In both areas we must dynamically, healthily and flexibly conform to the new social and technological circumstances. More must be expected of television than what we now receive from it--mainly as far as quality is concerned--, but we cannot make it responsible for everything and dispense of it with a wave of the hand if it does not meet our demands. The conditions for ideologican change have to be created, for example, also for the television but the investment will return many times over, financially as well as intellectually.

8584
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KISZ COUNCIL OF YOUNG INTELLECTUALS MEETS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Sep 81 p 7

[Report by Zoltan Gyulay, "Social Processes And Our Lives-Meeting of Young Intellectuals"]

[Text] Our society is characterized by people's search for their place [in life]; the search for a place and for tasks also involves youth in its every-day life. In reaching the successive degrees of development, the socialist intelligentsia's and intellectual youth's search for a place comes to the foreground in each new period. Their ever more important role in the world and our lives means not only rights and benefits but also responsibilities; this stratum, which plays an important role in our society, can carry out its tasks only if the columns of "liabilities" and "assets" are well balanced with one another.

This recognition is becoming even more general although the maturing of the process that has been started will require many years. The council of intellectual youth of the KISZ'a CC organized the other day its third conference on the tasks of intellectual youth and on the experience gained in their work, with the participation of all representatives of the stratum involved. The speeches and debates (delivered by Tibor Fekete, secretary of the intellectual council, by Janos Barabas, secretary of the State Youth Committee, by Mrs Laszlo Kopf, secretary of the KISZ's CC, and by Valeria Benke, member of the Political Committee and chief editor of the Social Review) emphasized the characteristics which originated from the new circumstances.

It has been ten years now that the dealing with (or more precisely, the concern about) youth assumed institutional forms. The party's resolution on youth policy resulted in the youth law but the tasks included in the statutes were not carried out fully everywhere. There are portfolios, for example, the chiefs of which have just recently signed the executive directive and the implementation plan. And the world around us has changed in the meantime, of course, and new questions came to the center of debates. Earlier it was only the surface from which many people drew the conclusions; today it is customary to generalize on the basis of individual phenomena. Both are, of course, detrimental.

The debate on the relationship between youth and Marxism grew into polemics on social pressures while the changes reflecting our everyday lives (the increase of the number of teenagers, the slack in new marriages, the new tendencies in divorce statistics) were built into the organized structures to a lesser degree. Although our youth's ideal and ideological attitude scores high in international comparisons, intellectual youth cannot be examined as a homogeneous community: it is made up

of various groups. This must always be taken into consideration whenever intellectual youth is the topic on any forum. A clear definition of concepts may help in exploring the foundation of the struggle against petty bourgeoise views, of religion and nationalism, i.e., they may help the KISZ carry out its correctly determined tasks.

The phenomena's explanation is already leading us closer to the solution. It may seem strange but it is true: while the church's influence on youth is decreasing, youth is becoming more religious or at least is not becoming less religious. This is actually understandable, for no one has yet written the "modern ten commandments" to substitute for the old moral values. Nationalism, on the other hand, is nurtured by the interest in cultural history and by the fashion of folklore which, by keeping traditions alive, has a beneficial effect but may also result in distorted conclusions.

These are actually the reasons that made the conference necessary; the time of the conference was well chosen, for the KISZ's 10th congress has been dealing with the problem in its own way and has come up with a program. The social processes stand in the center of attention and the KISZ is assuming responsibility for decreasing the dangers facing youth and for taking care of the talented. This is a laconic formulation that does not even include the entire range of the KISZ's work; but its contents are diverse, so much the more as they also include all of the existential questions.

The present intensive period of development can be seen in all facets of life, and creates the problems of both training and beginning at a new job. Our country occupies a very low rank in international statistics on the number of university students, and the tensions of absolute and relative overproduction are made worse by the contraditions of employment. For while in certain areas there is a lack of trained personnel, people trained in those areas work outside of those areas or even in areas that are totally different from their own.

Housing is also a question that involves one's life style and determines one's attitude. It has been on the floor for years, for the KISZ is also safeguarding the interests of Hungarian youth; this is why the initiatives in alleviating or eliminating the problems must be supported. And we must also deal with the salaries of young intellectuals about which there are numerous delusions. The group's average of 4,000 forints monthly income is 11 percent higher than the average income; however, there are wide deviations, for 60 percent of the group earn less than the average and 15 percent earn considerably more than the average.

These problems were debated in nine categories: the young agronomists, lawyers, researchers, engineers/economists, artists, social educators, health specialists, teachers and journalists had their own separate conferences. According to the original plans, they were supposed to work out an action program but the plans were subsequently changed: they made proposals for the programs of their own given organizations. The difference in name also means a difference in contents, for it shows that, on the basis of the "central menu," the KISZ organizations and the young people may determine themselves their own preferred tasks and thus the basis of independence is being established.

The nicest thing about the entire debate was that everyone was concerned about what young intellectuals could do for society including their own future. The teachers said that working conditions would deteriorate during the next 5 years and, because of an increase of 200,000 of grade schoolers, the number of uncertified teachers would also increase. At the same time, the KISZ-patronage, proclaimed for the improvement of teaching conditions, has disappeared recently: there have been hardly any steps taken since Zanka.

Cooperation may establish the unity that is really fundamental from the aspect of the young intelligentsia's future. At the same time, the recent past has proven the need for forums that present an opportunity for debates between groups of young intellectuals and for discussions of hypotheses. A good example is the conference of young philosophers and Marxist instructors in which 102 speeches were heard; or the theoretical-scientific meeting of young economists which also have an adequate framework for common views. The participants of the conference in Szodliget expressed their unanimous opinion that there is a need for more of this kind of initiative; and as a "by-product," certain flaws in the present training mechanism are disappearing.

Similarly, young artists also need independent forums, creative workshops and studios. Although certain branches of art do have these, industrial artists continue to lack them. And if the state organizations cannot meet these demands for any reason, the KISZ has the responsibility to take the initiative.

The conference was traditional and irregular--the self-contradictory difference also indicates progress. For the participants of such earlier conferences were mainly members of the council of young intellectuals of the KISZ's CC and of the working committees. But the terms of these officers had expired and new officers have not yet been selected and thus those people were able to take part in the debate who represented a broader stratum than before. The resolutions of the KISZ's 10th congress outlined the main tasks but the 5-year program can be good only if it is based on many opinions. The rules of democracy make this mandatory and this is the way in which the new form can become the framework for the new content matter.

9414
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AIR FORCE PERSONNEL POLLED ON VIEWS ABOUT DEMOCRACY IN MILITARY SERVICE

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 7, Jul 81 pp 53-58

[Article by Lt Col Eugeniusz Walczuk: "Democracy in the Group (Wing)"]

> [Text] Admittedly, in colloquial speech the words "democracy" and "group" are not usually used in the same direct juxtaposition as in the title of this article. Even today, when ostensibly impossible things are occurring, to me, an old soldier, it seems strange, really shocking. On the other hand, everything that has been happening in the army for many years, if judged by common sense, can be called nothing else but the process of combining democracy with the immutable principle of one-person command, the perfecting of interpersonal relations to the image and likeness of the noble ideals of socialist humanism. Is there democracy in the group? I asked this question, in late February, of airmen of various ranks and positions in a certain air force unit.

The takeoff shed, helicopters ready for night flights. Plenty of time before assembly, so the mechanics in their black, nylonlike coveralls have gone off for a cigarette. I walk up with my question: Is there democracy in the group? They look at each other, as if bewildered.

What, Exactly, Do You Mean?

--asks one of them. Well, is there democracy in the group? That depends on what you mean, mumbles one of them, probably the boldest one. I explain that what I want to know is do they feel deprived of all rights, as second-class citizens, can they freely express themselves, not just on personal matters, do they have any effect on that is going on around them. The same airman, the boldest one, nods his head that he understands, thinks for a while, and replies.

They do not feel like second-class citizens, absolutely not. He himself did not take part, because he has not been in service long enough, but he knows from his older buddies that here, in the group, elections to the Sejm and the people's councils take place, according to the universally binding regulations. Anyone can go with a problem wherever he wants. If it is a military matter, then through official

so that there should be order. And if it is a civilian matter; then directly, according to his own discretion. There is a daily newspaper. There is a radio and a television set in the dayroom. Available to all. Watching the news program is even compulsory. For a soldier should know what is going on in the country and in the world, shouldn't he? Treatment is also good, rather citizenlike. Yes, sometimes there is a harsh word, but not without reason. Usually this occurs in haste, for the good of the matter, so few people take it to heart.

Your name?

What for?

Good enough. You don't have to give your name.

Anyone can express himself, freely--interrupts a second man, taller, a little ungainly. But you must know the person, so it doesn't go any further.

What are you, crazy? -- He is nudged in the ribs by a stocky, fair-haired man.

Well, maybe my tongue slipped a little -- the big guy corrects himself. But no one has caught it for anything he said frankly. At the political instructions anyone can say what he wants. Depending on the subject. At the meetings, different ones, anyone can talk. About what hurts him, what bothers him. To say nothing about the political officers, to whom you can say everything very openly. They always listen, try to understand a person. What does he think about the strikes? That the first ones, those in August, were needed, very badly needed. The last ones, that's a bit too much of this good, or actually bad--the country is barely gasping. We must come to terms, otherwise we'll be down and squealing for a long time, all of us. He would be for order, if it became necessary to define his position--decidedly so. He is happy that General Jaruzelski came Prime Minister. Only that he should not neglect the army, for he took upon himself so many new, heavy duties.

He said that he could manage, remarked the stocky blonde one.

Anyone can talk. We'll see what happens.

Somewhat farther, next to the emergency truck, I meet PFC Stanislaw Skalski, engine mechanic and rigger, trained in the military. He smiles, shrugs his shoulders. Democracy, meaning full freedom of movement, speech, and doing anything one wants, right? Well, more or less. No, there is no such democracy in the group, unfortunately. And perhaps there cannot be, that is understandable. Here an order is an order. It may not be liked but it has to be obeyed. Most important of all is duty. Granted, in civilian life there are also duties. No one gets paid for nothing. But there, if you want to, although you shouldn't, you can ignore them, but here you have no right to do this, not the slightest. You have to sit in the barracks, and a young person would like to go out sometimes, have some fun. But here there must be combat readiness, without this there would be no army. But he does not feel lost, small, or insignificant.

He works with Staff Sgt Kazimierz Kubiak, on the staff. On a comradely basis, one might say. They help each other, frequently talk, and even argue. On various subjects, mainly political. And it is not such that the older sergeant talks and he only listens and agrees. Sure, he respects his rank and age but he does not always

agree with him, which he says outright. Sometimes there are some sharp clashes, but in the end the anger passes and everything returns to normal, with full understanding and respect for each other and their viewpoints.

At the meetings

One Can Speak

critically. But he does not always get an answer that is fully convincing or satisfying. During the political instructions the same things are said that were already thrashed out in the newspapers, on the radio and on television. This does not encourage discussion and becomes boring. One wants to go to the instructions when historical subjects are being taught, something more interesting can be learned, how it was in the past. He heard that at one time it was just the opposite, that the instructions dealing with current events, those that concern everyone, the old and the young, were more interesting. Times change. Tough.

One can appeal his case, to the squadron and higher. But it is his opinion that he will almost never get anywhere. And that is because each group holds to its own side. Privates, noncommissioned officers. Even the officers, while they are not offensive, treat everyone condescendingly. Do it and that's all, without talk. Can it be otherwise? It's hard to say. Perhaps it cannot be otherwise where the execution of a combat assignment, a safe takeoff and return to land, is concerned. But maybe it can and should be that ten people should not be put on a job that five people can do, for that makes it a fool's work and is nervewracking.

It is good that there is no yelling or vulgar words. There is no punishment, but neither is their any distinction. The offhand kind, not the very special once-or-twice-a-year kind of praise. So that a person would know specifically what the distinction is for. And a reward would be connected with what he is doing and what kind of grades he is getting during the theoretical lessons, during work on equipment, and also during takeoff and flights. There used to be elections for Soldier of the Month. Now no one is interested in them, not even the airmen. Because the furlough, which was given as a prize, cannot be used due to the heavy workload. The food is poor. Today there was mushroom soup from concentrate. A little of these hardly edible canned fish, portioned out exactly. True, the messhall isn't connected with the subject of our conversation, but it is hard to talk about democracy when the stomach is growling.

The takeoff control post begins to fill up. The first to arrive is the timekeeper, Cpl Wlodzimierz Wolski, with two night flight variants, for normal and difficult weather conditions. He nodded when he heard my question. Much has to be done for the cause, he said in general, so as to somehow weave into the thread of the conversation. We cannot make demands on others if we indulge ourselves. The one who wants to issue orders must be the best, at least no worse. And not, because I already have the rank and position I am above everyone else and can do what I like. This you get, and if you take something you have to realize what you are taking and what the duties are.

Democracy is a big word. I don't fully understand what you are asking about.

Does it mean that everyone is equal, everything is allowed? Well, in the army it cannot be like that. In the army there must be order, lower and higher, superior and subordinate. But one cannot dictate to another what he can or cannot say for then they would never come to an understanding. If something is bothering someone and he does not say, than it is his fault. At the political instructions, the same as at the meetings, one can speak out. Some speak out several times, yet they themselves are not always above reproach, as soldiers. In any case, he does not recognize this. First each one must do what is assigned to him, then he can go around giving out his opinions.

No, he is not a party member. He does not take part in the work of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth circle, although at one time he was chairman of the board, in Blaszki. That's a small town, near Kalisz. Here, in the air force, he didn't even report. And that is because he was very disenchanted. By the secretary of the party committee, who not only came to the meetings drunk, but made moralizing speeches. It was a disgrace to see and hear. In Blaszki, of course. Perhaps in the future, when he gets over this, then perhaps he will change. For the time being, however, he just looks. He has to digest certain things.

This is his second year of service but he has yet to see where someone in the unit has been mistreated. Well, perhaps with this correction, that in every squadron there is a nincompoop that the guys play jokes on, half for fun, half for real. But this is still within the bounds of decency, for one even gives a friend a hard time once in a while. Officers

Respect the One Who in in Good Standing

who fulfills his duties dependably. He, without bragging, is good, as a timekeeper. That is why his opinion is respected, he has no big problems in getting passes, or even a furlough.

In general matters also he is not ill at ease and speaks out loudly on what he thinks. I believe him, because he didn't even lower his voice when the staff duty officer, Major Janusz Szatkowski and the flight director, a lieutenant colonel, walked in. Renewal -- essential! But he always has doubts as to how it is to proceed. He observed and continues to carefully observe what is going on in the country. The previous prime minister, Pinkowski, promised a great deal, signed a lot. Maybe he didn't have enough time, in any case he didn't do much. People got raises, although not everyone earned his raise. Everyone has money but the stores are empty and there is nothing to buy. Changes in the government? Well, what can he say. He doesn't really know the people, and under these circumstances it is hard for him to express an opinion. He only knows that General Jaruzelski was known to be a good superior, a good commander. But who knows what kind of prime minister he will be.

Personally, he is in favor of democratic changes, listening to the workers, since he is one of them, despite his average education. Just as his hardworking father, a simple man. He does not imagine that the day will return when he will have to work in some factory. The political system is good; he, personally is satisfied with it. From the side of the slogans which are the guiding principles for everyone. It is worse from the standpoint of executing the slogans, which of course depends on the people. This can be revised according to how we want it. But if anyone were to want to destroy this system, then he would do everything necessary and everything that he was supposed to, so as not to allow this to happen. Cross his heart!

He dreams of being able to freely travel abroad, see the world. Some people go abroad and stay. Let them stay. At least they will see that in the West one has to work hard. No one gets paid for signing an attendance sheet. Returning to the subject, there continues to be a lack of honest information. Sure, it is said that here and there a strike has been announced. But seldom is there a word on why. He is not so dumb that he can be led around by the nose. He also knows how to calculate the losses that result from strikes. And what it comes down to is that there is not enough confidence in his intelligence. He is regarded as being unable to think in broader terms. What he is referring to, of course, are the mass media. For as far as the officers are concerned, they have no secrets and tell their subordinates everything that they know about the situation in the country or the region.

The flights began and it was necessary to interrupt the conversations which had no direct relation to them. I returned the next day, when it was more quiet in the unit. This time I gathered the opinions of the cadre, which is the core of every unit, not just an air force unit. I recorded what I heard as accurately as possible and will try to pass it on to the readers of our monthly.

Platoon Officer Cadet Wlodzimerz Sulewski, graduated last year from Gdansk University. He began his military service in the Political Officers Training Center, during the period of highest tension, so he can make comparisons. He cannot explain how this was possible, but only there, in the Center, did he become a little more familiar with the country's difficult situation. Because of the news which arrived continuously and was almost immediately transmitted downwards, to the students. Possibly this news was not always complete, but to a great degree it satisfied the hunger for information which until a couple days ago, in civilian life, he felt so acutely. Well, and also the talks, more penetrating and very frank, on all the subjects that interest us Poles. Only then and there did he discover, for himself, to hearten the soul, that everything is not collapsing, crashing into a heap.

He has been in the group since the first of the year, this is his second month. Yes, here one can see democracy, with the naked eye. Most of the airmen have a secondary education.

Partnership-type Relations Prevail

based more on conviction that on compulsion. On the whole, he was pleasantly surprised because before that he was totally convinced that in the army one is constantly being yelled out, is governed by sheer fright. He saw that it is not like that. This is a people's, citizens' army, with traditions. But he would not be honest if he were to say that everything is to his liking. In the group, although perhaps not as much as elsewhere, in civilian life, there seems to be a strange fear of stepping out of line, saying too much. Officially, because in a smaller group, on an informal basis, no one is especially reticent. This does not make a good impression. To say nothing of the fact that it is difficult to communicate in this way, or to discuss democracy.

Staff Sergeant Stanislaw Wajda. Not a party member. This is a change, because for 15 years he belonged to the party, attended meetings regularly. He took the floor, not always with the right results, so 2 years ago he turned in his card. No, he met with no unpleasantness. He continues to receive his quarterly and various

prizes. And that is because he does not spare himself, for the good of the service. He works well with the squadron commander, Lt Zbigniew Nawrocki, who frequently asks him for his opinion, consults with him on different matters. The fact that the squadron recently took first place in the group says something, doesn't it?

Democracy? He answers the question with a question. He thinks for a while, collects his thoughts. One can speak out and criticize--he finally defines his position. One can also go directly to the political officers on different matters. One can also go to the commander. He sees people every Monday, outside of official channels. No, he has never criticized his superior, for the simple reason that he has nothing against him. If he had, then he probably wouldn't be able to stand it for long and on some occasion, perhaps even face-to-face, he would tell him what is bothering him. If everyone does what he is supposed to, as well as he knows how, and even tries to help someone else, then criticism makes no real sense, from any broader point of view.

In a helicopter cockpit, two pilots are training. The younger warrant officer, Waldemar Sokolowski, replies. He did not join the party, although he was encouraged to do so quite insistently. In 1979, by the company commander, who passed out applications and said that if anyone doesn't fill one out, he may not be promoted. Because a pilot must be politically aware, skilled, and reliable. He asked for time to think it over, but in a short time the company commander changed and Lt Duraj did not come back to this subject. This makes him believe that this was only the idea of his predecessor, who was overly zealous.

There is democracy in the group and one can speak out freely. Perhaps it was like that before, but somehow there wasn't the convincing encouragement, a good example. It was believed that it is better not to take a chance, because if someone has it in for you... That is why only a few talked out loud about what they were thinking. Practice agreed with theory less and less. This pertained to everyone, party members and nonparty members. For this reason, perhaps, he doesn't feel that he is any better or any worse than those of his colleagues who joined the party--not always under pressure, it must also be said.

Warrant Officer Witold Marczak, nonparty member, also believes that there is democracy in the group, but it is limited, because the commander makes decisions, not the majority of the airmen. In his opinion, democracy is manifested in the fact that everyone can always express his opinion, with the full conviction that it will be carefully listened to and taken under consideration if it contains any real sense, some sound proposals. Freedom to express opinions and frankness--these are apparent at the political lessons. Although not to the same degree as in a smaller group, among colleagues. This makes him think a little, because of course he does know a case in which anyone has suffered on this account, but unfortunately that is how it is. From this standpoint recently something also has changed, for

The Tendency to Criticize is Growing

including criticism of the highest authorities, which is very heartening and speaks rather well for military democracy. And as far as this passing out of applications goes, that didn't happen when he was in school. Despite this, many of the cadet officers joined the party because this is mainly a question of convictions, a specific way of life.

The fire station--an inspection of the extinguishing equipment. Senior Warrant Officer Miroslaw Sopocko, president of the group's exemplary commanders club expresses the opinion that everything depends on how you look at the problem. On the one hand it may be said that there is no democracy in the group, for an order is compulsory and is the responsibity of the commander. But it may also be said that there is democracy in the group because various matters are examined collegially and personnel suggestions are heard. Everyone is able to speak out about everything and everybody, along with the unit commander. Some feel that it is no use doing so. It doesn't help much and one can do himself some harm. But he does not agree with this and does not remain silent if he sees that something is not right. He talks on the basis of facts and not guesswork. Straight from the heart, so as to help someone in something. On the whole he does not come out of this too badly, for he himself is in good standing, with his superiors, his colleagues and subordinates. Nor does he feel that he is a know-it-all.

Last week, for example, at the meeting an airman stood up and said that he has a grievance against him, for an injustice that he did to him. He could not recall and asked for details. The airman said that he had loosened his belt, for which he was terribly chewed out, which hurt him to the quick. And then he felt that the fire commander was picking on him for every little thing just because of this belt. He explained that he absolutely had no such intention and publicly apologized to him. For he came to the conclusion that this airman, the same as he, takes everything to heart that the commander says, that he takes his duties to heart, so he cannot be treated condescendingly.

The office of the assistant commander of the supply section, 2nd Lt Leszek Szatkowski, in his third year of service as an officer, reports. He is assigned as political instructor. It seems to him that he has known this group for a long time, from the time he was born. His father began his career here, established a family, served until retirement. He was brought up in a military center, in an atmosphere of never-ending conversations on what is going on in the group. Both good and bad. He recalls that somewhere back in the mid-1960's a great deal was said about some deals with selling hay, gathered from the apron of the airfield twice a year. There were whispers about escapades into the holiday resorts, where some drinking bouts took place with ladies, of whom there were plenty everywere. There were some hunting excursions, one of which ended very tragically with the death of a noncommissioned officer. The commander, the culprit of this accident, went to jail and never returned to the service. Eventually his buddies also were brought to account. A couple were transferred to other, less attractive posts, with the warning that they are not totally reliable in their assigned position. Others were transferred into the reserves. But the gang was broken up, ceased to exist.

He mentioned this to emphasize that one cannot talk about democracy if the same justice does not apply to everyone equally. Naturally, people are only people and make mistakes, sometimes they go too far. What is important is that this not be overlooked, and the reaction be immediate. Then everything makes some kind of sense or meaning. Simply put, one wants to live and work as best he can. The worst part is that people are still waiting too much and looking beyond themselves, for justice from the top, from the outside.

Exactly, agreed Capt Stanislaw Kusmierski, who came into the room at that moment. And of course experience teaches that democracy, including justice also, cannot be ordered or decreed. It must occur from deep conviction and reflect itself in the conduct of everyone, without exception. But some people demand democracy, and only for themselves. They immediately raise their voices if someone dares to have his own opinion, or slips up somewhere. That is how many unnecessary conflicts and clashes occur. There is no democracy at all when and where someone is accused of ill-will, being guided only by egoistic motives. Democracy is

Not Only Rights, But Also Duties

towards the wider community, towards all those with whom a person makes up this community. First a person must give of himself, so that there is something from which to take, even in the moral sense. Not everyone understands this.

Maybe he is wrong, but it seems to him that democracy in the group has something of a resolute, group nature. It is different among the officers, and different among the soldiers in the regular service. He also gets the impression that one cannot talk about the same treatment for the individual personnel corps, even in relation to the professional cadre. For example, there is a serious lack of housing in the group, just as in almost all of garrisoned Poland. There was a list which established the sequence of housing assignment, but it was turned upside down when a group of young pilots came into the group. And it turned out that a second lieutenant, who just completed school, found himself in fifth place, while a sergeant who had been thirteenth on the list landed so far down that there was no chance that he would get separate quarters in the near future. Sure, matters concerning pilots should be looked at first, because flight safety and expensive combat equipment is involved. But without exaggeration, for that creates feelings of injustice. It's the same with decorations, the distribution of prizes and bonuses, vacation cards, etc. Strangely enough, all higher decorations, bonuses and prizes are awarded to those with the higher positions, which does not go unnoticed and irritates and upsets people a little.

Major Augustyn Gaj, from the political section. There is democracy, sometimes too much. People have become bold. No longer is the commander's word holy. Now, more attention is paid to the sense of what he says. Not too long ago, when the commander saw people out of channels once a week, there were few who wanted to talk to him. Now there isn't enough time--some talks have to be put off to the next day. There are more courageous people at meetings also, they take the floor on general matters.

Yes, it can be said that in official relations there has been some lack of respect for authority. It is true that he has not yet seen a case where someone has criticized the commanders, but on the other hand people are quicker to present their own point of view, which is not always in accord with the official one. This increases the value of the discussion, encourages people to share their own thoughts. Naturally, the group does not exist in a vacuum. What goes on in the country, in the entire military, has a tremendous influence on it. And it must be admitted that a great deal of good is taking place, despite everything. For example, during the period since September, when the Central Committee's Sixth Plenum took place, the deeply entrenched bureaucracy was roundly criticized in a general and stormy discussion. The result was that by order of the chief of the General Staff, late in December, the number of informational, planning and reporting documents, mandatory at the company level, was reduced by 60. At the group level, the same thing happened.

Over 40 different competitions, which were not always worthwhile but took a great deal of time and money, took people away from more important tasks, were abolished. What this means is that words were not always thrown to the wind.

At the same time it became apparent how certain people became accustomed to thinking routinely, functioning according to guidelines, models and schedules prepared and handed down to them from above. Another typical example. The above-mentioned order bans the organization of playoffs for the district or military section table-tennis championships. Nevertheless, in the air groups these competitions took place. Teams had to be organized and dispatched. The competition for the Exemplary Culture Subsection was eliminated, but according the the political board's plan, it appears that the commander of the air troops intends to meet with the chairmen of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth from the subsections which achieved this distinction. Further, more than one director of a political training group complains that in the television or newspaper discussions on economic reform frequently conflicting points of view are presented, and so he doesn't know which position he is to take in his talks with the airmen. One has to think for himself, for which not everyone in the group is fully prepared.

The unit commander, a lieutenant colonel. Is there democracy in the group? Well, that's a very surprising question, but he will willingly reply. There is, but only for the wise, responsible people. That means for those who in their conduct are guided by some higher, common to all soldiers, goals. It is his belief that

There is No Democracy at All

for the sake of democracy itself. So that one can talk, do only what he wants to do. If this were so, it would be difficult to survive, because people would spend most of their energy on overcoming mutual resistance, arguing about who is right. To say nothing of coming to an agreement. First there must be something which would allow people to communicate, pool their thoughts and efforts for the common good. And only then can be talk about democracy, which is not and cannot be anything else than a means leading to these very goals. Sure, maybe this is a little complicated and perhaps not too clear, but he learned many times over that without theorizing there can be no practicing, no sensible solutions. Good, let's talk about how this looks close up, in the group.

Collegiality is not an abstract concept. Realistically speaking, there are no important official matters in the group which the commander takes care of himself, on his own. On the contrary, in solving the more complex problems of training, and the work and service of the airmen, he always considers the opinions and also the proposals of his closest co-workers and the party organization. Not in order to protect himself, no. In order not to make some horrible mistake or to do an injustice to someone because he doesn't know enough about the situation. In this way decisions are made which are complete and have been more thoroughly thought through. And the people who took part in these decisions feel a greater satisfaction and are personally responsible for seeing that they are implemented.

So it's like this: There is almost complete democracy in the group before a decision is made, but once it is made there is also unswerving and scrupulous compliance with

it. The decision must be executed no matter how difficult, although later complaints may be made of high-handed treatment. The good of the service, most important for all of us, comes into play, therefore there can be no consideration or allowances. Yes, opposition is allowed, but it must be based on reasons which perhaps had been overlooked, and in the opinion of the executor should be taken into consideration. In any case, a decision is binding until it is changed. Obviously, by the one who made it.

He personally does not like yes-men. If he comes across something like that he immediately asks what that person wants from him, what does he want him to do for him. Above all, he likes professionalism and an honest attitude toward work. And also good judgment and initiative. People who are not grumblers, who don't run to him with every little thing, but those who sit down and get to work. He is most annoyed by those who sit quietly, but when you ask them to do something they immediately pull out some regulation and say that it is impossible. Or they try to prove that someone is wrong and badly mistaken.

At the party meetings it's something else again. Here the commander participates on the same basis as all the other rank-and-file members. He can only try to persuade and make suggestions. No, never yet in his life has anyone criticized him at a meeting. First of all probably because he always tries to be in accordance with the regulations, the principles of ethics and the good customs of the cadre. And if it were to happen, then he would first carefully listen to what the person criticizing him had to say. Maybe he would get a little upset, but he does not imagine any kind of retaliation. Because why? Generally, although not always, his opinion prevails. One he proposed severe punishment for an officer who did all kinds of extra work but neglected his basic duties. The comrades, however, were of the opinion that a talk with the officer was sufficient, a public admonition. At first he wanted to appeal to a higher echelon, but after a while he came to the conclusion that the majority was right.

* * *

Although my interviewees represent different professional groups and military positions, and look at the problem from another point of view, nevertheless a completely interesting picture of a developed and constantly-being-improved system of democracy in the group appears. Let us add that the picture is more or less in agreement with what is stipulated in the standardizing documents. Those such as the regulations, "Principles of Ethics" and "Customs...", which best express both the best traditions of the chivalrous and soldierly state and the contemporary experience of the cadre, gathered from time to time with the idea of updating them.

It is noteworthy that almost everyone realizes the limitations which result from the one-man principle of command, the immutability of the commander's order. And yet no one indicated by word or deed that he feels much worse off than in civilian life, before he went into the service. On the contrary, everyone appeared to emphasize that he can speak freely and also act in every socially important matter, that he can effectively pursue his own rights as an individual and a citizen. On one condition--that he regard the interests of the service above his own and is guided by higher motives. That he do well everything that is asked of him as bound by his oath.

Furthermore, the existing type of bond between those in service and the relationships with people not in service produces a satisfaction from work well-done, from the expressions of recognition from superiors and from the party organization. All of this taken together gives a person a sense of his own worth and social usefulness, an actual influence on everything that is going on around him. Under these conditions people feel free, for of course freedom is informed necessity, as Marx once said, despite the various restrictions which result from primary reasons, common to all us soldiers. An atmosphere of honest service prevails despite so many stormy and conflict-laden discussions which often take place, but never at the cost of work, the duty of maintaining soldierly alertness, and readiness to answer the call to arms. On this basis it may be said that the system of democracy which originated and developed in the fertile soil of the ideals of socialist humanism, as applied in the group, just as in the entire army, has completely passed inspection.

9295
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PROCEEDINGS OF PZPR IX CONGRESS REPORTED, ANALYZED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 9, Sep 81 pp 38-42

[Article by Istvan Pataki: "Special IX Congress of the United Workers' Party of Poland"]

[Text] Less than a half year has passed since the VIII Congress of the United Workers' Party of Poland when in wake of a renewed attempt to raise prices in July 1980 the socio-economic tensions which were accumulating for years exploded in a protest movement that spread to every class and stratum of society. One of the most important features to this day of the developing and constantly deepening crisis is that—in reaction to the repeated crises in the history of socialist Poland--confidence in the institutions of the existing socialist authority and in the leadership of the PZPR [United Workers' Party of Poland] has touched bottom. This is the key question even when following the unfolding of the crisis, the domestic anti-socialist forces and certain Western centers are trying to attain their political goals by exploiting the situation with well-coordinated activity, and even deepen it.

Following the coastal and Silesian agreements and the personal changes in the leading bodies of the PZPR, the idea was already formulated--without setting a date--at the 5 October 1980 session of the PZPR to call a Special IX Congress. It was expected that the deliberations would arrive at a program and at the same time restore a minimal level of social confidence necessary for the success of political action.

In the wake of the position taken by the session of the Central Committee, the preparatory working committee for the IX Congress began its work. Amid the fluctuating but lasting domestic tensions, however, the actual preparatory work began only at the end of April 1981, not fully 3 months before the date set for the calling of the Congress.

The special character of the Congress was indicated more than by the fact that it called for an assembly sooner than planned. Its special nature was determined above all by the continuingly serious general political and further deteriorating economic situation of the country, the tasks facing the Congress, and the magnitude of responsibility. To characterize the situation, emphasis on three areas of questions presents itself, touching on the problems only in passing:

--the political tensions exist in unchanged and in some places and at some times in acute form. The basic cause is to be found in the attitude of the extreme elements in the Solidarity trade union: an endeavor to fulfill the function of a political party, the parrying of co-responsibility for a solution of the tasks facing the country, continuing and unrestrained use of the means of strike pressure, and intensification of attacks against the Communist Party;

--an increase of economic problems which are embodied primarily in a decline in production, the slackening of cooperative relations among enterprises, and increasingly more serious supply problems. An indebtedness of about 25 billion dollars, the repayment doncitions, and the limits on the possibilities for new credits weighs as an oppressive burden on the economy;

--even the brief preparatory period for the Congress did not go smoothly. In addition to a general revival of party life and the search for possibilities of a way out, there were efforts which attacked the organizational structure of the Leninist party and the basic principles of democratic centralism on the pretext of necessary reforms and changes. In some places electoral rules were disregarded. The election as delegates of moderate party members who had filled no earlier party functions became a general demand. As a result, 91 percent of the Congressional delegates participated for the first time in the deliberations of the party's highest forum.

The Special IX Congress of the United Workers' Party of Poland was faced by the task of determining the main causes of the development of the crisis; indicating the party's line of direction; determining the program for the socialist unfolding of the crisis; and creating party unity.

It was after these preliminaries that the 1,964 delegates of the LEMP Special IX Congress began their work. The report presented by Stanislaw Kania, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stated that the exisiting socio-economic crisis could be ascribed to two basic groups of causes:

--a contradiction evolved between rapidly developing producer forces and an unchanging economic guidance. This was expressed in an immoderate indebtedness to the West, an exaggerated investment policy, a rigid planning and guidance system, and the slump in economic production;

--estrangement from the basic Leninist principles of party life and the lack of democratism in the leading organs and bodies of the state. This made possible the abuse of power, the suppression of rightful criticism, success centered propaganda, a burgeoning bureaucracy, and the quantitative outlook.

All these things basically violated the principles of social justice, moral norms, and led to increasing social dissatisfaction.

The Congress strengthened and developed a further political line of direction outlined at the sixth session of the PZPR Central Committee. The essence thereof was that "in the country we must restore the basic values of socialism, and in party life the ideological-political principles of Leninism, and we must direct attention to deep-going economic reforms, to the development of socialist democracy, to a respect for law, and to the solidifying of social discipline!" The way to do this is to settle social conflicts on the basis of agreements and consensus which will respect the socialist character of the state.

It was also clearly and uniformly worded that a sharp struggle was being conducted in Poland for the development of its socialist character and the defense of socialist achievements. In this struggle the relations of the party to the trade union movement, but primarily to Solidarity, is of vital importance. This depends primarily on whether Solidarity follows a constructive practice according to the provision of the basic rules or not. As is well known, the basic rules of the Solidarity trade union contains, among other things, the provision that the organization rests on the principles of socialism; it recognizes the leading role of the party in the state, it recognizes the country's international system of alliances, and does not wish to act as a political party. We must act in the interest of those party members who are at the same time members of Solidarity to see that the socialist profile of the organization is developed. The report as well as many speakers at the Congress expressed the need for resolute action against the internal forces of Polish reaction, because the so-called KOR (Social Self-Defense Committee) or groups of the Independent Confederation of Poland are more and more representing ideas that are alien to socialism and are taking action through hostile political efforts.

In the field of ideology, the deliberations emphasized the struggle against ideological extremes, on one hand against ideological compromise--with revisionism and right-wing opportunism--and on the other hand against the views of conservatism and dogmatism. This is only possible if the party's Marxist-Leninist character is strengthened.

The report of the Congress acknowledges the well-considered, realistic and responsible attitude of the Catholic Church, and as the goal for the state's Church Policy it indicated the expansion of the platform for cooperation between state and Church and for a reduction of the areas of conflict.

In every area of social and economic life, a many-sided demand for the strengthening of democracy profoundly pervaded the preparations for and the deliberations of the Special IX Congress. This became one of the main problems of the Congress both from the substantive and the formal point of view. The Congress regarded as necessary a broad-scale democratization of party life--organizational rules, modification of the electoral system, etc.--the cardinal point of which was the clear subordination of the executive organs to the elected bodies and to the representative organs. For a consistent, practical realization of this principle, they approved a mandate for the delegates which was valid to the next Congress. Many proposals were made for the development of socialist democracy, which were directed at broadening the activity of the councils and the various self-governing organs. At times, however, it was perceptible that a number of them did not regard democracy as only an indispensable means but as an absolute party goal.

The second main problem of the Congress was a resolute and irrevocable demarcation from the errors of the past, and their impassioned criticism. All this also necessarily meant the drawing of personal deductions: the committee led by Tadeus Grabski reported to the Congress at a closed session, and the delegates voted to exclude six members of the party's former leaders from the party. On the other hand, the delegates attributed exceptional importance to the election of the party's leading bodies. The form and mode of the elections as well as the results expressed the composition of the delegates, its demand for radical personal changes, and last but not least the line of direction for social compromise represented by Stanislaw

Kania. Thus an almost complete change was carried out in the leading bodies of the LEMP. It is not without interest to draw attention here to data regarding the new composition of the leading bodies: among the members of the LEMP Politburo and the secretariat, only four were previously members of the body; among the 200 members of the Central Committee, 80 are workers and 27 private farmers. Some of the members of the Central Committee are also members of the Solidarity trade union. It is indisputable that most of the new members of the Central Committee are inexperienced in the management of the country's affairs, but they do have a very essential characteristic: they have the confidence of the majority of their electors.

These factors express those elementary efforts which appeared at the Congress to create personal and institutional guarantees against repetition of the earlier crises.

The third major area of the deliberative work was made up of economic tasks and questions related to the economic stabilization program. In essence, these embrace three problem complexes:

1. ascertaining the declining trend in production, rational restraint on investments, and gradual restoration of the economic equilibrium.

2. defining of economic political priorities, improving the food situation, intensifying agricultural production, increasing raw material production, primarily coal, development of the energy basis, intensification of export capability, slowing down and then stopping the further deterioration of the country's financial equilibrium, and the fight against inflation.

3. introduction of broad-scale economic reform based on enterprise independence and the active participation of workers' self-governing organs.

Much was said about the need for structural changes, the manpower situation, prices and other important economic problems. They spoke of all three sectors of agriculture as a special task--creation of political and economic conditions assuring the dynamic development of private farms, state farms and producer cooperatives. And still, the main emphasis was on the introduction of economic reform, the basic political principle of which--according to the report--is the socialization of central planning, and a broader participation by workers and their organizations in determining national economic goals. The reforms must be harmoniously linked to social justice and to the content of socialist production relations.

Generally accepting the propositions in the report regarding economic stabilization, the speakers mentioned primarily the problems in their own area of work and urged the realization of the direct efforts of their party organizations.

The Congress affirmed the basic principles of Poland's firm alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. Membership with the socialist countries, the development of friendship and alliance and multilateral cooperation with CEMA and the Warsaw Pact Organization are in the national interest of Poland; they are the sole guarantee of its independence, and it wishes to contribute to the realization of the coordinated foreign political steps of the socialist countries. The Polish People's Republic will do all it can to guard the peace and stop the arms race in the interest of deepening the policy of detente. The

Special Congress reaffirmed that Poland is prepared to host in Warsaw an international conference on military detente and on questions of European disarmament.

The work of the Congress was characterized throughout by great activity, impassioned discussions and comments, and heated debates. It is partly due to this that the deliberations were concluded almost a day and one-half later than originally planned.

The work of the Congress did not result--it could not--in spectacular turns during the course of the events. It did create, however, the conditions for party consolidation, and it set forth the basic line of socialist development--on the line of social agreement. The most essential question, however, remains to what extent the principles drafted at the Congress and set forth in the resolutions will be followed by deeds and consistent action. Therefore, we share fully with what Stanislaw Kania said in his report: "Our credibility is not a question of good intent and proclamation, but above all of deeds, consistent action directed at strengthening our party, and that unwavering struggle which we conduct in our country against all dangers threatening the building of socialism."

At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee the sister parties of the CEMA countries participated in the Special Congress, as well as the representatives of the Federation of Yugoslav Communists. In his remarks, Ferenc Havasi, the leader of the MSZMP delegation, affirmed the position of our party: "It is our conviction that the task of the Polish communists is to mark the road leading out of the crisis and call all followers of socialism into the struggle. In this they can count on the support of the sister socialist countries, among them ours, the Hungarian People's Republic. As up to now, they can in the future also build on the active solidarity of the Hungarian communists, the Hungarian workers."

At its second session, the PZPR Central Committee with its new composition resolutely stated that it will consistently take the field for the realization of the political line of action of the IX Congress and will fight against any distortion of it. It will not give way to the more and more political demands of certain circles in the Solidarity trade union, and it will not tolerate the demagogic exploitation of the working class.

The Congress has settled accounts with past errors, and now the opportunity exists for the leadership of the party and its members to turn with all their strength to the future and the development of socialism. The efforts of the party are meeting more and more with the wishes of the broad classes of Polish society and of soberly thinking people: let socialist Poland set out again on the path of progress.

In the short period of time that has passed since the Special IX Congress of the United Workers' Party of Poland, the extreme elements of Solidarity provoked tensions that threaten with increasingly new and greater dangers. This too indicates that our sister party must conduct a sharp class war over the long run, for the internal enemies of socialism, despite their slow moral isolation, have not yet by any means suffered a political defeat.

6691
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WESTERN PRESS NOTES 'WAVE OF REPRESSION' IN YUGOSLAVIA

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by correspondent "R. St.": "Wave of Repression in Yugoslavia--Belgrade on the Lee Side"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 September--In Belgrade, openminded, comparatively liberal or at least marked by a breath of international generosity and superficiality, one does not notice much of the wave of repression which has gripped large parts of Yugoslavia, causing fear everywhere of a general hardening of the political climate. In the capital a pointed remark made at a late hour during a gathering of intellectuals is not immediately checked for possible treasonable content. The trial of the writer Djogo, charged with having composed poems containing malicious parables about a man whom, with a little imagination, one could recognize as Tito, at first became a farce, a joke for the intelligentsia, and for the time being the representatives of the state had to retreat for lack of evidence and adjourn the proceedings. A few days ago seven professors of the Praxis group who had been forced to retire in 1975 were assigned some academic work again.

Policy of the Carrot and the Stick in Kosovo

From other parts of the country, reports are coming in about political trials and quite harsh confrontations between state and church. The sentencing of Zagreb dissident Veselica was typical in two kinds of ways--for one thing because of the size of the punishment (11 years for merely having violated the law by expressing certain opinions) and for another because of the very doubtful judicial procedure, with some charges regarded as proven even though they had clearly turned out to be untenable during the questioning of witnesses.

But these questionable proceedings, too, pale before the almost daily reports of sentences in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In the wake of the unrest in early and late March, more than 200 Kosovo Albanians have been sentenced since late July for treasonable machinations--10 of them to the maximum sentence of 15 years set for such crimes as they were charged with.

In contrast with Zagreb, the trials in Pristina and other Kosovo towns are not attended by any foreign observers. For some time now, official reports about the trials have no longer been giving the age of those sentenced. Previous reports

had shown that quite a number of the disruptive elements were under 20 and definitely came not only from intellectual circles but from the working and peasant strata. While the signal for the unrest may have come from Pristina University, it found an echo in the other regions of the autonomous province and broader strata of the population. Belgrade's imputation that these people were guided from outside appears extremely doubtful. Rather, it is likely that accumulated discontent over social and economic conditions combined with a feeling of ethnic repression by the Serbs. It appears that Belgrade wants to cope with the problem through relentless repression, with the Province of Kosovo receiving generous economic aid at the same time. It remains to be seen whether this policy of the carrot and the stick will still work, whether it will be able to overcome the ethnically motivated resistance against the central government and particularly the presumed Serbian domination.

Pressure on the Church

In Croatia the dissident scene has been hit by the proceedings against partisan General Tudjman, the student Paraga, the writer Gotovac and the economist Veselica. Going hand in hand with extinguishing any spirit of contradiction (for even the authorities probably do not believe that the above-mentioned four are guilty of terrorist activities) are the polemics of ruling Zagreb communists, mostly of Serbian origin, against the Catholic Church. Central Committee Secretary Baltic has accused Zagreb Archbishop Kuharic of support for Hitler and Mussolini and of counterrevolutionary activities.

Slovene party Secretary Setinc was a little less harsh; according to him the Catholic Church wants to reestablish church predominance. However, he too hardly takes proper account of the facts. The Croatian clergy believes its task is to tend to the concerns of the people. It does not think that it has political responsibilities; rather it wants to take account of the complaints of the people. Thus, for instance, Archbishop Kuharic has spoken out for more humane prison conditions and for permitting prison priests.

As a result of Baltic's charges the climate between state and church in Croatia has deteriorated further. Part of the Croatian leadership evidently aims at massive intimidation of the church dignitaries. So far no concrete steps have been taken against disagreeable clerics; for the time being, the authorities are content with minor chicanery, such as not allowing bus transports for pilgrimages The echo this has met with among the predominantly Catholic population casts serious doubts on whether such measures are opportune and effective. The number of churchgoers has increased. And the heavy punishment of Marko Veselica has not primarily caused deterrence but a shaking of heads and bitterness.

A commentator of the widespread Zagreb church paper GLAS KONCILA fervently rejects the attempt being made at home and abroad to portray Yugoslavia as a china shop, and the Croatians as the bull groping around in it. It says the church continues to be ready for talks but not before defamatory utterances such as those about Archbishop Kuharic are done away with.

Fear of "Polish Conditions?"

In the past few months, official propaganda has been warning the Catholic Church time and again against assuming the kind of role in Yugoslavia which the Catholic Church has assumed in Poland. In fact it does not have the kind of legitimacy as a result of resistance against Hitler's Germany which the Polish church can claim. On the other hand, the communists themselves will have to wonder why the population has been truning increasingly toward the church of late.

8790
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WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON VESELICA TRIAL

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by V.M.: "The Case of the Prosecution Is Based on the Statements of a Couple of Elderly Ladies--11 Years' Imprisonment for Croatian Intellectual Veselica"]

[Text] Belgrade, 10 September--The steep sentence in Zagreb of 11 years' imprisonment against Croatian intellectual and former professor of economics and member of the federal parliament Marko Veselica has caused surprise, and in numerous Yugoslav circles astonishment as well. Even more strongly than in earlier Zagreb trials of historian and former General Tudjman, the student Paraga and the writer Gotovac, this trial revealed the fact that the court adhered axclusively to the charges prepared by the police and did not take into consideration at all whatever the defense or the defendant stated in rebuttal. And yet, right after the conclusion of the preliminary investigation it was evident that the prosecution was basing itself in this trial on particularly vague and strange evidence.

Veselica was sentenced for three offenses—a crime against the social order and security of Yugoslavia, hostile propaganda "with assistance from abroad" and incitement of ethnic hatred, and participation in treasonable activity. Zagreb Deputy District Attorney Loncarevic, who drafted the charges and presented them, is a Serb, while Judge Hamilton, who accepted them without scrutiny in their entirety, is a Croat. Already after the so-called "Croatian events" of 1972, Veselica had been sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. He served that sentence in full.

Half of the charges were based on the statements of a couple of elderly ladies, 69-year-old Mila Schram and 82-year-old Sonja Hegner. Both had been in prison because of political or allegedly economic offenses. At one time the word had been that the two women had wanted to retract their statements in toto or in part because they had made them under duress. In fact, at the trial Sonja Hegner altogether refused to recognize Veselica. Nevertheless, to the surprise of all those in the audience, the judge maintained at the end of the trial that her statement had carried great weight.

According to the indictment, Mila Schram had stated that in behalf of Veselica she had smuggled written material abroad to nationalist Croatian exile organizations and that this material presented conditions in Croatia in a "mendacious" manner. The defense was able to show indisputably that several points of the indictment

could not be right. It also seemed peculiar that the mentioned Mila Schram, of all things, was said to have worked for the foreign missionary operation of the Croatian Catholic Church in Bern. In the spring that institution had come under special government propaganda fire. After serving his first prison sentence, Veselica had joined the Catholic Church.

The second pillar of the indictment was an "interview" Veselica had given to an allegedly German journalist named Bornemann. Veselica admitted to have given the interview in writing, saying that it then suddenly appeared without his knowledge in nationalist exile publications. Strangely, nothing further was said at the trial about the identity of alleged journalist Bornemann. Veselica and his defense counsels were able to show that various official Yugoslav papers had written things that were not very different from what he had stated and that the interview as a whole represented a stand for Yugoslavia and against any kind of terrorism. Typical of the way the prosecution and the defendant talked past one another is the following detail: Veselica had stated that after the events in Croatia in 1971 altogether 32,000 persons had been "persecuted, discriminated against or subjected to chicanery." The prosecutor maintained that this was not so since in 1972 only 1,156 persons had been "charged." In doing so he obviously ignored all those who lost their jobs, were demoted or were otherwise disadvantaged. Veselica was defended by six attorneys--three Serbs, including Belgrade star attorney Popovic, and three Croats, including the father of the sentenced student Paraga. Particularly the Serbian attorneys made it a point that there could be no question of anti-Serbian points of view in Veselica's remarks.

In contrast with the Croatian papers, which came up only with succinct reports of the trial, the Belgrade POLITIKA devoted a lot of space to the proceedings. It was therefore interesting to see the biggest Serbian paper obviously going to the limit of what it could do in its reports to make known its doubts in the power of persuasion of the indictment. POLITIKA appeared to have particularly little use for the star witnesses of the prosecution.

8790
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WESTERN COMMENT ON VERDICT IN VESELICA TRIAL

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 11 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by "cvk.": "Trials Against Intellectuals in Croatia--Draconian Sentence in Proceedings Against Veselica"]

[Text] Zagreb, 9 September--The latest in a series of political trials against intellectuals in Croatia ended on Wednesday [9 September] with an unexpectedly severe sentence--11 years' penitentiary for 55-year-old Marko Veselica. The reasons given for the sentence repeat the indictment almost verbatim. By applying paragraphs 133, 134 and 131 of the Yugoslav Penal Code, Veselica was sentenced for hostile activity against state and people, spreading ethnic hatred between the peoples and ethnic entities of Yugoslavia and cooperating with extremist emigre circles with a view to preparing "hostile actions."

Main Points of Indictment

Key passages of the indictment are excerpts from an interview Marko Veselica had given to an FRG journalist, Hans Joachim Bornemann, in the summer of 1980. The journalist had stated that he was on the staff of DER SPIEGEL, but the interview appeared not in that journal but in several publications of the Croatian emigre press. In the passages considered incriminating, Marko Veselica had expounded in great detail his personal views about the domestic political situation in Yugoslavia, stressing particularly the problems of Croatia and discussing subjects regarded as taboo.

The six attorneys of the defendant--three Croats and three Serbs from Belgrade--concluded in their summing up that the material on which the indictment was based was wholly inadequate for a verdict against Veselica. Nor were the witnesses for the prosecution able to support the claims of the public prosecutor. As always in such political trials, no witnesses for the defense were admitted. The main witness even retracted her statement given in the preliminary investigation that she had known the defendant. She told the court in detail what statements and methods the state police had used to force her to make that statement. Nevertheless, Judge Hamilton in his concluding statement described that witness as an important link in the chain of evidence of the relations which the defendant had entertained with extremist emigre groups. The court did not take cognizance of the argument of the defense that the full text of the interview

showed that Veselica's very critical remarks did not have a "hostile" tone and that he disassociated himself from the use of violence in general and from the methods of extremist emigres in particular.

Increasing Harshness of Croatian Authorities

The spectators in the large hall of the Zagreb District Court were surprised about the heavy sentence. Observers had not expected such a verdict. The trial confirmed the increasing one-sidedness of the authorities, particularly in Croatia, in classifying critical remarks arbitrarily as "hostile and counterrevolutionary." Once again the proceedings showed that the courts in such trials act in accordance with strict instructions to the effect that the verdict must be decided in advance. The circles issuing those instructions also quite clearly do not appreciate the fact that Yugoslavia is thus suffering serious damage as a "democratic" example of a state under communist rule. The statement by the defense, that--apart from Veselica's being innocent of the charges against him--the indictment violated the international agreements about the free exchange of information and the safeguarding of human rights of which Yugoslavia was a signatory, likewise fell on deaf ears.

A group of Swiss parliamentarians in this connection, on behalf of the International Helsinki Association, sent a letter to Dragutin Hamilton, the presiding judge in Zagreb. Already in 1972, in the course of purges ordered by Tito in order to cope with the "euphoristic mass movement" in Croatia in 1970-1971 (as it was called officially), Veselica was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. Until 1971 he had occupied leading posts in the Croatian party and had worked as lecturer in economics at Zagreb University.

8790
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WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON NATIONALITY POLICY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Sep 81 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia Is Becoming More Serbian--Imbalance in Nationality Policy"]

[Text] Belgrade, September 1981--There are two great burdens oppressing socialist Yugoslavia at present--economic difficulties and reawakened ethnic questions. The regime is reacting in different ways to these groups of questions: It is at a loss as far as the economy is concerned, and vis-a-vis the ethnic movements it is exercising repression.

The papers have stopped reporting the age of Albanians sentenced in Kosovo. (Their number has exceeded 250.) Otherwise the world public would learn that 15- and 16-year-old high school students have been sent to prison for years just because they dubbed some wall or other with the slogan "Kosovo--Republic." The 11-year prison sentence against Croatian intellectual Veselica has had a shock effect, having made numerous circles, including foreign ones, aware of the fact that there is such a thing as a "Croation question." Equally shocking has been the unbridled language against the Catholic Church.

Though not in the dailies, sensational stories about the situation in Kosovo and about methods of so-called "differentiation" are appearing in magazines such as START or REPORTER. Young Albanians tell about having been arrested, deprived of their jobs or excluded from studying without reason and often as a result of denunciation. Expulsion from the so-called "Socialist League," a popular front organization to which almost everyone belongs, whether he wants to or not, is coming to be used as a means of defamation, it thus becoming a matter of record who the "enemies" are. One is being reminded of conditions in Czechoslovakia in 1969. Many college and high school students have been excluded from studying. Everyone has to show certification from their local political authority before he can register this fall.

On the other hand, one can see in the same magazines and on television glorifying pictures of special police contingents composed of units from all the republics being employed in addition to the reinforcements called in from Serbia. Partly there is also praise for the action of the army, which is continuing to be charged with protecting assets and special surveillance of the border areas.

Nervousness vis-a-vis the Catholic Church, viewed ever more clearly by the regime as the carrier of Croation national consciousness, finds expression in the behavior of the communist authorities concerning the so-called miracle of Medjugorje near Citluk in Herzegovina. Obviously alarmed by the increasingly large number of persons making a pilgrimage to that place, where allegedly the Holy Virgin has been appearing to a number of children since spring, the authorities arrested the two local pastors--Franciscans--put them in prison for 60 days, confiscated the money found in the parsonage, consisting mostly of alms but also of regular church funds, and prohibited anyone from setting foot on the hill where the apparition reportedly first occurred. In proceeding this way, however, the authorities--if anything--played into the hands of the church. The latter now states that, considering all this nervousness, "something supernatural" must have happened in Citluk; the only thing that remained to be established was whether it was part of the supernatural on which the church drew all the time or something beyond that.

The unbridled attacks by Baltic and other officials against Zagreb Archbishop Kuharic have prompted the church paper GLAS KONCILA to answer a question which evidently has been asked often among Croation Catholics--why the archbishop was not defending himself. The paper writes that the archbishop cannot assume the role of defendant. If he were to go in for polemics on that basis, people might perhaps reach the conclusion that where there was smoke there was fire, or that the Croatian Catholic Church was behaving like "an irresponsible bull in the Yugoslav china shop." This was the last thing the church wanted; it was just as interested in stability and security as most other Yugoslav citizens.

Not all communist politicians in Yugoslavia are pleased at this escalation. Some among them even think, unofficially, that the stand taken against the memory of former Zagreb Archbishop Stepinac by the Croation head of government, Blazevic, was unnecessary and are also dissociating themselves from the rhetoric of a Baltic. The opening of ever new "fronts" is hardly sound politics, particularly in connection with the economic problems, they say. (Perhaps soon there will be another such front against the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina once the new census results are announced.) Meanwhile one gets the impression at the moment that the radical politicans are having a pretty free hand. This leads many Yugoslavs to wonder just who is ruling the country.

In this context one is struck by a trend which is causing concern in some republics. It is the ever-increasing weight of Serbian interests, Serbian points of view and also Serbian politicians in the orientation of the state as a whole.

As the Serbian head of government, Ivan Stambolic, said again only recently, the Serbian Republic wants to take Kosovo under its wing again to a greater extent and form stronger economic ties with it. Before the unrest Kosovo, as an autonomous region within Serbia, virtually had acted like a republic in its own right. The sentences against the Croatian intellectuals and the campaign against the Catholic Church likewise show a one-sided tendency, for in Belgrade it is hardly likely that someone would be sentenced if, from the Serbian point of view, he were to advocate theses like those of a Tudjman or Veselica. One gets the impression that the regime either is afraid of a confrontation with Serbian nationalism--in other words, with by far the largest ethnic entity--or in fact is making it its own.

The latter would represent a development in Yugoslavia continuing in principle the structures of prewar times. The main Serbian paper, POLITIKA, otherwise along with the journal NIN--published by the same outfit--an advocate of a freer dialogue, recently published a favorable political article about a former Serbian Chetnik leader who later went over to the side of the partisans. By doing so, it incurred the criticism of influential former partisan leaders. In a further piece of the same kind, it gave the onetime leader of the Slovene administration under the German occupation, and leader of the anticommunist fighting associations, General Rupnik an opportunity posthumously to clear himself, as it were. (Rupnik was executed after the war.) It reports him as describing how --vis-a-vis the German organs of occupation--be acted, not without success, in behalf of the right of the Slovenes for a national life of their own. The Serbs and the Slovenes were the so-called supportive nationalities of the prewar Yugoslav state. Certainly it is time to look at certain events in Yugoslavia during the war in a more differentiated way than has been done heretofore. The question is only why the same POLITIKA (and NIN as well) cannot make up its mind, for example, to cast a similarly objective light on the role of Croatian Archbishop Stepinac during that period, and why so far only a Croatian official--Suvar--has shown in Yugoslavia in public a certain understanding for the historical motivation of the Albanian revolt in Kosovo.

8790
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CATHOLIC PRESS DISCUSSES ATTACKS ON CHURCH

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Why Doesn't the Archbishop Defend Himself?"]

[Text] Charges of antigovernmental activity on the part of the church, that is, on the part of certain church leaders and officials, has not died out in the newspapers and on various tribunes of sociopolitical organizations and government bodies. Month after month, week after week, it is only the emphasis and the immediate goal of such charges which change. Until recently the principal target of such attacks was the archbishop of Zagreb and his group of collaborators in the Cathedral. And then the accusations were addressed to several distinguished names in our episcopate. And finally--these past few days, the charges have concentrated on Medjugorje and Mostar, on the heads of the church there, because of gatherings of believers which were prompted by rumors about appearances of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Bijakovici and Medjugorje, but which in their actual content--as far as we have been able to determine--were confined to prayer and exclusively concerned with church affairs. The content and vocabulary of the public charges against churchmen are such that many people wonder that they could be proclaimed enemies of the state and the system in this way and yet not have gone to prison or to trial. Rumors are reaching us with increasing frequency from the public that we ought to react and defend ourselves. There was a particular expectation that the archbishop of Zagreb, chairman of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops, would react publicly to the relevant sections of the speech by Milutin Baltic, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, delivered at a rally in Banski Grabovac on the Day of the Uprising, 27 July of this year. That is, Baltic--fully aware of the responsibility of his sociopolitical position--declared that "Kuharic and certain other gentlemen in the Zagreb Cathedral, with abundant help from certain lawyers and mouthpieces, have gathered all their strength in order to revive to some extent and resuscitate those exhausted and ruined old nags of the counterrevolution" and to act against the socialist community, to sow ethnic enmity, that they even glorified Hitler and Mussolini, and so on. The public has therefore been wondering why the archbishop has not so far responded to those charges. But they should first ask themselves why Baltic and others like him are acting in this way? After all, it is obvious to anyone familiar with the situation and events in our church that these charges are unfounded, that the accusers have no occasion to make them. But where there is no occasion,

there must nevertheless be a reason, and intention. Where does this lead? Who desires it? What does it serve?

Engrossed with these questions the people of the church referred to have mainly not been taking up the debate persistently being thrust upon them by various newsmen and other public figures, they are not taking up the role of accused persons who have to defend themselves. After all, it is more than obvious that someone desires precisely that: To impose on our community life as vociferous and fierce a conflict as possible with the Catholic Church which lives here, that is, with the Church of the Croats. That is why the reactions of the church today have been limited to the clear adoption of certain positions which are altogether firm concerning certain events and persons, but it deliberately has not wished to go further. After all, as soon as the wished-for and imposed debate flares up, as soon as that provoked conflict carries some distance, it seems that the instigators will have achieved what they wanted. It seems, that is, that someone is counting on the "logic" of public harangues in which the exact information about the facts is usually not important, but the public reacts in accordance with the adage: "Where there is smoke, there is fire." Thus the desired impression would be established in world public opinion that it is specifically the Catholic Croats who are behaving irresponsibly in this state, that they are threatening domestic and external stability, the agreed equilibrium, that--as one of our bishops recently noted--they are behaving like an "elephant in a glass shop." But, that bishop said, this simply is not the truth. Neither the reality is made as of glass, nor are the Catholic Croats like a dangerous and irresponsible elephant. Can it be that the purpose of the rumor created and spread in this way was to justify certain actions? Or was it to drown out certain rumors? Or to bypass certain more logical solutions? But to whose benefit? There is no doubt that it cannot be a question here of benefit to the common life of nationalities within Yugoslavia on an equal footing.

We can bear witness that those responsible in the church have always been ready for any dialogue guaranteed to be equal and open concerning all issues which impose themselves by their importance with anyone who also wants to take a responsible approach to those issues. But for such a dialogue to be objectively possible, there has to be an end to harangues, to accusations, to the labeling of churchpeople as enemies of the state and the people. After all, there is no dialogue with those who have been discredited. And any attempt to bypass those who have been "disqualified" on the side of the church and find other responsible interlocutors has already proven itself to be futile and will prove to be futile every time. In the end the real disposition of the multitude of believers and the age-old methods of church diplomacy should be understood.

7045
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MOSTAR BISHOP'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT KRAIGHER

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 81 p 9

[Open letter by Pavao Zanic, bishop of Mostar, to Sergej Kraigher, president of the State Presidency, on 1 September 1981]

> [Text] Monseignor Pavao Zanic, bishop of Mostar, addressed a letter to Sergej Kraigher, president of the State Presidency, on 1 September of this year in which he protests the untruthful assertions and charges which have been disseminated in connection with the events in Medjugorje. We are printing the letter here in its entirety.

Honorable Mr President!

In the daily newspapers and over the radio and television it has been reported in various ways that on 17 August 1981 an expanded meeting was held in Citluk of the Citluk Opstina Conference of the SAWP, which debated the events in the parish Medjugorje.

The reports also alleged the following:

"It was emphasized that the people should be told still more clearly that the aspirations and plans of the priest Jozo Zovko of Medjugorje, his colleague Ferdo Vlasic, Bishop Zanic of Mostar and other extremists are the same as what the Ustasha terrorist organization is planning and dreaming up for us. The cleronationalists have set themselves against the achievements of the revolution, against the constitutional system, against socialist self-management, and that is essentially the most brutal use of people's religious sentiments."

This was carried on the news by Radio-TV Sarajevo on 17 August 1981 and VECERNJI LIST on 18 August 1981.

I consider it my duty and right to indignantly protest completely unfounded and untruthful insinuations of this kind.

As a Catholic bishop and responsible priest of the Mostar Episcopate I reject on my own behalf and that of the priests mentioned, who are my subordinates, these

irresponsible slanders and attacks whose bad taste contributes nothing whatsoever to a sober examination of the events in the parish of Medjugorje.

Basic civil and human rights are violated by insulting acts like these.

I call upon you to take this protest of mine under consideration and as the most responsible person in the SFRY to take the most vigorous steps against irresponsible attacks of this kind.

Please accept expressions of my respect.

Pavao Zanic (signed)
Bishop

As stated in the letter itself, Bishop Zanic also sent this protest to the highest federal and republic government authorities, the Mostar and Citluk Opstina assemblies, the editors of all journals carrying news on the events in Medjugorje, all Catholic newspapers and journals in the SFRY, the Holy See, the presidency of the Conference of Yugoslav Bishops in Zagreb, all bishops in the SFRY and to the clergy and church members in his own episcopate.

7045
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SITUATION, ARRESTS IN MEDJUGORJE RELATED

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 81 p 2

[Text] According to the most recent reports from Hercegovina worshippers of Mary are continuing to gather every day in Medjugorje. There is regularly as large a crowd around the church as in the church. Numerous priests are listening to the confessions of the multitude of pilgrims, and among the penitents there are more and more of those who have not confessed for many years. All of these gatherings of believers are occurring in a completely orderly, peaceful and level-headed way. The number of pilgrims was particularly large on the Feast of the Assumption. Church officials are doing only what is customary at religious gatherings: They celebrate Communion with the people, they announce and interpret God's word and administer the sacraments. The children who say that the Virgin appeared to them are still reporting such encounters. On the basis of what they have said the responsible people in the church have so far found no reasons to prevent the gatherings, since the motives and messages are not contrary to the faith, to morality nor to church discipline. The believers speak in greater or larger number about seeing lights and certain other visual effects--which is probably one of the well-known accompanying phenomena of such gatherings and which in itself is a topic to be studied by the appropriate sciences. Rumors are also spreading about sudden healings which are considered miraculous, but none of these cases has yet been subjected to the study of medical or church experts, nor can anything more definite be said about this at present.

Along with this atmosphere of prayer and the sacraments and simple messages of love, peace and faith--all of which together has a constructive effect--there have also been certain adverse phenomena in recent weeks, according to what has been written in the public press and speeches at certain sociopolitical meetings. There is mention of certain political slogans which have been found written on the rock and among numerous prayers of the pious at the place of the first encounters. There is also the mention of singing certain songs which are judged to be political. It is self-evident that the church leadership cannot consider itself responsible for such alleged occurrences, just as the administration of a shrine, say, is not responsible for cases of pickpocketing or similar offenses around the shrine, but leaves this to the regular concern of those who maintain peace and order. If the law enforcement agency conducted an effective investigation, it would be fully established that any possible offenders are not churchpeople, but those who for whatever reason wanted to abuse and compromise this gathering of the pious.

It has also been announced in the daily press that the Franciscan Ferdo Vlasic, editor in chief of NASA OGNJISTA, of Duvno, has been sentenced by the misdemeanor judge to 60 years in prison and has already been bound over to serve his sentence. The reason given for his conviction was his resistance to police officers near the place of these gatherings. We have also learned that officers of the secretariat for internal affairs in Mostar surrounded the Franciscan house and parish church in Medjugorje at about 0800 hours on 17 August and conducted a very detailed search of all persons and all the rooms. The detailed search of the person of the nuns was conducted by a special woman official. The procedure was completed at about 1745 hours. The law enforcement officers took from the parish house money which they found there, and according to church information it involves a large sum of money which the parishioners pay for holy masses or as a mere gift to the church.

The Medjugorje parish priest, Father Jozo Zovko, was arrested and taken into custody at that time. According to the news which we had at the time when this issue of GLAS KONCILA goes to press, he is in jail in Mostar. We have been unable to learn the reasons for his arrest, that is, the grounds on which Zovko might have been charged. On the basis of what has been written in the newspapers one might assume that they have imputed to him a portion of the sermon in which, speaking the most ordinary biblical language about sin as enslavement and redemption as liberation, he said, among other things: "Jesus said: the Lord has sent me to deliver from the prisons the captives, the prisoners, the convicts, to set them free ... so did he not come to liberate me, since I am a captive, you, who are a prisoner, since you have been enslaved for 40 years; so that this evening or tomorrow you can kneel down before him and say: remove the chains, untie the knots, loose the links which confine my life, since I have been fettered, by evil sin." (Quoted from SVIJET, published in Sarajevo on 17 August of this year.) Those familiar with the Bible will recognize the literal words of the Gospel applied to a particular penitential religious service, while certain newsmen who have been writing about this express the opinion that Zovko was alluding to the 40th anniversary of the commencement of the revolution and struggle against the occupiers. However, the reference was obviously to the people who were confessing during those days in Medjugorje and who had not been seen for some 40 years or more.

We hope that before the next issue we will have more definite information about this case and that the events and words which are spoken will be examined in the entirety of the church and social context--that we will be able to report a favorable outcome.

7045
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WESTERN COMMENT ON IVAN SUPEK'S POLITICAL MEMOIRS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22 Aug 81 p 5

[Article by Fran Rudin: "Heretics on the Left--Confessions of a Croatian Dissident"]

[Text] Is it really true that in a communist-ruled country such as Yugoslavia an independent road toward communism means less doctrine and at the same time more freedom both for the individual citizen and for the nationalities? Can the "Yugoslav model" convince its opponents by means of rational arguments instead of ideological prescriptions? Are Yugoslave politicians to judge works of art and scientific findings? Has Yugoslavia found the just solution to the national questions? Does this state need a nuclear bomb? These and similar questions occupy Prof Ivan Supek--a 66-year-old theoretical physicist, former communist, and member of the Department of Science and Mathematics at the University of Zagreb in Croatia--whose book "Krivovjernik na ljevici--politicka sjecanja & humanisticka poruka" [Heretics on the Left--Political Reminiscences and Humanistic Message] was published in England (British-Croatian Review Publications, Bristol, 1980).

This "personal statement" is the "humanistic creed" of a scientist, philosopher and steadfast humanist, whose books were not only criticized--for their lack of Marxist conception and disregard for dialectical materialism ("Theoretical Physics and the Structure of Matter")--but also removed from the bookstores and burned ("Exist All the Same"). Whereas Pavle Savic built--in Vinca near Belgrade--a nuclear research institute, intending--in accordance with his magic formula "socialism + nuclear energy = communism"--to produce a nuclear bomb, Supek in 1950 founded in Zagreb the "Rudev Boskovic Institute", whose research work he oriented entirely toward the basic problems of physics, chemistry, biology and electronics. Eight years later, the institute comprised approximately 100 scientists trained in Western Europe and the United States. In 1958, Alexandar Rankovic--at that time second in command in Yugoslavia--ousted Supek on account of what he claimed was an insufficient ideological orientation of the institute and replaced him by two Serbs; Supek thereupon devoted himself entirely to literature and philosophy. Through the medium of novels and plays, he fought nuclear energy: "Trial of the Century"; "Atop the Nuclear Volcanos"; "Superbomb and Crisis of Conscience." Through his book "Heretics on the Left," Supek wanted to show that he was concerned not only with science, but with truth and justice, which again and again had been denied his people on account of historical misunderstandings.

Zagreb Revisionism 1939-1940

At the age of 12, Supek saw Stjepan Radic, the leader of the Croatian Peasants' Party (KBP), and the crowd enthusiastically acclaiming him; a year later, he witnessed Radic's 2-month agony--after the shots fired in the Belgrade Parliament on June 20 1928--and the biggest funeral ever given a Croatian. A short time later, he witnessed the joint proclamations of the Communists and rightist extremists calling for an uprising against Serbian hegemony and the proclamations of the Democrats urging establishment of democratic liberties and of equal rights for the nationalities. The Serbs' predominance in the army and in the police and the corruption and persecutions early on brought to the fore the "Croatian question," and as early as 1932 Supek joined the Communists, for whom the "obedient and reliable boy" performed courier services. Subsequently, in his capacity as editor of the NEUER STUDENT, he gained the trust of the party leaders. Since at this time the party was opposed to terrorism and subversive acts, there was "no conflict with a conscience raised in the spirit of Christian pacifism."

In the beginning, the Comintern regarded the opposition of the Croatian Communists as a revolutionary force and even though they were strongly drawn--for both tactical and patriotic reasons--to bourgeois-national liberation movements, it sided with them. Since 1934, the Comintern and its leader, Stalin, had been calling for the establishment of communist parties in Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia "so as to wrest from the bourgeoisie the banner of the struggle for national rights." At the Comintern Congress of 1935, Georgi Dimitroff stated it would be good policy for the Communists to join a popular front and mobilize against Fascism. Thus the Croatian Communists made common cause with the left wing of the Croatian Peasants' Party.

Since at that time the Communist Party was barred from Yugoslavia's political arena, it had to link up to a legal party to be able to participate in the elections. Thus in 1938 the Croatian Communists--repeating their maneuver of 1935, but this time without the consent of the Politburo--entered the elections along with the entire opposition rallied around the Peasants' Party, which then was victorious. Although this opposition did not have a specific platform--aside from being the political body legally representing the Croatian people against the monarchy--the move was condemned by the majority of the Serbian Communists. The criticism and accusations from Belgrade were extended to the Croatian leftist intelligentsia that had rallied around the writer Miroslav Krleza and his monthly SIEGEL (1939-1940)--a group that had rejected the political tutelage and the ideology of the Comintern with its insistence on socialist realism and on the dialectical foundation of all knowledge and all activity in favor of independence, personal freedom and truth. Taking advantage of the Comintern's change of course, the Politburo of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia established a monthly of its own--LITERARY JOURNALS--and laid down clear directives for art. The Zagreb Communists were accused of "liberal deviation," "idle liberalism" and "revisionism, and the group of educated individuals (Supek, Krleza and others)--considered to be the most heretical element in the communist movement--was expelled from the party.

The movement Carillo and Berlinguer later called Eurocommunism originated at that time from Zagreb's "Corso" inn. The Croatian Communists had been the first to declare their willingness to collaborate with the popular front without insisting on playing a leading role. The concrete dilemma and the deep disillusionment over

Stalin's policy were reflected in three new principles: Universality, freedom and tolerance. The consequences were not long in coming: The new Politburo of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia--elected in Zagreb in 1940--comprised four Serbs, two Slovenes and one Montenegrin, but not a singly Croatian. Tito, Djilas, Kardelj, Koca Popovic and others advocated Bolshevization of the party and "democratic centralism."

Croatia's Contribution to Victory

After Yugoslavia had been defeated by Hitler, many parts of the country were given over to Hitler's allies. The Communists were able to take advantage of the individual nationalities' restlessness that was accumulating as a result of the occupation: In consequence of a Serbian uprising in 1941, an area around the city of Uzice was liberated and proclaimed the Red Uzice Republic; a short time later, however, it disappeared again and the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia] Politburo no longer had any strongpoint in the east of the country. Tito informed the CPC [Communist Party of Croatia] Central Committee that the situation in Serbia (and Montenegro) was very grave and that he was pinning his hopes on the struggle in Croatia.

Although he was deeply disappointed on account of his expulsion from the party, Supek joined the resistance movement organized on the left wing of the Croatian Peasants' Party by Andrija Hebrang, the CPC secretary, and Bozidar Magovac. Robbed of most of their islands and of Istria and the coastal region and engaged in a covert revolt against the Unitarists aspiring to establish a Great Serbia, the Croatian people were easily induced to rise up. The joint proclamations issued by the Croatian Communists and Democrats, which promised a "new Croatia in a new Yugoslavia," attracted many people; consequently, the ranks of the partisans swelled and the Croatian leadership had at its disposal over 20 divisions, i.e. two-thirds of all partisans in Yugoslavia. While the red radicals in the CPY Politburo were placing their hopes on the Red Army, hiding out--after the demise of the "Red Republic" of Uzice--in the Croatian mountains, the Croatians had gained control over a large area extending from the Drava River to the Adriatic. Thus they were able to convene in this area a number of congresses, among which Supek singles out the "Congress of Croatia's Cultural Activists," at which he voiced--14 months before Hiroshima--his fear of the atomic bomb and called for disarmament; again, this resulted in his being accused of deviation from Marxism-Leninism.

When the British military mission learned that Serbia had been pacified under the dual government of Germans and Chetniks, Churchill in 1944 dissolved the Royal Government in its London exile; he felt confirmed in this decision by the fact that Draza Mihajlovic, the Royal Government's minister of defense, was accused of having collaborated with the Fascists. Churchill appointed Dr Ivan Subasic, the head of the Croatian Government who was likewise exiled in London, Premier of Yugoslavia. The reaction on the part of Serbia notwithstanding, Churchill dispatched Subasic to Yugoslavia to establish contact with Tito and to lay the foundations for the new Yugoslavia. As for a model, Churchill and Roosevelt insisted on a multiparty system based on the respective degree of involvement in the struggle. Even though Stalin, too, supported this--albeit only out of consideration for the United States and Great Britain--and although this system had been anticipated during the war by some members of the CPY Politburo, the Politburo in November 1945 disbanded all parties, eliminated the noncommunist comrades-in-arms and a political tradition, and introduced the single-party system.

Conflict With Djilas

Since the 1950's, Milovan Djilas has been known in the world as the Yugoslav dissident. Supek quotes extensively from the two parts of his reminiscences ("Memoirs of a Revolutionary," 1973 and "Wartime," 1977), but he regards them as "writings of an impure conscience" marked by previous extreme positions. On the one hand, Djilas wants to present himself as a convert from communism; on the other hand, he still tries to save himself, his revolutionary role and his work. Supek and Djilas had joined the party at the same time (1932) and their development followed parallel lines. Djilas, the former head of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda never owned up to his attacks on the democratic and humanistic values and on political pluralism. According to Supek, Djilas' aversion to the Croats was so great that he was never able to recognize the significance of the struggle for liberation in Croatia, which was based on the principles of the popular front and of political pluralism. Supek is not prepared to shut his eyes to Djilas' attacks on the SIEGEL circle in 1939/40, his criticism of the collaboration of the Croatian Communists' Central Committee with the republican Peasants' Party (1943/44), his destruction of the Tito/Subasic multi-party government (1945), his cultural nihilism of the postwar years, his visits to Stalin aimed at convincing Stalin of the soundness of the Bolshevization of Yugoslavia, or his responsibility for the disappearance of so many comrades-in-arms and innocents--above all of Andrija Hebrang, the CPC secretary and subsequent minister for industry whom Supek considers the protagonist of a pluralist and federative Yugoslavia and the true victor in the partisan war.

The "Praxis" Group and Belgrade Centralism

After 1966 and the overthrow of Rankovic, there set in in Croatia a liberalization in all areas of life, without there having been uttered a single word of criticism of socialism, self-government or even federative structure. Broad segments of the population discussed new ideas concerning pluralism, nation and humanistic universalism. As had been the case in 1939/40, reflections on the withering away of the party, the factor determining all areas of life, gave rise among the Belgrade Communists to negative associations and to the fear of losing control. Thus in December 1971 a new centralization drive was launched. Once again, the mutual trust between the people and the Communists was quelled and branded as nationalism. In Supek's view, the oppositionist "Praxis" group played a contributing role in this. Although the group voiced "unsparing criticism of all existing conditions," this criticism was to be strictly reserved to "Marxist analysis. As early as 1969, the group had proclaimed its creed: "Firstly: We hold that ... the unity of our multinational community can be maintained only on the platform of communist ideas. Secondly: The problem of socialism is not--and cannot be--the dilemma: single-party or multi-party system; rather, it is the question as to the character and role of the proletarian party .... We are for the supremacy of the working class ...." In 1972, the Zagreb "Praxis" group launched a campaign to bring about the removal of Supek--"on account of his unacceptable position regarding the events of the past and on account of his defense of what happened"--from his office of president of the University of Zagreb. In February 1972, when numerous Croatians--accused of nationalism and counterrevolutionary activity--were dismissed from their jobs, defamed and arrested, the oppositionist Belgrade philosophers met in Tara to discuss

nationalism. In his report, M. Markovic stated: "It appears that the most dangerous, acute and visible symptoms of the disease have been eliminated ...." And his colleague S. Stojanovic expressed the fear that Yugoslavia's political development might be harmed "through the establishment of a multi-party system on a national basis." Since they felt that the revolution had the right to defend its achievements, they welcomed the suppression of the liberalization trends in Zagreb.

Supek's Convictions

Supek is not a politician, but a scientist who wants totally to live with his people and to understand its problems. His concern is not Yugoslavia; he is concerned with doing away with the lie that is corrupting life. For this reason, he is rejected in the entire Communist bloc, while his scientific system is condemned as "rightist revisionism" or "bourgeois idealism." Believing in a universalism based on enlightening humanism and in the general validity of science, Supek rebels against the militant avantgarde with its dialectical tricks, which in the name of revolution--as the ultimate justification--commits all kinds of offenses against the people. His alternative to Marxism is a universal humanism that cultivates the past and tries to reform the world in accordance with moral principles. "One must be either blind or stupid to be able to teach the students that freedom appears only after the revolution, while all that precedes the revolution is worthless and subordinate to historical necessity."

Supek is not a dissident such as Djilas or Mikhailov, both of whom seek to base the South Slavic peoples' living together on a merely political solution. In Supek's view, the association of these peoples must be based on a shared existential interest; moreover, mutual respect, tolerance and solidarity must be flexible so as to allow even a growing apart, a breaking away of a people. This is why Supek is a dissident; but he is a dissident also because he opposes not only revolutionary violence, but any violence--as is evidenced by the "humanistic message" at the end of his book which will soon be published in English and in German.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1928

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Continuity of Romanians Proved by Notes of Hungarian Scribe
(Stelian Brezeanu; CONTEMPORANUL, 4, 11 Sep 81) 1

BULGARIA

Impressions From Visit to America
(Gencho Uzunov; STURSHEL, 3, 10 Jul 81) 8

HUNGARY

Differences Between Workers, Intellectuals Decreasing
(Ferenc Kovacs; NEPSZABADSAG, 19 Aug 81) 14

Problems of Propaganda Work Analyzed
(Jozsef Poor; PARTELET, Sep 81) 17

Party Work in Trade Union Affairs Termed Successful
(NEPSZABADSAG, 25 Sep 81) 23

Role of Scientific-Technical Associations Viewed
(PARTELET, Sep 81) 24

POLAND

Prosecutor General Discusses Background, Duties
(Lucjan Czubinski Interview; GRANICA, 2 Aug 81) 30

History, Facilities of Air Force Reviewed
(Czeslaw Krzemienski; SKRZYDLATA POLSKA, 23 Aug 81) 38

Officials Discuss Crime, Police Actions
(Various sources, various dates) 45

Police Actions Defended, Stefan Dziedzic Interview
Economic Crimes, Eugeniusz Gecynger Interview
Increase in Crime, Maciej Tomaszewski Interview

ROMANIA

Presidential Appointments in Industrial Ministries Announced
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 81) 57

Orthodox Church Hosts Japanese Buddhist Peace Pilgrims
(Remus Rus; BISERICA ORTODOXA ROMANA, Jan-Feb 81) 59

Timiroara Jail Break, Shoot-Out Reported in Emigre Press
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 1 Oct 81) 61

Shortcomings in Health Care Cited in Plenum
(MUNCITORUL SANITAR, 18 Jul 81) 62

Briefs
UN Appointment 63

YUGOSLAVIA

Sarajevo Paper Scores 'POLITIKA' Article on Chetnik Commander
(A. Nuhefendic; OSLOBODJENJE, 19 Sep 81) 64

More War Veterans Instead of Fewer
(N. Babic; BORBA, 15 Sep 81) 67

Charges Against Serbian Priests
(Djuro Kozar; OSLOBODJENJE, 19 Sep 81) 70

Decisions Made on Albanian Language Textbooks in Macedonia
(V. Mehandziski; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 29 Aug 81) 74

Slovenian Novel Concerning 1948 Events Reviewed
(Teodor Andjelic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 23 Aug 81) 76

Macedonian SAWP Discusses Organization of Food Supply
(T. Ivanovski; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 29 Aug 81) 80

Private Operation of Parking Lot Better Than Socialized
(Enver Demirovic; BORBA, 16 Sep 81) 83

Auto Plant Officials Cited for Abuses
(S. Jankovic; BORBA, 10 Sep 81) 86

Briefs
Emigration From Kosovo 88
Workers Expelled From Party 88
Moslem Arrested 88
Fire in Battery Factory 89

CONTINUITY OF ROMANIANS PROVED BY NOTES OF HUNGARIAN SCRIBE

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 4, 11 Sep 81

/Article by Stelian Brezeanu: "Chronicles of Anonymus and Romanian Continuity"/

/4 Sep 81, p 5/

/Text/ Among the works of historical-political literature in the Middle Ages, "Gesta Hungarorum (Deeds of the Hungarians)," written by King Bela's anonymous scribe known to modern historiography by the conventional name of Anonymus, met with what must be one of the most uncommon fates. Disovered in the middle of the 18th century after a half millennium of oblivion and published by J. G. Schwandtner and M. Bel, Anonymus' work immediately became an object of admiration of the learned world of the time, which was only to be completely reversed in the opinion of most historians in the 19th century. As Balint Homan wrote half a century ago in an attempt to sum up the controversies surrounding Anonymous, "There was a time when the Hungarian historians were ready to swear by him as upon the Bible and considered him 'the father of Hungarian historiography'. In the second half of the last century this veneration changed to an extreme scepticism. Hungarian and foreign scholars...regarded his work as miserable pedantry, a poetic fantasy and a fable hardly worthy of serious study." Homan's account fails to explain the said historians' change of attitude toward Anonymus' work. The first signs of the modern historians' distrust of the documentary value of the anonymous Hungarian's work appeared at the end of the 18th century, when the national movement of the Romanians in Transylvania and the political use of the idea of continuity, which became a main argument in the ideology of the young Romanian bourgeoisie in the struggle for political emancipation, was to provoke a reaction from a large part of the Hungarian and German historians serving the interests of the Hapsburg dynasty. Since Bela's Anonymus was bringing evidence in support of the theory of continuity by attesting the Romanians' presence in Transylvania and Pannonia at the time when the Magyar tribes were appearing in the Danube basin, his work had to be eliminated from the sources on the medieval beginnings of Romanian history. The discrediting of Anonymus, still timid on the part of the first adversaries of the idea of continuity, became decisive with R. Roessler, who considered him "more of an ignoramus than a fraud," the main fault of the author of the "deeds" of the Hungarians being disregard of his own people's interests in mentioning Romanians among the populations encountered by the Magyar invaders in Pannonia and Transylvania. The problem was accordingly shifted from scientific grounds to support the political interests of Austro-Hungarian rule in Transylvania. This view was adopted and developed by some Hungarian historians. B. Homan, most of whose conclusions have been

accepted and developed by historical researchers in the last few decades, thought that "P. dictus magister, quondam regis Bela notarius" was a contemporary of King Bela III (1172-1196) who wrote the Gesta between 1200 and 1210, although important linguistic, paleographic and even historical arguments bear out the hypothesis that the anonymous Hungarian was the scribe of Bela II (1131-1141) and that the work was consequently written about 1150. As for the sources, Anonymus' chronicle is largely based on an older chronicle written at the court of the Hungarian kings at the end of the 11th century which is lost today but was adapted by Bela's scribe, who was educated in the Parisian environment of the 12th century, to the model of the Romantic gestes in vogue in French society of the time. Like the authors of the gestes of chivalry, Anonymus celebrated the deeds of arms of the Hungarian kings and nobles and made the conquest of Pannonia by the nomadic Hungarian tribes and the looting campaigns in the West and in the Balkans that followed that campaign the central episode of his narrative. But the resemblances to the contemporary literature of chivalry stopped there, because the anonymous Hungarian had a personality of his own and used many sources in the preparation of his work which he treated critically, deliberately rejecting oral tradition. Historical research on Anonymus' work revealed an essential fact to be considered in determining its documentary value. As a spokesman of the old Magyar nobility, he made of the "Gesta Hungarorum" a militant work serving the interests of the descendants of Arpad's comrades at arms. Moreover the anonymous Hungarian was one of the representatives of "national propaganda," like John of Salisbury in England, Vicentius Hispanus in Spain or Suger and Raoul Glaber in France, in the struggle to assert the rights of the young European monarchies against the last attempt of imperial universalism (Byzantine and German) to regain lost ground. Accordingly Hungarian history of the 9th-10th centuries was interpreted in the light of the interests of Arpadian society in the 12th-13th centuries, whence come many of the author's learned interpretations introduced in the narrative that were based upon information taken from his sources or from personal experience. In this light, the Gesta is primarily a historical document of the 12th-13th centuries, the time in which the author lived.

Anonymus' work is unquestionably important for the medieval beginnings of Romanian history. In this respect modern historians' attention was attracted by some ethnic terms in the anonymous Hungarian's work. The first of the series is the term "Romans." The "Romans" were driven from Pannonia by Attila when the Hun king laid the foundations of his kingdom (Chapter 1). But they returned to Pannonia after Attila's death and the Huns' downfall, on which occasion the "Roman princes" settled "shepherds" there (Chapter 11). The "Romans'" rule in Pannonia lasted until the coming of Arpad, whom Anonymus considered the legitimate successor of Attila and who drove them from the region and regained the Hun kingdom (Chapters 46, 48). And finally, at the time Anonymus wrote the "Romans" were still pasturing their flocks in the Hungarian regions (Chapter 9). Modern historians have not agreed upon the identity of the "Romans" in the Gesta. They have been identified in turn with the ancient Romans, the Carolingian Franks, the imperial Germans, the Byzantines, the Romanized population in the Alps, and the Romanians. But a systematic inquiry into the ethnic significance of the term Romanus in the medieval sources of the 9th-12th centuries indicates the meaning of the term was limited to the population of Rome. Therefore the "Romans" in the Gesta who ruled Pannonia before the Hun conquest were exclusively inhabitants of Rome, just as they and their leaders were also the "Romans" and "Roman princes" who occupied the region between Attila's death and Arpad's conquest. In the latter case we unquestionably have to deal with a learned interpretation of Anonymus without historical ground. And finally the "Roman" contemporaries of the author who were pasturing their flocks in the Hungarian regions are to be identified with the high Catholic prelates of Roman origin brought to Hungary by the church and the royalty.

The second term in the Gesta, just as controversial as the first, is the ethnic designation Blachi-Blasi-Blaci. The term appears for the first time in Chapter 9 of the work, wherein Anonymus refers to the populations encountered by the Hungarian conquerors of Pannonia and mentions "Blachi" or "the Roman shepherds" in addition to "Slavs and Bulgars." The term occurs again in the episode about the conquest of Transylvania by Magyars (Chapters 24-27), who were to do battle there with Gelu "the Vlach" (quidam Blacus), the "Duke of the Vlachs" (dux Blacorum), who ruled over a population of "Vlachs and Slavs" (Blasi et Sclavi). The term occurs in Anonymus for the last time in Chapter 44, where the author refers to Arpad's battles with Duke Glad in the Banat, who had in his army "Cumanians, Bulgarians and Vlachs" (cum magno exercitu ... Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blacorum). For Romanian and most foreign historians Anonymus' "Vlachs" are, regardless of their location, Romanians and descendants of the Romanized population in the Danube basin whom the Magyar conquerors encountered in Transylvania, the Banat and Pannonia. The Hungarian historians' views are divided. For most of them as well as some foreign ones, the "Vlachs" of Gelu and Glad are Romanians, but some of them, maintain Anonymus, committed an anachronism by introducing the Romanians in his account of events of the 9th-10th centuries because they did not appear north of the Danube until the turn of the 12th-13th centuries, coming from the Asanesti empire in the Balkans. On the other hand the "Vlachs" in Pannonia have sometimes been identified with the Romanians, sometimes with the Romanized Franks, and sometimes with the remnants of the Romanized population from the Alps and accordingly with the western Latin population. For other Hungarian historians (Gy. Kristo) the "Vlachs" in Pannonia are also Romanians but nevertheless a pure invention of the author of the Gesta, who introduced the Romanians south of the Danube in the narrative for unexplained reasons. Let us remember that these Hungarian historians accept the presence in Pannonia and Transylvania of all the populations (Slavs, Bulgars, Bohemians, Germans et al.) attested by Anonymus in the region for the 9th-10th centuries with the exception of the Romanians.

Consideration of the ethnic term Blachi and its variants (Vlachi, Blacki) in the Latin sources of the 11th-13th centuries proves beyond any possible doubt that the form is a Latin transliteration of the Greek form Blachoi. Therefore the ethnic term Blachi and its variants originated in the Byzantine world, through which westerners came to know the descendants of the eastern Romans in the 10th-13th centuries. Since the Byzantines designated the European Romans of the Eastern Empire by this name alone, it goes without saying that the Latin authors (including the Hungarian chroniclers) adopted the ethnic term in that sense. Therefore the Latin sources could not have used this term to mean the western neo-Latin populations, which were called exclusively by names derived directly, and not through Byzantine or Slavic intermediaries, from the German Walch-Walach, namely Welschen for the French and Walchen for the Romanics in Rhaetia or Noricum. Consequently the Blaci or Blasi located by Anonymus in Transylvania and the Banat and the Blachi located in Pannonia could only be the Romanians, especially since the information of Bela's Anonymus entirely agrees with that of Simon de Keza and the Hungarian chroniclers in the 14th-15th centuries, who liken the Blacki or Vlachi in Pannonia and Transylvania to the Romanians known to them in the Carpatho-Danubian area.

The "shepherds of the Romans (pastores Romanorum)" is the last of the series of ethnic terms in the Gesta Hungarorum that concerns the history of the Romanians in the 9th-13th centuries . It first occurs in Chapter 9, where the populations in Pannonia before Arpad's conquest are listed, namely "Slavs, Bulgars and Vlachs or shepherds of the Romans (Sclavi, Bulgari et Blachi ac pastores Romanorum)." The "shepherds of the Romans" are also mentioned in Chapter 11, where the author tries to explain their

presence in Pannonia by the events on the middle Danube after Attila's death, when the "Roman princes" took over the region and settled their "shepherds" there. This gave rise to the traditional identification of Pannonia with the "Romans' pastures (pascua Romanorum)." The problem of the ethnic identity of the "shepherds of the Romans" has also been variously interpreted in the subject literature. The Hungarian historians opposed to continuity and some foreign ones regard them as a Romanized population of western origin or as an unidentified pastoral population. The Romanian and many foreign historians identify these pastores Romanorum with the Romanians. The latter identification is borne out both by the report of Bela's Anonymus concerning the "Blachi ac pastores Romanorum" (where the particle "ac" has an explicative force meaning "namely," "or") and especially the information of Simon de Keza and the Hungarian chronicles inspired by the Bihorian cleric's work to the effect that the "Vlachs" or Romanians were "shepherds and colonists" of the Romans. This designation of the Romanized population in the Danube basin expresses the idea of its Latin origin as well as the deteriorated living conditions of the Pannonian Romans in the millenium of the great migration.

/11 Sep 81, p 4/

/Text/ The studies made in the last few decades by the opponents of Romanian continuity in the Carpatho-Danubian area specially emphasized the heterogeneity of the sources Bela's Anonymus used in preparing his work, sources of varied origin and unequal value. We do not intend to discuss below the conclusions from these studies, which are not invariably convincing. The said researchers exhibit a tendency to emphasize the "letter" of often superficial literary similarities in the Gesta to other works, to include them among their possible sources, and finally to study the circulation of a given theme included in a work, viewing the author as a collector of literary themes rather than a militant intellectual of the 12th century, all to the detriment of his work as a whole and the spirit in which it was written. Therefore it is more important to explain the function of each one of Anonymus' borrowings or of the learned interpretations in the work in its historical perspective than it is to set forth the sum of his borrowings. And the relationships of Anonymus' political outlook to the European patriotic propaganda of the 12th-13th centuries serving the "national" monarchies are no less important to the question under discussion. The anti-imperial attitude, the illustrious ancient origin of the people and even of the dynasty, and the "historic right" of the kingdom to rule over its own territory are among the points in common of this propaganda with its representatives in France and England, in Spain and Denmark, and in Sicily and Denmark. We find these features in the anonymous Hungarian's work. The author's completely anti-imperial attitude and assertion of the superiority of the Magyars over the two imperial peoples of the time, the Byzantines and the Germans, are made very clear, just as clear as the theory in the Gesta of the Hun origin of the Magyar people and the descent of the Arpadian kings from Attila, a theory with a political function obviously based on the need to legitimize the rule of the Magyar kingdom over Pannonia and the populations Arpad encountered in the conquered territories. This last aspect of the political view of the author of the Deeds of the Hungarians is basic to interpretation of the significance of the three ethnic terms under consideration, "Romans," "Blachi" and "shepherds of the Romans," occurring in Anonymus' work.

In the last chapter of the work, dealing with "the institutions of the kingdom," the author refers to "all the rights of the kingdom (omnia jura regni sui)," which Arpad's successor and the Magyar nobles inherited from the founder of the dynasty and through him from the Hun king. Among those rights Anonymus meant first of all the actual

territory of the Magyar state in the 12th century, which also became Attila's kingdom by his pen. The territories comprised in the Hun "kingdom" and consequently inherited "by right" by the Arpadian kings are made very clear in the Gesta. In the author's view the largest part of it consisted of trans-Danubian Pannonia, the territory of the Roman province, inhabited by "Romans," "Blachi" or "shepherds of the Romans" and by "Sclavi" according to the chronicle under discussion, all of them being populations located in the region (a fact of primary importance) after the death of the Hun king. North of the Danube in the Nitra region, populated by "Sclavi" and "Boheminans," lay the Duchy of Zubur, founded there by the duke of Bohemia following a usurpation of the "historic rights" of the Hungarians after Attila's death. The territory between the Danube and the Tisa, inhabited by "Sclavi" and "Bulgars" and incorporated in the Duchy of Salanus, formed another large part of Attila's holding and was conquered after his death by Duke Kean, the predecessor of Salanus. The situation of the Principality of Menumorut in Bihor was more controversial. It was claimed by Arpad as an integral part of the kingdom of his forebear, but Menumorut considered it a legitimate legacy seized by the Hun king from his ancestors by violence. Anonymus did not consider the other territories, including the Duchy of Gelu, constituent parts of Attila's kingdom. Consequently the seizure of the territories of the Hun kingdom and the populations settled there after Attila's death by the Magyars appeared to Anonymus and the Hungarian nobles, to whom his work was primarily addressed, as an act of reinstatement of the legitimate heir, who was Arpad, in his "rights." His whole interpretation was unmistakably a reply to the claims of the populations subjugated by the Arpadian kings to the territories occupied by them. Therefore if the nature of Anonymus' work as a document of the 12th-13th centuries and its political function are accepted, how can the introduction of the Romanians among the ancient populations of Pannonia and Transylvania be explained, if they still inhabited the Balkan empire of the Asanesti at the time or were just appearing north of the Danube? The falsehoods, intentional or otherwise, introduced by the anonymous scribe in his work as by all the representatives of medieval patriotic propaganda had a specific purpose and usually supported the cause of the "national" monarchies in whose service they wrote. A century ago Julius Jung, in reference to the alleged immigration of the Romanians north of the Danube in the 12th-14th centuries and their introduction by Anonymus among the ancient populations of Pannonia, rightly pointed out that "The Magyars' national pride would have been very well satisfied to legitimize their rule over the nomads so late because of this delay if that had been the case... But it was not so. The Magyars of the 13th century rationalized differently, at a time when their rule did not have to be supported by words or dissembled. The 'scribe' wrote with the intention of exalting the Magyars and he falsified the tradition for that purpose. But since he had no intention concerning the Romanians he recounted the true tradition as it was circulating in his time..., for we are not to assume that a falsifier could be stupid enough to falsify more than is necessary for his purpose." In the light of the considerations formulated above, we must accept the Austrian historian's conclusions.

Those conclusions are completely confirmed by a comparative analysis of Anonymus' Gesta and the chronicle of Simon de Keza, written about 1280-1285. The dedication of the high prelate of Bihor to the interests of the Magyar nobles and the Arpadian kings is even more evident and his social-political views are very labored. One of the fundamental features of his outlook, brought out by recent studies (Janos Szucs), is the contrast between the "pure Hun-Magyar nation (natio pura Hungarica) and the "foreign nations" incorporated in the kingdom. The rights of the "pure nation," regarded as immutable throughout its history from the primitive Scythian habitat to the author's time, to dominion over the "foreigners" in the kingdom were legitimized by the latter's refusal to respond to the order to mobilize the Hun "community," a reason derived by

the author from contacts with the French political ideology of the time. Hence the "foreigners" were condemned to perpetual servitude to the "pure nation," understood however in terms of its nobility. The chronicler of Bihor distinguished two categories of foreigners: some of recent date (Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Greeks, Czechs, Armenians, Cumanians et al.) who, promoted to noble ranks, threatened the "purity" of the Hun-Hungarian nation, and others established in kingdoms since Attila's time (Slavs, Romanians, Greeks, Germans and Messians) who agreed to serve the Hun king as "ordinary subjects." One of the main objectives of this social-political theory of heterogeneous origins but adapted to the ideological requirements of the Magyar nobility at the end of the 13th century was to legitimize the rule of the Magyar crown and the "pure nation" (confused with the high Hungarian nobility) over the foreign populations within the kingdom. The distinction between "foreigners" recently arrived in the kingdom and the ancient "foreign" populations of Pannonia is very clear, seniority being a criterion in Simon de Keza's scale of social-political values. Accordingly he supplies many details as to the time of entry of "foreigners" of recent date, both individually and collectively. This is true, for example, of the "Teutons" and "Latins" who came into the kingdom two centuries before during King Peter's reign, or of the Cumanians brought in by Bela IV after the Tatar invasions. But there is nothing about the Romanians, who had always figured among the ancient populations of the Danube basin. The silence is incomprehensible if we are to believe the opponents of continuity, who maintain that the second half of the 13th century, the period in which the high prelate of Bihor lived and wrote, was the high point of the Romanians' immigration into the Carpatho-Danubian area, just as it would be equally incomprehensible if the author of the illuminated chronicle and other Hungarian chroniclers of the 14th-15th century had accepted Simon de Keza's information about the antiquity of the Romanians in Pannonia and Transylvania, although they continued to assist in the colonization of the territories north of the Danube with Romanian elements from the Balkans.

But the parallel between Anonymus and Simon de Keza is also significant in another respect. In referring to the populations in Pannonia before the Arpadian conquest (Slavs, Bulgars, Bohemians, Germans and Greeks) the two authors merely state their presence without supplying details about their arrival in that area. This is not true of the Romanians, who attract their particular attention. For Anonymus they are the "shepherds of the Romans" brought into Pannonia by the "Roman princes" after Attila's death, into a territory that rightly belonged to the Hun king and his successor Arpad. Simon de Keza's version of the origin of the Romanians in the Danube basin differs. He knew that the "Blacki" occupied extensive territories in southeast Europe before the Hun conquest but that Attila's looting campaigns compelled those "shepherds and colonists" in the cities under Roman rule to flee to Italy with the exception of those in Pannonia, who remained "of their own accord (sponte)" under the Hun king in order to serve him as "ordinary subjects." The Bihorian prelate's version went into the Hungarian chronicles of the 14th-15th centurues. Despite the discrepancies between Anonymus and Simon de Keza in explaining the Romanians' presence in Pannonia, those "representatives of the Hungarian conscience" as they have been described could have had only one intention, namely to legitimize the Magyar rule over Pannonia and Transylvania and over the Romanian population in those territories. But there were also other motives for both authors' particular effort to explain the Romanians' presence in the Danube basin. The Romanians' position in the Arpadian kingdom as one of the largest ancient "foreign" populations in the region that still survived in the 12th-14th centuries as independent peoples under Magyar domination was undoubtedly an important reason. But there was a more important one. The explanations provided by

Bela's Anonymus and the Bihorian prelate of the Romanians' beginnings in the Danube basin suggest the existence of a tradition circulating in the 11th-14th centuries naming them the oldest population in the region, with rights of dominion over the occupied territories as descendants of the imperial people of antiquity. The anonymous Frenchman is closer to this historical tradition in his Descriptio Europae Orientalis written in 1308. He also knew of the rule of the Roman Empire in Pannonia, to which he related the presence of the "Blazi," once called the "shepherds of the Romans" and the "Pannonians," led by 10 "kings" before Arpad's conquest. The decline of Rome's power made the defeat of the 10 "kings" of the "shepherds of the Romans" and their expulsion from Pannonia possible. His account, based on personally collected information from Pannonia in the first years of the 14th century, does not include the Attila episode, with such an important function in the entire medieval Magyar historical literature and especially the political coloring of the narratives of Anonymus and Simon de Keza, who modified the tradition to meet the ideological needs of the Magyar kings and nobles but without betraying the essential, namely the continuity of the Romanians in the Carpatho-Danubian area. Therefore the learned interpretations of both representatives of Hungarian patriotic propaganda are to be regarded as a reply to that tradition, a reply that tries to justify in the 12th-13th centuries the political position and expansionist aspirations of the Arpadian kings in the Danube basin.

At the end of this study, let us review in conclusion the importance of Anonymus to the problem of continuity. Reversing the terms of the long, concentrated discussion of two centuries about the veracity of Anonymus' narrative about the Romanians in Pannonia and Transylvania in the 5th-10th centuries or its inconsistency, as a source for the 12-13th centuries Anonymus (fully confirmed by Simon de Keza, the anonymous Frenchman and all the Hungarian chroniclers of the 14th-15th centuries) brings certain evidence of the existence of a profound belief in Magyar society of the 11th-15th centuries that the Romanians were the ancient inhabitants of the Carpatho-Danubian area. The contemporaries of Anonymus and Simon de Keza, to whom their chronicles were addressed, were convinced that at the time of the conquest Arpad and his comrades at arms had to face Romanians and their voivodes (the "dukes" of Bela's Anonymus and the "kings" of the anonymous Frenchman) in the Danube basin just as they encountered Slavs, Germans and Bulgars with their political leaders. Accodingly the theory of the Romanians' emigration from the Balkans to the north of the Danube in the 12th-14th centuries receives the fullest confirmation from Anonymus and the entire Magyar historical-political literature of the Middle Ages.

5186
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IMPRESSIONS FROM VISIT TO AMERICA

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 3, 10 Jul 81

[Article by Gencho Uzunov, deputy chief editor of STURSHEL]

[3 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] It may be taken as an excuse, but the writer of these travel notes states that America, this big and complex country, deserves to have a book written about it. The reader who reads, hears or looks at news, articles, motion pictures or pamphlets on this so-called "new world" daily, and who hears all sorts of half-baked stories about it should be given a more complete picture.

A one-month visit is not something to be discounted, particularly when such a month includes events such as the end of the Carter administration, the new year, the taking over by the Reagan administration, the record number of murders and the worst winter ever recalled by Americans. Given all of this, not saying anything would be quite suspicious.

That is why we undertake to share our impressions, however scant they may be.

A rather strange feeling develops in the course of an 8-hour trip over the ocean in this huge, fat but good and obedient Jumbo Jet. One has barely gotten over the premonition that this monster will be unable to go up when the flight attendants begin to explain in sign language how to put on the oxygen mask, the parachute and the safety belt before jumping into the ocean from an altitude of 10,000 meters. One is then fed and even given a drink and shown motion pictures.... A little bit of time is left to shop aboard the plane, to listen to music and even to think. It is precisely during this time that one unwittingly thinks of the old, tired Europe and about what one is to see, which in one's imagination is approximately the following: skyscrapers, neon advertising of banks or Coca Cola, crowded, noisy stores and places of entertainment full of suspicious types, discotheques with deafening music, dizzying fashions, youthful exuberance, hippies, Chevrolets, Cadillacs and police cars chasing each other and from time to time letting loose machine gun fire and mysterious prairies on which roam pistol-packing outlaws and cowboys. At this point, one begins to wonder about where all these respectable people in the plane are going, and why has one left good old Europe to be flying to this crazy and wild west. One feels awkward thinking that one could be asked the same question. At that point, one settles down and, soon afterwards, the gentle voice of the flight attendant announces the imminent landing. Rather excited, one

tightens one's safety belt and puts out one's cigarette precisely when one really wants a smoke, and peers from the window to see things from above, to gain an initial impression of America. All that one sees at first is water. Then one sees land with rather disreputable little one-story houses, then water again and miles of skyscrapers and, finally, a most ordinary airport. Finally, one is in New York, the heart of the "new world."

It would take a great deal of gall to say that the city is not impressive. One may like it or not, and it may not meet preconceived ideas but, in any case, it is striking. It is a combination of ocean, rivers, rocky islands and peninsulas and a beautiful intertwining of bridges, tunnels, overhead passes, tall and low buildings, innumerable small and big stores bursting with goods, parks, gardens, boulevards and streets crowded with multicolored people in a hurry, white, black, yellow, brown, Creoles, speaking in all possible languages (including English). And all of this is spread over a huge area, either dug in the ground or sticking out into the clouds, decorated by billions of lights, advertising, companies and neon lights which blink, turn, jump, run, crawl, hitting not only your eyes but your brains, your heart if you will...and your pocketbook, regardless of whether it is full or empty. After all of this which strikes and makes one dizzy comes a feeling of calm or, rather, fatigue. One is surprised (pleasantly or unpleasantly) and excited. One's body, eyes, ears, nose and legs have given up but one's spirit is on the alert. One neither feels like resting nor thinking. One is in America. One changes one's socks and shoes, looks out of the hotel window to see what the weather is like, puts on suitable clothing, takes the map of the city and puts in one's vest pocket $20 for whoever will spring in front of you and will give you the command "money!" and one jumps into this stormy sea. And, if one gets one's wits about one and if one's eyes can still see normally, one sees the following:

In Manhattan, equal in size to several Sofias, are--virtually all skyscrapers--the headquarters of corporations, hotels, big general stores, supermarkets, houses of the rich, offices of smaller fish, and all kinds of big and small stores, all kinds of eating, drinking and entertainment places, parks, theaters, shows, movies, museums, and even a circus. Surrounding this jagged but nevertheless beautiful collossus made of skyscrapers are little gardens, cathedrals, all kinds of churches, diplomatic missions, the United Nations, the piers, the big garages and gasoline stations and warehouses. Scattered throughout Manhattan and most distinct are the famous Wall Street, the splendid Rockefeller Center, the Empire State Building, previously the highest building in the world, 102 stories high, today's highest buildings--the World Trade Center (The Twins), the Lincoln Center with the splendid buildings of the Metropolitan Opera, the Philharmonic and the National Theater... and the famous black district, Harlem. Far into the distance on Hudson Bay, in front of Manhattan, is the now pitifully small Statue of Liberty. It looks small but once reached by ferry, one still has to take the elevator for the first six stories to reach the skirt, after which one begins to climb the narrow steps for yet another 10 stories to reach the head, from which one can see almost all of New York. In order to see even better and develop an even stronger sensation, one goes on climbing another even more twisted ladder and crawls along the raised arm, ending at the famous torch where, together with 40 other people, one can have a cup of coffee, admire the view, buy a souvenir, take pictures and rub one's legs, for, as we know, going down is even harder. It is hard to believe that this little doll, a gift from the French, staring at the ocean, is the same one one saw from the dizzying height of the Twin Towers, where one also finds stores, coffee shops and restaurants which can accommodate hundreds of visitors.

The other parts of New York are the boroughs of Brooklyn, New Jersey [sic], the Bronx, Richmond.... These are all islands or peninsulas next to Manhattan with tunnels and bridges, with twisting green alleys, boulevards, streets, huge general stores and supermarkets, small pleasant stores, establishments, garages, beautiful or ugly cheek-by-jowl houses of people of different nationalities, who have failed in the business world, the likes of which one can find all over America.

A great deal more could be said about one's initial impressions, for the country is big and varied. Here, however, we shall describe briefly the essential features, for these are only hastily written travel notes. We shall continue our story with only some of the most interesting and random information we acquired during the first days of our stay:

In this country, when the Senate is in session, the senators cannot speak for more than 10 minutes. Members of the House of Representatives can speak 2 minutes only. Otherwise, anyone can speak as much as he wants and wherever he wants, and say anything he likes. Anyone who has been laid off is paid the modest amount of $900 monthly for a period ranging between 6 and 9 months. If in the meantime he refuses a job the aid is terminated. "Welfare" is the famous social assistance fund. Many honorable people in trouble survive poorly and degradingly, in terms of that country, with its help. New York has a population of 12 million people. Every day, 2 million cars, trucks and buses come into or leave the city. It takes the Division of Motor Vehicles 25 seconds to find out all they need concerning a driver or a car. A college education costs between $18,000 and $50,000. Usually, this money is borrowed and repaid after graduation. In New York alone, in one year (last year) 1,700 people were murdered with firearms; 175 were murdered in Washington. There are 30,000 homeless men in New York. They may be found stretched out on the sidewalks, in front of the skyscrapers, in front of the luxury stores and establishments, along benches in gardens and parks, in front of social aid institutions, in police precincts, or along the emergency staircases of hotel buildings. Those lying over the grids of heating boilers are known either mockingly or enviously as the aristocrats.

Suddenly one has the feeling that the otherwise hospitable, hurrying and temperamental people who live here feel quite crowded. The apocalyptic masses of this city, the millions of cars, the mad pace, the unseemly subway, the endless wailing of police and fire engines and ambulances, superhigh buildings and the seemingly narrow streets can hardly stand the pace, they are short of breath like people with a weak heart, barely able to withstand the stress. Infinite wealth and blinding glitter yet people sleeping on sidewalks! Technical miracles coexisting with primitivism! Esthetic peaks and laughable kitsch!

Strange things against the background of such a powerful economy!

[10 Jul 81 p 4]

[Text] To satisfy the reader's curiosity, let us inform him that the areas we visited were New York, Washington and Toronto. The first two have several states each. The data reported here were either gathered firsthand or obtained from officials and official documents. They have been carefully checked and are accurate. In the opposite case the din which newspapers, periodicals, the radio and television would make would be deafening.

Police cars or fire trucks and ambulances wail night and day in New York and Washington. These are quite frequently cases of arson. Landlords burn their buildings down to expel their tenants or collect on fire insurance and invest the money in their businesses. New York and Washington account for 60 percent of crime in America. Crimes against teachers (committed by students or parents) are increasing alarmingly. Almost all television channels quite frequently show photographs or drawings of criminal sought by the police. Almost any evening a television channel will show a feature movie dealing with rape, extortion, theft or murder.

Some 75 percent of Washington's population is black. We looked at the newspapers after the new year. Along with articles, reports, interviews and photographs about the preparations for Reagan's inauguration and about the American hostages in Iran we find the following: a bloody week in New York: in 8 hours four people were killed and two wounded. In Washington, between midnight 3:30 am on New Year's Day three people were murdered in the center of the city. A 69-year-old Roman Catholic priest was wounded and robbed. From his hospital bed he asked for forgiveness for the robbers. A Christmas tree salesman was murdered. A police officer was murdered by someone who was asked to put his cigarette out. A man was knifed in front of a subway station. In the center of New York an elderly lady returning home in the evening finds a passenger car blocking her entrance. She looks for the owner, who shows up shortly afterwards and begins to unlock the car door. The elderly lady angrily asks him why he is blocking her entrance. He explains to her politely that there was no other parking space and that there was no sign forbidding parking! ... The lady, however, pulls a handgun out of her purse and shoots him, saying "you won't be parking in front of my house next time!"

A murderer has been cornered on the Brooklyn Bridge in New York. Realizing his hopeless situation, he gets on the parapet. The police beg him to come down and promise to be lenient, but he jumps from the dizzying height into the cold waters of the East River.

And...along with the television news programs, the rich and varied advertising and constant humor, one may frequently hear a competent and concerned discussion with a psychoanalyst who may spend hours talking about crime. People in New York and Washington and the other big cities in America come home (in their cars) toward 7-8 pm and no longer dare to come out. The streets are empty. Here and there an occasional car passes by. The sidewalks are dead. Gardens and parks stand empty. Theaters, movies, shows and places of public entertainment show signs of life until about 10 pm, after which everything is dead. All that remain are the deserted and silent litter, the outside beauty, the noise of firearms and the sinister ambulances. How greatly mistaken are some of our young people who have an entirely different idea of the way of life here! They would be horribly disappointed by it. Very few are those who spend their nights in bars, discotheques or gambling establishments without thinking of the future, without any concern for fatigue, examinations, plans, productivity, or discipline. It may come as a surprise to some that it is the custom here for young people (high school or university students and others) to work when out of school, either for their parents or for someone else.

With all of this, there are many areas in the United States where people cannot remember having had anything stolen from them, having had a quarrel with someone, having forgotten or lost something which has not been found or returned, or who keep their cars unlocked and their windows open.

As one may see, America is a country of many stories and each story contains both the minimum and the maximum of everything. Generally speaking, the people either somehow manage to survive or live decently. They live in the midst of abundance, regardless of whether or not anyone could equally benefit from it. The opportunities of the individual vary and depend largely on himself. All that is required is capability and refusal to sympathize with these horrible Eastern systems or to be a suspected sympathizer. Anything else goes. If you want, go to school. If you want, open a store, a confectionary shop, a bar, a brothel, a restaurant, or a grocery store.... If you want, take up a trade, become a fireman, a policeman, a barber, a merchant, a soldier of fortune, a priest, a factory owner, a farmer, a driver, a banker, a thief or a sailor...anything you want. You have the freedom to choose and it all depends on you, on your qualities. However, if you have not assessed things properly, if you have made an error, if you have overestimated yourself, if you have not taken into consideration the circumstances, God help you! The mechanism is merciless. It is interested only in what you can do, what is needed, what is in demand, what is highly productive and profitable. We must admit that there is a rational element to this, an educational element, if you wish. The bad thing is, however, that here the birth and development of a rather unpleasant distortion of aspirations is quite tangible. This has been noted by a number of honest and intelligent Americans. According to Seymour Lipsett, Harvard sociologist, who has tried to identify some of the basic reasons for distorted phenomena in this otherwise high-standard society, they are rooted in the mentality of many people whose slogan is "what matters is who is the winner, and not how." This leads to the American "national nightmare," as a DAILY NEWS editorial recently stated with some concern: "Violence is our way of life." "Murdering and crippling are spreading like the plague." According to statistics, in the past 20 years some 250,000 people have been killed in America. This does not include cases of wounding, theft or blackmail, which have become a daily occurrence and are almost ignored. The entire world knows that one out of four presidents has been the victim of an armed assault. The home of a friend of ours was robbed three times and the thieves came with a truck. That is why nearly every house has an alarm system concealed among hundreds of expensive and beautiful things.

The environment is splendid! The huge and comfortable residential districts have little gardens, swimming pools, splendid supermarkets and places of entertainment.... Trade and services are remarkably good. Everywhere one is welcomed and sent off pleasantly, politely.... The people are warm, communicative and helpful. But...if you happen to bend down to retrieve something someone has dropped he would be startled. If for any reason your eyes show despair, anger or malice, people will look elsewhere. Any sudden movement will make people jump. Because of the mania for absolute freedom, which is preached here, one never knows who is armed with what and what a person may decide to do. This writer ran for quite a distance to catch up with a lady and give her back a glove she had dropped. The passersby fearfully gave way while the lady in question was gradually moving faster and may have set a record for the hundred meter dash.

And...shortly before we arrived in New York, a 25-year-old man from Hawaii, Mark David Chapman, shot John Lennon in front of his home near Central Park, merely because of the latter's refusal to give him his autograph! And shortly after we came back, John Hinckley, the young neofascist, fired at the new president, Reagan. Generally speaking, what a strange variety!

All of these strange facts should not frighten the ordinary tourist, or someone assigned to or visiting that country. For some strange reason he is virtually safe, providing that he is somewhat more cautious and more quick-witted, behaves somewhat more calmly and modestly, comes home earlier and does not walk alone. He must also be familiar with the rules of that society. In that case, he will be able to see many other no less interesting and strange things which are equally noteworthy and which we shall share with our readers in our next notes.

[The series was not continued in subsequent issues.]

5003
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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WORKERS, INTELLECTUALS DECREASING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Ferenc Kovacs, Scientific Dept hd of the Social Science Institute of the CC of the MSZMP: "The Workers And The Intelligentsia"]

[Text] The most recent congresses of our party, using the results of sociological studies, have dealt with the new phenomena of our society's structural change, including the relationship between workers and cooperative farmers. They formulated the narrowing of the gap between the classes as a social goal. Social research also paid relatively less attention to the relationship among the workers, white-collar workers and the intelligentsia and to the narrowing gap between them. However, the number of white-collar workers almost doubled in the last 20 years, reaching almost 1.5 million (about 420,000 of them with advanced degrees). Thus, this stratum became the second largest, next to the worker class. It is becoming, then, ever more important for social management and the public to see the merging and internal differentiation of the classes and strata (and the related problems and tasks) correctly and subtly.

In Hungary, as in other socialist countries, antagonistic social segmentation has come to an end. Society is, however, segmented: it is characterized by cooperation between social strata and groups of significantly different (but not antagonistic) positions and goals. In this situation, the intelligentsia has an outstanding role, with increased responsibilities. Most of the intelligentsia are descendents of workers and peasants. Its activity and tasks made it an ally of the social classes, and its work has become quite organized and planned. All of this greatly affects not only its own attitude and sense of responsibility but also the workers' thinking. It is mainly the work of the intelligentsia that causes the general cultural level of the entire society to rise, the movements of mental work in industry, agriculture and in the everyday activity of workers in the service areas to multiply, and the significance and standard of professional training among them to increase. Some workers' strata, especially that of the skilled workers, gradually approach the characteristics of the intelligentsia's way of life. Thus, the social "distance" between the intelligentsia and the workers is significantly decreasing; the intelligentsia is getting closer and closer to the workers.

The question is, How much is this gap closing? We must be very careful in finding an answer to this question, considering that the differences within both the worker class and the intelligentsia are often greater (depending on the kinds of jobs,

training, the size of the family, urban or rural residence, etc., of the persons surveyed) than the differences between an "average" worker and an "average" member of the intelligentsia. Thus, the research on the concrete differences deserves special attention. It includes the international comparative study done in 1979 in social scientific cooperation of the socialist countries' academies of sciences on the relationship between workers, employees and intellectuals. (In the study, we interviewed a representative 2,150 workers and intellectuals from 13 enterprises, representing 10 industrial branches.)

The first interesting discovery was that, as far as financial circumstances are concerned, there is hardly any difference in Hungary between skilled workers and employees, while the financial circumstances are greatly different between skilled and unskilled workers on the one hand and between intellectuals and employees on the other. As far as the income and the size of the family are concerned, the differences between the four social strata are smaller than the differences in living conditions and household equipment. Intellectuals have a definite advantage in the comfort and equipment of their homes.

According to answers about working conditions, both workers and intellectuals are almost unanimous in their demand that their job be "comfortable" and allow independence at the same time. They thought that higher wages are more important than advancement at one's job and emphasized the importance of cooperation at the job. According to the majority, cooperation is very important in all social groups, although its extent is rather limited in reality. Speaking of democracy at the work place, many thought that it was important that their immediate superiors consider their proposals--but frequently found that this did not happen.

In summary, then, there were no significant deviations in the four social groups surveyed regarding the job and workplace, aside from the fact, of course, that the working conditions and the working hours of the intellectuals are better and, as a result of their training and position, they are better informed and have more say in enterprise matters than workers.

We have also examined thoroughly similarities between the physical and mental workers' use of free time and cultural activity. The average annual vacation is roughly the same in all social groups; i.e., 19 days. They spent 14 days for relaxation, and this also shows that many people, including the intellectuals, spend part of their vacation at work. This is evidently connected to the fact that many intellectuals also need extra income or "do-it-yourself" work that means a saving of expenses. On the other hand, the difference between the four groups in relation to vacationing abroad is significant. (Most of those who vacationed abroad were female intellectuals; unskilled male workers were most likely to stay home.)

It is not surprising that there were characteristic differences in each group in the forms and frequency of participation in culture. One extreme is comprised of those who depend entirely on television for entertainment and learning and the other, those who regularly read and go to the theater and concerts. Although the two extremes can be found in all social groups, the various forms of entertainment and learning are closely connected to the level of education, age, and type of residence. Activity involving pure entertainment is most frequent among unskilled workers.

An extensive analysis of social mobility was an important part of the survey. There is a quite extensive mobility between the generations and the children's professional advancement in comparison with their fathers': two-thirds of the intellectuals and half of the skilled workers are first-generation professionals in their own social group. This type of change in social position is also characteristic of employees: more than two-thirds of them are from worker and peasant families. On the other hand, two-thirds of the unskilled workers retained their fathers' status. More than half of the intellectuals, one-third of the skilled workers, and 30 percent of even the employees began their independent life at a lower-than-present level of education or profession. These facts show, among other things, that continued education plays a very important role in social advancement.

Family relations also indicate the closing gap between social classes. In Hungary, many marriages unite people from different social groups; e.g., three-fourths of the intellectual males surveyed chose a wife from another social group; one-third of the unskilled workers married skilled workers or employed women; and 71 percent of the unskilled female workers married skilled workers. In today's Hungarian society the various strata are not separated from one another by great social distances.

The survey summarized here corroborates the well-known statement that the social differences between workers and intellectuals have significantly decreased and that even the character of the differences has changed in the course of socialist change. While the overwhelming majority of intellectuals was serving the exploiting ruling classes before liberation (and some were exploiters themselves) and the life style and living conditions of the workers and intellectuals were quite different, the socialist revolution has put a radical end to this difference and created a new intelligentsia orginating mainly from workers and peasants.

On the other hand, with regard to the remaining tasks, the closing gap between the social strata cannot be identified (as some people do) as an equity between the intellectuals' and the workers' incomes. For the intellectuals' higher income is justified by their higher education, more responsibility in management, and work that demands continued learning. Instead of the equity game, it would be important to have a stricter differentiation of income based on actual output in the case of both physical work and mental activity. This does not contradict the fact that the dividing line between the workers and the intelligentsia will gradually disappear; this is indicated by the mass emergence of skilled workers with a high school diploma. The differences between the average positions of workers and intellectuals, unskilled workers and highly trained intellectuals will probably continue to exist. The closing of the gap must not (may not), then, entail the elimination of all differences; only those "unjust" differences that hinder the cooperation and efficient work of workers and intellectuals, should be eliminated.

9414
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PROBLEMS OF PROPAGANDA WORK ANALYZED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 9, Sep 81 pp 43-48

[Article by Jozsef Poor, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Deliberately, Realistically, With Political Sensitivity; Concerning a Few Problems of Our Propaganda Work"]

[Text] An article titled "Increasing Social Awareness in Propaganda Work" (PARTELET, No 6, 1981) calls the attention of propagandists to several important factors. Our propaganda work has the important task of an ever broader development of social awareness. We must carry out this activity in a differentiated way, taking into consideration of the frequently divergent political-ideological characteristics of all the strata of our society. This requires varied methods and an independent recognition and evaluation of the concrete situation.

The successful execution of propaganda work today places very high and many-sided requirements before our propagandists. There can be no doubt that an ever increasing number are becoming suitable for the performance of this difficult, but beautiful, task. We must see clearly, however, that we should not present our propagandists with demands which cannot yet be realized today. Still--taking into consideration the realistic possibilities--we must face several problems, even in ourselves. I will touch on these problems in my article.

Of the internal problems certainly the most essential is that one can still sometimes find among our propagandists various theoretical pictures in connection with socialsim. This indicates that today even they sometimes interpret the theory of Marxism concerning socialism in various, sometimes contradictory, ways. We are not thinking here of the multiplicity of paths or forms but rather of a confusing and misleading multiplicity of the essential signs of the socialist developmental phase.

In this connection we must make mention of two extreme types of misrepresentation which appear. One is to develop an impermissibly idealized theoretical picture of socialism and not see the differences of socialism, its distance from communism. A socialism conception of this type encourages looking at our social reality onesidedly, from the side of problems. In the work of a propagandist this leads to intolerance, urging administrative methods, etc. This, however, injures the effectiveness and credibility of propaganda work and hinders the unfolding and development of socially deliberate activity.

The other extreme type of the confused picture of socialism is for the propagandist to exaggerate the distance between socialism and communism, ignoring the fact that we are talking about two developmental phases of the same economic-social formation. Starting from this point of view the progapandist easily falls into the error of becoming involved in ideological-world view compromises and similarly--only with a different sign--evaluating our social relationships one-sidely.

On the basis of the perculiarities of our historical development there is a real danger of both traps, and they can be found here and there also. This cautions us that we can do effective propaganda work which aids the development of social awareness only if we study Marxism-Leninism profoundly, trying to understand ever more deeply the content of its theory of society, including the dialectic of the development of socialism. In this regard the propagandist can never be sufficiently prepared, can never be satisfied with the level of knowledge already achieved. In addition to the contemporary literature available (notes, textbooks, specialized books) it is absolutely necessary to engage in careful, independent study of the original sources of Marxism, the works of the classics also.

Now, to concretize the problem: A uniform interpretation of our socialist social reality is essential. I would like to call attention to only a few questions, but they are a fundamental significance. One is the multiplicity of the path of our homeland and of the other socialist countries. Sometimes our propagandists do not see clearly that some socialist countries must frequently overcome problems different from ours, do not see how much energy this takes, what efforts it requirs. Not least of all we must think here of the multi-national socialist countries. At other times we find the absence of a realistic judgment of the differences being realized in economic policy. All these factors can make an evaluation of our domestic conditions one-sided also, and can even lead to a distortion of socialist patriotism.

One of the important conditions for the authenticity of propaganda work is that it should not become a justification of every decision of every organ. The propagandist must orient himself independently in his treatment of the contradictions of our socialist society and come to an evaluation. In addition to the already mentioned theoretical knowledge, important aid in this is provided by the resolutions and guiding principles of the central organs of the MSZMP and by the theoretical professional literature dealing with a scientific analysis of our social relationships. All this, however, only provides a foundation and cannot take the place of the propagandist's independent inquiry, the necessity of developing his own value judgments.

Without analyzing this problem in detail here we must note that some of the contradictions of our contemporary society are based on objective sources, and some are based on subjective sources. Frequently these two sources are intertwined. Basically the resolution of the contradictions which have come into being on objective foundations can be realized by means of the development or transformation of our objective social relationships. The subjective factors, as supplementary elements, have a significant role within this. It is obvious that in our propaganda work we would be coming into a contradiction with our social reality itself if we tried to resolve these with the tools of propaganda alone. Despite this, one can find such examples. But we must distinguish these contradictions from the contradictions which have come into being as a result of subjective factors, or at least in part as a result of subjective factors. In the case of these latter contradictions it is not only possible but absolutely necessary to make active use of the tools of propaganda work in the interest of their resolution.

Here also the propagandist can find himself faced with two situations. In the one case he must explain to some community the necessary nature of some measure, the social or broader community interests which justify it, even if they contradict individual interests or the interests of a narrower community. In the other case however--if something is erroneous or incorrect, in the case of a decision which did not reckon with the political consequences--we cannot expect our propagandists to justify or support the reality of these decisions. In such a case the fundamental task of the propagandists is to indicate, within party-like frameworks, the necessity of changing the erroneous decisions. The party organizations should increasingly support themselves on the information acquired by the party propagandists from the broader circles of the populace, on the knowledge of our social reality which can be compiled therefrom.

Thus the propagandist carries out a many-sided activity and has a fundamental role in propaganda work. But it is a bad interpretation of propaganda work to think that the role of the propagandist is active only in that. The propagandist is doing his work well if he not only teaches and educates in the course of propaganda work but also himself studies and develops. An important condition for this is that in the course of his work he have an active link with those smaller or larger communities among whom he does his work. Intelligent propaganda work is always a dialogue. Naturally this must be interpreted in a differentiated way. This is a bit strongly--it can lead to the desired result, including an increase in social awareness, only if the propagandist does not consider himself to be the sole depositary or "revealer" of the truth but rather pays attention to problems and includes the communities in the search for various ways to approach and solve them. This today, is an indispensable tool of verbal propaganda work.

In a certain sense the propagandist must dissolve himself in that community in which he does educational work; the community must feel that the propagandist himself is learning and developing under the influence of the community, that he needs the independent problem recognition and problm solving work of the community and uses it in the course of his own work. We cannot permit our poltical-ideological enemies to take the initiative in the recognition of our problems. We must face them and cast light on them sincerely and ensure the conditions for a way out of them, but not under "pressure" from the opposition. Only in this way can we pull the rug out from under the occasional appearance and strengthening of the political-ideological opposition.

All this, however, does not mean and cannot mean that in the course of our propaganda work we must go on the ideological defensive against ideological influences hostile to us. Such a situation can really develop sometimes in some areas of our ideological-cultural life. But the situation is different in regard to our populace as a whole. It is my experience that at present there are not siginificant strata of our populace which consciously adopt any ideological teachings hostile to Marxism-Leninism. In the long run, as a basic tendency, one can see a strengthening of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism; it is this which characterizes the development of the awareness relationships of our society.

We obviously have the important task of openly criticizing those phenomena characterized by a deliberate representation of ideologies hostile to our own, pointing out their negative social effects. A fear of such criticism makes precarious the possibility of defending the truth of our ideals and our real achievements, and thus is very dangerous. So our basic task in the area of propaganda work is a positive

expression of our ideals. We must guarantee the possibility that more and more in our homeland can learn the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and not just part of fragments thereof. Marxism must be mastered and applied as a complete ideological system, deliberately adopted in the course of practical activity. This must be accompanied in propaganda work by the practical realization of the "two-front struggle," frequently within ourselves as well. But we should have no illusions that social awareness will be realized on an all-social scale within a short time, and this includes an exclusive monopoly situation for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism as an organic part thereof. For a long time still there will necessarily be a renewal of attitudinal and behavioral forms alien to Marxism; we can conduct a successful struggle to limit them and reduce their influence--but not to finally liquidate them.

A realistic awareness of our social relationships, and in this connection of the ideological sphere of our society, is indispensably necessary for a successful, well founded conduct of our propaganda work. The absence of this can cause much confusion and misunderstanding today. I would like to mention one concrete example of this which is among the most important areas of our ideological propaganda and our entire ideological public life. I am talking about religion, about the strata of believers in our populace, in the epoch of building a developed socialism. It is my experience that the two most significant ideological trends in our homeland today are Marxism and Christianity. There can be no doubt that in addition to these there sometimes appear and occasionally strengthen within a narrow sphere certain anarchistic ideals and behavioral forms which draw greater attention, not so much because of their social basis as because of their loudness or as a result of their tone. Our propaganda work has the important task of dealing with this phenomenon also. It is not possible, nor is there any need, to list all the political, moral and generally ideological phenomena alien to Marxism. Regular attention can be given to designating the tasks pertaining to discovering and overcoming these. Religion, primarily Christianity, is one of the most significant non-Marxist social organisms in our homeland which has independent organizations and institutions and which exercises an effect on a significant part of our populace parallel to Marxism-Leninism and other socialist elements of our super-structure. In general our ordered links and cooperation with the churches, are developing in the direction of the interests of the people and nation, in the direction of building a devloped socialism.

But, according to my experience, the realization of our cooperation and world view-ideological dialogue with the churches and the believing strata of our society do not always meet with an unambiguous interpretation. There are those who regard the cooperation of the Marxist atheists and the believers in political-economic and certain cultural areas as an ideological-world view compromise and they fear for the ideological purity of the party because of it. They pretend to discover in it a sort of "liberalization" or "right wing deviation." On the other hand we also meet with phenomena which would extend cooperation and understanding to world view questions in the course of seeking ways to cooperate with believing people and the churches. Indeed, when they discover those world view areas and problems in which there cannot be agreement between believers and Marxists they suspect some sort of "dogmatism."

In the first mentioned conception a role is played by the fact that for a long time the judgment of religion in use was quite one-sided and emphasized only the negative. We have very much to do among our propagandists in the area of making this picture more flexible, better shaded and more realistic. To a certain extent the practice of our church policy has gotten ahead of the development of theoretical-literary activity and propaganda.

A correct view of the question is especially important today when the leadership of the churches is doing much in the interest of developing a balanced link between the churches and the believers on the one hand and the socialist state on the other, seeing to it that the faith of the believers should not be used for the purposes of political activity against socialism. In our Marxist propaganda work we cannot ignore those positive tendencies which have come into being in a number of our large and small churches--at different times and sometimes in a contradictory way--and which are progressing in their own way. We must pay close attention to these developmental tendencies and we must draw the appropriate conclusions from the viewpoint of our propaganda work as a whole.

The positive political turn taking place in the teachings and practice of the churches is manifested in the fact that political opposition to our system and to Marxism-Leninism is being forced increasingly to the periphery within the churches and what is coming to the fore increasingly is a responsible theological treatment of those questions which express the common interests of our entire people--believers, non-believers and Marxists alike. The leadership of the churches also is seeking possibilities for cooperation between Marxists and believers; those world view questions which separate us from one another are formulated but they are not placed in the foreground. This helps to resolve the believers' conflicts of conscience--one can be a believer without being an enemy or opponent of socialism and the Marxist social-political movement. Let me emphasize that this positive political turn in our churches is taking place at different times and to different depths.

Under such circumstances--and we have stressed only one or two tendencies of the changes here--there is much which must be considered and changed in the course of our propaganda work. We must consider that religion, as a very complex compound whole, does have a world view content but in addition it has many other substantive motifs which can contain a positive treatment of social progress; it is not necessarily the world view content which comes to the fore here. In addition to the world view opposition it can come closer to the theory of Marxism in a number of ideological and political solutions. We are not talking about a mutual rapproachement in this case! This has unique consequences in our relationships. We must see our real or potential political allies in those with whom we are linked by basic interests and the cooperation being realized on the basis of our common interests offers a good opportunity for a world view-ideological dialogue also.

I believe that it would be useful to change our teminology in this dialogue also. Our churches are waging less and less of a world view struggle against us; some churches do not do so at all. Protestant theology, for example, calls itself the theology of dialogue and rejects so-called "apologetics," in plain language the teaching of defending the faith. We must adapt to this ourselves, naturally without modifying or abandoning our principles. It seems more useful to conduct a dialogue with the believers and not wage a world view "struggle" against them. Naturally, here also we are faced with a unique form of the class struggle in the scientific-philosophical sense; this is one area of the world view class struggle. But a differentiated treatment could aid the common realization of our goals and increasing emphasis could be given to those motifs which link us, forcing into the background elements which separate us.

A more detailed analysis of this sphere of questions is not possible here. We mention it only as an example to illustrate how a precise estimation of changing tendencies in our ideological public life is an organic part of our social self-awareness, and in the absence of this our propaganda work will certinly remain without effect. We cannot avoid pointing out, however, that in our age the devlopment of Marxism-Leninism is accompanied by a manifold differentiation of the ever richer content of this scientific ideology, by the relative separation of its older and new branches. Its complex growth can hardly be realized today. This hides several dangers from the viewpoint of propaganda work. Perhaps the greatest danger is that the confrontation and comparison of theory and practice is sometimes neglected. But Engels has pointed out, using an old proverb ("the proof of the pudding is the eating thereof"), that the test of every theory is practice and in the final analysis (but not in an absolute sense) only practice can justify theory. Naturally, we would be doing ill to try to submit theory to the criticism of some vulgar practice. The further danger in the differentiation of Marxism is that some elements of it might be torn away from the others, taken out of the system of theoretical interdependencies, and thus lead us to impermissable conclusions. We cannot ignore the fact that today no one propagandist can be a universal cultivator of Marxism; he cannot even know it all. But all of us must follow the chief tendencies of its development.

In my article I have tried to call attention to a few problems and tasks which make necessary the constant self-training of our propagandists, the unending renewal of their theoretical and methodological arsenal. As a result of our economic problems and the increasingly complex international situation our tasks have become more complicated and more difficult. Subjective factors in themselves cannot change these facts; indeed, it could cause additional serious harm if we ignored their objectivity. Our propaganda must give a valid and persuasive answer to these problems and must mobilize the subjective factors, the awareness of people, the motifs of will, feeling and emotion, to solve the tasks ripe for solution. This process, however, must necessarily be linked to a series of concrete measures which will create favorable oppotunities for the realization of the mobilizing effect of our propaganda work. So there is a need for propaganda work, and there is a need for the harmonization of state, party and social measures. Without this harmonization propaganda will necessarily remain without effect. So propaganda cannot be a separate sector of party work; it can carry out its tasks only as an organic part thereof.

Perhaps this sounds like an empty phrase, we say it so often. But in reality it is a requirement which is realized today only as a tendency. It is absolutely necessary to deal with it in our present situation if we want to make our propaganda really more effective. Those factors which cause our most important problems today do not, considering their essence, derive from the deficiencies of propaganda work so it would be a mistake to make propaganda work responsible for them. But they are having a negative effect on the mood, world view and public feeling of a part of our populace, and thus have a negative effect on our ideological relationships. The dialectic of things, however, does not make it possible to overcome or force into the background our basic problems with the tools of theoretical-ideological education alone. Only a change in our objective social relationships will take the ground out from under these negative ideological phenomena. In this process, naturally, the task and responsibility of propaganda work appears as an unavoidably necessary part-motif, as a supplementary task. A correct interpretation of propaganda demands from our propagandists tasks which are realistic and which can be solved within party work as a whole.

8984
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PARTY WORK IN TRADE UNION AFFAIRS TERMED SUCCESSFUL

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Summary] The role of the party in assisting trade union work was the subject of a recent meeting of the party executive committee of the managing directorate of MAV [Hungarian State Railways]. The meeting concluded that acknowledgement and taking into account of the fact that the trade union is "an independent organization in which party policy is asserted through the communists who work there [in the union] is an important basic principle of trade union activity."

Having the secretary of the trade union committee regularly attend sessions of the party committee at which trade union matters are discussed is one proven way of implementing this policy. This holds true all along the line: the secretary of the party committee of the managing directorate attends meetings of the central leadership and presidium of the trade union of railway workers. The political-ideological work of the party is no abstract activity here either, because it is a strong factor in seemingly minor, routine matters.

The recent trade union elections provided a good opportunity for assessing and enhancing this strength. As a result of the increased rights and broader mandate of the trade unions, trade union stewards and chief stewards became subject to more stringent requirements. Two lines had to be combatted in the course of the elections: one line called for detailed aid from party organs down to the most minute detail; the other found even the fact that the list of steward nominees was submitted for debate at party membership meetings to be excessive. In such cases honest, patient convincing political reasoning, the open and frank statement of the communists' views were necessary.

All this bore fruit in the fact that the ranks of stewards now number more outstanding workers esteemed by their colleagues than in the past. Today everyone realizes that communists working in the trade unions play a major role in improving the work of the trade union committee of the main department of railways. They take an effective stand on issues involving protection of interests, on reconciling group and individual interests. They unequivocally support the economic leaders in asserting the principle of distribution according to performance, but can also say no when necessary. The meeting concluded that communists working in the MAV trade union were successfully fulfilling their dual role: representation of interest and mobilization.

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ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ASSOCIATIONS VIEWED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 9, Sep 81 pp 27-31

[Edited material from the 4 August 1981 session of the Political Committee: "Concerning the Work and Tasks of the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations"]

> [Text] The Political Committee discussed a report concerning the work of the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations and adopted proposals for the communists on how they might aid more effectively with their activity preparation for the 13th general meeting to be held in October and the work of the associations and of the federation.

At present 32 member associations, 19 megye organizations and 30 city organizations work in the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations (MTESZ); in practice it embraces the areas of the technical and natural sciences cultivated in our homeland. In the past 4 years the membership of the associations has increased by 22,000 and the total exceeds 170,000.

The Political Committee spoke with recognition of the work of the technical, natural science and agricultural intelligentsia and of their successful activity performed in the interest of realizing our technical-economic goals. The associations and the federation have carried out their tasks and their work--especially since the 12th congress--has become more purposeful, better planned and more practical, and is better linked to the economic tasks which are more important from the economic viewpoint. In a few areas, however, progress was slower than would have been possible.

The resolution of the 12th congress designated an acceleration of technical progress as one of the fundamental conditions for the realization of our social-economic goals, in the interest of increasing the efficiency of production and transforming its structure. This requires a more effective utilization of the domestic and foreign achievements of scientific research and technical development and increased support for innovative initiatives. the economic tasks to be solved in the coming period pose higher demands for the technical, natural science and agricultural intelligentsia. All this makes necessary the more organized participation of the intelligentsia in economic construction work. In the realization of this a significant task devolves on the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations and on the member

associations. The federation can meet these social demands if at its general meeting and in its practical work alike it puts in the foreground the technical-social tasks deriving from the resolution of the 12th congress and from the goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and of science, public culture and educational policy. It is necessary for the federation to continue its successful activities in those areas where the work of the associations already has traditions, to apply the developed methods and forms of work with a content corresponding to the new requirements.

The federation undertakes a significant role in providing professional information, in developing public opinion and in espousing new initiatives. It contributes to the enrichment of the professional-political training of its members and to the unfolding of their social activity. In its work it makes good use of the possibilities for holding professional lectures, debates and conferences, for organizing exhibits and study courses and for editing journals and publications. It increases the attractiveness of the work done in the associations that in addition to satisfying the scientific-professional interest of the membership they provide an opportunity for public life activity. This makes it possible for them to actively participate in the preparation and realization of important central and enterprise decision.

The federation and the associations are carrying out successfully the task of providing technical and economic information, propagating the achievements of scientific research, new technical information and the application thereof. As a supplement to state education and in coordination with branch guidance organs they are aiding educational and public culture activity. They contribute with their proposals to the further development of upper and middle level professional training.

The associations publish 75 technical and scientific journals. The professional journals provide useful scientific and technical information but the quality of them does not yet correspond in every respect to the requirements; sometimes one can experience substantive overlap.

It is a social interest that in the future also the associations and the federation should contribute to preparing the technical intelligentsia for the increased tasks, to increasing their professional knowledge, to improving their fund of information and to forming their views. Increasing the practicality of the work of the associations requires that the economic thinking of the technical intelligentsia and the technical information and view of the economic intelligentsia be strengthened. In harmony with its tasks and adjusted to state education the federation should develop its system of instruction and further training, raise the level of the professional journals and apply more effective methods to the providing of information. Eliminating duplication also requires that the review of publications take place in coordination with state organs. The federation should promote language knowledge among experts and aid the devlopment of forms and methods for language teaching.

The experts gathered together in the associations are linked in many ways to the tasks of the people's economy; they aid the devlopment of our society with their many-sided activity. The intellectual resources available which can be utilized with the tools of social work should be concentrated on the solution of such tasks as, for example, energy management, electronic parts manufacture, the industrial background for the foodstuffs economy, the development of the pharmaceutical industry and problems of innovation.

In the interest of improving the effectiveness of the utilization of the intellectual resources it continues to be necessary to concentrate our attention on the solution of the most important economic tasks. Taking into consideration the nature and possibilities of the federation and the associations they should select, from among the developmental goals of greatest interest from the economic viewpoint, those the realization of which they are primarily capable of aiding with the unique tools of their work.

It is a new apsect in the work of the federation that in addition to aiding the solution of the more significant economic tasks--for example, rationalizing energy management--by announcing competitions they also attend to and organize the realization of the proposals developed in this way. In the course of its activity the federation makes good use of the opportunity of mobilizing experts for the solution of a task, from research to utilization or marketing.

The swifter and broader practical application of research and development achievements also makes necessary close cooperation between research and development organizations and producing enterprises. The forums of the federation should aid the creation of a unity of view among those participating in the innovation process. In the interest of this they should organize and guide the cooperation of experts, laying the foundations for this by a more deliberate organization of inter-association activity. In this work the federation and the associations should also cooperate with the interested state organs, including the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

At the request of the party and state guidance organs the federation has aided, with its opinion and proposals, the work of preparing decisions in such questions, among others, as the congress guiding principles, the further development of the research institution network, possibilities for exploitation of our raw materials, a draft central development program for electronics, the conception for the Sixth Five-Year Plan and preliminary thought for long-range planning work. Every association discussed the conditions for switching to a 5-day work week. The inclusion of the federation and its associations in the work of preparing state decisions also causes problems in that sometimes this is still formal--primarily because the time available for debate is short and thus the giving of opinions cannot be sufficiently well organized or broad enough. The proposals should take into consideration the realistic possibilities for realization. It is also justified that the federation and the associations should receive information about the use made of their proposals.

In the future, in the solution of economic, scientific and educational tasks and in the preparation and implementation of decisions, the guiding organs should support themselves more consistently and in a better planned way on the opinion giving and proposal making work of the federation and the associations, especially in long-range planning and when preparing central devlopment programs. In harmony with this the federation should aid the working out of decisions via the clash and integration of association opinions and with proposals which weigh the possibilities of implementation; and the federation should participate in the realization of them. In practice the inclusion or linking of the MTESZ, as a social organization, in important social and economic actions or events is still not satisfactory. This will require that the Federation of Technical and Natural Science Associations, in a manner similar to other social organs, should be linked to the work of state and social organs and receive the necessary information about decisions, resolutions and documents affecting its work in harmony with its tasks.

In the past period the federation organized the work of regional and factory organizations effectively. The regional organizations have become significant factors in the public life of the megyes and are aiding in a broad way the economic work taking place there. Adjusting to the solution of concrete regional problems a number of studies have been prepared, organized by the federation, concerning industrial development, agricultural, community development, transportation and water management questions. Their programs--such as the technical weeks held annually--are often forums for the discussion of national themes also. There have been initiatives for regional cooperation also. This helped the associations to put the guidance of some professional themes in those megyes where the intellectual background offered opportunities for it.

In the past 4 years the number of factory organizations increased from 600 to about 1,000. The content of the technical, economic, organizational and educational work directed at the solution of local enterprise or factory tasks improved in these. It is still sometimes a deficiency of the work of the factory organizations that they do not turn sufficient care to an espousal of ideas and proposals coming from the workers, to aiding the processing of them and to aiding the utilization and propagation of innovations and inventions.

Progress in the work of the factory organizations is slower in Budapest; in the past period factory organizations have been formed here only in a few large enterprises. Thus, in a number of areas, the possibilities hiding in an organized professional-social contribution to the solution of local developmental tasks are still unexploited. In the past year, however, the federation created the Budapest Executive Committee which has the tasks of cooperation with the capital guiding organs, forming factory organizations, and aiding and coordinating their work.

The development of factory activity should continue to be in the center of association work. Problem-solving thinking, initiative and action must be given greater scope via the work of factory and enterprise organizations. These organizations should deal especially with questions of internal enterprise accounting and interest also. They should help to improve the efficiency of production, should help the working out and realization of innovations and inventions serving conservation and should help the activity of the working collectives and socialist brigades aimed at this.

The associations should strive consistently to bring in young experts, even in their university years. A few associations seek out and support talented youth even in the secondary schools. Professional guidance of the enterprise Council of Young Technicians and Economists and support for the university science student clubs is successful in a number of areas, in cooperation with the KISZ organizations. In cooperation with the KISZ organizations the federation should step up its work involving the problems of young experts starting their careers and in helping them adjust to the place of work.

The international contacts of the federation strengthened in the past period. The cooperation which has developed with socialist countries has become more substantive and has been adapted to the bilateral and multilateral scientific and technical agreements among the CEMA countries. New contacts have been established with organizations of a number of capitalist and developing countries. The associations and the federation participate effectively in the work of international scientific organizations. In the future they should strive to make better use of the information and experience acquired in the course of international contacts. Gaining

international recognition for domestic achievements is an important task also; in this work the federation should cooperate more closely with the Chamber of Commerce. The federation and the associations should contribute to laying a better technical foundation for the development of cooperation with the CEMA countries. They should expand contacts with those developing countries in which broad interest attaches to the devlopment of technical, commercial cooperation.

In general the contacts of the federation with the social organizations are good. Working contacts between the federation and the National Council of Trade Unions are based on a cooperation agreement. In the majority of the branch trade unions and associations the common work has good traditions, especially in the solution of educational tasks and in surveying the situation of technicians. Cooperation between the regional organizations and the megye trade union councils has developed also thanks to the organization of joint actions.

There continues to be a need to develop contacts with the social organizations, the trade unions and the KISZ organizations, especially in the interest of improving cooperation within the enterprises and factories.

While increasing the independence of the associations the guidance work of the federation and the leading bodies has become more determined and better planned; their substantive integrating activity has been realized more consistently in recent years. Carrying out the changed and increased tasks has been accompanied by a qualitative change in part of the federation and association apparatus, and this strengthened the professional-political erudition. All this had a favorable effect on the work methods and style of work of the associations and of the federation.

In the future the federation should ensure appropriate independence for the associations and decentralized, democratic guidance of social work; at the same time it should ensure effective coordination. Its guidance work should be strengthened in the area of international contacts, providing information and organizing programs and in improving the efficiency of management. The internal organization of the federation should be reviewed in harmony with the tasks, the development of technical-scientific life and the perfection of the economic guidance system and closer working contact among the associations should be encouraged.

Since September 1980 the associations and regional organizations have been holding their general meetings to re-elect officers or have been holding their delegate conferences. These conferences have been characterized by a realistic judgment of the state of the people's economy and by activity which understands the economic and technical development tasks and supports their solution. At the same time a number of observations have been made concerning the situation and problems of experts.

The associations and the federation--using the tools of social activity--should assist in seeing that the material and moral recognition of the technical, natural science and agricultural intelligentsia increase in harmony with the accomplishments, thus increasing the attractiveness of technical careers.

With their activity the communists working in the associations and in the federation have contributed significantly to the effectiveness of the work done there. The federation should continue to support itself on the initiatives and activity of

the communists. Hereafter, also the regional party organs, the state guidance organs and the economic leaders should offer their support to an ever better performance of the tasks of the federation and the associations. The successful activity carried out in the technical and natural science associations should receive the recognition due to social work.

8984
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PROSECUTOR GENERAL DISCUSSES BACKGROUND, DUTIES

Warsaw GRANICA in Polish No 8, 2 Aug 81 pp 4,5

[Interview with Brig Gen Lucjan Czubinski, Polish prosecutor general, at his office, by Henryk Piecuch, entitled "The Law Must Be the Law"; date not given]

[Text] For 32 years, Poland's prosecutor general, Brig Gen and Asst Prof Lucjan Czubinski has worn a soldier's uniform. For almost as many years, he has been connected with the Frontier Guard. We paid the general a visit.

It was a free Saturday and probably the only day that the prosecutor general could make a little time for a meeting with a reporter. His office in the Cracow suburb is rather modest, as is the man who works there. The general values punctuality, precision of speech, concreteness and objectivity. He says that the army taught him that. Although he works in the civilian sector, he has never stopped being a soldier. We sat down and began the interview. After 3 hours, the insistent telephone reminded us that, despite the day off, the prosecutor general is one of the busiest people in Poland.

[Question] How long is the prosecutor general's day, and how many such days are there in the week?

[Answer] It is as long as necessary, about a dozen hours, 7 days a week.

[Question] What does the family say to this?

[Answer] My wife and two sons fully accept my activities and help as much as they can, since they understand my obligations well. I am proud of them.

[Question] Let's return to the past: Jelenia Gora, officers' school, law school. A young man from Lodz Voivodship, who dreamed of becoming a teacher and then a soldier, found himself there.

[Answer] I realized these dreams. I became a soldier. I was at Jelenia Gora from 1949-1951. I finished school and ended up at the prosecutor's office in the Lodz garrison.

[Question] That's how it started. What happened next?

[Answer] Next came different positions, different levels, different responsibilities. I was the assistant prosecutor at the training camp. At the age of 23, I was the Mechanized Division prosecutor under an excellent commander, General Siwicki. In 1955 I became deputy prosecutor of the Silesian Military District. It was an enormous district, and among my responsibilities was the supervision of proceedings in the whole area. That is when I got to know the frontier guardsmen better.

[Question] Unfortunately, this acquaintance was not always pleasant, was it?

[Answer] It was nothing of the sort. I met many wonderful people with whom I am still in touch.

[Question] At the same time, Comrade General, you were developing your public activities.

[Answer] Yes. In 1962 I even became the state secretary for KP SOW [Silesian Military District County Committee] propaganda affairs. Two years later I was offered the position of head of the Silesian Military District Political Administration and I was there until 1967.

[Question] One day you were called in to see your superiors. They said that you were to return to the prosecutor's office. These positions followed: Polish Army Chief Prosecutor's Office, prosecutor for the Warsaw District and in August 1968 chief prosecutor for the Polish Army. Two years later came promotion to brigadier general. How old were you then?

[Answer] I was forty.

[Question] What came next?

[Answer] I didn't limit myself to my own backyard, but added to my activities in the civil sector. In March 1972 I was named to the position of Polish prosecutor general. I did not want to leave the army. The minister of national defense agreed that I could be delegated but would remain on active duty. I was promised that I would return to army work in 2 or 3 years.

[Question] Nine years have passed?

[Answer] Yes. I asked my superiors when I would be able to return. They answered, When the time comes.

[Question] Will it come?

[Answer] I believe that it will. I am waiting for it. It will come when there is reason, order and peace in the country, when the law is the law and fairness is fairness. That is what I am fighting for. That is what I devote all my strength to.

The general became lost in thought for a while, as if he had forgotten my presence. I reminded him that in addition to his military biography, there exists another--the academic. There was extramural study of law during the difficult period of the 50's, when those who wanted to study were not viewed with much enthusiasm. There

were the master's and doctoral degrees, qualification as assistant professor and many articles in professional journals. The general confirmed these. He also said he felt very bad when inexperienced people, putting on airs, harangued academics from their positions. He stuck to his work and attained his objective. He intends to teach in the Polish Military Academy. After all, he has trained over 20 masters and one Ph.D, and conducts an 11-person doctoral seminar. I had the impression that the general's teaching and academic work give him great pleasure and satisfaction.

[Question] In our situation, on what does the role of the prosecutor's office and the prosecutor depend?

[Answer] Obviously, the role of the prosecutor's office in a socialist government is different from that in a capitalist government. The prosecutor is not primarily an accuser but is first of all the guardian of law and order in its broadest sense. There is no sector in which the prosecutor would not have to be active. Prosecution is just one of the many less pleasant though necessary obligations. The basic responsibility is the supervision of law enforcement by government and social organs, as well as the enormous civil law department. It also involves labor relations and family and guardianship matters.

[Question] What do you think about prevention? Some say that it is better to prevent than prosecute.

[Answer] I am among those who constantly repeat this. In this area, the prosecutor's office has become the coordinator of government preventive action, since carrying out preventive work is the most effective method of law enforcement.

[Question] I've heard that the prosecutor's office is not complaining about a lack of work. How large is the staff?

[Answer] We've never complained about too much time. We are literally snowed under an enormous number of cases. Just the cases in the preparatory stage amount to over 500,000 annually. There are only 300 prosecutors, plus apprentices and administration. As you can see, that's not many, especially since our activities are nationwide.

[Question] There are also women. Is that good or bad?

[Answer] Yes, there are. That's good, since there are cases, particularly in the civil law sector--though not only there--that require a feminine approach. It's also bad, since a woman is always a woman and has her woman's rights and specific family obligations. Nevertheless, we are happy that they are in our ranks.

[Question] Whom do you serve?

[Answer] We serve the government, the party, society. In this respect, the prosecutor cannot live apart from society; he must be active in it.

[Question] Comrade Prosecutor, were you not a member of the congressional commission before the Eighth Congress? Don't you feel responsible for what happened?

For the second time during our conversation, the general stopped for a while. He got up, went to his desk (which was covered with all sorts of documents), rummaged in one of the drawers and then put a typewritten paper before me. I read: "General comments concerning the 'Guidelines' as a whole"--8 points; "Comments on chapter 5"--20 points. Each of them was properly supported and documented, stating what is bad, what should be changed, what should be done, what is wrong. The comments touched on many matters--agriculture, economics, politics, foreign affairs. They were very critical in places. Some touched on matters strongly proposed after August 1980. I looked expectantly at the general.

[Question] What happened then?

[Answer] I waited to see what would come of it. Almost nothing happened, with the exception of several remarks that no one shouldn't write like that. What do I mean? Today it is being claimed that no one said anything about these matters. We spoke about them. But the result was not what we expected.

[Question] What happened along official lines?

[Answer] I can say that the prosecutor's office was giving about a hundred different items annually to the central system. Those who accuse us of ineffectiveness are simply suffering from lack of discernment. We put forward concrete, documented analysis and information in which we pointed out what was bad.

[Question] What were the results?

[Answer] No effective action was taken or at best some superficial gestures were made. It must be remembered that, to this day, even the prosecutor general cannot raise an objection to a minister's decisions, to a decree that the minister issues, even a decree that violates the law. I can submit comments or propose changes. I have done so. The answers varied.

[Question] Were you left only to stand idly by?

[Answer] No. Among other things, we brought about a resolution of the People's State Council concerning cooperation between the prosecutor's office, the People's Council and administrative organs. It is a very significant resolution and a serious problem. The People's Council became responsible for checking on the effectiveness of prosecutorial performance.

[Question] Are you looking for work?

[Answer] It might look that way. But the good of society is what is involved.

[Question] From what you say, Comarade General, it emerges unequivocally that the office of the prosecutor does not involve only orders, injunctions, indictments and summonses. But meanwhile, even the mass media don't speak too well of you.

[Answer] That is because they are not telling the truth. We are resentful and sad about that, and I believe with good reason. After all, we always made, and are making, available material about what we have done and what we are doing, as well as

about how we work. What happens? There aren't too many voices speaking the truth about our work. Some reporters arrive at something interesting on their own, some inaccuracy. That is fine; that's their profession. But they immediately accuse the prosecutor's office of being ineffective. First of all, the prosecutor's office is not the only organ responsible for fighting wrongs. Second, if only the reporter would come to us and ask whether we are aware of a given fact and if so, why do we not take action. Or ask what is our attitude toward the said fact. If it is wrong, let them criticize us. But they should not accuse us without clarifying the matter with us. Proper principles of cooperation and honesty demand that. Furthermore, one cannot make accusations and pass sentence on one's own, outside of the prosecution and judicial organs, give unchecked facts, accuse people before confirming their guilt, simply mix into the province of the court and replace it. But how many examples of that we have! Some Solidarity activists are aiming at that. Various advertisements , leaflets and libels in the press are often aimed at decent people. What has that to do with law and order, for which they are ostensibly fighting? As long as I am the prosecutor, I will do everything to ensure that no one is sentenced against the law. The law must be the law.

[Question] What about the reckoning?

[Answer] It is being and will be continued. Nevertheless, I should not obscure the fact that is is, after all, history. It would be good to deal first of all with the present, to talk about what is current and what awaits us.

[Question] Let's talk about those who want to weaken the law. Why is it that they started being more widely discussed after August? Didn't they exist before? Wasn't it known that there were such people? As far as I know, this matter was never the subject of a Central Committee meeting.

[Answer] That's true. Nevertheless, we always had enemies. But we wanted to be the only nation in the world without political prisoners. Those were the leaders' ambitions. Where did it lead? No effective action was taken against antigovernment activity, although officials called people to account for actions determined to be transgressions or misdemeanors against public order.

[Question] Was there a legal basis for criminal prosecution of some people who were carrying on antisocialist activities?

[Answer] There was. Primarily from the KOR [Committee for Social Self-Defense] and the KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland]. The prosecutor's office believed and believes,that that is very dangerous activity. Unfortunately,today,too,certain actions indicate that threats are being made light of in this sphere. For instance, contrary to our opinion, the court overturned a preventive action--temporary arrest--against the leaders of the KPN.

[Question] The prosecutor's office is accused of not seeking sanctions against those, for example, who built themselves houses, especially if they were somehow connected with the so-called ruling circles.

[Answer] We cannot let things come to a point where the prosecutor's office institutes action just because someone has a house or because he held a government or party position,if he didn't commit a crime. There is only one law. It doesn't matter whom it affects, whether ordinary people, party or nonparty decisionmakers or opposition activists who would like to remain immune in the name of some imagined higher causes.

[Question] What are you doing, then, to fulfill your tasks properly?

[Answer] We are trying to make broad contact with society, precisely in the interests of that society. We want honest people to see us as guardians of their interests and not as a repressive organ. Thus, for the past few years there has been a directive in the prosecutor's office obligating prosecutors to have broad contact with people and to do a tour of duty in various-level administrative offices, in large workplaces and the like. Long before August a complaint division was established in the prosecutor general's office--a real one, not imaginary. We have a docket of matters that are agitating public opinion. Among other things, we are following the work of television and radio and are explaining every signal. We are carrying out tens of thousands of preventive conversations.

[Question] But in spite of everything, you're locking up people.

[Answer] Yes, but only when we have very well-substantiated facts concerning a crime and that for the good of the investigation such a drastic measure is necessary. This happens only in extreme cases.

[Question] I have heard that you receive many denunciatory letters.

[Answer] Yes, we do receive them, although there are fewer and fewer of them. On the other hand, there are more requests for help than before. We help to the extent of our abilities.

[Question] Are these abilities great?

[Answer] That depends on what the requests concern, but our policy is not to take any of them lightly.

The general stopped for a third time and then asked me to put away my pen so that he could tell me a little story. It actually does not belong in a serious article but does show that prosecutors must sometimes also deal with seemingly marginal matters. Thus, once in Rzeszow, in front of the voivodship prosecutor's office he met an old woman who was warmly thanking a prosecutor for something. The latter, upon seeing the general, tried to minimize the matter. When pressed by the chief, he confessed that the woman, who lived in the country dozens of kilometers from Rzeszow, received a summons from the voivodship office to appear the next day in order to explain some matters. She arrived a day early. The official, who was a formalist, threw her out, telling her to come on the day specified in the summons. Pleas and explanations were to no avail; the official was unbending. No wonder that the woman lost her desire to speak with anyone from that office and came to complain to the prosecutor. He called the official with the request that the petitioner be

taken care of. The official was tough and refused. Fortunately, he had bosses who showed more understanding for an old woman and the prosecutor's office and took care of the old woman's affair on the spot. That's what the thank you's were about.

[Question] Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that only angels work in the prosecutor's office. After all, in spire of everything, people aren't crazy about you.

[Answer] We don't want to be loved, just understood, especially by the honest part of society, for whose good we are working. When society is fully informed about our activities, it will understand whom we serve and whose interests we protect. Unfortunately, for the moment, those who are interested in attacking us are very often heard. They manipulate the people skillfully, twisting facts. They use gossip, slander, and innuendo. They come out against law and order, bandying about demagogic slogans, pretending that they are right.

[Question] Does that mean that you've done everything that you could?

[Answer] We've done a lot, but surely we could have done more. In some cases we were not sufficiently demanding. In all areas there remains much to be improved and done.

[Question] Don't you ever make mistakes?

[Answer] We're human, we have the right to make mistakes like everyone else and we do make them. Naturally, we are doing a lot to eliminate them and if they are already made, we quickly and effectively correct them.

[Question] A great deal is being said lately about the threat to public order.

[Answer] It is an indisputable fact that there is a serious increase in crime, especially robbery, breaking into apartments and public buildings, appropriation of personal (often hard-earned) goods, robbery with assault. Various social, political and economic conditions are the cause. Among other things, internal and external enemies have become active. It must be understood finally that no organs can resist this by themselves, without society's help. Anyway, that's in society's interest.

[Question] In that case, can we yield, and how much?

[Answer] In my opinion, we cannot.

[Question] They why are we yielding? Why is the country flooded with illegal publications, which surely do nothing to calm the mood--on the contrary, they set people against each other.

[Answer] Nevertheless, something is changing. It especially started changing after the 11th Plenary Meeting. We are not surrendering? As for illegal publications, that is not exclusively an affair for the police or the prosecutor's office. These matters should be settled first of all by political means. Trade unions should be trade unions, not organizations that pass verdicts and announce them in various illegal publications. The courts are there to pass verdicts.

[Question] Our interview is not too cheerful, is it?

[Answer] Unfortunately, that is reality, which is not conducive to cheer.

[Question] Let's change the subject again, for a moment. Years ago, how was your nomination as prosecutor general viewed here?

[Answer] That's a difficult question. It is seen differently today, because the premier is a general too; thus, a uniform on the central level is somehow a guarantee of reliability and effectiveness of action. Nine years ago it was different. I had worries. Fortunately, they turned out to be groundless. I became acclimatized fairly fast. After a while, I saw that people accepted with satisfaction the fact that a general was working with them. After all, neither my name nor rank was important, only what I did.

[Question] Was some of your military experience carried over to the civilian area?

[Answer] Naturally. All the good examples of military activity were. There are many.

[Question] How shall we end this interview?

[Answer] I will say that I am glad that I was able to be your delegate to the congress. I always had good relations with the Frontier Guards. We are, after all, united by our common work of maintaining order and safety, our common concern for strengthening law and order. I know frontier guardsmen and those who wear generals' ribbons and those who day and night guard our borders high in the mountains and on the sea, on the Odra and Nysa and in the Bieszczadas [?]. I know how difficult this service is and am full of esteem for their excellent fulfillment of it.

9461
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HISTORY, FACILITIES OF AIR FORCE REVIEWED

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 34, 23 Aug 81 pp 4, 5

[Article by Czeslaw Krzeminski: "The Air Force: Its Institutions, Schools and Centers"]

[Text] The air force is one of the newest and basic branches of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic. Its missions are to conduct various combat activities directly on the field of battle in collaboration with other military branches and independently in an enemy's rear area by air attacks on ground, water and underwater targets; to engage an enemy's air force in the air and on airfields; to destroy an enemy's nuclear attack weapons; to protect friendly combat and operating groups against enemy air attacks; to conduct air reconnaissance at the tactical and operational levels; and to perform various support tasks.

The air force of the Polish People's Armed Forces was founded during World War II on Soviet territory. It took part in combat operations in the most important strategic sectors (in the Vistula-Oder, Pomerania and Berlin operations) and became the foundation for expanding the Polish People's Air Force. During the second half of 1945 and first quarter of 1946, the air force was reorganized to operate on a peacetime basis. Air units were equipped with jet aircraft during the 1950-1952 period.

Today the main attack force is the operating air force, which appropriately consists of fighter forces, fighter-attack forces, fighter-bombing forces, reconnaissance and transport units and support units (medical, communications, command aircraft and helicopters and the like). The air force also includes construction, airfield defense and service, communications, radio engineering and chemical units and services similar to those in the other armed services. It also includes units standard for an air force such as navigation, parachute and meteorological units. Air force armaments are being continually modernized. Most pilots possess first-class professional qualifications. The air force represents one-third of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic.

The Air Force Command, headquartered in Poznan, plays a key role in guiding the entire air force.

The Air Force Command

The Air Force Command is the Central command organ of the Polish Air Force. It was created 31 October 1944 in accordance with Regulation No 015/467 on the basis of the reformed Sixth Soviet Air Force. Initially it was known as the WP [Polish Armed Forces] Air Force Command and was headquartered in Zamosc. After Warsaw was liberated, the headquarters was moved to Pruszkow. The commander of the WP Air Force was Div Gen Teodor Polynin. Initially the command's entire effort was concentrated mainly on organizational matters. Beginning 18 April 1945 the WP Air Force Command began to command Polish Air Force units in the Berlin operation from a forward command post at the field of battle. On 13 March 1946 the name of this command was changed to the Air Force Command. Brig Gen Aleksander Romeyko was the commander of the air force in 1947.

When the National Antiaircraft Defense Force became part of the air force on 25 November 195', the Air Force and National Antiaircraft Defense Command was created (with Service Branch Gen Jan Turkiel as commander). On 14 April 1962 the Air Force Inspectorate was created (with Division Gen Pilot Jan Frey-Bielecki as inspector) with a limited range of prerogatives. Based on the Operating Air Force Command, the Air Force Command was reactivated on 20 February 1968 and headquartered in Poznan. Since that time the air force commanders have been (in order) Division Gen Pilot Jan Raczkowski, Division Gen Pilot Henryk Michalowski and, presently, Division Gen Pilot Tadeusz Krepski.

The Jan Krasicki Higher Officers' Air School in Deblin

The Jan Krasicki Higher Officers' Air School (called the School of Eagles) is the oldest military aviation school in Poland. Its traditions date to 1925 when the Officers' Air School was established in Grudiadz. In 1927 it was transferred to Deblin. In 1974 the Military School for Pilots was created and transferred to Deblin. Shortly thereafter the school became the OSL [Air Force Officers' School].

A fundamental reorganization of the training system at the OSL occurred during the 1956-1959 period with the introduction of jet plane armaments. Up to 1967 the school's main task was to train in 3 year's time officer-pilots and navigators at the officers' professional school level.

In January 1968 the OSL became a higher military school. Thw WOSL [Higher Air Force Officers' School] provides 4 years of training for engineer-commanding officers in the following military aviation specialties: engineer-fighter pilot, engineer-helicopter pilot, engineer-transport pilot, transport engineer, engineer-navigator for air ships and engineer-navigator for command posts. In addition it provides training for air force political officers (humanities studies). Helicopter pilots, transport aircraft pilots, air ship navigators, navigators for land-based command posts and meteorologists are trained at the WOSL's School for Air Force Warrant Officers. In addition the WOSL conducts officer courses for various specialties and ranks (WKDO [expansion unknown], KDO [expansion unknown], KPO [expansion unknown] and SOR [expansion unknown], as well as correspondence courses in engineering and annual noncommissioned officer courses. Meteorologists (specialists) are trained at the WOSL School for Air Force Meterological Service Specialists.

The WOSL Aviation Secondary School has been in operation since 1972; it provides secondary school courses for students. The Evening Aviation Technical School, which operates in conjunction with the Aviation Secondary School, was created in 1974.

The WOSL also provides 3-year basic trade school programs for career soldiers in the following specialties: vehicle driver, vehicle mechanic, and radio and TV technician.

As a result of over 60 postwar promotions, the Deblin aviation school has turned out several thousand graduates for the Polish Air Force. In recognition of this service, the school was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, class 2, in 1955 and the Grunwald Cross, class 3, in 1979.

The Michal Wojtowicz Air Force Technical School in Zamosc

The M. Wojtowicz TSWL [Air Force Technical School] trains lower- and middle-level technical personnel for the Polish Air Force.

The TSWL was founded in the fall of 1944. As a result of Order No 91 of the WP High Command, issued 31 October 1944, the WP Central Aviation School was established in Zamosc. Candidates for training as pilots and mechanics were selected from among the soldiers of the Ninth Reserve Infantry Regiment stationed at Majdanek (near Lublin). The first group of candidates--about 750 in number--arrived in Zamosc in mid-December 1944, when the organization of the school was initiated. On 21 December 1944, the name of the school was changed to the United WP Aviation School, and at the same time it was divided into two batallions: first, pilots, navigators and deck gunners and, second, mechanics of all specialties.

Schooling was inaugurated on 2 January 1945, and on 9 January 1945 Brig Gen Pilot Jozef Smaga assumed command of the school. In March 1945 the school's first batallion was regrouped and replaced by an air squadron (part of a combat training regiment).

In accordance with Order No 68/1 of the WP High Command, dated 3 April 1945, the school was reorganized once more as two separate schools: the Military School for Pilots, headquartered in Deblin, and the Military Technical Aviation School, which remained in Zamosc. The first class graduated on 18 May 1945. During the last 10 days of August 1945 the school was moved from Zamosc to Warsaw (Bemono), where it remained until 1950, when it was returned to Zamosc.

In January 1951 the school entered a new stage of development and at the same time received its current name, the TSWL. In mid-August 1955 the school was reorganized into two schools: the Gen W. Wroblewski Technical Air Force Officers' School, with headquarters in Olesnica, and the TSWL in Zamosc. One of its first graduates, Maj Franciszek Ilnicki, became TSWL's commander. Initially aircraft mechanics received 9 months of training. They were fighter plane mechanics, training plane mechanics and transport plane mechanics. With the passage of the law concerning the 2-year service period for the air force in 1957, the training period for aircraft mechanics was reduced to 5 months.

The training of young technical personnel as professional mechanics at the Noncommissioned Officers' School was initiated in 1964. In the 1965 academic year, TSWL's Nalazek Family of Elblag Noncommissioned Officers' Trade School started specializing in aviation technology. Training of the first career volunteer soldiers began in the fall of 1965.

The training of mechanics at TSWL's Noncommissioned Officers' Trade School was initiated in 1973. By the end of 1979, the TSWL was training technical personnel in 32 specialties. For its great contributions in strengthening the defense of the country, the school was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, class 2.

The Gen Walery Wroblewski Central Institute for Training Technical Specialists for the Air Force in Olesnica [COSSTWL]

This aviation school trains young people and middle-level technical personnel for the aviation requirements of all branches of the Polish Armed Forces.

COSSWL's traditions date to 1944 when the WP High Command created the WP Military Air School in Zamosc. After subsequent changes in location and various modifications, the school was renamed the TSWL in 1950 and began training jet aircraft mechanics.

In mid-September 1955, the school was organized into two separate schools: the Gen W. Wroblewski Air Force Officers' Technical School [TOSWL], headquartered in Olesnica, and the TSWL in Zamosc. At the end of 1969 and beginning of 1970, the TOSWL was transformed into the COSSTWL. At the institute's Air Force Noncommissioned Officers' Technical Trade School noncommissioned officers are trained in the following aviation-technical specialties: the building and operation of aircraft, aircraft armaments, aviation equipment and on-deck radio equipment. COSSTWL's Warrant Officers' School offers 2- and 3-year courses for aviation technicians in the following specialties: the building and operation of aircraft, aircraft armaments, aviation equipment and aircraft radio engineering equipment. In addition it provides training for reserve warrant officers. COSSTWL was awarded the Order of the Standard of Labor, class 2.

The Training and Conditioning Center for Flight Personnel in Zakopane

This center was created in 1957 as a training and conditioning base for pilots of the Polish Armed Forces. Initially, the base was known as the Conditioning Center.

The purpose of a 3-week session at the Training and Conditioning Center for Flight Personnel is to maximize the phychophysical condition of flight personnel and to extend the time that they will be able to fly.

The Air Force Institute of Technology in Warsaw [ITWL]

This institute is a ministerial scientific research institution concerned with problems related to aviation and airfield technology. The ITWL was established on the basis of the 17 June 1953 order of the minister of national defense and was known as the Air Force Scientific Research Institute. On 1 August 1958 its name was changed to the ITWL.

All airplane and helicopter operating parts and subsystems are research subjects for the ITWL. The institute does scientific research in areas that determine the functional effectiveness of the air forces of the Polish Armed Forces. Safety of flights is the number one concern. Of vital significance is the work being performed in the realm of aircraft combat readiness systems, research in laboratories and under real operating conditions for functional characteristics, the reliability and durability of aircraft equipment and airfield surfaces, optimization of operating procedures and the building of special centers for aviation and flight training. The institute conducts operating research on all military aircraft. The ITWL is also working on the construction and use of airfields, introducing new methods for determining geomorphologic soils from the air with the aid of black-and-white, color and infrared aerial photography.

The institute's work is publicized in professional periodicals and its own publication INFORMATOR ITWL. By year-end 1978 the ITWL had received over 100 patents verified and issued by the Polish Patent Office. For its scientific work it has won 20 awards and commendations from the Ministry of National Defense and 24 awards and commendations from other ministries, awards related primarily to science and technology. It also has won awards in NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and ZYCIE WARSZAWY competitions.

The Military Institute of Aviation Medicine in Warsaw

The WIML [Military Institute of Aviation Medicine] is a scientific research institution that conducts studies and research in aviation medicine. It also is involved in certification, clinical activities and the training of medical personnel for aviation medicine needs.

The institute dates to 1928, when, on order from the Ministry for Military Affairs, the Center for Aviation Medicine was established; this was transformed on 1 August 1936 into the Institute for Aviation Medicine Research. Created in March 1945, the Mobile Health-Epidemiologic Laboratory (associated with the WP Air Force Command), which a couple of months later was transformed into the Laboratory for Aviation Physiology and Hygiene, can be considered the embryo of the present WIML. On 1 June 1946 an air hospital was added to the laboratory, and a larger institution called the Laboratory Center for Aviation Medicine was formed. On 1 May 1947 this institution was transformed into the Central Institute for Aviation Medicine Research with headquarters in Warsaw. On 14 January 1955 its name was changed to the Military Institute for Scientific Research and Experimental Aviation Medicine.

In accordance with the 21 May 1958 order of the Ministry of National Defense the institute was reorganized and was renamed the WIML. The following centers were created within the institute: Experimental Aviation Pathophysiology, Clinical Pathophysiology, the Main Military Commission on Aviation Medicine, and the Construction-Engineering Department. The WIML Scientific Council began its operations in 1959.

WIML's increasing participation in developing some areas of Polish science in the 1970's was very significant, especially in clinical medicine, industrial medicine, sports medicine and space medicine. The WIML played a big part in making preparations for the first Polish cosmonaut, who was selected on the basis of a scientifi-

cally developed elimination system. This system was highly praised by the USSR Aviation Medicine Commission and held up as an example for other socialist countries.

In collaboration with PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], since 1967 the institute has been participating in the resolution of many scientific problems of the Interkosmos Program. Its research results are presented regularly at world congresses on aviation and space medicine as well as at astronautical congresses. The WIML publishes its own scientific publication called MEDYCYNA LOTNICZA. For their scientific achievements during the 1970-1978 period, WIML's medical specialists were awarded the National Award, class 2; 12 awards from the minister of national defense; an award from the minister of machine engineering industry; an award from the minister of science, higher education and technology; and an honorary degree from the International Aviation Federation. On the 50th anniversary of its founding (1978), the WIML was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor, class 2, by the National Council. Col Prof dr Hab Stanislaw Baranski is the WIML commander.

The Garrison Military Aviation Hospital

The GWSL [Garrison Military Aviation Hospital] in Deblin was established in June 1957 on the basis of the existing Officers' Aviation School Garrison Infirmary. This hospital provided medical care for OSL cadets and flight personnel. The GSWL also includes the Military Aviation Medicine Commission, which assumed the institute's certification functions regarding cadets and aviation cadidates and then candidates for the Warrant Officers' School and the Aviation Secondary School. In the 1970's the GSWL also conducted planned, periodic examinations of aviation technical personnel.

PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU

This monthly has been in publication since 1947 (until 1950 bimonthly) by the Air Force Command. Until 1974 the periodical was called WORSKOWY PRZEGLAD LOTNICZY and was dedicated to problems concerning the air of air force operating tactics, aviation radio engineering, aviation meteorology, new aviation equipment, the operation and repair of equipment, airfield equipment and stories concerning the air forces of fraternal socialist countries. During the 1950's and 1960's the size, format and cover of the monthly changed, improving its quality significantly. This was due mainly to the many years of effort of its chief editor, Col Navigator Jozef Kopacz.

Since 1974, the monthly has been published by the Air Force and National Antiaircraft Defense Command and is called PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWITRZNEJ KRAJU. Since that time, in addition to articles devoted to aviation problems, an extensive range of WOPK [National Antiaircraft Defense Forces] articles also appears in its columns. This was the organ's profile in the 1970's, as it continues today.

WIRAZE

This air force and WOPK weekly began publication at the start of 1957. The editorial staff is located in Poznan in the Political Office of the Air Force Command. The weekly is also printed in Poznan. WIRAZE is intended for air force and WOPK personnel.

The Eskadra

This is the air force's concert group, which was established 16 November 1960 in Warsaw. Within 6 months of its formation, the group inaugurated its artistic activities with its first program, called "Kolujemy na Start." By the end of 1980, Eskadra presented 19 programs and performed 4,285 concerts, which were heard by 3,750,000 people. Lt Col Ziemomysl Anger has been the group's director of many years; the artistic director is Mgr Edward Wieczorkiewicz. Eskadra is headquartered in Poznan.

The Grunwald Military Sports Club

This military sports club for pilots was formed in Poznan in 1947. In its first decade, the club underwent many organizational modifications.

The club has about 300 members in four spections: wrestling, hunting, handball and soccer. It conducts extensive sport activities among air force cadres of the Poznan garrison and their families.

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OFFICIALS DISCUSS CRIME, POLICE ACTIONS

Police Actions Defended

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2 Jul 81 p 4

[Interview with Lt Stefan Dziedzic, first secretary of the PZPR plant committee in the Citizens' Militia, at the voivodship headquarters in Legnica, by Krzysztof Debek: "A Policeman Does Not Have the Right to Be Passive"; no date given]

[Text] DEBEK: Concern is growing because of the state of public safety, the activity of criminal groups, and the lack of effective action on the part of the police. Many party and union organizations have declared their full support of security organs in the struggle with criminality, at the same time demanding effective and decisive police action. What does your party organization have to say to that?

DZIEDZIC: We have contacted all basic party organization (POP) and police organization units in our voivodship for their opinion on the state of security and for suggestions on what action to take to assure law and order. This was prompted by our internal discussion, concluding with a plenary session of the plant committee and its resolutions.

DEBEK: Could you give a few words on this subject?

DZIEDZIC: The Citizens' Militia (MO) and Security Service (SB) of the Legnica garrison wish to countreact decisively the rising crime and violations of social coexistence standards. We, the MO and the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia (ORMO), are primarily responsible for law and order. However, we need to create social conditions for accomplishing legally sanctioned activities. At any rate, an action program has evolved at voivodship headquarters to raise security, a program which all POPs have obligated themselves to support with effort over and beyond normal official hours.

DEBEK: More specifically, what is the meaning of "social conditions for accomplishing goals?" What is society supposed to do?

DZIEDZIC: Society should not interfere.

DEBEK: Is that all? You don't want help?

DZIEDZIC: I have already said that the maintenance of order is our responsibility and our obligation. After all, it is our job.

DEBEK: But public citizen law-and-order patrols have already seen service, as in Otwock.

DZIEDZIC: That was a special example. Cooperation with the police is not supposed to depend on active assistance. Incidentally, has anyone thought of the consequences in the event of a beating or the crippling of a public patrol member for such prosaic things as the lack of protection afforded every police officer? Besides, a uniform deters physical attack--to a lesser extent, to be sure, than heretofore, if but by the threat of punishment. Moreover, such a risk is figured into our job; we take it consciously. Every officer undergoes appropriate training and is prepared to take care of himself under such circumstances.

DEBEK: That kind of attitude pleases me. However, I still do not know what you need us for, as long as, fortunately, we do not have to step out with nightsticks and fight thieves.

DZIEDZIC: There has to be a social acceptance of our efforts. That is lacking more and more frequently, something which I also learn incessantly from the press, radio and television. In the face of a crowd's hostile attitude, an official is helpless and a criminal goes free.

DEBEK: We learn from the same sources of numerous appeals, resolutions nad expressions of support for various actions to increase our security. Thus, you have most of the public for you and a small margin against you. The minority is active and threatening but it is weaker than you. Perhaps the incidental attitudes of a hostile crowd, and the assertion of public disapproval linked with it, is only an alibi for your weakness and incompetence in taking the offensive against crime.

DZIEDZIC: We are assured of comprehensive assistance from the Municipal Trade Union Committee of the Independent Autonomous Trade Union (MKZ NSZZ) "Solidarity" in Legnica; NSZZ "Solidarity" in Huta Miedzi "Legnica"; a telegram that came today from Zlotoryja, where a meeting was held by representatives of the KZ PZPR in ZUG [expansion unknown] "Lena"; the local "solidarity"; trade unions; city heads; and police station functionaries. These are but examples of the assistance offered us.

DEBEK: Could not one or two drunken ringleaders muster an equally drunken mob and take over the city? Will the police hide because that "public" will be against them?

DZIEDZIC: We have the capabilities for mastering each such situation. However, it is necessary to take into account the probable consequences of that kind of intervention. They could be incalculable. Thus, a decision cannot be undertaken without the absolute certainty that it is necessary.

DEBEK: But citizens want to sleep peacefully. Specifically, can Otwock be repeated?

DZIEDZIC: That is not a question for me. I am not the commanding officer.

DEBEK: The first secertary of the voivodship headquarters MO must have his own opinion.

DZIEDZIC: I do not believe that it could repeat itself.

DEBEK: You urge reflection in undertaking intervention. By any chance, are police officers not becoming overly cautious, do they not easily resign from action, excusing themselves with helplessness?

DZIEDZIC: That is something of which I know nothing.

DEBEK: Public opinion suspects that.

DZIIDZIC: Each such report will be investigated at headquarters, and service charges will be filed against the officer. A policeman does not have the right to be passive when a disturbance is created.

DEBEK: That is nicely said.

DZIEDZIC: We are doing everything to avoid a deviation from that rule. On the one hand a system of controls and management supervision of individual work performance was improved. On the other, there is educational training whose purpose is to make personnel sensitive to the complicated situation, to call their attention to proper and rapid action on the street.

DEBEK: That is a field of action for party organizations.

DZIEDZIC: It is not only for them. But, actually, problems of internal discipline, impartial observance of rules under which we operate, and law-abiding action by security organs at all times are at the center of attention in all POPs and our committee. Together we seek the most effective methods of action by security organs in the present situation. This means having our people prepared as well as possible for difficult conditions, and swift, appropriate evaluation and reaction in all circumstances in which they might find themselves while on duty. However, a police officer is forced to make his own decision as to the manner of intervention, or withdrawal in the event that social acceptance is lacking. In the course of each situation he can be guided only by his own judgment and his own evaluation of the situation and he takes on the full consequences of any mistake.

DEBEK: That is interesting. Am I to believe that the major in charge in Bydgoszcz could have arrived at a different decision in exercising his own judgment?

DZIEDZIC: You're joking. There was a clear order and it had to be executed.

DEBEK: Was the order appropriate?

DZIEDZIC: One does not question orders.

DEBEK: However, all Poland has been carrying on a discussion about this for several months. Did your party organization say anything on the subject of the Bydgoszcz occurrence?

DZIEDZIC: It is difficult to make any kind of judgment while the investigation has not been completed.

DEBEK: Police authority has been impaired in the community precisely because of the use of police to defend what is not always the public interest.

DZIEDZIC: What am I supposed to say?

DEBEK: You should say that you don't want the police to be manipulated on behalf of suspected special interests against society.

DZIEDZIC: Of course, we don't want that. But that question is not for us to answer. We--please underscore this word--serve. We execute orders and cannot be responsible for those who issue them.

DEBEK: Many party organizations advance the proposal that the police be used solely to combat various kinds of criminality and never for political contests.

DZIEDZIC: There are no nonpolitical police anywhere in the world. That's utopia. Also, there are no security organizations anywhere that would not execute the constitutional authority's orders. Perhaps that is not the subject of our conversation.

DEBEK: However, the subject can be the level of observing legal standards by your officers. This is something on which opinion about police is also shaped and which lately is not the best.

DZIEDZIC: Are we going to talk about insinuations, slanders and libelous campaign against the police consciously conducted by a particular group of people for the purpose of weakening authority? Are we also going to be talking about proven instances that occur, because a policeman is a human being and there are no people of spotless integrity? We strive to recruit people who have been checked and are capable of service. The training-probation period lasts 3 years. Just 2 weeks ago, before I was selected as first secretary, I was the commander of the district administration of the Citizens' Militia [Zaklad Okregowy Milicji Obywatelskiej--ZOMO], so that I know the selection mechanism from experience. Of course, this or that official will take advantage of his authority, break the law, betray a trust. If we get information about such a case--it could also be anonymous--and it turns out to be true, we will not be indifferent, if only in our own interest. If our work is to be effective, it must be based on public trust.

DEBEK: Now I have a question that Legnica residents obliged me to ask: Was it absolutely necessary to appropriate the workers' hotel for the headquarters of the voivodship command?

DZIEDZIC: We've waited for our own headquarters from the day of the administrative reform and the establishment of the voivodship command. We simply had no place to work in our quarters on Asnyka Street. Even the interrogations of witnesses and suspects took place in crowded rooms.

DEBEK: Finally, let us return to the matter of security. You mentioned the program of action drawn up and the obligations of all POPs to support it with supplemental effort after official hours. What does that mean?

DZIEDZIC: It means what I said. For example, employees of the criminal, investigative and preventive services will be patrolling the city streets after their tours of duty. Soldiers of the signal corps school have also volunteered to help in patrol service. In short, we will do everything to assure law and order in our area. That is our task and obligation to the citizens.

DEBEK: Thank you for the conversation.

Economic Crimes

Warsaw TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA in Polish 7 Jul 81 p 4

[Interview with Col Eugeniusz Gecynger, director, Office on Combatting Economic Crimes, main headquarters of the Citizens' Militia, by Krysztof Szczesniak: "Under the Police Telescope"; no date given]

[Text] We are talking with Lt Col Eugeniusz Gecynger, director, Office on Combatting Economic Crimes, Main Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia.

SZCZESNIAK: Sir, if you will allow it, I will begin this conversation with enumerating the crimes with which your office is concerned: appropriation of property, bribery, large-scale mismanagement, paid protection, and revenue crimes (including foreign exchange smuggling). Which of these gives you the most problems?

GECYNGER: Undoubtedly, bribery does. This involves the mutual interest of the giver as well as of the receiver; the lack of proofs in a criminal sense because, of course, money is not a proof of individual qualities; and then the lack of witnesses. In addition, the legal system does not facilitate breaking the solidarity of both parties. Both are responsible for the crime. Thus, the number of cases of bribery brought to light is incomparably small in relation to the actual offenses. Public opinion says that everyone takes bribes but when one asks who and how much, there is silence.

Another group of crimes that are difficult to detect are property appropriation swindles. Why is that? As a rule, everything is in order from the outside and from the standpoint of documentation. I call this the "principle of apparent legality." The makeup of this criminal group is basically the same. It attracts people who have access to documentation and to merchandise and workers who perform inspection or management functions. Almost always it involves the appropriation of so-called unrecorded surpluses.

SZCZESNIAK: What are unrecorded surpluses?

GECYNGER: That is the difference between the quantity of goods actually produced and what can be learned from the documentation. If, for example, a standard anticipates that 100 kg of raw materials will yield 70 kg of product, but actually 75 kg

is obtained, then those 5 kg are surplus. As a rule, they are obtained at the expense of substantially lower product quality. In effect, we have worse pork meat products, etc.

SZCZESNIAK: In what sector of the economy is it easiest "to make" surpluses?

GECYNGER: It is in the food industry, light industry, and chemical industry. Along with large quantities, there are large surpluses. Despite appearances, criminals of this type not only strike at the public interest but also at the family budget. That is why we fight them so.

SZCZESNIAK: But of course it is not that simple. In what ways do you arrive at your discoveries of crimes?

GECYNGER: Most important is the identification of the method because the manner of operation cannot be accidental. It is always determined by the official circulation of goods or of money. Because surpluses reach hundreds of kilograms, their payee can only be trade--they can be liquidated there.

We ourselves conduct economic analyses or use the analyses of social economy units. If we come across data that indicate that the use of spare parts in a given establishment is increasing rapidly, that is something to make one think. Why is in increasing? If for example we find that there were thefts of furniture in plants in Opole and we discover a 155-person criminal group, then we generalize this fact and examine whether thefts are being conducted in the same way in other plants of that kind. In addition, a substantial percentage of disclosures are made through information from the public.

SZCZESNIAK: Are the disclosures anonymous?

GECYNGER: They do include anonymous tips. Especially recently we note a veritable flood of them. Although it takes a lot of work and ties our hands, so to speak, we check out every one of them. The highest index of corroboration appears with respect to illegal construction. In addition we get signed letters.

SZCZESNIAK: Do you treat these as more worthy of consideration than anonymous letters?

GECYNGER: What is most important is the specific weight of the matter in question. That is the primary factor.

SZCZESNIAK: Let us return to your activities. It appears that you are not complaining about the lack of something to do these days?

GECYNGER: It is not entirely like that. The seeming inference that the Office on Combatting Economic Crimes was established only after "September" [1980] is not correct. In the course of the first months of 1980, we brought to light about 25 percent more crimes of an economic nature than in the same period this year.

We are pondering that to this day. For the time being, we ascribe that to the substantial economic chaos, which hampers our work. Despite it, during the last 5 months

we have unmasked 142 so-called crimes involving the appropriation of public property through swindling, crimes that have resulted in losses of 280 million zlotys. During the same period, we had 97 cases of mismanagement (threefold more than in the year before) and 359 bribery offenses (almost a twofold increase).

SZCZESNIAK: Taking the country's economic situation into consideration, what will your future activity look like?

GECYNGER: Our work depends in large measure on expectations. For example, we had for a long time anticipated an increase in speculation as a consequence of the worsening market situation. Our expectations have proven true to a T. We are just implementing the methodical guidelines prepared for combatting speculation.

We have undertaken preventive inspection of suspended investments for the purpose of preventing property waste, so that something already built is not damaged. We have also placed agriculture under our telescope. The strategic goal of our undertakings is the restriction of criminality, primarily theft of public property and mismanagement. In addition to this, we are participating in efforts to improve penal law standards pertaining to economic crimes.

SZCZESNIAK: Does that mean making them more stringent?

GYCYNGER: That is not necessarily true. We are not advocates of severe penal repressions but rather their effectiveness. In some instances--bribery, for example--we believe that penal responsibility should be annulled in the cases of persons paying bribes on demand, if they reveal that to prosecuting organs no later than the first hearing. In turn, we advocate tightening responsibility for those who prey on working people and exploit a difficult market situation. We have submitted a proposal not only to tighten penalties but also to speed the sentencing of speculators.

SZCZESNIAK: But it will not be possible to root out the plague of speculation until there is a sufficient amount of goods on the market. Every child knows that.

GECYNGER: Yes, that is true but because goods are not arriving, and we do not know how long this situation will last, fighting speculation by penal law is the only possible defense of people earning the least money at this time.

SZCZESNIAK: Despite everything, is this not a battle against windmills?

GECYNGER: No, assuredly no, the statistics verify that. From January to June we instituted 2,100 inquiries involving speculation, and 6,300 findings found their way to governing councils.

SZCZESMIAK: Despite that, there are more, rather than less, traders and speculators.

GECYNGER: That is because the trade is profitable and the repressions of little effectiveness. We propose to make them more stringent through high fines and the confiscation of merchandise.

The 3,000 notifications that we sent to state administrative and economic organs are also worthy of mention. These entailed irregularities or actual crimes regarding

trade transactions and requested counteraction against the criminal phenomena through organization resources. It would be worthwhile to trace a few of these to see if anything were done about them there. We do not always get replies to our notifications.

SZCZESNIAK: Colonel, we have been talking in generalities. Could you furnish a couple of actual examples of action by your office?

GECYNGER: Of course, I can. In the area of agriculture, in Tywice (Szczecin voivodship) we recently discovered mismanagement to the tune of 14 million zlotys. Because of bad breeding conditions and improper zoological care in that cooperative, many animals die. Five of the cooperative's management personnel have been indicted.

The voivodship committee MO in Szczecin has completed its procedure against a group of workers in management positions at the State Farms Instalu, Zrembu and Technical Services Enterprise who are suspected of taking 2 million zlotys in bribes in exchange for an allotment of machinery, construction materials, and coupons for automobiles.

In Bielsko Biala, 17 persons are suspected of stealing 900,000 zlotys worth of parts and subassemblies for Fiat 126p from the Low Liter Automobile Factory.

In Piotrkow Trybunalski, an investigation has just been completed relative to abuses committed by 14 tradesmen who swindled more than 13 million zlotys from 1978-1980 while doing construction work for socialized units and raising the prices of their services. Will that suffice?

SZCZESNIAK: It will. Thank you.

Increase in Crime

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 31 Jul 81 p 8

[Interview with Magistrate (M.A.) Maciej Tomaszewski, regional prosecutor in Szczecin, and Magistrate Lt-Col Jan Krzyzaniak, local MO commander in Szczecin, by Maciej Czekala: "On Safe Days and Nights"; no date or place given]

[Text] Controversial discussions have been taking place for some months throughout Poland on the subject of security and order in the country. The hooligan excesses that have occurred in various parts of the country, active attacks on officials of the Citizens' Militia (MO), the frightening statistics on the increase in crime published by individual institutions and departments--these evoked, and continue to evoke, varied opinions on the part of the public. Why are they so controversial? Perhaps the explanation is relatively simple. It is associated with the past information policy. Security organs then identified themselves in showy public presentations with high (and steadily rising) indexes of crime detection. The information program did not call the public's attention to the crime or social phenomena taking place, which was constantly being signaled to the authorities by MO offices, prosecutors and social oraganizations. The high crime index of young people, alcoholism as a factor associated with an enormous amount of rising crime, and the use of narcotics, were shamefully passed over in silence.

When we speak about this openly, the public can react with a feeling of disbelief and a suspicion that we are being frightened by all of this. What are the facts? We asked some competent people, people responsible for the security of our city, to discuss this subject; Magistrate (M.A.) Maciej Tomaszewski, the regional prosecutor in Szczecin, and Magistrate Lt-Col Jan Krzyzaniak, the local MO commander in Szczecin. Prosecutor Tomaszewski recently expressed himself very broadly on these subjects during an election-program conference of the local PZPR committee in Szczecin.

KURIER: I am addressing the first question to both gentlemen. About 6 weeks ago, I included some information in KURIER on the subject of security in our region. That appraisal, based on data obtained from the voivodship prosecutor's office in Szczecin, was optimistic in certain respects. As a voivodship, we are not a national "crime leader"; the number of major crimes (murders, rapes) has decreased. On the other hand, the increase in crimes in absolute numbers in our voivodship is about 21 percent and is caused by an increase in "small" crimes, such as break-ins into basements. Do you gentlemen confirm these conclusions?

TOMASZEWSKI: I have a few words on this subject before I answer that question. You say that the controversies in society relative to crime and other social pathologies are associated, in some degree, with the past information policy. We agree. Neither do I have a good idea on adding to the public's information on this fundamental problem.

Actually, opinions and announcements are being published that shake the credibility of data on the real increase in crime and the substantial deterioration of order and public safety. The only people who can come to such conclusions are those who do not consider objective facts but look at the problem quite subjectively. However, it is not necessary to reach for statistics and publications in this area because close observation, if only of what is happening in the streets or from mass communication sources, arouses the alarm and fear of every person who is sensitive to evil.

To answer the specific question, I will say that the data cited are unquestionable; however, they pertain solely not to the city of Szczecin but to the Szczecin voivodship and to the last 3-month period. On the other hand, the conclusion that you draw from the data namely, that as a voivodship we are not a part of the "crime leader" group--unfortunately is not correct. Despite the systematic improvement in law and order in the last decade, the Szczecin voivodship and the city of Szczecin have always belonged to the most crime-threatened areas of Poland. The police chief and I feel particularly competent to talk about the actual situation in Szczecin. The crime situation here, in relation to the voivodship, looks as follows: more than 40 percent of the voivodship's population lives in our city while the crimes committed here exceed 50 percent. During a 5-month period this year, there were over 900 more crimes than during the same 5-month period last year.

KRZYZANIAK: We noted a substantial increase in crime in Szczecin since the fourth quarter of 1980. The largest increase, almost 500 percent, was robberies with break-in into private buildings. Criminals have been, and are, attacking dwellings, cellars, garages and cars. However, the number of thefts of personal property for which a break-in is not necessary, is also growing. These are various types of predatory robberies such as tearing a gold chain off the neck of a woman walking on a street. The number of pickpocket robberies has also increased. People are

standing in compact queues in front of stores, which provides a field of action for queue thieves. Jammed buses and trains are also an excellent field of action for thieving groups.

Now that summer has arrived, people are losing bicycles, motorcycles and cars in great numbers.

TOMASZEWSKI: Generally speaking, the dangerous state of crime growth is reflected in the very serious increase, particularly in criminal acts against citizen life, health and property, as well as against public property.

Perpetrators are characterized by unusual brutality, indifference and contempt for the basic principles of social coexistence. The number of crimes committed by parasites, inebriates, recidivists and juveniles is growing.

I note the question in the introduction on whether the social pathology phenomena mentioned are new and only appear today.

An affirmative answer would be a falsehood. No, these phenomena are not new and did not appear only in recent months, although in the past, despite warnings, not everyone wanted to see them in proportions appropriate to the threats. However, it is true that in the country's complicated and qualitatively new sociopolitical and economic policy, numerous social pathology phenomena emerged with a special sharpness, and in new dimensions. Circumstances have arisen that embolden asocial circles to take criminal action, while the indifference sometimes observed, favors this and at times is even conducive to asocial circles hampering an MO official acting on behalf of law and public safety.

I consider such negative phenomena as transitory. It will not alter my conviction that the bulk of our society sees a safeguard in law and order for the changes taking place, a guarantee of democracy, and of law and order.

KURIER: We turn now to statistical data. I am addressing this question to the local MO commander. Colonel, you direct a large police unit in a large city. Are the facts that you presented to us today an effect of "renovation," or did the figures before September [1980] have to be nice and, thus, there "was no room" for everything, while now every criminal act is recorded and that is why crime "increases" reach several hundred percent?

KRZYZANIAK: The question--whence this increase, why it is taking place now--probably bothers everyone. It is a question that appears constantly in meetings that we are conducting with Szczecin residents. We are also asking it of ourselves as professionals. It is difficult to furnish an exhaustive answer to this question in a single article, because this is an unusually broad subject involving a series of constantly changing conditions. Hence, from necessity, I will restrict myself to what I consider the most important aspects of this problem.

This alarming increase pertains first of all to crimes for profit, something closely associated with the existing economic situation. To the extent that, with respectable people, man's natural tendency to live better manifests itself in assured income through work, with criminals it manifests itself in obtaining ever greater gains

from activity at loggerheads with the law. Criminals even find justification for committing more crimes now: after all, their living costs are constantly rising. When all is said and done, the cost of "basic" beverages also went up. They know that it is easier to find an appetizer in someone else's cellar than in a store. A person is seized with wonder when he learns that a casket of jewelry ingeniously hidden (in the owner's opinion) from robbers or several hundred thousand zlotys has been stolen.

KURIER: Mr Prosecutor, do you observe something in the nature of a "shift" in criminal trends?

TOMASZEWSKI: It is not possible to talk about economic crime changes. We will continue to devote particular attention to combatting and revealing broadly understood economic crime, especially dangerous group swindling, mismanagement, waste and speculation. We are obliged to do this by the public's justified outrage with this type of crime, and the increase in crime which continues to be concentrated in the food industry, transportation, trade, construction, services and catering businesses.

Various common, cumulative reasons lie at the base of such crime. It is significant that more than 60 percent of public property seizure crimes are perpetrated by employees against their employers, including employees responsible for the protection of public property. The situation requires special action, particularly since this is happening in establishments in which--at least officially--an internal inspectorate and management are in operation, taking money for its services. This constitutes an expression of unconcern on the part of some establishment managers with respect to the protection of public property. In essence, combatting these phenomena by punishment is an attack on results and not on causes. A substantial restriction on the conditions that favor this crime is anticipated with the introduction of economic reform and with the development of self-government in work establishments.

KURIER: We often speak of the need for the cooperation on the part of respectable people in creating a system for the security of their own property. However, not long ago the police were complaining about public indifference and the fact that sometimes when they tried to intervene, people interfered with them.

J. KRZYZANIAK: That is true. However, lately perhaps some improvement is beginning to take place insofar as policeman-citizen is concerned. For example, when a tragic accident happened on Victory Square--a streetcar demolished our ambulance--people spontaneously started to offer help to the injured policemen. In addition, without being asked by our team, they offered their names and indicated their willingness to appear as witnesses.

TOMASZEWSKI: Last of all, I would like to say that we view the actual rise in crime and symptoms of social pathology that were presented, with a good deal of concern and great uneasiness. We treat the existing situation as a need for subordinating all of the actions of our offices in order to restrict crime growth and eliminate the conditions that give rise to crime or favor it. The statement that the public has a right to deal with these problems primarily through specialized offices of order and prosecution, is a truism. Considering, however, that a conversation with a journalist is a conversation with readers, hence with the public, I must say that

pathology and crime are social phenomena that spread under specific social conditions because of specific reasons. Thus, the radical restriction of these negative phenomena will never be possible without broad, active participation of the public. In making this statement, I wish to say that the success of action by specialized state organs on behalf of order and security, is based on the cooperation of such organs with the collective organs of work establishments, the Peoples' Council and state and economic administration and self-governing social organizations. That is why we value cooperation highly and are constantly striving for its improvement.

KURIER: Colonel, is it true that many policemen are offering--as it is said in civilian life--their resignations during the existing situation?

J. KRZYZANIAK: I cannot answer that question unequivocably. Our people's work is exceptionally difficult and we are aware of that. However, I cannot deny [text illegible] about release from work. Here is a typical example. Recently, a young, very promising policeman came to me. He presented his request for release from MO work. "Too bad that you are leaving," I said to him. "As managers, we are well satisfied with your work." In answer I heard, "Comrade Commander, so much is said today about our assorted splendid privileges. I have a family to support. I have no possibility of getting my own place to live; I live as a subtenant, something for which I pay dearly. In short, I will earn more. At this moment, that is the most important thing for me and my family."

Perhaps that conversation also answers the question presented to me.

KURIER: Thank you for the discussion.

10,433
CSO: 2600/332

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS IN INDUSTRIAL MINISTRIES ANNOUNCED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 8 Sep 81 p 2

[Presidential Decree on Appointments to an Removals from Positions]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the machine building industry:

--Nicu Constantin

--Constantin Ionescu

--Ilarie Munteanu

--Gheorghe Nestorescu

--Alexandru Rosu

--Stelian Teodorescu

Article 2--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the machine tool industry, electrical engineering and electronics:

--Gheorghe Boldur

--Ion Constantinescu

--Alexandru Necula

--Virgiliu Stere

Article 3--Comrade Vasile Baltac is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine Tool Industry, Electrical Engineering and Electronics.

Article 4--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of mines:

--Gheorghe Fulea

--Aurel Lapusca

--Romica Stanciu

Article 5--Comrade Dumitru Craciun is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Mines.

Article 6--The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of petroleum:

--Nicolae Amza

--Victor Murea

Article 7--Comrade Andrei Ene is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Petroleum.

Article 8--Comrade Petru Cojan is appointed deputy minister of geology.

Article 9--Comrade Nicolae Murgu is appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economin cooperation.

Article 10--Comrades Alexandru Toader and Ion Popescu are relieved of their positions as deputy ministers of mines, petroleum and geology.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 7 September 1981

No 210

CSO: 2700/11

ORTHODOX CHURCH HOSTS JAPANESE BUDDHIST PEACE PILGRIMS

Bucharest BISERICA ORTODOXA ROMANA in Romanian No 1-2, Jan-Feb 81 pp 36-40

[Article by Lecturer Dr Remus Rus: "The Visit to Our Country of a Delegation of Buddhist Monks"]

[Excerpts] As an example of the effective involvement of all religious organizations in the struggle for peace, the Romanian Orthodox Church received the visit of a group of Buddhist monks from Japan who were making a pilgrimage of peace throughout the world, as a protest against the arms race and, especially, against nuclear weapons. The visit of this group began on 29 December 1980. Upon its arrival, the group of Buddhist monks was met by Remus Rus, lecturer in religious history in the University Theological Institute in Bucharest and Father I. Protopopescu from the Church Foreign Relations Department of the Romanian Patriarchate. The following were members of the delegation: Ven. Atsushi Kawagishi, leader of the delegation and of the "Peace" pagoda in Hiroshima, Rev Jeshitsugu Oyama, Rev Seiji Handa, Rev Shiro Nagase and Rev Tsutamu Kijima. During its visit to our country, which lasted until 7 January 1981, the group was accompanied by Remus Rus.

As part of their schedule, which was conceived and approved by Patriarch Justin of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the guests visited important religious centers in our country, monasteries, parishes and university cities. In Bucharest the group was received by Bishop Vasile Tirgovisteanul, patriarchal vicar, who greeted them in the name of Patriarch Justin. From Bucharest they went to Moldavia. In Iasi, the guests were able to celebrate the New Year according to the Buddhist religious tradition. They also participated in the Sacred Liturgy celebrated in the cathedral by Metropolitan Teoctist of Moldavia and Suceava. There was an official reception for the Buddhist delegation at which the members of the delegation were invited to speak to the priests of Iasi.

On 3 January the guests went to Cluj-Napoca where they were welcomed into the cathedral by His Holiness Justinian Maramuresanul. He greeted the Buddhist guests and expressed the hope that through the united efforts of all people a common peace front would be established in the entire world. The Venerable Kawagishi replied, emphasizing the common desire of all those who believe in God to establish an atmosphere of peace in the world and asked for prayers and common solidarity in the struggle for general and nuclear disarmament.

On 5 January the guests went to Oradea. They were received by Bishop Vasile of Oradea in the cathedral and attended the Sacred Liturgy. In the afternoon, they went to parish of Tinca and spoke to the parishioners.

Before they left Romania, the guests gave us an interview.

Question: In Japanese society there is a tradition of filial duty. To what extent can the respecting of this duty be a basis for consolidating and expanding relations among people?

Answer: Filial duty is a traditional Japanese belief expressed in the teachings of Buddha. It represents one of the most important doctrines. Each family unit represents, on a reduced scale, general human society. Each nation is a family. Just as children should respect their parents each member of society should feel responsible for all men and for all women. We are convinced that if filial duty is respected in the entire world there will no longer be any killings and violence.

Question: You have visited Romania and have had an opportunity to observe life in our country and the religious life of the people. What impressions do you have?

Answer: First of all, we were impressed by the strength of the Romanian Orthodox Church which is carrying out its activity freely in a socialist country. In the second place, we were impressed by the deep faith of the people and by the large number of the faithful present at the services. The churches which we visited in Iasi, Cluj-Napoca and Oradea were filled with worshippers. The construction of new churches and the broad participation in religious services are clear examples of religious freedom in Romania. The appeal for peace of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church is a clear example of the struggle for peace in Romania. All that we have seen in Romania shows us that we are not alone in our peace efforts.

CSO: 2700/18

TIMISOARA JAIL BREAK, SHOOT-OUT REPORTED IN EMIGRE PRESS

Paris BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian 1 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Sensational Jail Break Which Ends in a Bloodbath in the Timisoara Airport"]

[Text] On the morning of 23 August three prisoners escaped from the Timisoara jail along with a guard who facilitated their escape. All four were armed with machine guns which they took from the jail. When they went out on the street they signalled a bus to stop and they got on the bus. Some 40 passengers on the bus were held at gunpoint and the driver was ordered to drive to the city airport. Meanwhile, when the alarm was sounded from the jail and it was learned that the bus was headed for the airport, armed troops surrounded the airport. When they arrived there, the escapees demanded to be allowed to enter the airport and demanded that an airplane be placed at their disposal, threatening to execute the passengers whom they were holding as hostages if their demands were not met. However, the army received an order to shoot at the bus. The escapees responded with their machine guns. This resulted in a bloodbath during which the 40 passengers, 19 soldiers and two of the three escapees were killed and the other was seriously wounded. The guard who helped in the escape escaped with his life.

An investigation was ordered immediately and the chief of the Securitate and important party members came from Bucharest. It is said that the three prisoners were "frontalists" (that is, they were captured at the border trying to cross into Yugoslavia). Many people have been arrested, including those who work at the jail. The 23 August celebration in Timisoara was cancelled.

CSO: 2700/21

SHORTCOMINGS IN HEALTH CARE CITED IN PLENUM

Bucharest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 18 Jul 81 pp 1, 6

["Report on the Plenum of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Health Units"]

[Excerpts] On 9 July 1981 there was a plenum of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Health Units Comrade Floarea Bucur, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the Union of Trade Unions of Romania took part in the plenum.

Despite the good results achieved--the fact that indices of sickness and deaths are lower than in any other time in the entire history of health care in Romania--the analysis and the discussions brought forth a number of shortcomings which hinder the obtaining of better results. There are priority areas in medical care in which not everything has yet been done. For certain groups of the population mortality figures are high compared to other European countries (children under 1 year of age, the aged, deaths of mothers during abortions). Internal infections still occur relatively frequently as a result of failure to observe hygiene regulations and the neglect of aseptic and antiseptic requirements by some health cadres. Also, there have been shortcomings in the execution of long term measures for combating cardiovascular illnesses, cancer, diabetes, and mental illnesses and in the areas of emergency assistance and rehabilitation of workers.

CSO: 2700/19

BRIEFS

UN APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Jean Livescu is relieved of his position as chairman of the National Commission of the Socialist Republic of Romania for UNESCO. Comrade George Ciucu is appointed chairman of the National Commission of the Socialist Republic of Romania for UNESCO. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 8 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/11

SARAJEVO PAPER SCORES 'POLITIKA' ARTICLE ON CHETNIK COMMANDER

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by A. Nuhefendic: "More Resolute and Concrete Activity"]

[Text] The individual commitment of veterans and their organization as a whole in resolving the urgent issues in the development of our society ought to be still greater and better suited to the principle that the veterans' organization bears a part of the responsibility and obligation for everything that happens in our community. Expressing support of this resolution, members of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] were referring in yesterday's meeting to the need for a more resolute and concrete activity by participants in the National Liberation War in resolving issues in development whose importance puts them in first place at the moment: implementing the measures of economic stabilization, carrying out investment policy and plans, implementing stands pertaining to fulfillment of the program for the fall planting and production of food, and so on, which they treated equally. The veterans are also expected to maintain their activity undiminished in opposing individuals or groups operating from positions hostile to our socialist system of self-management, to condemn unhesitatingly and combat all types of nationalism, chauvinism, separatism and all other hostile activities more or less similar to those already mentioned. The veterans, in the words of Ratko Jovicic, chairman of the republic committee of SUBNOR, are not only to give verbal support to the positions, but to demonstrate this commitment of theirs in specific acts.

False Pictures

In view of certain cases of cleronationalism and attempts to rehabilitate certain war criminals, individuals or groups who during the National Liberation Struggle distinguished themselves with their fratricidal crimes, the presidium issued a communique stating "that the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic of SUBNOR has become aware of information on the reaction of the working people and citizens and sociopolitical organizations of the Gorazde District to the feature article entitled "The Waging of War by Gojko Krezovic," written by Veljko Stankovic, which was published by POLITIKA from 17 to 27 August of this year.

The presidium judged that the author had gravely violated the truth in his distorted presentation of events from the time of the war in that feature article, giving a false picture of Gojko Krezovic's role and that of the Chetnik battalion which he commanded.

It is an irrefutable fact that Gojko Krezovic, as a Chetnik battalion commander, together with other Chetniks, participated in late 1941 and early 1942 in numerous Chetnik actions on the territory of the upper Drina region where well-known atrocities were committed against innocent people, and especially in the massacres of the Moslem population of that region. These are facts well known to every veteran of the National Liberation War and Partisan units throughout eastern Bosnia; even during the National Liberation War these acts were condemned as a major atrocity against the brotherhood and unity of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in our country and as a most shameful act of chauvinistic enmity and of service to the occupier.

The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Committee of SUBNOR, having become aware in yesterday's meeting of the numerous reactions of the people and the positions of sociopolitical organizations in Gorazde and other opstinas in this area, agreed to condemn that method of writing.

The presidium judged that Veljko Stankovic's article inflicts serious political damage on our community, since it displayed an obvious tendency to play down Chetnik crimes in order to represent Gojko Krezovic as a kind of fighter for the people, but the facts about him are very well known to the people, and they are horrified at any attempt to falsely portray the truth of history and to shatter the brotherhood and unity and equality which we are constantly fighting to strengthen.

The presidium at the same time noted that POLITIKA committed an intolerable oversight in printing this article without checking with professional scholarly institutions or those who know the true facts about the events involved. It is amazing, in spite of everything that has been said, that the editors of the newspaper POLITIKA have not issued a single word of apology to their numerous readers whom it deceived with untruths for some 10 days. On the contrary, the editors of POLITIKA represent the objective, convincing and resolute reaction of Comrade Rodoljub Colakovic and the assessment of the Presidium of the Gorazde Opstina SAWP Conference "as an indispensable and useful epilogue to the article published," which is certainly a kind of precedent.

Our struggle for brotherhood and unity, equality and socialist community consensus obligates us, in consistently carrying out the policy of the League of Communists and the historic work of Comrade Tito, to be uncompromising in combating all those who in whatever way desire to disunite and lead astray our fraternal nationalities and ethnic minorities and thus jeopardize their life in peace and socialist development. This attempt at reviving the sinister hostile and chauvinistic passions also clearly indicates that there is a need for constant and still greater vigilance and responsibility for such actions.

Aid to Bosanska Krajina

The drafts of two important documents--the Social Compact on Furnishing Funds for Construction and Adaptation of Housing of Participants in the National Liberation War for the Period From 1981 to 1985 and the Criteria for Granting Credits and Socially Owned Funds and Housing To Meet the Housing Needs of Participants in the National Liberation War in SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Hercegovina on the basis of the social compact already mentioned--were also on the agenda of yesterday's meeting. Their principal purpose is to impart more order to solving the problems in this undoubtedly delicate area. It is clear that it will be possible to speak more soundly about these documents only when they are finally verified, but even from the proposed versions and the suggestions which have come in from the various opstina organizations of SUBNOR and those we heard yesterday, one can conclude that housing issues will be settled more rapidly, and certain provisions of the criteria--since they are stated more precisely--will prevent various speculations.

The participants in the meeting learned of the consequences of the earthquake which recently struck Bosanska Krajina and inflicted large property damage on that region. It was pointed out in this connection that veterans behaved in exemplary fashion in this emergency situation, that they have shown a high level of solidarity and sacrifice and have joined all the working people and citizens in offering aid and repairing the consequences of the destructive natural disaster. The veterans expect full solidarity on the part of our entire community, the resolution read, in repairing the serious consequences of the earthquake. It was also resolved that the presidium of the republic committee would send 50,000 dinars from its budget as aid to the regions affected by the earthquake, and officials of the work community of the republic committee, members of the presidium of the republic committee of SUBNOR and secretaries of commissions were issued a recommendation that they each set aside between 2 and 5 days' earnings and send this money as aid to the regions affected by the earthquake.

7045
CSO: 2800/5

MORE WAR VETERANS INSTEAD OF FEWER

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by N. Babic: "Softhearted Witnesses"]

[Text] Though several thousand veterans die every year, the number of members of SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War] is still not decreasing. Over the last 2 years alone the total number of veterans and disabled veterans, who numbered about 1.2 million, have been joined by another 35,000 participants in the war who proved their participation in the National Liberation Struggle before 9 September 1943 with the help of two witnesses. It is also assumed that another several thousand are waiting for their applications for recognition of this war service to be ruled on.

"This large influx of applications for recognition of war service started in late 1976, when the law was amended. After the population census (10 years ago) it was repeated that about 120,000 individuals declared that they had been participants in the National Liberation Struggle, but had no written evidence of this, but could prove their assertion with the help of two witnesses. Since fighting service during the war could no longer be proven with witnesses after late 1966, it was thought that many veterans would be hurt. That is why the new law was passed. The whole campaign was prepared carefully and at length. The results were all satisfactory," we were told by Olivera Stojanovic, director for veterans' affairs in the Federal Committee of SUBNOR of Yugoslavia. It was expected and foreseen that most of the applications would come from farmers and women who do not work. The expectations were nor borne out. The applications came in from people who are working and who are gathering documents for their pension.

The law provided that the petition for institution of proceedings could be filed only after a statement was obtained from the presidium of the opstina committee of SUBNOR. It was not easy to obtain this statement, but the figures nevertheless show that only one application in three has been rejected. In the Belgrade opstina of Stari Grad, one of the most populace in our country, they say that they have many problems with witnesses. Some veterans don't take this seriously, and they give testimony for people who were not their fellow fighters.

Less Strict Criteria

We were told in the Federal Committee of SUBNOR that they themselves had recorded several oversights in certain quarters. Usually the problem consisted of less strict criteria, but some commissions are granting pensionable war service even to people who did something unimportant in organizations in the rear, youth organizations and women's organizations. Aside from the irresponsible witnesses and the slack criteria, applications for recognition of war service have recently become quite frequent from people who at that time were barely 10 years old! Many of them went with their parents and relatives into Partisan skirmishes, but for years their status has been defined as presence in the National Liberation Struggle, but not participation.

We have heard from many veterans that their are far more false affidavits and false testimony in large cities than in smaller places, where people know one another and remember events from 40 years ago. Although there have been such cases, the veterans are reluctant to talk about them.

We spoke about these problems with Dragoslav Novakovic, a veteran of the Second Proletarian Brigade and a holder of the 1941 Commemorative Medal, who is deputy secretary for veterans' affairs of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia.

"The veterans of the Second Proletarian know each other well, so that I personally never had a request to give an affidavit for someone who was not in the brigade. But we all have such requests from citizens, sympathizers of the Partisans and of the National Liberation Struggle, who often helped us as much as they could. Here the criteria are also different, but today it is difficult to say whether someone gave a great deal or only a little help to fighters in the war," Dragoslav Novakovic told us. In his opinion these criteria have by and large become less and less strict every year in all the competent commissions.

"When we began to regulate war service of veterans more than 20 years ago, there were not so many material and other benefits. They came later in various laws and regulations, and it is therefore understandable that ever greater interest has been shown in recognition of war service," Dragoslav Novakovic said.

The Deadlines Have Passed

The fact that the number of war veterans is not dropping, but is growing, is being felt most in the funds set aside every year for the benefits of veterans and disabled veterans. They amount to 1.5 percent of the national income, or 13.4 percent of the federal budget. These funds go for veterans' pensions, welfare for disabled veterans, and for health care.

The deadline for proving war service by means of two witnesses has passed according to the law (in 1978), but many cases started long ago (without evidence) are today being supplemented, so that several thousand applications are now before opstina committees of SUBNOR. Up until 1978, when the periods for filing expired, 118,684 new war veterans had applied for recognition of status as war veterans. The presidium confirmed 76,550 applications of opstina committees of SUBNOR, while the rest were rejected.

In veterans' organizations one hears increasingly frequent demands that termination of disputes about recognition of war service should be speeded up. They say that only then will we know exactly how many war veterans are still alive and how much money will be needed for their benefits.

7045
CSO: 2800/3

CHARGES AGAINST SERBIAN PRIESTS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "The 'Gospels' as a Screen"]

[Text] The pious and priests of the Serbian Orthodox faith in the Zvornik-Tuzla Episcopate can be content that thanks to a favorable settlement of their demands, which are based on law, they have all the facilities for religious rites and service. Today this episcopate has about 130 churches, 84 parish houses, 4 monasteries and about 100 priests.

From the Liberation to the present time in this episcopate a large number of churches, monasteries and parish houses have been rebuilt, and at the same time 50 new church structures were built, among them the church at Tutnjevac near Ugljevik, which was recently opened by Patriarch German. Much more has been done here in the reconstruction and construction of sacred structures than in other episcopates in SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Assistance From Society

They are also familiar in this episcopate with considerable material assistance which the sociopolitical community appropriates from its funds for aid in protecting cultural and historical monuments owned by the church, for the health, old-age and disability insurance of religious officers and for operation of the episcopate association of priests. Over the last 10 years that aid has amounted to about 6.9 million dinars.

A large number of deacons, priests, protopopes, priest-deacons, archdeacons, monks and other religious officers in the Zvornik-Tuzla Episcopate are aware that the constitutional precept of the freedom of religious confession has never been, nor will it be empty words, but represent our reality, which in its way is also indicated by the aid which the broader social community is constantly providing to all religious communities in accordance with its material capabilities. Most of the pious, honest people, builders and self-managers in our society, also know this.

In the light of all this it is all the stranger that individuals should have made statements which negligently ignore these and other facts and assert that

religious freedom has been restricted or even curtailed. These and other statements can be made only by those priests of this episcopate who have been informed that this formation of "Orthodox Christian communities" will not do, for the simple reason that it exceeds the bounds of the church's activity. Alas, the interdiction of extrareligious activities is interpreted by such people as a frontal attack not only on the freedom of religious confession, but even on all priests and Orthodoxy as a whole. There would be no need for us to address these remarks, since the decisions of the misdemeanor judges in Bijeljina, Ugljevik and Tuzla have stated what is to be said about the religious officers who are in prison following the misdemeanors.

At the beginning of this month the news media reported that courts had pronounced verdicts for the misdemeanor of arousing religious intolerance and that 60-day prison sentences had been pronounced against the priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church Petar Lukic and Cviko Mojic of Bijeljina, as well as Vlajko Spasojevic of Pozarnica near Tuzla and the private citizens Mihajlo Petric and Branko M. Petrovic, the most prominent activists of the "brotherhood" and violators of the Law on Public Peace and Order. These five, then, misused religion for political purposes, and the entire case ended up as such cases always do--before the face of justice.

Penalties for Abuse

However, there are still several reasons for a more detailed examination of the activity of these five citizens who have been given sentences. Lukic, Mojic and Spasojevic were convicted like any other citizens who have violated the law, such as Petric and Petrovic, so that there is no basis for all those tales about how the priests were being punished for delivering sermons(!). No one who does his job honestly has anything to fear, and rumors like this can originate only with those who want to take shelter behind religious freedom.

Why were Lukic, Mojic and Spasojevic punished?

Petar Lukic, parish priest from Bijeljina, one of the founders of the "Orthodox Christian community," is serving a jail sentence among other things because he aroused ethnic and religious intolerance, the verdict states. That is, when the members of the church proposed that Huso Trbic, a tinsmith, do the roof on the church in Tutnjevac, Lukic said: "Are we to allow a balija [pejorative term for 'Turk'] to do that for us?" Lukic also said in public that Savo Jovic, a priest from Obudovac near Bosanski Samac, had been unjustly sentenced to 6 years in jail, though it has been irrefutably established that Jovic for a long time collaborated with extremist Chetnik organizations, received and distributed leaflets, said untrue things about our society and slandered revolutionaries, violating the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities. In Lukic's opinion, the priest Jovic was "framed." The parish priest from Bijeljina also made a number of other false assertions to arouse resentment of the citizenry against government authority.

Cviko Mojic, Orthodox priest in Bijeljina, came into conflict with the law because as secretary of the "Orthodox Christian community" he organized and facilitated the playing of cassettes with a hostile content and messages from

emigres before an audience, which was supposed to be the basis for the activity of the "fraternity." Mojic also slandered the Adventist religious community in a public place, saying that the Adventists had "chosen a dark road, aside from any reasonable line," and in this way aroused religious intolerance between members of the different religious communities.

Vlajko Spasojevic, a monk from Pozarnica, misused the religious rite of burial in that he delivered a speech insulting to the socialist, patriotic and moral sentiments of the citizenry.

Speaking about the existence of God Spasojevic asserted that Marxist science had been refuted in this connection, calling upon all those present to come to the church though he was aware of the fact that there were also atheists at the funeral. He also said that young people had been led astray by erroneous Marxist doctrine.

False Assertions and Rumors

Mihajlo Petric, an engineer from Bijeljina, was convicted because he asserted in the presence of several citizens that the Adventists were renegades from the faith and thus aroused religious intolerance. He also said that our people has been led astray by erroneous doctrine and is thus turning away from God and the church, and that this is especially pronounced among the Serbs in Bosnia, whereby he also conveyed false assertions which could arouse the resentment of the citizenry. In addition, as president of the "fraternity" he obtained a tape allegedly containing the last message of Bishop Velimirovic, a text with a markedly nationalistic content. How far Petric went in his cleronationalistic behavior is also demonstrated by his action toward a worker who was his subordinate. On the Orthodox Easter this worker came to him in his office and greeted him with "Good day." Petric answered him with the remark: "Where do you think you are? Don't you know the proper greeting for today? Today the proper greeting is Christ is born [sic]." Some time thereafter that same worker needed a day off. He went to his superior and asked for permission to be absent from work, to which Petric answered: "There is no day off, nor will you ever get one. You know yourself why. Go and get a hold on yourself." (?!)

Branko M. Petrovic, an office worker from Bijeljina, was found guilty and sentenced because he imparted a number of false assertions, saying that the rights of religious people have been infringed solely because they are religious, which is not true at all. He was a member and treasurer of the "fraternity" from its very formation, and in gatherings of religious people in this and other episcopates he was obviously "inspired by hostile pamphlets," and the court concluded, as it did with the others, that he might continue this activity, and it committed them all immediately to serve their sentences.

These, then, are the offenses and the offenders.

And just a cursory glance at the acts committed by those we have named indicates that we are dealing with premeditated antisocialist and antiself-management activities which took place after formation of the "religious brotherhood," since

it was established that its members were "arming themselves" with hostile literature from well-known "arsenals" of bigotry belonging to the Chetnik emigre community, renegades who have betrayed the Serbian people, desiring at all costs to infiltrate their own "views and thoughts" into the country. The "brotherhood" offered them an exceptional possibility for this kind of infiltration, as was immediately confirmed. After all, the pamphlets and books which were found in the possession of certain members of the "fraternity" irrefutably indicate that connection. And the faith which they swear by so much? It was only a shield behind which in the end they were unable to conceal their hostile work even from religious people themselves.

7045
CSO: 2800/5

DECISIONS MADE ON ALBANIAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS IN MACEDONIA

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by V. Mehandziski]

[Text] Beginning in September the requirement for using Albanian language readers in the fifth through eighth grades will be revoked. There are also changes in the curricula for history and literature. A report on the republic pedagogical council meeting is included.

From the information that we have obtained, it can be concluded without exaggeration that the situation in educational institutions where Albanian is the language of instruction is very serious. None of us, however, dares to be drawn into the illusion that the things that are happening are purely incidental. The situation that has developed must be corrected by everyone as soon as possible, in order to change the relationships that have led to this unpleasant situation. A change in the situation must come rapidly, for it is very obvious and clear that the unity of the educational activities in a large portion of the institutions where Albanian is the language of instruction is under threat. These remarks come from the discussion at yesterday's session of the republic pedagogical council in Skopje, and represent the opinions of Anatoli Damjanovski, republic secretary for science and education. At the session they also discussed numerous shortcomings that have emerged in the educational system using Albanian in Macedonia, as well as many activities that are under way or are being initiated for the first time, radical changes being made in unfavorable situations, and trends in this area.

Drastic Lags in the Use of Macedonian

In his presentation at the session, Anatoli Damjanovski also spoke of the immense divergence between instructors of Albanian origin and Macedonian instructors, as well as the split between Albanian and Macedonian students. Among other comments, he said, "The split is to be found in numerous areas. There is a split between the teachers and a divergence among students. All of this is moving in the direction of complete mutual isolation, and certain fundamental principles of Yugoslav education activity are being damaged. This picture is complicated by the fact that it is the result of poorly executed personnel policy."

In the same way, Damjanovski referred to the greatly exacerbated problem of the study of the Macedonian language in institutions using Albanian as the language of instruction. In speaking of this problen, he said:

"At present it is impossible to ignore an extremely aggravated problem of the study of the Macedonian language parallel to the Albanian language of instruction. The main reason for bringing up an increasingly worrisome situation is the fact that through the years an extremely negative attitude has developed toward studying Macedonian. In this area, we are faced with unbelievably great tasks."

A Stormy Debate

In a discussion lasting several hours, in which the great majority of those present took part, all the significant contradictions that contribute to the present, highly complex situation in the educational system using Albanian in Macedonia were discussed in a thoroughly open and constructive way. The majority of discussants agreed on one thing: The situation in this area must be blamed on many factors, and it is unacceptable and simply inexplicable how certain republic educational and pedagogical agencies, and other responsible bodies have permitted such negative features to emerge and exist in the field of education.

Many discussants were categorical in their evaluations of the situation, but at the same time they were precise in their proposals on ways to undertake a basic change in those circumstances. In the same way, the discussants insisted that concrete measures be taken against all those who are responsible for the situation that has developed.

A significant part of the session was devoted to debate on suggested changes in the curricula for studies using Albanian as the language of instruction and teaching Albanian language, literature and history at the primary and secondary school levels, and for readers in Albanian for the fifth through eighth grades. The council decided, after considerable debate, that in literature textbooks the works of just three Albanian writers would be removed: Those of I. Kadare, D. Agoli, and S. Spase. The remaining contents would continue to be the same, until a commission--created to prepare a more detailed analysis of which Albanian writers could remain in the program, and which would be eliminated--could complete its work. A decision was also made at the session to eliminate certain curricular material from the history program. In general, the council accepted the recommendations of the commission that had worked on this problem.

It should be noted that the council also approved a resolution to eliminate all readers on the Albanian language from the fifth through eighth grades. Temporarily, pupils will use excerpts that have been specially prepared from the reading materials. These materials will be printed in the children's publication GZIMI, which is printed in Skopje. These excerpts will be used until 10 November, and by that time, the "Prosvetno Delo" (Educational Works) publishing organization will print temporary readers as offprints, to be used during this school year. For next year, a totally new reader will be prepared.

12131
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SLOVENIAN NOVEL CONCERNING 1948 EVENTS REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1599, 23 Aug 81 pp 30-31

[Review by Teodor Andjelic of book "Noc do jutra" [The Night Until Morning] by Branko Hofman]

[Text] It is usually asserted, more "vaguely" than "erroneously," that writers have given the year 1948 a rather cold shoulder, foregoing a fine occasion to take a position concerning those fateful and dramatic events. It is then added: cutting into the tissue of these years involves too great a risk, and the drama of events is so packed with emotions that it explodes at the merest touch.

Some considerable distance of time is needed--that is the essence of this conception--for artistic shaping of the events which are accurately referred to as the great anti-Stalinist revolution.

Branko Hofman, author of the novel "Noc do jutra," a novel about that revolution, has a very definite and by and large different point of view concerning all this.

The risk an author runs in choosing a topic, be it even the Cominform, Hofman says, is a part of his trade: "In his work the writer confronts various uncertainties and risks, just like a pilot or miner runs a risk in his job. This should not be mystified. It should not, because any such mystification is above all harmful to art."

We quickly grasp that words in this vein from the author of the novel "Noc do jutra" are the fruit of personal experience.

Yet he does not want to talk about the ins and outs of the book's publication. Probably he feels it to be sufficient that at the end of the book he recorded that the novel was written between 1968 and 1974. The book reached the reader, however, this June. In the meantime it went from one publisher to another, though in 1975, when it was ready for publication the first time, it received one of the largest subsidies in that year: 22.5 million from the Slovenian Community of Culture (only one book that year, by Joza Javorsek, received a larger subsidy).

Ideology and Emotions

The book "Noc do jutra" is also an unusual phenomenon in our literary and publishing life because of the "author's text accompanying the novel."

The author has found it suitable to publish a portion of that text. In it we read that the tragic fate of the hero of this tale "by no means signifies a questioning of the justifiability and ethical nature of the historical decisions of the Yugoslav leadership in the conflict with Stalin."

We know today, Hofman says, that that historic No to the generalissimo brought about essential changes in the world.

"But with reference to my novel, I tackled the problem first and its theme and plot only afterward."

"My book's problem is a trouble suffered by all Europeans: We seize upon ideologies with our emotions. And then when the church--which means any ideology once it becomes institutionalized--comes crashing down, the people go on believing in the dogmas. But our No was a No to every church regardless of its color. The fact that in those years we did not know of any other methods of fighting against the church--that is another story.

"Let us draw this parallel: How would the French revolution appear in our eyes if we approached it strictly from the standpoint of the individual--especially from the standpoint of an individual who ended up on the guillotine--and countless of them did? By all appearance history and the individual are often in irreconcilable conflict. The artist has drawn strength and themes from that conflict since ancient Greece up to the present time and will tomorrow."

In the first review of Hofman's novel--a review published in TELEKS in Ljubljana--Dimitrije Rupel says that "it is a long time since I read a text by a Slovenian author so painstakingly written and at the same time so socially relevant."

"Noc do jutra" is a well-balanced product of its kind: The author has divided the more than 270 pages of "material" into 20 chapters, each of which describes its part of the night. The time from midnight to 0800 hours is the time which the novel has at its disposition. During that night the guests in a village coffeehouse await the arrival of the team of investigators, which eventually comes. It is responding to a report that one Minka Koritnikova has been raped and killed in the village. The innkeeper Joza and his brother Peter talk nervously in the hours of waiting, one reason being that the man who has come to investigate the crime is to blame for a tragedy in Peter's life.

Peter (a former revolutionary and Partizan) spent 8 years of his youth in prison on a hellish island because of the following words uttered in a dormitory at a spa after a party meeting: "I don't know whether they were lying before or are lying now."

The Reviewer's Judgment

... The main part of the novel (set off from the rest of the text by different type) takes place in Peter's prison. Beatings, sadism, cruelty, torture and death. The unbearable heat, the unbearable deprivation, the spying and informing, and the interrogation. After 2 years (this is the period after which the investigating bodies must release the prisoner if there has been no trial), a moment of freedom in a town on the coast. But he has been shadowed, and he is already arrested again: The counting of a new 2-year period begins: of "freedom" for those who play fast and loose with the law and 2 years of torture for the disenfranchised victim.

Dimitrije Rupel judges that these and the other prison flashbacks are the best and strongest part of Hofman's novel. And he concludes: "Actually this is not a story about a victim of Stalinism, but a meditation on the dispute between the instrumental and the intellectual mind."

The investigator Kovac is today an ordinary overworked man; he is no longer a believer, but only a bureaucrat. He investigates these "suicidal nights" with a feeling of fatigue and without thoroughness. And the former camp inmate Peter, on the other hand, has that unconquerable recollection within him, but now without that hidden and harried pride which distinguishes the persecuted: that pride which affords him at least a little superiority over his persecutor.

"Noc do jutra" does not attempt to make a moralistic choice between the exploiter and the victim: The writer does not divide the world into the dark half and the light half. The critics have noted this as a particular virtue of this novel.

In another issue of TELEKS a review of the novel was written by Andrej Inkret, who incidentally, along with Joza Snoj and the late Beno Zupancic, was a reader of "Noc do jutra" for the publisher (all the opinions from the publisher's readers were "favorable" to the novel).

Inkret finds that Hofman's book is "perhaps our first book to speak with the storyteller's natural powers of observation about events and destinies of which we have known virtually nothing, at least in a legitimate way. Viewed from that standpoint, the question certainly arises about the particular obligations and duties of literature, which in our case must obviously still do that part of a job which, incidentally, by the nature of things, certainly belongs more emphatically to the writing of history, for example, and to memoirs."

Not Under the Carpet

One review of Hofman's book says that it has not lost anything of its force and topicality from waiting 7 years for publication. Branko Hofman particularly cherishes that testimony.

The author says of the way in which he gathered material for this novel that it consisted by and large of a survey of people who had been on Goli Otok during those years.

He does not regard that part of the job as especially important. He says: "I was writing a literary work. I was not constructing an illustration." In that survey of survivors Hofman conducted many conversations with former revolutionaries. He discovers that many of them were "utter pagans" when they went in. But they came out fanatics!

"In human nature--at its very heart--it seems that they both exist: both fanaticism and questioning. Today we say 'alternatives.' If Copernicus had not questioned--where would we be now? Another Copernicus would have come along! But tragedy is individual. And life. Death ... isn't. Death would become tragic if only one of us managed to survive it, to go on living. Death is a senseless and logical phenomenon. It is not tragic. It is life that is tragic." Branko Hofman believes that for writers today the times are "a bit hard, but creative."

As for the relationship between art and history, he says that if something from our past does not please us today, we must not sweep it "under the carpet." On the contrary, we should remove the carpet and sweep up what bothers us.

The writer goes on to tell us: "You say that I have not given a real answer yet to why I took Goli Otok? Because of the silence. The birds twittered about it, good-for-nothings told all sorts of tales, those who had been imprisoned there maintained a silence by agreement, mysteriousness evoked fantasy, stories were passed on, and a myth was created from the unstated. I said to myself: a society that has set socialism as its goal, in spite of its dialectical split in conflict situations, must be strong enough to check out its own pathways and places where it has gone astray. I said to myself (narratively): lies must not be told to people who put their head on the block, who swam across rivers in the winter, who leaped onto tanks with knives, who broke through encirclements with hand grenades, and who rescued the wounded. Not only because they are strong enough to take the truth; they are also entitled to it.

"Rummaging about in the past--has a social as well as its moral justification: No group and no individual can live creatively and develop without self-confidence. What is more: in its conformity it is in danger of so conditioning itself as to cease from within to think and act independently and creatively.

"It is with that conviction that I wrote a novel which has not always been received with the same understanding."

The novel "Noc do jutra" is one of the first on the theme of the Cominform in our literature and indeed in our art. And, as Andrej Inkret said, it is one of those which at the same time is carrying the heavy burden of memoirs and the writing of history.

7045
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MACEDONIAN SAWP DISCUSSES ORGANIZATION OF FOOD SUPPLY

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Aug 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by T. Ivanovski]

[Text] After the supply interruptions, recent days have seen a normalization of the situation, but the nervous state of consumers continues to keep sellers without reserves of basic food supplies. The republic has sufficient reserves to supply the population in a normal manner. More responsibility is needed in the supply system and in determining prices.

The presidium of the Macedonian republic SAWP conference, at its meeting of 28 August 1981 at which the presidents of opstina conferences took part, considered urgent problems in supplying the populace with essential foodstuffs. At the session, held under the leadership of President Azem Zulfikari, it was asserted that a trend toward stabilization was under way in the market. This trend would be interrupted by the announcement of unnecessary and inaccurate information relating to the demand for enormous price increases for edible oils, sugar and milk. It was stated that the SAWP should analyze the concrete situation regarding supply and monitor the conscientious fulfillment of social agreements and self-management contracts in the realm of supply and prices, and that it should make a contribution to more active involvement of consumers and commercial organizations in resolving and avoiding problems that have cropped up. In this way the consumer psychosis that has appeared can be overcome. That is particularly significant since in Macedonia there are sufficient reserves of consumer goods to adequately supply the populace.

Against Pressure On Prices

In expressing its total support for decisions and measures of the Federal Executive Council for eliminating all tendencies toward unwarranted escalation of prices for edible oils, sugar and milk, the republic conference presidium of the Macedonian SAWP exerted all efforts to avoid and overcome all signs and trends that would bring pressure for unjustified price escalation. In that there must be a concrete initiative and demand for responsibility by all parties, for there is talk of actions that are contrary to the policy of economic stabilization and that are not in harmony with a responsible pricing policy.

In his introductory presentation, Vasil Tudzarov, vice president of the executive council of the Macedonian Assembly, said that the executive council and its agencies, in cooperation with other public bodies, would continue to strive for the creation of the necessary conditions for more successful implementation of the stabilization policy, which was formulated in all the plan documents for this year and which certainly includes stable supplies of basic products. In speaking about the situation since 18 August, when the news about the possibility of a price increase emptied the stores, Tudzarov noted that the measures taken in the republic and throughout the country had given definite results. The phenomenon of significantly increased purchases of excessive quantities of foodstuffs was, however, still present. The problem continues to be exacerbated to such an extent in some areas that there is still a problem in supplying the retail system with sufficient quantities of these articles, particularly with sugar. Although since 18 August and until the present day the amounts of oils and sugar delivered to food stores have been essentially doubled, the shops still have not been able to retain stocks of sugar.

Whom Does the Compensation Protect?

There are a number of reasons for that fact, but with synchronized action by all bodies in the republic it will be possible to normalize the supply situation more quickly. There will, however, continue to be certain bodies that will not display a timely readiness to deliver sufficient amounts from stored reserves and warehouses to the retail stores. The data show that the republic has sufficient supplies of all these products that are momentarily in short supply on the market. In recent days there have also been increased deliveries of sugar, and funds have been set aside for eventual imports of this product if such intervention is needed. Thus with the new harvest that will begin in September and with imports, the coming months will see practically a complete solution to the sugar supply problem.

Special emphasis was also placed on the problem of prices and measures that are being taken to protect the standard of living, including the policy on compensation. Macedonia has set aside major funds to compensate for price increases for bread, flour, butter, meat and milk; that compensation has been balanced financially until the end of September of this year. If the present compensation rates are maintained, the republic will have to continue to provide significant funds for this purpose. Therefore the need for attentive and detailed study of essential, realistic price increases was stressed regarding sugar, oils and other agricultural products that should come from the new harvest. In determining these prices, care will have to be taken to hold to the already formulated price policy for this year. Within that framework, several variants exist as to how to cover the differences from that increase structure. First, there are increases that will be transmitted to retail prices, followed by the second variant of reduced compensation, and the third approach of partial covering of price differentials. All of this makes compensation a very complicated instrument from the aspect of the real possibility for improving it, as well as from the viewpoint of its essence and the matter of whose standard it is protecting.

The Return to Consumer Confidence

In the discussion that followed, with the participation of Kiro Krstev, Dzemail Vejseli, Aleksandar Donev, Zivka Dinevska, Zejnel Begovik, Risto Dzunov, Gligor Popovski, Fejzi Milen, Krste Markovski, Krste Nelkovski, Zivko Vasilevski and Azem Zulfikari, a number of problems were raised relating to matters of supplying the population with foodstuffs, price setting, and the need to establish responsibility in cases where the adopted policy is not followed.

Most of the participants in the discussion pointed out that it was impossible to permit everyone involved in setting prices to do whatever he wanted to, and to resolve all problems of his organization by making its products more expensive. The moderation of prices and bringing order back to this part of the economy will prevent the creation of a nervous psychosis among the consumers, such as the one that occurred recently. This will calm the consumer and reestablish confidence in people.

It was stated that the measures that are now being taken to calm the market will have their effect, but a more lasting solution to this problem will require higher and more stable production levels, better operational organization, and improved efficiency in relationships and in preparing agreements. Only by increasing production and productivity will it be possible to reduce the pressure on prices, because only rational production can be cheaper.

As the discussion brought out at yesterday's meeting, we should seek increased responsibility within that framework and try to overcome the verbalism that is often present. Only then was it stated that the Socialist Alliance should very quickly begin to implement the policies that everyone supported and agreed to promote. Only in that way would it be possible to determine what points among those that were expressed and approved, could actually be implemented, and from that, what degree of social, concrete responsibility for actions can be expected. It was stressed that this must be done as soon as possible, for despite all the contracts and agreements, we are once again seeing instances where producers refuse to conclude agreements or fail to honor old ones, because they are waiting for new prices.

12131
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PRIVATE OPERATION OF PARKING LOT BETTER THAN SOCIALIZED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Enver Demirovic: "Pension Benefit Every Day"]

[Text] Pero Kabler, who was the doorman at the Evropa Hotel before he retired on a monthly pension of 3,500 dinars (on his own testimony), has no reason or need to complain of his pension benefit, which is undoubtedly small, nor is he excited because of the steady rise of prices on the market. Why should he be, when every day he puts in his pocket another such pension benefit, and this, of course, in cash!

People Have Ways ...

This has gone on (once again according to his own statement) since 1978, when he rented from his former collective the parking lot of the oldest hotel in Sarajevo, which has a capacity (according to a statement by the City Market Inspectorate) of about 100 cars, where for a monthly rent of 10,150 dinars he earns about 100,000 new dinars a month! The "finding" of the inspectorate, the heated discussions on several occasions in meetings of the executive committee of the Sarajevo City Assembly and, finally, the decision of the city "government" to put an end to unlawful enrichment of this kind, did not get him excited at all:

"Everything I do has the stamp of the Evropa, and ask them about everything which interests you. My work and my earnings are honest...."

For "understandable reasons" Pero Kabler will not dwell at length on the question of how much money he actually collects on "his parking lot," but will instead run on at length in praise of his work and his efforts so that those 100,000 dinars which the inspectorate mentions as his "additional" income seems all but token payment.... The parking lot, he said, operates 24 hours a day, and he spends at least 16 there. He parks the cars, watches them, washes and cleans the lot, reimburses possible losses "on the spot" out of his own deposit of 30,000 dinars, and so on.

"If others operated that way, they would not have picked me, but would have given them the 'green light,'" Kabler says.

That is, of course, a reference to Rad, the work organization for municipal services, or rather, its OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] "Municipal Parking Lots," which at one time managed this lot and gave it up for reasons which have not been made clear.

Kabler's colleagues Omer Okic and Petko Jovic have a similar line of "argument"; they are retired and are lessees of the parking lots in front of the hotels Bristol and Terme, respectively, where at "rents" of 7,000 and 3,500 dinars, respectively, they "earn" between 80,000 and 100,000 dinars monthly. Incidentally, the two of them have 100 and 250 parking places, respectively, and, much like Pero Kabler, they employ help which they pay by agreement and, of course, in cash.

Who Would Refuse so Much Money!

The executive committee of the Sarajevo City Assembly recently terminated this operation, issued a harsh reprimand to all three hotels (which incidentally are part of the SOUR [complex organization of associated labor] Ehos) and ordered that before 1 October of this year all three parking lots be transferred to Rad, the work organization for municipal services, which, according to a decision of the city parliament is the only organization responsible for "managing" parking lots which are social property.

However, that was not and will not be the end of this case. After all, the market inspectorate has established that these lessees broke the law by evading the keeping of records on the hiring and remuneration of help, on the reporting of income and payment of corresponding contributions on assets and on remuneration of workers. We should therefore expect that Pero Kabler and company will be more eloquent on these matters in the "dialogue" which is yet to come.

But as for the Evropa, like its lessee, it takes quite a calm view of the decision by the executive committee of the city assembly and also the bitterness of the public, convinced that it has acted properly. Ilija Macanovic, deputy director of this Ehos OOUR, does not conceal this:

"We have a really fine parking lot, which is very important in offering a full line of hostelry services, especially to foreigners. That this is the case is entirely to the credit of the present lessee, who spares neither work nor time in getting everything in shape. When the parking lot was managed by Rad, everything was different. They all stopped work at 2100 hours, they did not clean the lot, security for the cars and belongings in them was lax, they did not reimburse damage to cars or theft, they put wheel lock devices on the cars of foreigners, and so on. We directed their attention to this, we called upon them to correct the shortcomings, but this did not help. They went away of their own will, and it seems to me that they could not even have made a profit with that kind of operation. We are willing to turn the parking lot over to Rad or anyone else immediately under the proper conditions, since the only thing we are interested in is that everything on the lot be as it should be--in the interest of the hotel and its guests."

The people of Rad were surprised by a statement of this kind. The director Dervis Zajkovic "was shocked beyond words":

"Now, look here, that is what we live on, and how would we let slip a chance to earn another 3 or 4 million, which is approximately what the lessees are taking in every year on those three parking lots! And had we used them, our OOUR "Municipal Parking Lots" would not have had a loss last year of 600,000 dinars. On the contrary, the city would have had some more free area for parking, since we use surplus earnings exclusively for investments of that kind. As for our orderliness, that shall be seen...."

Many Similar "Managers"

While the principals "take pot shots" at one another, each is certain that he is right. The people of Sarajevo, while waiting for the ultimate outcome, says with philosophical, but also skeptical humor, that it will all follow the traditional pattern, according to the principle "let bygones be bygones," and that no one will get a headache from all this. In any case, how is it that there was such "hanky-panky" with parking lots when the city needs them like bread itself? Along with everything else, the people of Rad say that the inspector forgot to note down the lessees in front of the Kristal in Ilidza and Vrelo Bosne and to concern itself a bit with the Skenderija Center for Cultural and Sporting Events, which is collecting rent from them for use of the parking lot. In other words, the "case of the three parking lot lessees" has only made a current issue of the urgent need to deal vigorously with these and similar cases, which are harmful to the broader social community in many ways. After all, it is not difficult to imagine the epilogue of a possible "investigation" into the management and operation of cloakrooms in all the hostelry and tourist and other establishments, and then the snack bars, bars, restaurants and small dining rooms in the schools of the universities, in societies, in public, athletic and other organizations, where private operators skim off the "cream" and where usually the public sector "has no interest in managing these facilities."

So, while retired people are by and large the managers of these establishments, there are all of 16,000 people waiting for jobs in the city, many of whom would be overjoyed to get this kind of employment, even though the personal income be modest.

7045
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AUTO PLANT OFFICIALS CITED FOR ABUSES

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by S. Jankovic: "Cedomir Radovic Expelled From the League of Communists"]

[Text] In an expanded meeting last night the Kragujevac Opstina Committee of the League of Communists spent 1.5 hours debating the unfavorable economic trends in the first half of the year (27 OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] operated at a loss, the losses totaled 700,000 dinars, which is 3.5-fold more than last year) and the tasks of the League of Communists in carrying out the economic stabilization program. Debate lasted more than 5 hours on the reports of the working groups on political responsibility of two former assistant general directors of the Crvena Zastava Plants.

A large number of primary organizations of the League of Communists, in the context of the well-known campaign to clean up negative trends in Kragujevac this year, called for an examination of the political responsibility of Dr Njegos Solak, assistant general director for sales, and Cedomir Radovic, assistant director for general administration and personnel affairs. Thus the opstina committee set up separate working groups, which have made their study and last night submitted their reports.

The working group which studied the behavior of Dr Njegos Solak established that he had not committed any abuses whatsoever in engaging Beograd Inzenjering to do the finishing work on his house, in getting a connection to the city heating system, nor in the other cases which the working group was checking. In the discussion in the meeting of the opstina committee its attention was called to his behavior toward students at the School of Economics in Kragujevac, where he is a professor. Dr Solak himself behaved very self-critically before the working group and in the meeting of the opstina committee, and comradely criticism was pronounced against him.

Considerably more lengthy debate was conducted concerning the political responsibility of Cedomir Radovic, former assistant director of the Crvena Zastava Plants for general administration and personnel affairs, who now holds the position of representative of the Federal Economic Chamber in Warsaw.

The report of the working group emphasized in the meeting several cases of abuse of his position, of falsifying official documents, of squandering money for entertainment while he held the position of assistant general director of Zastava (280,000 dinars in 1.5 years). Criminal charges have been filed with the District Public Prosecutor's Office for collecting insurance from the Dunav Personal and Property Insurance Agency. It especially emphasized his arrogant behavior and manipulation of people, his hiring of a certain number of people in violation of the social compact and without appropriate professional and moral and political attributes. Many such actions of his were pointed up, but this had no effect, though he was a long-standing member of the League of Communists and held several distinguished positions of leadership. His very close relations with the former director of Beograd Inzenjering (wedding in the Cvetna Dolina Hotel, trips to Tunisia and West Germany, etc.) contributed a great deal to ruining his reputation at Zastava and in Kragujevac. He was expelled from the League of Communists for all of this and for his unself-critical behavior before the working group and in the meeting of the opstina committee (he was given the floor twice, but he was unable to dispute most of the allegations).

In connection with debate on the reports of the working groups, the opstina committee resolved to take the initiative in establishing more orderly relations in the housing and municipal service field, such as changing the regulation on allocation of building lots by direct negotiation and the regulation on the manner in which socially owned dwellings are transferred from one user to another.

7045
CSO: 2800/3

BRIEFS

EMIGRATION FROM KOSOVO--In the last 10 years 2,750 persons have left Urosevac Opstina (no one has thus far said he was pressured to leave), 596 persons left Suva Reka Opstina (also no claims of pressure), while 314 families asked to leave Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina following the demonstrations, and 82 families left Kacanik Opstina. At present over 500 persons have requested to leave Pristina Opstina, none of them because of pressure, they say. [Excerpt] [Reprint from RILINDJA] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 81 p 9] The reasons for Serbian and Montenegrin immigration from Kosovo between 1971 and 1981 are varied. It is believed that most families left for economic reasons, but the possibility of pressure put on them to leave must not be excluded. According to initial data, 566 Serbian and Montenegrin families with 919 members left Kosovo in the last 10 years, 345 of whom had jobs in Kosovo. Unorganized work in villages created an area for action by certain bullies, village tyrants, and nationalists which led to requests to leave the village. This was especially manifested in the villages of Gornja Srbica, Ljutoglav, Korisa, Dusanovo, and Smac. It was said that in Gornja Srbica 10 families left and the remaining 13 are preparing to leave. Such is also the case in Ljutoglav and Korisa. No measures were taken against the culprits or against such excesses in the past, nor has anyone been called to account for such conduct. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 28 Aug 81 p 2]

WORKERS EXPELLED FROM PARTY--The "Zinc Metallurgy" worker organization in Kosovska Mitrovica, part of the "Trepca" collective, has 760 workers, 190 of whom are party members. Six members were recently expelled from the LC for participating in hostile demonstrations. Ideological-political differentiation is still going on. Investigations have been initiated against 19 workers, while one has been given a 7-year prison term. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 81 p 5]

MOSLEM ARRESTED--The Bijeljina Opstina magistrate's court sentenced Abdulah Budimlija, pensioned imam from Bijeljina and president of the council of the Islamic Community in this town, to 60 days in jail for violating Article 2, Point 7 of the Law on Public Peace and Order, through slandering and denigrating the socialist, patriotic, and nationalist feelings of citizens in a public place. He expressed and conveyed false reports and statements which incite citizens to unrest. On the basis of Article 310 of the Law on Public Peace and Order, Abdulah Budimlija was ordered to serve the sentence immediately. [Text] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 81 p 20]

FIRE IN BATTERY FACTORY--A large fire broke out the night before last in the rubber plant of the electric battery factory in Kosovska Mitrovica; the fire gutted about 100 meters of the plant. No one can say exactly when the fire started because at that time not one worker was at his workplace. Everyone was watching the Yugoslav-Danish soccer match on television. The fire department was summoned about 2030 hours when the fire had begun to burst through the windows and spread to the roof. It took 3 hours of considerable effort to bring the fire under control. Preliminary investigation indicated that the cause was a breakdown in the electric installations.... But why were none of the workers at their jobs? What about the stabilization program which we all must be fighting for this year? Where is the vigilance that is necessary at this politically important time in the life of the Province?... [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 81 p 3]

CSO: 2800/11 END

JPRS 79235

19 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1930

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Mexican Delegates Visit Bratislava 1

POLAND

Functions of Operational Anti-Crisis Staff Published
(MONITOR POLSKI, 26 Aug 81) 2

Secretary General of CISL Carniti Addresses Solidarity Congress
(CONQUISTE DEL LAVORO, 14 Sep 81) 5

ROMANIA

Decree on Organization of Ministry of Mines
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 81) 7

Decree on Organization of Ministry of Petroleum
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 81) 14

Decree on Organization of Ministry of Geology
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 81) 21

Trade Union Official Reports on Visit to FRG
(Gheorghe Sanda; MUNCA, 11 Sep 81) 31

Improvements in Teacher Training Recommended
(Aneta Spornic; VIITORUL SOCIAL, May-Jun 81) 34

Efforts To Modernize Teaching of Mathematics
(Gheorghe Mihoc; VIITORUL SOCIAL, May-Jun 81) 40

YUGOSLOVIA

Western Comment on 'Self-Management Dilemma,' Lack of Leadership
(Christine von Kohl; DIE PRESSE, 26/27 Sep 81) 44

BRIEFS

MEXICAN DELEGATES VISIT BRATISLAVA—The Mexican delegates attending the Czechoslovak-Mexican Youth Friendship Week in Prague continued their activities in Bratislava yesterday. Deputy chairman of the MNJR (National Movement of Revolutionary Youth) Jorge Meadeo Ocarenza; secretary of the JPS (People's Socialist Youth) Juan Carlos Santon Alcantaro; secretary of the JST (Workers' Socialist Youth) Jorge Duran Navareto; secretary of the CNJ PCM (National Youth Commission, Communist Party of Mexico) Rene Lopez Perez and others were received by deputy chairman of the Central Committee, SSR National Front, Fedor Gulla and secretary of the Slovak Central Committee, Socialist Union of Youths, Dusan Longauer. Comrade Gulla acquainted the visitors with the history and activities of the National Front; Czechoslovak political system; implementation of the program adopted by the 16th CPCZ Congress and activities of other political parties and social organizations. The Mexican visitors showed interest in participation of Slovak youth in the government; activities of the national committees, legislative bodies; electoral programs and care of children and youth in a socialist country. The visitors also laid flowers at a soldiers' cemetery in Slavin and at the Slovak National Uprising Square, visited youth union members at the Bratislava Electrical Engineering Works and several historic spots in Bratislava. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 24 Sep 81 pp 1, 7]

CSO: 2400/12

FUNCTIONS OF OPERATIONAL ANTI-CRISIS STAFF PUBLISHED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish No 20, 26 Aug 81 pp 180-181

[Resolution No 157 of the Council of Ministers, issued 10 Aug 1981 by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, General of the Army W. Jaruzelski, on the functions of the Operational Anti-Crisis Staff]

[Text] In order to organize and coordinate anti-crisis activities in the sphere of the economy, the Council of Ministers resolves the following:

§ 1.1. An Operational Anti-Crisis Staff, hereinafter referred to as "Staff", operates within the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

2. The work of the Staff is directed by the chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

3. The Staff is composed of:

1) The Ministers of: Finance; Mining; Power Industry; Domestic Trade and Services; Foreign Trade; Metallurgy; Machine Engineering Industry; Transportation; Chemical Industry; Light Industry; Agriculture; Food Industry; Labor, Wages and Social Affairs; Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection; Materials Management; the chairman of the State Price Commission; the first vice chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers; and the president of the Polish National Bank.

2) one representative each of the Minister of National Defense and the Minister of Internal Affairs,

3) the director of the Control Bureau in the Office of the Council of Ministers,

4) other persons appointed by the chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

4. The Ministers will designate, by name, those permanent members of management who are authorized to participate, in their absence, in the work of the Staff.

5. The chairman invites representatives of the Supreme Chamber of Control and the Prosecutor General, and, as necessary, representatives of cooperative organizations, experts and others, to join in the work of the Staff.

§ 2.1. The Staff is charged with:

1) Coordinating the activities of the chief, central and local organs of state administration in the field of anti-crisis action and control,

2) initiating the shifts of basic material resources that are indispensable for overcoming the crisis,

3) determining the conditions for the functioning of the country's economic and defense infrastructure and the operation of basic health service offices, ensuring the resources for these purposes.

2. To implement the tasks specified in par 1, the Staff, inter alia:

1) Verifies the list of individual and collective consumer articles which meet the basic needs of society during the period of the crisis,

2) establishes the sizes of the production and deliveries of consumption and coproduction-supply articles earmarked for basic social needs,

3) makes operative and interventionist decisions binding upon ministers, heads of central offices, voivodship governors and mayors of town of voivodship rank, pertaining to:

a) stimulating production and counteracting its decline,

b) the field of market production, with particular attention to needs of children,

c) the field of export production,

d) the level and conditions of import and principles of foreign exchange division,

e) the principles of distribution of scarce and rationed goods,

f) management of fixed assets, materials and energy,

g) employment, wages and remuneration for work,

h) price-setting and collection of taxes,

i) preparing the national economy for winter conditions, particularly the municipal economy, power and transport,

j) combating natural disasters and eliminating their effects,

k) restricting investments,

l) shifting the labor force and periodically suspending production in specified enterprises.

4) makes evaluations of the existing situation and exercises control over the implementation of the decisions it makes.

§ 3. The Ministers represented on the Staff will ensure that the ministerial control services are consolidated and activated, particularly as concerns anti-crisis functions.

§ 4.1. To implement the tasks of the Staff, the chairman of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers:

1) Forms worker groups, as necessary, for the specific tasks,

2) cooperates with the chairman of the Coordinating Commission for the Consolidation of Law and Order and Observance of Public Order and with the chairman of the National Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle Against Speculation.

3) utilizes the results of scientific-research institute studies in the Staff's work, orders scientific reports, and cooperates with representatives of involved social organizations.

2. The chairman periodically reports on the work of the Staff to the Council of Ministers and submits current information to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

§ 5.1. The chairman of the Staff initiates changes or supplements to regulations on matters related to combating the crisis.

2. The chairman of the Council of Ministers determines which of the decisions made by the chairman of the Staff in his name require approval.

3. The chairman of the Staff may, in a situation warranted by anti-crisis tasks, call upon the ministers, heads of central offices, voivodship governors and mayors of townsof voivodship rank, to repeal specific orders or decisions issued by these organs.

§ 6. The Office of the Council of Ministers will provide the Staff with the services and funds necessary for its functioning.

§ 7.1. To implement the tasks specified by the foregoing resolution, the voivodship governors and mayors of townsof voivodship rank will appoint voivodship anti-crisis staffs, and determine their composition and particular jurisdiction.

2. Voivodship governors and mayors of towns of voivodship rank may, where warranted by local needs, order the appointment of local anti-crisis staffs to function with the mayors of the town and heads of towns and gminas.

§ 8. In § 4 par 1 of Resolution No 39 of the Council of Ministers, dated 20 Feb 1981, on the appointment of an Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers (Monitor Polski No 6. Item 49) point 1 should read as follows:

"1) Chairman -- Vice chairman of the Council of Ministers Janusz Obodowski."

§ 9. The resolution is effective on the date of announcement.

9295
CSO: 2600/9

SECRETARY GENERAL OF CISL CARNITI ADDRESSES SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

Rome CONQUISTE DEL LAVORO in Italian 14 Sep 81 pp 1, 19

[Address by Carniti to the Solidarity Congress]

[Text] You have made possible the impossible.

I bring you the fraternal greetings of the Italian workers of the CISL.

We have followed with deep interest your difficult struggle, from its beginnings in the summer of 1980, and have welcomed with you the Gdansk agreements as an event of historic significance.

Your first congress must deal with questions of exceptional importance, for both workers and the whole of Polish society. Your decisions will have repercussions even beyond the borders of your country.

I hope you will accomplish this new and deeply important step, just as it has happened in so many difficult times in the first year of the existence of your independent and self-governing union.

Your harsh struggle has been characterized at the same time by courage and wisdom. In this way you have made "possible" what was considered "impossible."

You have achieved conquests of liberty and dignity which have long been among the deepest hopes of the Polish workers, and which have cost so many sacrifices as shown by the Gdansk monument which faces the naval shipyards, and which was wrought by Christian piety and worker pride.

You have dismantled projects and structures which seemed unchangeable; you have enacted changes in the whole society; you have asserted a new role for the individual worker and the working class.

You have sent out a great message of hope to the world's struggling masses, in the most diverse situations, for a more just society and for the liberation of men and of peoples.

I hope you will continue, along the same road, to consolidate your conquests; to advance even further the process of renewal and democratization of Polish society; to assume the responsibilities of the great social force that you are, in overcoming the economic crisis which is striking your country; and to attain, through the needed reforms, new levels of economic development, of work, of social progress for the Polish people.

We and you live in different social and political contexts, but our destinies are intertwined, just as they are for workers of the whole world. Today this is particularly true considering the great economic and political challenges which we must confront.

The economic crisis is also harshly affecting Italian workers and workers of Western Europe, and there are even conservative forces among us who would question the trade union rights and social conquests achieved.

The new race of nuclear rearming raises great dangers in Europe and in the world. Vast finances are being consumed which are needed instead for the development of humanity. We should say to the West as to the East in the same words as the Polish Pope that the world should be freed from nuclear arms.

We should strengthen our solidarity; we need each other.

To do that, there are needed above all strong and independent trade unions, the authentic expression of workers in all countries.

According to a concept common to us both, regardless of the social and political system, the trade union should be independent of management, of the state, of political parties. This is an indispensable condition for the defense of workers' interests and for the building of a true democracy.

In the name of the workers of the Italian CISL we repeat our most fraternal wishes for success and reaffirm to you our solidarity and our support.

9772
CSO: 3104/377

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION OF MINISTRY OF MINES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 70 8 Sep 81 pp 1-3

[Decree of the Council of State regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Mines]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The Ministry of Mines carries out the party's and state's policy in the field of extracting and preparing coal, ferrous and non-ferrous ores, rare metals, non-metallic substances and salts.

The Ministry of Mines fills the function of the central coordinating organ for activities in its field with regards to all the socialist units subordinate to the central or local state organs.

Article 2. - The Ministry of Mines leads, guides and reviews the activities of the industrial centrals and other units subordinate to it, and is responsible, as the plan holder, for the achievement of the plan in its field of activity.

Article 3. - The Ministry of Mines ensures the application of laws and decrees in its activities, as well as decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. - The Ministry of Mines cooperates with the other ministries and central organs, as well as local organs, for the purpose of carrying out its attributes.

Chapter II

Attributes

Article 5. - The Ministry of Mines has the following principal attributes:

A. Within the framework of the sole national economic-social development plan, it ensures and is responsible for the sustained development at a maximum level of efficiency of the branches and sub-branches in its field of activity, to which end:

a) it draws up studies and programs regarding proportions, levels, rates and directions of future development of its branches and sub-branches, keeping in mind the role of these units in the overall national economy and the trends and progress made on the international level, as well as studies and programs regarding the necessary amount of mineral raw materials;

b) it draws up draft annual and future plans and assigns economic and financial plan indicators to subordinate units;

c) it is responsible for the full achievement of plan tasks for the production of coal and ores, the provision of an optimum level of equipment use and the adherence to the standardized levels of material and energy consumption, and takes measures to continually reduce these levels;

d) it is responsible for carrying out its own geological projects program, as established in accordance with the provisions of the sole national economic-social development plan, as well as building up reserves of useful mineral substances, as outlined in this plan;

e) it determines the necessary amount of and possibilities for increasing the base of reserves of useful solid mineral substances;

f) it pursues the rational use of coal consumption for all sectors of the national economy;

g) it pursues the rational exploitation of deposits of solid mineral substances under conditions specific to these deposits, as well as, together with the other interested organs, the higher use of mineral resources of solid subtances existing below the ground in the country;

h) it ensures the continued improvement of the qualitative characteristics of products and projects for the purpose of increasing their economic efficiency;

i) it determines, according to legal standards, the necessary amount of resources for its subordinate centrals and other units;

j) it is responsible for fulfilling its indicators in the sole national economic-social development plan and periodically informs the Council of Ministers;

k) it analyzes the periodic reviews and reports of subordinate units and completes those that involve activities for the entire ministry;

1) it completes and carries out the budget of incomes and expenditures for the central administration of the ministry and the subordinate budgetary units.

B. It organizes and coordinates activities for economic, technical and scientific cooperation and collaboration with other ministries and central organs in the country, as well as with foreign partners, in those actions for which it is responsible; it ensures the application of international agreements and accords regarding its field of activities and reviews the fulfillment of tasks that stem from these agreements; it pursues the sampling and studying of the needs of foreign markets regarding cooperative actions and for the products of the units that it coordinates.

C. It completes the export plan and makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of future commercial trade; it pursues the overall achievement of export goals.

D. It coordinates and directs research and design activities in its subordinate units and takes measures to equip them with the necessary technical-material means; it pursues the results of scientific research and its use; it is involved in the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress in its subordinate units.

E. It directs activities regarding inventions and innovations and is involved in the spread of the most important achievements; it makes proposals regarding problems in standardization and categorization; it coordinates and reviews metrology activities in its subordinate units.

F. It establishes the construction characteristics for mine opening projects and approves estimation norms of a national nature for these projects.

G. It organizes documentary information activities and informs its subordinate units regarding trends in technical-scientific progress at the national and international levels; it produces publications and works dealing with the problems of science, technology and production that are specific to the activities it controls.

H. Within the limits of its authority, it approves technical-economic documentation for investment projects; it organizes, directs and reviews activities for planning, designing and carrying out investments, and takes measures to adhere to the start-up timeframes for these investment projects.

I. It directs and coordinates activities for organizing production and labor in its subordinate units; it organizes activities for drawing up, applying and following up on work standards and norms for all categories of personnel in its branches and sub-branches; it organizes the drawing up of unified work standards

and norms throughout the economy on those projects where it is the coordinator; it approves the specific standardization methodologies, as well as the unified standards and norms by branch and sub-branch in its field of activity, and reviews their manner of implementation.

J. It carries out its attributes, according to law, with regards to prices and charges in its field of activity.

K. It ensures the application of the party's and state's policy in personnel problems, to which end:

a) it establishes unified criteria for selecting, training, improving and promoting personnel in its branches and sub-branches, and controls the application of these criteria;

b) it establishes the necessary number of personnel for the future, and takes measures to train and improve them according to law;

c) it employs personnel for its own apparatus, and names the leadership organs of the centrals, the combines with status of a central and the other units subordinate to it;

d) it provides the material base and equipment for the specialized high schools and professional schools subordinate to it, as well as the necessary specialized faculty members.

L. It participates in the drawing up of proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the salary system for its branches and sub-branches; it draws up technical standards for the unified application of the elements of the salary system for its subordinate units and reviews the manner of their application.

M. It establishes, according to law, measures regarding worker safety for the purpose of providing the best working conditions and preventing work accidents and professional illnesses, as well as for the continued improvement of living conditions.

N. It fulfills any other attributes covered by law.

Article 6. - The Ministry of Mines ensures the drawing up of draft work orders for geological projects and draft work orders for opening up and preparing for solid substances in deposits being worked.

Chapter III

Organization and Operation

Article 7. - The Ministry of Mines is led by the leadership council which makes decisions on the general problems regarding the ministry's activities; the

executive bureau of this council carries out the collective leadership of the ministry's operational activities and ensures the implementation of the decisions of the leadership council.

The leadership council of the ministry and its executive bureau, as organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 regarding the leadership of ministries and other central organs of state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

Article 8. - The minister informs the ministry's leadership council regarding the principal problems resolved during the period between sessions.

Article 9. - The Ministry of Mines leadership is composed of a minister, three deputy ministers and a secretary of state.

The deputy ministers and the secretary of state are named by presidential decree and their attributes are established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 10. - Within the framework of the Ministry of Mines, according to Decree No 78/1973, a Technical-Economic Council is organized and operates as a working organ alongside the ministry's collective leadership organs.

Article 11. - The minister represents the ministry in its relations with other organs and organizations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 12. - The Ministry of Mines has the following organizational structure:

a) the Directorate for Economic Planning and Following up Production;

b) the Finances-Prices Directorate;

c) the Technical and Mechano-Energy Directorate;

d) the Directorate of Investments-Construction;

e) the Directorate of Supply, Sales and Transportation;

f) the Directorate of International Economic Cooperation and Foreign Trade;

g) the Directorate of Organization, Review, Personnel and Training;

h) the Office of Administration, Classified Documents, Reports and Protocol.

The organizational structure by work departments and the maximum number of personnel within the apparatus of the ministry are those outlined in Annexes No 1 and No 2 (the Annexes are forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 13. - The Ministry of Mines has in its subordination industrial centrals, combines, enterprises, units for research, technological engineering and design, other economic units, budgetary units, specialized high schools and professional schools.

Article 14. - The Ministry of Mines has in direct subordination those units listed in Annex No 3.

Article 15. - The attributes and operating norms for the units listed in Article 12 are established by the ministry's leadership council in accordance with legal norms.

Chapter IV

Final Provisions

Article 16. - Workers moved to the Ministry of Mines, as well as those transfered to other units as a result of the reorganization of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology, are considered transfered in the interest of duty.

Article 17. - Personnel transfered in the interest of duty or moved within the same unit to positions with lower salaries, as well as those personnel who were made available as a result of the application of the provisions of this decree, benefit from the rights outlined in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units.

Article 18. - The Ministry of Mines is supplied with three automobiles to transport people for its own apparatus.

Article 19. - The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of Mines and the other interested central organs, will submit for approval those modifications stemming from the application of Council of State Decree No 266/1981 regarding the establishment of the Ministry of Mines, the Ministry of Petroleum and the Ministry of Geology, and this decree in the sole national economic-social development plan for 1981 and for the 1981-85 period, as well as in the state budget.

Article 20. - The provisions in laws, decrees and other normative acts referring to the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology are appropriately applied to the Ministry of Mines as organized in accordance with this decree and the object of its activities.

Article 21. - Annexes Nos 1-3 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 22. - Decree No 88/1971 regarding the establishment, organization and operation of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology, which became Law No 40/1971, and with its later modifications, are abrogated.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 8 September 1981
No 269

Annex No 3

The List of the Units Directly Subordinate to the Ministry of Mines

I. Industrial Centrals and Units Similiar to Them

- the Baia Mare Ores Central
- the Deva Ores Central
- the Bucharest Salts and Non-Metallic Ores Central
- the Valea Jiului Mining Combine
- the Oltenia Mining Combine
- the Ploiesti Mining Combine

II. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and Design Units

- the Petrosani Research Center for Mining Safety

III. Other units

- the Bucharest Enterprise of Rare Metals
- the Bucharest Mining Construction and Assembly Trust
- the Enterprise for Economic Cooperation Abroad in the Field of the Mining Industry and Geology - GEOMIN
- the Special Center for Personnel Training
- the Office of Documentary Information for the Mining Industry

8724
CSO: 2700

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION OF MINISTRY OF PETROLEUM

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 70 8 Sep 81 pp 4-6

[Decree of the Council of State regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Petroleum]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The Ministry of Petroleum carried out the party's and state's policy in the field of extracting and transporting crude oil, as well as extracting, transporting and distributing natural gases.

Article 2. - The Ministry of Petroleum leads, guides and reviews the activities of its subordinate industrial centrals, trusts and other units, and is responsible, as the plan holder, for the achievement of the plan in its field of activity.

Article 3. - The Ministry of Petroleum ensures the application of laws and decrees in its field of activity, as well as decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. - The Ministry of Petroleum cooperates with the other ministries and central organs, as well as with local organs, for the purpose of carrying out its attributes.

Chapter II

Attributes

Article 5. - The Ministry of Petroleum has the following principal attributes:

A. Within the framework of the sole national economic-social development plan, it ensures and is responsible for the sustained development at a maximum level of efficiency of the branches and sub-branches in its field of activity, to which end:

a) it draws up studies and programs regarding proportions, levels, rates and directions of future development of its branches and sub-branches, keeping in mind the role of these units in the overall national economy and the trends and progress made on the international level;

b) it draws up draft annual and future plans and assigns economic and financial plan indicators to subordinate units;

c) it is responsible for the on-time start-up of exploitation of newly discovered deposits, the complete use of the entire stock of drills in production, the achievement of tasks regarding the drilling and use of wells at great depth, the application and extension of procedures to increase the recovery factor for crude oil deposits, and the use of its installations and equipment with a maximum of efficiency;

d) it determines the necessary amount and possibilities for increasing the reserves of liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons;

e) it pursues and takes measures to rationally consume natural gases in all the sectors of the national economy;

f) it ensures the continued improvement of the quality of products and projects for the purpose of increasing their economic efficiency;

g) it is responsible for carrying out its own program of geological projects and for achieving its tasks for petroleum and gas reserves as established in accordance with the provisions of the sole national economic-social development plan;

h) it approves, in accordance with legal provisions, geological studies and projects for precise exploratory drilling and pumping and injection projects, regardless of the depth, as well as bringing hydrocarbon deposits into production;

i) it pursues the rational exploitation of crude oil and gas deposits, and is responsible for adapting production activities to the new conditions of the deposit;

j) it pursues and is responsible for fulfilling its indicators in the sole national economic-social development plan, and periodically informs the Council of Ministers;

k) it determines, in accordance with legal provisions, the necessary amount of material and financial resources for its subordinate centrals and other units;

l) it analyzes the periodic reviews and reports of its subordinate units and completes those that involve activities for the entire ministry;

m) it completes and carries out the budget of incomes and expenditures for the central administration of the ministry and the subordinate budgetary units.

B. It organizes and coordinates activities for economic, technical and scientific cooperation and collaboration with other ministries and central organs in the country, as well as with foreign partners, in those actions for which it is responsible; it ensures the application of international agreements and accords regarding its field of activities and reviews the fulfillment of tasks that stem from these agreements; it pursues the sampling and studying of the needs of foreign markets regarding cooperative actions and for the products of the units that it coordinates.

C. It completes the export plan and makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of future commercial trade; it pursues the overall achievement of export goals.

D. It coordinates and directs research and design activities in its subordinate units and takes measures to equip them with the necessary technical-scientific means; it pursues the results of scientific research and its use; it is involved in the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress in its subordinate units.

E. It directs activities regarding inventions and innovations and is involved in the spread of the most important achievements; it makes proposals regarding problems in standardization and categorization; it coordinates and reviews metrology activities in its subordinate units.

F. It approves technical-economic studies for the production of new products of great importance.

G. It approves estimated standards of a national nature for drilling projects.

H. Within the limits of its authority, it approves technical-economic documentation for investment projects; it organizes, directs and reviews activities for planning, designing and carrying out investments, and takes measures to adhere to the start-up timeframes for these investment projects.

I. It organizes documentary information activities and informs its subordinate units regarding trends in technical-scientific progress at the national and international levels; it produces publications and works dealing with the problems of science, technology and production that are specific to the activities it controls.

J. It directs and coordinates activities for organizing production and labor in its subordinate units; it organizes activites for drawing up, applying and following up on work standards and norms for all categories of personnel in its branches and sub-branches; it organizes the drawing up of unified work standards and norms throughout the economy on those projects where it is the coordinator;

it approves the specific standardization methodologies, as well as the unified standards and norms by branch and sub-branch in its field of activity, and reviews their manner of implementation.

K. It organizes the carrying out of projects regarding the necessary amount of raw materials, materials and equipment, whose precise numbers are approved by the Council of Ministers, ministries or other central organs; it is responsible for its subordinate units' filling out their material plans and cooperates with other central organs in balancing out these plans in accordance with the tasks in the sole national economic-social development plan and the needs and possibilities of the national economy; it ensures the supplies of materials and equipment for which it is the coordinator.

L. It exercises its attributes according to law with regards to prices and charges in its field of activity.

M. It ensures the application of the party's and state's policy in personnel problems, to which end:

a) it establishes unified criteria for selecting, training, improving and promoting personnel in its branches and sub-branches, and controls the application of these criteria;

b) it establishes the necessary number of personnel for the future, and takes measures to train and improve them according to law;

c) it employs personnel for its own apparatus, and names the leadership organs of the centrals, the trusts and the other units subordinate to it;

d) it provides the material base and equipment for the specialized high schools and professional schools subordinate to it, as well as the necessary specialized faculty members.

N. It participates in the drawing up of proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the salary system for its branches and sub-branches; it ensures the unified application of the elements of the salary system for its subordinate units.

O. It establishes, according to law, measures regarding worker safety for the purpose of providing the best working conditions and preventing work accidents and professional illnesses; it takes measures for the continued improvement of living conditions.

P. It fulfills any other attributes covered by the law.

Chapter III

Organization and Operation

Article 6. - The Ministry of Petroleum is led by the leadership council which makes decisions on the general problems regarding the ministry's activities; the executive bureau of this council carries out the collective leadership of the ministry's operational activities and ensures the implementation of the decisions of the leadership council.

The leadership council of the ministry and its executive bureau, as organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 regarding the leadership of ministries and other central organs of state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

Article 7. - The minister informs the ministry's leadership council regarding the principal problems resolved during the period between sessions.

Article 8. - The Ministry of Petroleum leadership is composed of a minister, two deputy ministers and a secretary of state.

The deputy ministers and the secretary of state are named by presidential decree and their attributes are established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 9. - The minister represents the ministry in its relations with other organs and organizations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 10. - Within the framework of the Ministry of Petroleum, according to Decree No 78/1973, a Technical-Economic Council is organized and operates as a working organ alongside the ministry's collective leadership organs.

Article 11. - The Ministry of Petroleum has the following organizational structure:

a) the Economic-Financial Planning Directorate;

b) the Technical, Investments, Construction and Mechano-Energy Directorate;

c) the Directorate for Organization, Review, Personnel, Training, Salary and Social Affairs;

d) the Directorate for the Coordination of Crude Oil and Gas Production;

e) the Directorate for Drilling and Geology.

The organizational structure of the work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the ministry's apparatus are those outlined in Annexes No 1 and No 2 (these Annexes are forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 12. - The Ministry of Petroleum has in its subordination industrial centrals, trusts, enterprises, units for scientific research, technological engineering and design, other economic units, budgetary units, specialized high schools and professional schools.

Article 13. - The Ministry of Petroleum has in direct subordination those units listed in Annex No 3.

Article 14. - The attributes and operating norms for the units listed in Article 11 are established by the ministry's leadership council in accordance with legal norms.

Chapter IV

Final Provisions

Article 15. - Workers moved to the Ministry of Petroleum, as well as those transferred to other units as a result of the reorganization of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology, are considered transfered in the interest of duty.

Article 16. - Personnel transfered in the interest of duty or moved within the same unit to positions with lower salaries, as well as those personnel who were made available as a result of the application of the provisions of this decree, benefit from the rights outlined in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units.

Article 17. - The Ministry of Petroleum is supplied with three automobiles to transport people for its own apparatus.

Article 18. - The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of Petroleum and the other interested central organs, will submit for approval those modifications in the sole national economic-social development plan for 1981 and for the 1981-1985 period stemming from the application of Council of State Decree 266/1981 regarding the establishment of the Ministry of Mines, the Ministry of Petroleum and the Ministry of Geology, and this decree.

Article 19. - The provisions in laws, decrees and other normative acts referring to the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology are appropriately applied to the Ministry of Petroleum as organized in accordance with this decree and the object of its activities.

Article 20. - Annexes Nos 1-3 are an integral part of this decree.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 8 September 1981
No 270

Annex No 3

The List of Units Directly Subordinate to the Ministry of Petroleum

I. Industrial Centrals and Units Similar to Them

- the Medias Natural Gas Central

II. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and Design Units

- the Cimpina Institute of Research and Design for Petroleum and Gases

III. Other Units

- the Bolintin Petroleum Trust
- the Moinesti Petroleum Trust
- the Ploiesti Petroleum Trust
- the Pitesti Petroleum Trust
- the Tirgu Jiu Petroleum Trust
- the Arad Drilling-Extraction Enterprise (trust)
- the Ploiesti Petroleum Construction and Installation Trust
- the Cimpina "Energopetrol" Enterprise
- the Ploiesti Sampling and Tapping Enterprise
- the Ploiesti Cementing, Special Operations and Transportation Enterprise
- the Ploiesti Crude Oil Pipeline Enterprise
- the Baicoi Supply, Material Recovery and Auxiliary Production Base
- the Cimpina Spare Parts Supply Base
- the Teleajen Petroleum Equipment and Repair Enterprise
- the Poiana Tractor and Heavy Motor Repair Enterprise
- the Cimpina Electric Equipment Repair Enterprise
- the Bucharest Plans and Auxiliary Projects Center
- the Enterprise for Foreign Economic Cooperation in the Field of Petroleum and Gas - ROMPETROL
- the Ploiesti National Petroleum Museum
- the Moinesti Petroleum School Group
- the Tirgu Ocna Petroleum Industrial High School
- the Berca Petroleum Industrial High School
- the Ianca Petroleum Industrial High School
- the Teleajen Petroleum School Group
- the Cimpina Petroleum School Group
- the Moreni Petroleum School Group
- the Tirgoviste Petroleum School Group
- the Bolintin Petroleum Industrial High School
- the Videle Petroleum School Group
- the Pitesti Petroleum School Group
- the Ticleni Petroleum School Group
- the Sinnicolau Mare Petroleum Industrial High School

8724
CSO: 2700

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION OF MINISTRY OF GEOLOGY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 70 8 Sep 81 pp 6-10

[Decree of the Council of State regarding the organization and operation of the Ministry of Geology]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The Ministry of Geology carries out the party's and state's policy in the field of geology and organizes and is responsible for geological activities throughout all of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the purpose of discovering and using all the mineral wealth of the ground and the subsoil.

Article 2. - The Ministry of Geology leads, guides and reviews the activities of its subordinate units and is responsible, as the plan holder, for the achievement of the plan for all its activities.

Article 3. - The Ministry of Geology ensures the application of laws, decrees and decisions of the Council of Ministers in its activities.

Article 4. - The Ministry of Geology cooperates with other ministries and central organs, as well as local organs, for the purpose of carrying out its attributes.

Chapter II

Attributes

Article 5. - The Ministry of Geology has the following principal attributes:

A. With regards to carrying out projects in research, prospecting and geological exploration,

a) it is responsible for the geological research of the ground and subsoil for the entire area of the country and for identifying all useful mineral substances, both fluid and solid, through geological, geophysical, geochemical and other

methods, as well as for determining the reserves of useful mineral subtances and the establishment of conditions for using them;

b) it is reponsible for carrying out the projects program in research, prospecting, and geological exploration established in accordance with the provisions of the sole national economic-social development plan;

c) together with the Ministry of Petroleum, it is responsible for achieving tasks for increasing reserves of petroleum and gas and, together with the Ministry of Mines, for increasing reserves of solid mineral substances, in accordance with annual and future plans;

d) it takes measures for the complex investigation of researched geological formations for the purpose of identifying all the useful mineral substances contained in these formations;

e) it takes measures to apply new research methods and techniques that will permit the more rapid identification of the useful mineral substances contained in deposits, including those with a low content level;

f) it is responsible for and takes measures to research all deposits of useful mineral substances for the purpose of the complex and complete use of these substances;

g) it draws up studies and programs regarding the proportions, levels, rates and directions for the future development of its subordinate units, as well as studies and programs regarding the necessary amounts of mineral raw materials;

h) it draws up draft annual and future plans on the basis of its own studies, as well as the proposals of its subordinate units;

i) it establishes the economic and financial plan indicators for its subordinate units in accordance with the sole national economic-social development plan; it pursues and is responsible for fulfilling its indicators in the sole national economic-social development plan and periodically informs the Council of Ministers;

j) it determines the necessary amount and possibilities for increasing reserves of useful mineral substances;

k) it determines the necessary amount of material and financial resources for its subordinate units, in accordance with legal norms;

l) it analyzes the periodic reviews and reports of subordinate units and completes those that involve activities for the entire ministry; it completes and carrries out the budget of incomes and expenditures for the central administration of the ministry and the subordinate budgetary units;

m) it coordinates and directs research and design activities in its subordinate units and takes measures to equip them with technical-material means; it pursues the results of scientific research and its use; it is involved in the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress in its subordinate units; it organizes documentary information activities and informs its subordinate units regarding trends in technical-scientific progress at the national and international levels; it produces publications and works dealing with the problems of science, technology and production that are specific to the activities it controls;

n) within the limits of its authority, it approves technical-economic documentation for investment projects; it organizes, directs and reviews activities for planning, designing and carrying out investments, and takes measures to adhere to the start-up timeframes for these investment projects;

o) it takes measures for the efficient use of existing production equipment and facilities, as well as for the proper maintenance and repair of them, ensuring the modernization of equipment and installations during repair work to at least the level of standards;

p) it directs and coordinates activities for organizing production and labor in its subordinate units; it organizes activities for drawing up, applying and following up on work norms and standards for all the categories of personnel in its branches and sub-branches; it organizes the drawing up of unified work standards and norms throughout the economy on those projects where it is the coordinator; it approves the specific standardization methodologies, as well as the unified standards and norms by branch and sub-branch in its field of activity and reviews their manner of implementation;

r) it directs activities regarding inventions and innovations and is involved in the spread of the most important achievements; it makes proposals regarding problems in standardization and categorization; it coordinates and reviews metrology in its subordinate units;

s) it organizes the carrying out of projects regarding the necessary amount of raw materials, materials and equipment, whose precise numbers are approved by the Council of Ministers, ministries or other central organs; it is responsible for its subordinate units' filling out their material plans and cooperates with other central organs in balancing out these plans in accordance with the tasks in the sole national economic-social development plan and the needs and possibilities of the national economy; it ensures the supply of materials and equipment necessary to the geological activities of its subordinate units;

ş) it organizes and coordinates activities for economic, technical and scientific cooperation and collaboration with other ministries and central organs in the country, as well as with foreign partners, in those actions for which it is responsible; it ensures the application of international agreements and accords

regarding its field of activities and reviews the fulfillment of these tasks that stem from these agreements; it pursues the sampling and studying of the needs of foreign markets regarding cooperative actions and for the products of the units that it coordinates;

t) it completes the export plan and makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of this plan for the geological projects that are carried out through international economic cooperation; it pursues the overall achievement of export goals;

ţ) it exercises its attributes according to law with regards to prices and charges in its field of activity;

u) it establishes unified criteria for selecting, training, improving and promoting personnel, as well as the necessary number of people for the future, and takes measures to train and improve these people in accordance with the law; it employs personnel for its own apparatus and names the leadership organs for its subordinate units;

v) it provides the material base and equipment for its specialized subordinate educational and professional units, as well as the necessary specialized faculty members;

x) it establishes measures, according to law, regarding worker safety for the purpose of providing the best working conditions and preventing work accidents and professional illnesses, as well as for continually improving living conditions;

z) it fulfills any other attributes covered by law.

B. With regards to the orientation and coordination of geological activities,

a) it coordinates all geological activities for the purpose of identifying and increasing the known reserves of useful mineral substances and using all the mineral wealth of the ground and subsoil;

b) it draws up economic geological studies and reports regarding the results of geological projects and the future growth of reserves of useful mineral substances; it periodically updates forecast reserves; on the basis of these studies and the proposals of the ministries and the executive committees of the county people's councils, it draws up programs and estimates for periods longer than 10 years and draft five year plans for the development of geological activities;

c) it establishes mining perimeters, as well as hydrogeological protection perimeters for mineral water deposits, therapeutic lakes and areas of therapeutic mud;

d) it analyzes and approves plan proposals from the ministry, other central organs of the state administration or the executive committees of the county people's councils for geological projects, as well as exploitation programs for deposits of useful solid mineral substances;

e) it approves geological and technical-economic documents regarding the orientation, opportunities and carrying out of geological projects, technical-economic documents regarding the opening or development of mining in deposits of useful solid mineral substances and the start of mining in deposits of useful fluid mineral substances, including underground waters, and documents regarding the abandonment of reference, prospecting and exploration wells used for useful fluid mineral substances, the removal of reserves of useful mineral substances from the active file, the partial or total closure of mines and quarries and the establishment of mining perimeters and long-term protection markers;

f) it follows up on how the provisions of approved geological projects are carried out by the units under the guidance and control of the ministry, the central organs of state administration or the executive committees of the county people's councils, and the results obtained;

g) it analyzes the results of geological projects and proposes measures to improve activities in this field;

h) it provides scientific and specialized assistance to the units that carry out geological projects;

i) it organizes the geological fund of data of the Socialist Republic of Romania and maintains records of the results of geological projects;

j) it draws up and produces official maps of all categories specific to geological activities;

k) it organizes and coordinates activities of foreign scientific collaboration in the field of geology;

l) it organizes and pursues the training of geologist technicians necessary for alla geological activity; it collaborates with the Ministry of Education and Training in drawing up the plans and analytical programs in the field of geological sciences.

C. With regards to officially approving reserves,

a) it confirms reserves of useful mineral substances, classified according to the level of geological knowledge and possibilities for use, and follows the evolution of the national fund of reserves of useful mineral substances.

The confirmation is done by the Ministry of Geology together with the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets;

b) it establishes measures and recommendations through the official approval document for the purpose of ensuring an appropriate level of understanding of geological reserves and their content of useful mineral substances, and for creating the conditions for their complex use.

The official approval document for reserves of useful mineral substances constitutes the basic document which provides substantiation, from a geological potential point of view, for the investment approval documentation, permission for the mining and use of deposits, under legal conditions;

c) it analyzes evaluation documentation on reserves, as well as other documents forwarded by ministries, other central organs of state administration and the executive committees of the county people's councils and Bucharest municipality, for the purpose of giving official approval to reserves;

d) it organizes the centralized and national data records on reserves of useful mineral substances, which it forwards to the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and the Review of the Management of Fixed Assets;

e) together with the ministries, other central organs of state administration and the interested county and Bucharest municipality people's councils' executive committees, it establishes annual programs covering the deposits for which reserves evaluation documentation will be drawn up for the purpose of giving official approval to them and using certain reserves of useful mineral substances;

f) it issues, after consultation with the interested ministries and other central organs of state administration, obligatory standards regarding the determination, classification, evaluation and identification of reserves of useful mineral substances, as well as the content of documentation on reserves;

g) it organizes and periodically updates, after confirmation, the reserves of each useful mineral substance on the basis of the reserves evaluation documentation.

D. With regards to geological-mining reviews of deposits of useful mineral substances and the rational exploitation of these deposits,

a) it reviews how the protection and rational exploitation of deposits, both on the surface and below ground, of useful mineral substances are carried out;

b) it approves the annual programs for exploiting solid mineral substances, as well as the documentation regarding the establishment of long-term protection markers, and verifies the implemention of approved provisions;

c) it reviews the carrying out of geological projects and mining in accordance with the approved technical-economic documentation and with the annual mining proposals;

d) it pursues the reduction of dilution and losses in mining, as well as the documentation of them;

e) it works for the reduction of losses in the technological preparation process for the purpose of maximally recovering useful mineral substances;

f) it pursues having an optimum relationship between the number of open reserves and those prepared for exploitation;

g) it pursues the achievement of measures for an increase in the recovery factor at hydrocarbon deposits in accordance with the provisions in the exploitation plans;

h) it pursues the establishment of optimum rates of flow for natural gas wells;

i) it reviews the rational exploitation of deposits of mineral waters, therapeutic lakes, areas of therapeutic muds and mofettes, according to law;

j) it pursues the manner of carrying out hydrogeological projects to drain aquafer formations in deposits of useful solid mineral substances, as well as hydrogeological drillings to aquafer strata at depths for potable, mineral and industrial waters.

E. With regards to the review of the execution of geological projects,

a) it reviews the manner of carrying out the approved provisions given for executing geological projects;

b) it pursues the manner of applying the geological research methodology outlined in the approved plans for attaining the desired objectives;

c) it reviews the manner of acquiring, processing and conserving geological test probes;

d) it reviews the application of measures regarding the prevention of blow-outs;

e) during production tests for hydrocarbons in geological research wells, it conducts reviews so that the gauging of the collecting formations is done by taking into consideration all the geological information obtained from the drilling carried out, as well as the data and results obtained from production tests at other wells in the formation, so as to obtain conclusive data on the content of the strata.

F. Other attributes related to reviewing the rational exploitation of deposits of useful mineral substances:

a) it draws up draft standards regarding geological and protection activities for deposits of useful mineral substances;

b) it approves the documentation regarding the opening of mines and quarries of a temporary nature and the documentation regarding the partial or total closing of mines and quarries, as well as the documentation regarding the stopping of mining projects from a point of view of the status of their useful solid mineral substances.

Chapter III

Organization and Operation

Article 6. - The Ministry of Geology is led by the leadership council which makes decisions on the general problems of the ministry's activities. The executive bureau of this council carries out the collective leadership of the ministry's operational activities and ensures the implemention of the decisions of the leadership council.

The leadership council of the ministry and its executive bureau, as organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 regarding the leadership of the ministries and the other central organs of state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

The minister informs the ministry's leadership council regarding the principal problems resolved during the period between sessions.

Article 7. - The Ministry of Geology leadership is composed of a minister, a deputy minister and two secretaries of state.

The deputy minister and secretaries of state are named by presidential decree and their attributes are established by the ministry's leadership council.

Article 8. - The minister represents the ministry in its relations with other organs and organizations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 9. - The Ministry of Geology has the following organizational structure:

a) the Directorate for Planning-Finances, Organization and Review;

b) the Directorate for Geological Projects, Mechano-Energy and Supply;

c) the Office of International Economic Cooperation;

d) the Directorate of Geological Coordination and Reserves;

e) the State Geological Mining Inspectorate.

Within the framework of the Directorate of Geological Coordination and Reserves there will also be the position of inspector general.

The organizational structure of the work departments and the maximum number of personnel are those outlined in Annexes No 1 and No 2 (these annexes were forwarded to the interested institutions).

Article 10. - The attributes of all of the departments within the ministry's apparatus are established, in accordance with law, through the regulation on organization and operations approved by the ministry's leadership council.

The regulation on the organization and operation of the State Geological Mining Inspectorate is approved by decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 11. - The units listed in Annex No 3 are directly subordinate to the Ministry of Geology.

Chapter IV

Temporary and Final Provisions

Article 12. - Workers moved to the Ministry of Geology, as well as those transfered to other units as a result of the reorganization of the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology, are considered transfered in the interest of duty.

Article 13. - Personnel transfered in the interest of duty or moved within the same unit to positions of lower salary, as well as those personnel who were made available for other work as a result of the application of the provisions of this decree, benefit from the rights outlined in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 regarding the establishment of unified structural norms for economic units.

Article 14. - The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of Geology and the other interested central organs, will submit for approval those modifications stemming from the application

of Council of State Decree No 266/1981 regarding the establishment of the Ministry of Mines, the Ministry of Petroleum and the Ministry of Geology, and this decree in the sole national economic-social development plan for 1981 and the 1981-1985 period, as well as in the state budget.

Article 15. - The maximum number of automobiles from the common motor pool to be used to transport persons in the Ministry of Geology's own apparatus is three.

Article 16. - The provisions in laws, decrees and other normative acts referring to the Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology are appropriately applied to the Ministry of Geology as organized in accordance with this decree and the object of its activities.

Article 17. - Annexes Nos 1-3 are an integral part of this decree.

Article 18. - Council of State Decree No 399/1976 regarding the organization and operation of the National Commission of Geological Reserves, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 115 of 23 December 1976, is abrogated.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 8 September 1981
No 271

Annex No 3

The List of Units Directly Subordinate to the Ministry of Geology

I. Enterprises and Other Units

- the Bucharest Enterprise of Geological and Geophysical Prospecting
- the Maramures Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Hunedoara Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Suceava Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Harghita Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Cluj Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Banat Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Oltenia Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Arges Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Buzau Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Dobrudja Enterprise of Geological Prospecting and Exploration
- the Bucharest Enterprise of Special Drilling and Geological Projects
- the Supply Base (an economic unit without legal personality)
- the Office of Documentary Information for Geology

II. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and Design Units

- the Institute of Geology and Geophysics

8724
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TRADE UNION OFFICIAL REPORTS ON VISIT TO FRG

Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 11 Sep 81 p 8

[Interview with Gheorghe Sanda, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania and president of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in the forestry economy and construction materials industry, by Ioan Oprea and Florin Pantelimonescu, date and place not specified: "A Special Interest in Understanding Trade Union Activities in Romania"]

[Text] Not long ago, a delegation headed by comrade Gheorghe Sanda, member of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania and president of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in the forestry economy and construction materials industry, paid a working visit to the FRG at the invitation of the Federation of Trade Unions in the wood and plastics industry (GHK). On this occasion, the delegation was received by Gerhard Vater, secretary of the Union of Trade Unions in the FRG (DGB), and carried on discussions with a GHK delegation led by president Kurt Georgi, with members of the Regional Council of the Federation in Bavaria and with other activists of local councils, as well as in enterprises in Worms and Nurnberg. Upon his return to Romania, comrade Gheorghe Sanda granted our newspaper an interview, which we are publishing in this issue.

[Question] A working visit like the one your delegation made, as well as the contacts you made, without a doubt offer a multitude of impressions. Of all of them, which one do you feel is the dominant one, incorporating all of them, if you will?

[Answer] I can answer you immediately: this visit, through the problems discussed, occasioned a broad, sincere and open exchange of views on the principal concerns of the trade unions in the two countries, as well as the opportunity for a better understanding of the activities of the branch trade unions and their current and future concerns. Our interlocutors, trade union activists, openly told us that the real picture of the FRG and the specific pulse of life in the FRG are not expressed by the store windows displaying products from every continent. No! This is a surface picture. What concerns the workers in the FRG is the unified struggle to stop the spiraling of prices, especially for necessary products (this year there has been an increase of over five percent), and the increase in the number of the

unemployed (official figures indicate over 1.2 [million] "surplus people"). The current economic stagnation which has brought about a slowdown in the rate of national production and, implicitly, a worsening of the workers' working and security conditions has many causes. Among these our guests noted the devaluation of the West German mark as a result of the exaggerated increase in the interest rates set by the American banks, which has brought about a slowdown in the rate of investments and, therefore, the creation of new obstacles in the path of providing new jobs. Similarly, the approved decision regarding the reduction of budgetary expenditures by approximately 10 billion marks for the purpose of reducing, little by little, the public debt directly hits the interests of the workers. Because of this, the "savings" are to be made by canceling certain tax cuts and substantially reducing monies allocated for certain social needs (supplimenting unemployment assistance, which in the future will be covered completely by... dues paid in, canceling unemployment assistance for those who did not make payments, limiting the funds slated to create professional training programs, reducing certain types of assistance for families with many children, delaying for 3 months the salary increases for public employees and so forth). In addition to all this, our hosts pointed out, there are pressures from certain domestic and foreign forces to increase military expenditures, a burden carried exclusively by the broad working masses and which, according to what important trade union leaders told us, does not ensure the security, independence and sovereignty of the FRG, but leads to the "misappropriation" of certain important material and energy resources from their use for peaceful purposes.

[Question] What is the position of the trade unions regarding such actions that clearly worsen the living conditions of the workers?

[Answer] We discussed these aspects for a long time and the main conclusion is that the trade unions are militating for specific and efficient measures regarding economic recovery, but not on the basis of sacrificing certain major interests of the members of the trade unions. In order to meet this demand, they are using ever broader forms in their struggle. One fact should be stressed: the social and economic demands are closely blended with the demands to freeze military budgets and to cause the political groups to oppose NATO programs for placing new medium-range missiles in Western Europe, including the FRG, and to force the United States to renounce the production and stockpiling of neutron weapons. In this regard, the trade unions in the FRG have organized large meetings pursuing the move to firm and specific measures for military disarmament and disengagement. They are insistently asking for the initiation of actions that will protect and improve the workers' living and working conditions, the broadening of production for peace and so forth.

[Question] As messengers of the trade unions in Romania what can you tell us?

[Answer] One remark is just about the only one needed: everywhere our delegation enjoyed a careful and friendly reception, with our hosts expressing a lively interest to understand the achievements of our country and the specific contribution

that the trade unions make in the direct solution of all the problems regarding the workers' social-economic, professional and cultural conditions. Separate attention was given to understand the organizational structure of our trade unions and, in this framework, the specific forms through which we achieve our party's and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concepts regarding the direct participation of the collectives in the enterprises in worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration. We found, with special satsifaction, that in the FRG the important trade union leaders give high marks to the contribution of Romania and our trade union to overcoming the current situation of tensions on the European continent and throughout the world, and to their constant contribution to establishing a lasting security in the world and a durable peace. In this context, it was felt that the strengthening and broadening of contacts between trade unions and the understanding of the positions of the trade unions, regardless of their political affiliation and orientation, are capable of uniting the workers' efforts and of strengthening the solidarity of the workers in the common struggle for a better life and for a lasting peace in which relations of friendship and mutually advantageous collaboration between all nations will triumph.

8724
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IMPROVEMENTS IN TEACHER TRAINING RECOMMENDED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 81 pp 402-407

[Article by Prof Aneta Spornic, minister of education and instruction]

[Text] There is a mutual link between education and social-economic life in the sense that education is a component of social-economic life and not a goal in itself, being determined by the requirements and nature of social life but, at the same time, powerfully affecting the evolution and development of society itself. Education has in view the training of all society members through varied means, because it is not limited only to the young generation, with our society promoting permanent education. The main goals of education have in mind the broad mass of workers' reaching a certain level of knowledge, and more specifically, the formation of the new man in accordance with the demands of the multilaterally developed socialist society and, in particular , the future demands of the communist society. Bearing these directions in mind, man must have not only an appropriate qualification but also the knowledge of general culture which permit him to understand the phenomena in the society in which he lives and the requirements and demands of this society.

The sum of the knowledge, their structure, the multilateral development of the personality and moral-political edu ation all are determined by the level of development of the production forces, the social structure of society and even the class structure, the characteristics of inter-human relationships, both in the current stage as well as, in particular, in the future stage of society, the need for active, broader and more consistent participation of all society members in the leadership process and in the decisions for its development.

From this viewpoint, a characteristic of education consists of the fact that its goals must, in particular, have in mind the requirements of the future and not of the present, since 90 percent of those being formed in education represent the young generation, proceeding from the youngest age up to the point of higher training in a certain area of activity. We must cope with a portion of the population which will carry out its activity in production and social-political only 15-20 years,and even more, from now, if we take into account the length of active life and then, any orientation, content and structures for educ tion must bear in mind this element of the future. Also, the person carrying out the education must conceive of his work and and his activity for forming the young cadres not at the level of demands of the stage he is now living and working in, but continually taking into account the demands of the future society.

There has been a radical change in the place and role of instruction in Romania, with its having become today the main factor of the training, formation and advanced training of the labor force.

This principle and, at the same time, the demand before instruction, established by the new Law on Education and Instruction as well as by other normative acts, still are not being fully implemented and it is not a finished process but only now it must be carried out in all its complexity, with our conceiving of and improving various of its aspects and structures along the way.

These new duties given to instruction reflect the innovative and revolutionary concept worked out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the Romanian school and its place and role in society: as a factor for educating and forming the young generations but also as the main factor for continually improving the cadres. We feel that we should not have to refer to the too far distant past in order to truly note this revolutionary nature of the change in the place and role of instruction. We only emphasize that in the past the school provided a certain level of knowledge of general culture and only after completion of it did the actual professional qualification begin or sometimes the professional training meant interrupting school and entering a course for qualification; the high school diploma in itself did not prove either a kind of specialization or a right to have a profession in a certain area.

In the new concept, all of instruction, at all levels, provides in parallel, on one hand, training in the area of the basic sciences and, on the other, qualification in a certain trade, at a level which permits integration in a job, following graduation, with good results.

A second idea aiding in fulfillment of the role for the school is that all of its steps, beginning with preschool instruction, the formation of the young generations and education of the children are conceived in the spirit of love, respect for work, formation of habits for physical work. Toward this end, all resources available are being used, including doing actual work and an activity useful to society, adapted according to the age and possibilities of the children or young people.

This still is a method which permits the formation of the future generations through instruction to provide them an active participation in social-economic life immediately following graduation.

Also, I should stress the idea that the education carried out through instruction is subordinate to the dialectical materialist concept of the world, the dominant and official concept of our society. The state nature of all instruction as well as all the education done in instruction must have scientific bases and must favor acquiring a dialectical materialist concept of the world and society. In this connection--I should emphasize--the school cannot have a passive and indifferent attitude and cannot tolerate the dissemination of mystical concepts and sectarian concepts within the instruction. Freedom of religion does not mean that a professor or teacher in a school can teach anything, can transmit his own sectarian convictions to some children who cannot defend themselves and cannot discern these concepts of their professors at the age at which they are in school.

For that reason, only the basic concept of our society--the scientific concept of dialectical materialism--can be taught and propagated in our schools.

Also as a new element which insures carrying out the place and role of instruction, I should stress its finality, in the sense that through its entire structure and through outlining of the various units of instruction are the succession of various steps of instruction insured, thus, a new finality, with the graduates of that step being able to enter production or find free access to the second step in the area for which they have been trained, thus, to insure continuity in training. A new element characteristic of our society lies in the fact that both at completion of secondary school as well as at the end of a faculty, the graduates are assigned to production, thus having a job provided them. For a long time we have been used to this new, special reality, but one which has not been resolved all over the world and one which has very powerful implications in the fate of the young generations. If from the viewpoint of structures and correlation of schooling plans with the future needs for cadres for the national economy this matter has been insured, we now must also make this finality efficient for society. We have in mind the need to train cadres which society needs at the level of its future demands; let us not make of this right given the young generations only a means for fulfilling a legal provision but one which, at the same time, should be useful for society and should correspond to and satisfy society's needs.

From this viewpoint, at the express indication of the higher party and state leadership, a true revolutionization of the structures of instruction has taken place. Here it was not a question of a simple improvement but of a revolutionizing, because, whereas in the past 90 percent of the secondary schools were humanistic ones, today 90 percent of the secondary schools areindustrial and agroindustrial ones, reflecting the new structure or trends of change in the structure of the national economy.

In higher education, too, the powerful development of the polytechnical institutes, the introduction of new specialties connected with the new directions of development of the economy have changed the structure of instruction. In the past, 55 percent was university and artistic instruction and today 53 percent is higher technical and agronomic instruction. A new characteristic of instruction, within the revolutionization of it, is its open nature in the sense that it provides free access for everyone at all levels of training, making it possible to choose and change a profession or area in which one wishes to specialize, an element also favorable for the young generations and older generations. The deeply humanist nature of the possibilities for choosing and reorienting training, however, also correspond to the trends and increasingly greater mobility of our society.

In accordance with these trends, the orientation of instruction insures broad training which permits both better satisfying the requirements of the national economy as well as creating the opportunities for the professional mobility of the cadres within their activity.

If we answer the invitation to make a critical analysis, we could show that the trend demonstrated at the beginnings of the reorganization of instruction in socialist society, of creating innumerable specializations, particularly in higher educacation, created for young people who now are at the halfway point in their active lives and are in production, serious problems due to very narrow specialization. They are encountering difficulties in adapting to the new requirements of production. Although they have a very big baggage of knowledge, but in a strict area of specialty, they do not have a more well-based general base which would permit them this professional mobility. The phenomenon of professional mobility is not characteristic only

of us and, in no case, of socialism; it is encountered all over the world and has been in the attention of many sociological researchers and economists and many works have been published. However, this phenomenon has been studied less in Romania. We have been satisfied just to talk, in stereotyped phrases, to publish in the press about the need for requalifications and polyqualification, but, in practice, we study little and we are helping social-economic life very little in applying concrete forms and in finding the solutions which will permit implementation of this effective process which also satisfies the interest of the economy as well as the workers' interest.

Also in order to insure this new orientation for instruction, its content has been changed substantially, primarily through integrating instruction with production and research. This integration process has been carried out in two directions: on one hand, the lectures held in the production or research units and, on the other, the production carried out in the education and research units. In the current stage we are, I would say, in a qualitatively new situation, in which the instruction units, including the secondary school units, have a production plan with plan indicators parcelled out from the plans of the enterprises which are their patrons, while the higher education instituttions long have been developing as powerful centers for scientific research with microproduction units where the students actually work; it is being insured that at least one-third of the content of education is represented by practical activities in all the profiles and for all the levels of training, while around 50 percent of the teaching process belongs to experimental activities.

The changein the educating methods through introduction of methods which insure the pupils' active participation and increase in share of laboratory activities is a necessary process but one which is barely now being developed and improved.

From this viewpoint I would like to stress that a phenomenon, one noted also at the beginning, may be found in education--that sometimes the changes in the structure of educational factors or in the conception of them have gone faster than having the teaching cadres carry out the actual activity in the educational-instructional process. Due to the innovative concept of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, who conceived of the new place and role for the school, new structures have been created in education and a new outlining for the educational units and new instruction methods have been carried out, while practical implementation of this new concept is far from being finalized, with big efforts being needed to mobilize as well as perseverence in these directions from those working in education. I should note several causes which have contributed to our lag from this viewpoint.

Education also falls along the line of other areas, as noted at the agricultural congress by the comrade secretary general of the party, which from the viewpoint of cadre training and their formation and education is lagging behind. This is a fact,but one which we not only must find but also correct by improvement in the training of the teaching cadres. We have all the conditions to improve this situation and to correlate exactly that which we are preparing through various forms with the needs of the national economy. The most favorable planning conditions for the future exist in education, at least for one five-year plan, so that the resources are well-known in education at least 6 years before, if we take into account that schooling begins at the age of 6. We know exactly how many children enter school annually and under the conditions of generalized education the planning can be done perfectly. Despite this, it has been found that we are training too many or too few specialists in one area, including for education compared with society's needs, and this lack of coordination is caused not only by the changes which have occurred in, let us say, the

4 or 5 years that the faculty lasts--the training period--but by an insufficient scientific substantiation of the schooling figures. Also, although education provides all pupils training in a trade, in accordance with which they must be employed in production, innumerable qualification courses are still being organized on the job with advisement of the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the coordinator of the training and qualification of all cadres. This fact has led to very serious implications in providing employment for the qualified secondary school graduates for a trade, those who are prepared best from the viewpoint of general culture, who have a political and social education, but who sometimes do not find jobs according to their training, with those who have been trained in the enterprise being preferred, even if they have a lower level of knowledge.

Practice has shown that a pupil, a graduate with a baccalaureate degree, in working as a worker, produces much better results, has much higher productivity, is a conscientious worker with the creative capacity , one who works familiar with the case and who, thus, can adapt to the needs of the production process and can obtain qualitatively superior results, exactly what we need now and in the future.

Instead of utilizing this superior opportunity which we have, of forecasting and correlating various aspects of social and economic life, shortcomings for the national economy have been created from these shortcomings in school planning.

The correlation of cadre training with the requirements of society , of the economy and social-cultural life must, however, be made with regard to two aspects: from the quantitative side, that is, we should train the number of cadres in proportion to the future needs of the economy for a longer period, not only for 1-2 years, taking into account the length of active life and, from the quality aspect, we primarily have in mind the structure of education, that is,the structure by profiles, by trades, which must be correlated with the changes in the structure of society. Also from a quality aspect we have in mind the level of the cadres' qualification, taking into account the superior technical supplies of production, which require a level of knowledge in the basic sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology but also special technical knowledge for understanding the phenomena in technology, science and society in general. Still referring to the quality aspect of education, it must provide the economic and political knowledge needed for the active participation of the future citizen, the future worker, in an area of activity, since the idea that each worker should be an active participant in the self-leadership process can only be resolved through the organizational structures which have been created (general meetings, workers councils, meetings and so forth), which have their own role but which are not succeeding in being efficient if those participating in them are not prepared with regard to the necessary competence to contribute to making decisions which are achievable and efficient and to participate effectively to carrying them out. From this viewpoint we also can find a lag in the structures created. Although the workers councils and the general meetings were made institutions so many years ago, there has not always been provided the preparation and education of their members in the spirit of a participational and responsible activity. Under these conditions, the very activity of these democratic organs of leadership has been a school for the training of cadres. The training of the young generations in this spirit cannot be done only through one discipline, let us say that of the social sciences, but through the entire instructional process and through the entire educational process. For many years we have been seeking to give advice in our discussions and our literature, first on the double role and now the triple quality of the workers as producers, owners and beneficiaries, but actually the understanding and action in this double or triple role are not being provided everywhere, because some of them still have not reached that level of awareness and understanding which cause them to take action out of conviction, taking into account all these aspects.

One of the many causes for which we have lagged behind in training of the young generation in this regard is the fact that, parallel with the introduction of the new structure, we did not, at the same time, provide appropriate training for the educators. Thus, for the new structures of education we have a big lack of professors in the basic sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry), the share of which has risen in the educational plan. We have an even greater lack in the technological disciplines, which insure the young people's training in a trade. Currently, we still are solving some matters with unqualified people and withsubstitutes, by attracting some good specialists from production but those who do not have the necessary pedagogical training and cannot carry out effective instruction.

On the other hand, the process of the advanced training of teaching cadres was reorganized just a year ago, although education, in the new concept, was organized many years ago. The slowness with which we are carrying out the qualitative improvements in the training of the teaching cadres through the pedagogical and university education itself and continuation of the training of cadres for instruction without any direct link with the analytical programs or with conditions in which they will carry out their future profession are shortcomings which must be corrected. We also have shortcomings in the training of professors to use modern teaching techniques. In the last 10-15 years education has enjoyed a volume of investments which has permitted it to triple its production capacities and technical supply.

We have modern resources in nearly all types and levels of education, but we have not provided the appropriate training to the same extent for the teaching cadres to handle these modern resources and use them for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the education. And, in the end, among these causes I also feel there is the poor exactingness of us, of all of us, toward those working in education. The present central concern for providing the education of the educators, I think should enjoy a broader discussion from all of us concerned in this area, as well as more appropriate participation of all the factors who can contribute to the advanced training of the educators, to their rapid adaptation to the new structures created in education, to the new role and place insured for the school as the factor which trains the future contingents of the labor force. In the area of the educators and of instruction, the continued advanced training is not a new principle as it is for other areas of activity, since this principle always was valid for those working in education. Especially today, when the entire population and workers in any area must regularly improve their knowledge, the obligation for the educators to improve is all the more stringent. The more this is achieved at a high level, the more education will record qualitatively superior results.

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EFFORTS TO MODERNIZE TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian May-Jun 81 pp 408-411

[Article by Acad Gheorghe Mihoc]

[Text] The contribution of mathematics has been basic to the successes obtained by technology in recent decades. However, technology mutually has also contributed to the development of mathematics as well as of the other basic sciences, by posing new problems and by the discovery of an apparatus which has considerably increased man's opportunities for research. As an example in this area, one may point out the appearance of electronic computers. The discovery of computers capable of doing millions of operations in one second cannot help but have results for the development of mathematics, although it long has ceased to be just a simple science of calculation. Before the existence of electronic computers the theoretical solution to a problem did not also mean the possibility for applying it in practice. A project requiring an immense number of calculations had to be abandoned if the compilation of the calculations could not be done in a useful period of time. Eliminating this defect is due to the electronic computers. Their appearance has opened broadly the doors for applications of mathematics in all areas of science and technology and all branches of human activity. Whereas several decades ago higher mathematics was indispensible only in physics and in some chapters of technology and technical sciences, today there almost is no scientific discipline in which mathematics does not intervene at the highest level. Numerous applications have led to the so-called "mathematization of science," which is specific of our era. Mathematics is being used today currently in physics, chemistry, technology, biology, economics, statistics, sociology, linguistics. The development which it has reached today, of course, also is due to a domestic law of growth, but to the greatest extent to its multiple applications, which have changed not only its methods but also its goal. Mathematics has gone beyond the stage of a science of quantitative relations between phenomena, having become a science of structures which, at the same time, comprise quantitative and qualitative elements.

Mathematical applications have brought new theoretical disciplines. For example, the following have resulted in recent decades as independent disciplines from the theory of probabilities: the theory of information, mathematical programming (formed in turn from linear programming, dynamic programming, stochastic programming, convex programming, whole number programming and so forth), the theory of decision-making, the theory of the lines of expectation, the theory of reliability and so forth.

Electronic computers also have given rise to theoretical implications by solving problems whose demonstrations are based on laborious calculations. An example can be the

celebrated problem of the map. Experimentally it had been observed that in order to color a map so that two countries with a common border would be painted differently, four colors are enough. A theoretical confirmation of this observation could not be given, since the mathematicians concerned with this problem, with such a simple enunciation, met difficulties beyond which they could not pass. Only in recent years was the problem solved, however, with the aid of electronic computers. For the first time in the history of mathematics, the demonstration of a truth was not given by logical reasoning carried out and followed from start to finish by man, with its also being necessary to give credit to the machines.

The giant development of modern mathematics poses important and difficult pedagogical problems. We are living in a rapidly developing world in which the role of science is a determinant. We are required to arm the youth with modern science, not only in order not to lag behind other countries but also so that we give them the opportunity to participate actively in the future evolution of science. But a gap inevitably exists between mathematical sciences at a certain point and school mathematics. The main task for mathematical pedagogy is to reduce this gap to a minimum, still using elementary methods accessible to the pupils.

The gap I have mentioned also exists in higher education, however it is much more reduced than in secondaryeducation. The University of Bucharest, even in the last century, had brilliant professors like Spiru Haret and David Emmanuel, followed by a pleiad of mathematicians who created a valuable school. The University of Iasi, older than the one in Bucharest, was and today continues to be an important center for the cultivation and dissemination of mathematical sciences. The University of Cluj, also. And mathematics have been taught at a high level at the institutes of higher education with a nonmathematics profile. We should not forget that among the professors at the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute great scholars headed by G. Titeica, D. Pompeiu, Tr. Lalescu.

However, what is different from the past is that the current development of science means that the 4-5-year university education no longer is enough for the training of the students equipped for research. For that reason it is necessary to give the doctoral candidate a much greater development than now, through special courses and through increasing the number of doctoral candidates.

Higher education operates on the basis of the principle stated by the very president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: the unity between education, research and practice. Giving an important share to practice, sections for information systems, for mechanics, probabilities and so forth have appeared in the faculties of mathematics, that is, conditions have been created for teaching applied mathematics, which were being neglected in the past.

The crisis in the teaching of mathematics is specific to the elementary school and secondary school. Some objective factors encountered in nearly all countries contribute to this. In the classes the pupils do not have the same prior training and the same aptitudes. It is very hard to find homogenous classes of pupils, and the professor has to work at a different level in the same hour with gifted pupils and weak pupils. Under these conditions, the efficiency of instruction suffers and the time given to the weak pupils is lost time for the good ones and vice versa.

The professors do not have the same professional ability, even if they have the same university training. There are conscientious professors instructed from a pedagogical viewpoint, up to date with scientific progress. Alongside them, sometimes in great numbers, we find routine-type professors who have lost the study habit and

out of laziness oppose the appearance of any new manual or change in curriculum. Also added to this difficulty is the attitude of the parents, followers of traditional education, which they learned when they were pupils.

There is a small number of manuals, most times just one, for all the classes. It is hard to imagine that one single manual can satisfy the needs of all categories of professors and pupils.

Despite all these difficulties, mathematics education in the elementary and secondary schools must be dynamic, continually progressing in agreement with the evolution of science and technology. Soon, when the role of technology will predominate in society, man will feel the need for a general scientific culture, just as today he feels it necessary to possess a literary, artistic or economic culture. We should not forget that current education will not reach its goal if it prepares pupils condemned to never understand science and its language, which is proving to be mathematics.

Special attention has been given in Romania to the modernization of mathematics instruction. The Ministry of Education and Instruction has restructured the analytical programs and has introduced new manuals. The principle from which it has proceeded is that a unified program must exist from the first grades up to the last years in the institutes of higher education, with a continuity existing in mathematics as taught at the different steps of instruction. The possibility for applying this principle has resulted from the pedagogical practice. It has been found that the pupils can understand concepts of mathematics from an early age, concepts which until not long ago were felt to belong tohigher education as, for example, sets, functions, probabilities and so forth. It was felt that the language of modern mathematics must be introduced into the school, based es entially on the theory of sets. Experience from some time ago in other countries and several years ago in Romania shows that this is possibile.

The main goal in the elementary school has remained the pupils' ability to calculate in a satisfactory manner in the area of decimals, at the same time introducing the system of counting on other bases, particularly base two, as encountered in programming of electronic computers. The programs and manuals have given priority to arithm tic but they also have taken on a more general aspect, establishing the bases for the study of mathematics of other classes.

The 5th-grade manuals and beyond have caused much discussion. Many viewpoints have been shown, interesting and useful ones, besides the ones coming from the backward professors who out of laziness oppose any innovation.

We will not dwell on the classic materials from school mathematics: algebra, geometry, mathematical analysis. One may say that they are observed from the viewpoint of modern mathematics in the new curricula and manuals.

In this context we must refer to the materials introduced recently as a result of the progress of science. Until the 19th century, mathematics was only concerned with problems in which a very restricted number of variables intervenes and an exact solution could be obtained, with the condition that all the data on the problem be known. Then, slowly, mathematicians began to take interest in the problems in which numerous data intervened. Thus, statistics was born. Now, due to statistics and the theory of probabilities, mathematics can give solutions for many problems by knowing merely some partial data. Deterministic thinking is not enough to understand all

the sciences. More than that, it plays a reduced role in applications, only being able to be used in the case where all the causes working on a phenomenon are known exactly. This is rarely found in nature and society. This explains the important role which probabilities and statistics play in science and technology. This discipline was introduced in the last grade of secondary school in Romania.

Another newly introduced material in the mathematical secondary schools is information systems. As we know, ordinators are not limited just to calculations. They serve the automation of machinery and plants, they check communications systems, they classify and order various data and so forth. New uses for them are being found continually. In the future, the science of computer programming, the knowledge of their languages will be very useful. For that reason, not only courses on information systems but also information systems high schools have been organized in Romania.

We do not wish to leave the impression that the action to modernize mathematics instruction, to adapt it to the requirements of society is finished. The professors will continue to meet difficulties in their task of supplying all pupils with mathematics knowledge which is indispensible for the man of tomorrow. They will have problems to solve in restructuring the curricula, in publishing good manuals, in providing advanced training for the professors as well as in forming the future professors. They will have to overcome difficulties because mathematics itself is a continually evolving science, being in the phase of transition from the study of characteristic sets formed from points and numbers to the study of the most general sets (sets of individuals, sets of cells, sets of linguistic elements and so forth) and of models, processes and structures which govern them. In our time mathematics is becoming more and more a general means of investigation in all branches of science and technology. In this respect, all the reforms for the study of mathematics must be conceived of.

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WESTERN COMMENT ON 'SELF-MANAGEMENT DILEMMA,' LACK OF LEADERSHIP

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 26/27 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Christine von Kohl: "Yugoslavia in a Self-Administered Dilemma--The Crumbling of Authorities Necessitates a Change in the System"]

> [Text] "Self-management is a key point of the program of the Polish labor union "Solidarity," and thus also of the basic debates in that country. In Yugoslavia the idea of a "society of self-management" after the Kardelj model (which he did not intend as a model at all) has long ceased to be a new concept but is still miles away from implementation. More topical than ever at present is the basic question as to whether its implementation is in fact possible. Quite a few things militate against this. The present state of the development of Yugoslav self-management has reached a phase marked by malcontent and distrust and characterized by the crumbling of authorities. The Belgrade correspondent of DIE PRESSE has reached the conclusion that a change in the system is unavoidable.

"Self-management is no religion," Central Committee member Risto Djunov recently said in an interview with the Zagreb VJESNIK in which both he and his interviewer sounded rather disgruntled. Disgruntled because to this day "removals," "resignations" and the "giving of notice" occur so seldom in all of society and because for that very reason so many "irresponsible" and "incompetent" persons have stayed on in leading jobs. Mention was also made of the fact that the "law of socialized labor" evidently made insufficiently clear provision for giving notice to workers shrinking from work or doing poor work or somehow or other violating work discipline in an enterprise.

Finally mention was made of the constitutional obligation of federal parliamentary delegates to check after 2 years the federal government's record regarding work performed. The same was true at the level of the republics and autonomous provinces. And "possibly" it was also true of the municipalities, Risto Djunov said. A public debate about the responsibility of individuals and collectives would lead to a "sounder" attitude toward responsibility and responsible personnel.

And this brings us to the core of the drama that is being performed in Yugoslav domestic politics at present. It is the drama of a huge dilemma. A dilemma between constitutional decentarlization in the field of government authority, on the one hand, and the reality of confrontations of regional interests, on the other. A dilemma between the principle of collective leadership, which qualitatively and quantitatively clouds and helps to cloud any authority and responsibility, on the one hand, and the chaos of a "socialist self-management society," on the other hand, which is rendered incompetent by complicated procedures, unclear guidelines, lacking or violated laws, regulations and agreements--in other words, is rendered administratively incompetent--and which to some extent is also recalcitrant.

The latest outbreak of panic which affected all parts of Yugoslavia when the--as yet internal--discussion of a possible considerable rise in the price of cooking oil, sugar and milk was made public prematurely is an excellent illustration of the situation. People hoarded as never before. "A crisis of confidence in the ability of our economy" is how the Belgrade POLITIKA commentator Slavoljub Djukic described the phenomenon. Under closer scrutiny, however, it turns out that the citizen has doubts in the ability of the leadership. And behind the incompetence of the economy, behind the incompetence of the leadership, one must also, without any doubt at all, search for incompetence on the part of the system--in other words, blame it for the state of affairs. While this search is already going on--both "at the top" and at the so-called base--it is being impeded by a great number of factors.

Kardelj's Model and Reality

Before dealing with these factors, let us first say the following. The Kardelj idea of a socialist self-management society without a doubt is a grandiose concept, a plan based on a broad vision of a more just social order. If nothing else, the idea of a society that is transparent in all aspects and is guided by "self-administrators" or by a society administering itself is an extremely original notion. It is bound to remain an inspiration for many Marxists and non-Marxists regardless of what the Yugoslav "model" may look like when measured by the standards of reality (a model which, as Kardelj said, in fact does not intend to be one). For transferring the self-management theory into practice (and that is the fundamental weakness of the concept) is more than problematical in general, and in Yugoslavia in particular.

To outline it once more quite briefly, the basic idea of self-management socialism is that the "producer," or the productive forces of society, himself has a say in deciding about the worth of what he produces--that is, about how it is to be used in the narrow and the broadest sense of the word. In Marxist terminology, the aim of such a development is the "rule of the working class" and, in the end, "liberation of man." A further basic idea is that this rule of the working class provides for the gradual withdrawal of the state as a supraregional power factor. A fundamental factor, in addition, is that the ruling communist party, as a "vanguard," guides--or, one may say, holds in check--the development of the self-administering society. However, the question as to whether the party should "withdraw" as well, like the state, is not answered unequivocally by Kardelj.

Even these basic ideas contain a number of problems. Who is to say how a society can function if it should be deprived of its "natural" antagonism between electors and elected, between those in charge and those who want to be ruled, between creative and reproductive forces? Has it ever happened in history that a state or a ruling party, rather than leaving the stage as a result of outside interference such as revolution, war, overthrow or realization of a hopeless situation, abandons its power in accordance with its program, of its own volition? And hands that power not to a conqueror, a tyrant or a successor but to an anonymous collective "class"? Who knows how an economy can develop when, as a result of the suspension of the social relationship of tension between producer and consumer, the laws governing the unfolding of the market cease to exist, when at the same time competition is restricted through "self-management agreements" and powerful concerns are created? And when there exists no government organ which can work out far-seeing guidelines--that is, guidelines with an overview of all interests?

The Slogan: "Everyone a Delegate"

Those are some of the fundamental question marks resulting from the Kardelj idea. The specifically Yugoslav ones are no less complicated. First there is the multinational state per se, and secondly there is the difference in the level of development of the various regions. Tito's postwar solution of equal rights for all peoples and nationalities (in 1970 the far-reaching autonomy of the six republics and two autonomous provinces forming part of Serbia was anchored in the constitution) offered no economic parallel. On the contrary, decentralization exacerbated the differences in regional rates of development. Developing areas such as Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia and parts of Bosnia become "poor," receiving aid in the form of a development fund from the "rich." The internal use of this aid, however, remained protected from "outside" influence--with the rights of autonomy cited as the reason. "Outside" means Serbia (which must contribute most to the development of "its" Province of Kosovo), Croatia, which brings in the most foreign currency, and Slovenia, where work proceeds in the most rational manner. In their turn, these partly highly developed areas strive to increase their standard of living as rapidly as possible and have not always been ready by any means to funnel part of their profits, obtained by good work, to the developing areas. The main reason for this is that they cannot exercise there any influence on the further use of these funds--a basic idea of self-management. The obligation for this development aid comes "from above." however, In other words, self-management hits on a fundamental contradiction even at this basic level of the Yugoslav state. These very problems are then also reflected clearly in various ways in the acute Kosovo crisis and its economic background. "Nationalist" abuses, corruption within the party leadership, ambitions of local prestige are essential elements of the reality there. The fact that as a result of the political unrest among the Albanians they have now become so clearly manifest in that region in the first half of 1981 will not remain without influence on the system. Such influence could, however, very easily lead to a new kind of contradiction--if autonomous rights were to be restricted or if the supraregional self-management intertwinement in the economic sphere were to impose new obligations on the "rich" without the possibility of corresponding influence.

This brings us to a further problem of the Yugoslav self-management system which represents a heavy domestic political burden. Again it is a question of one of the basic elements of the system--solidarity. In theory, solidarity among other things is to cause enterprises, or "basic organizations of socialized labor," with good earnings to feel obligated, after coordination, to help other corresponding labor groups earning less. This is to insure automatically, as it were, a socioeconomic balance from inside. With large enterprises possibly having as many as over 100 such "basic organizations," the slogan of solidarity is applicable within an enterprise as well as without.

While this all sounds very nice and very "social," it presupposes two conditions: 1) the differences between the standards of the basic organizations concerned is not too great, at least subjectively speaking, and 2) the joint nature of interests remains visible, particularly from the point of view of those "giving." For, as is well known, selfless humanity per se, moving huge mountains--or crossing mountain ranges--is in short supply and therefore hardly apt to be included in the planning of a socialist system. Precisely in Yugoslavia the differences regarding labor discipline, understanding for rational economic demeanor in an enterprise, infrastructure and cultural level sometimes are so enormous that it is hardly to be wondered at if "solidarity" becomes a basic factor only very sporadically.

Another of the basic elements of self-management society is the system of delegates. On the one hand, it is to substitute directly elected representatives for "professional" parliamentarians and thus create a concrete relationship between political decisionmaking and the "base." On the other hand, it is also to politically activate and engage all forces of society. The delegates of the federal or republican and provincial parliaments form, as it were, the last stage of a pyramid-like election system comprising all social spheres. From the base in the enterprises to representatives of pensioners, housewives, tenants, from the sociopolitical organizations to the army, the theater, the universities and so forth, bodies are formed which in turn elect delegates. "Every Yugoslav a delegate" is a popular slogan.

The fly in the ointment may be found, however, among other things, at the point where an office--the coordinating committee--has been established between electors and delegates. Its responsibility is what amounts to a "political" selection among the potential candidates, giving it an immense political, personnel and regional power, though theoretically this is not supposed to be so. The coordinating committee and the problems surrounding it for some weeks now have been the subject of violent discussion in some information media. A peculiarly Yugoslav feature, among other things, is the fact that posts are assigned in accordance with strict proportional calculations among peoples and nationalities--proportions which fail to take into account the actual economic or political weight of a region or, for that matter, the substantive qualifications of the candidates--a factor which contributes to tension in all spheres.

Skepticism Has Been Growing Since Tito's Death

The system of delegates has yet another quite substantial fault--as regards information. The while system of "concrete contact"--that is, of the base's also having a political say--depends on the existence of a functioning system of

information. On the one hand, the delegate must not lose contact with his electors, and, on the other hand, the base must also be informed comprehensively and in detail about the groups of subjects concerning which "their" man is to represent the points of view of the base. Kilograms of paper are printed with this aim in view, and supposedly read. But if the information system does not work, this system of delegates does not differ from the traditional forms. The delegates again become "professionals" who, as it were, "alienate" themselves politically from their electors. No wonder the question as to "how" the information is to be managed--that is, how open or how controlled it is to be--is the subject of violent controversy.

Self-management bodies in large and small towns and villages now have to determine whether here or there a new sports field, swimming pool, house of culture, factory, hospital, street, cinema or the like should be built, or whether something already existing should be renovated. In a more developed society one can imagine decisions about such assets being made by a body with a balanced composition in a rationally defensible manner. In a society such as postwar Yugoslavia, however, it cannot be a source of amazement if constantly the wrong decisions are made, because, while there are politically "reliable" cadres at the head of all institutions, these generally are rather unqualified from the substantive point of view.

Among other things, the many letters to the editors of daily papers testify to the fact that in the final analysis such shortcomings inflict damage on the economy of the whole country, that these days the respect of the local authorities, of the party and administrative officers "below" has definitely suffered as a result of such experience. The letters often contain harsh criticism on the basis of concrete cases described wtih great urgency. It may be assumed that they would not be printed if they presented exceptional cases. But the increasing skepticism and increasingly vociferous criticism are testified to above all by the extraordinary quantity of open, critical discussions inserted into the Third Self-Management Congress held in Belgrade this summer. Despite all preparations, they apparently allso took those in charge by surprise. The course of the congress supplied something like proof of the fact that the development of self-management is running in place, that the overtures originating with the base for an intensive search for new forms of the system must be taken into consideration. The question is how.

The self-management system in Yugoslavia admitted its own weakness a priori, as it were, when it spared the army--the only institution to be treated that way. The army is included only insofar as members of the army can be delegated to serve on self-management bodies as representatives of other sociopolitical organizations and the like.... This basically demonstrated the fact that at the place where everything really must work perfectly, self-management is not allowed to take its turn--and that, conversely, wherever it is employed it endangers smooth operation. This assertion is true although of course there also are enterprises without the difficulties caused by self-management.

It is typical of the present crisis of the system--a term being carefully avoided in official pronouncements--that lately yet another institution has been opposing self-management: the Yugoslav Railways. Because of its indefensibly bad performance in both freight and passenger transport, that institution has

been under increasing fire for some time by the public and by leading circles of state and party. The following remark by an official of the railways was quoted in the Yugoslav press: "In an organization such as this, there is no room for self-management.... You may go ahead and print that." (POLITIKA ILLUSTROVANA 22 August) Such public criticism at such a level is unprecedented.

It stands to reason that tensions such as Yugoslavia has been experiencing, because of economic straits, for years will assume a political dimension at some time or another. So far this development has been hidden more or less under big coveralls bearing the label "Tito's authority." But now for a year the quality and quantity of public criticism, of dissatisfaction in jobs, and skeptisism toward leading forces and the system have been growing from day to day. Despite certain partial successes, the government appears to be powerless in the face of an increasing disregard of all provisions taken by it and/or arrived at in the course of self-management agreements. In downright despair, everyone asks everyone else in this country: How is it possible for laws, provisions, agreements not to be observed and not to be respected? The situation is not being clarified or simplified by the fact that the political leadership, the top layer of the party and the local chiefs are just as split and no uniform instructions originate there.

Traditional Trend Toward Chaos

Yugoslavia is a country with a trend toward chaos just below the surface, a country whose population in many spheres reacts archaically and, regardless of whether ruled by a kingdom or a communist regime, has no tradition, or only a trace of a tradition, of loyalty to authority. This trend cannot have been unfamiliar to the leaders of the partisan struggle--despite the discipline of a "revolutionary party" developed by them in their close circle. In light of such realizations, one must, however, sometimes ask oneself the following questions. Was the idea of self-management born in Yugoslavia out of a clear plan of putting "order into the chaos" so as to master it that way? Or is this system chaotic per se, born in the heads of people with imagination and verve but lacking adequate analysis and logic, which alone could create the prerequisites for the practical application of the idea and its theory?

In other words, the present state of the development of the self-management system in all of Yugoslav society has reached a phase marked by malcontent and distrust. The essential cause of this development is the crumbling of any kind of authority. It therefore appears inevitable that there will be a modification of the system--a system indissolubly linked with postwar Yugoslavia. The essential aim of this reform would have to be a quite general restoration of authority. The existing system of rotation might offer an opportunity for sending a new cadre to the very frontline to replace the "old ones" with a minimum of "loss of face." An unspoiled, uncompromised and substantively qualified generation is waiting for this. But in light of the current problems of Yugoslavia, the aim of "authority" also entails great risks. Success or failure will depend essentially on the "style" of authority. If it is too dogmatic, increased pressure against it is to be expected, because self-management--and this is one of its merits--has made a number of circles of workers more awake, more alert to what is going on in the centers of power. If a "new authority" chooses a style of being more liberal, the chances are that at first there will be a torrent of critical voices. That very thing--and probably it alone--could lead to greater stability in the long run, however.

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JPRS 79276

22 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1932

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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22 October 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1932

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Historical Dispute With Yugoslavia Reported
(Zakhari Kotsev, Aleksandur Boyanov; POGLED, 28 Sep 81)..... 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Gneisenau Honored as Father of National Militia Concept
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 22 Aug 81; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22-23 Aug 81)..... 6

West German Commentary, by Peter Jochen Winters
SED View of Prussian History, by Werner Mueller

Psychological Factors Cited in Selection of Pilot Candidates
(Ulrike Langer; ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN, Aug 81)..... 12

HUNGARY

Roundtable Discusses New Approach to Teaching History
(Laszo Sarkadi; NEPSZABADSAG, 30 Aug 81)..... 17

POLAND

Reform of Elementary Education Assessed
(Tadeusz Wrobel; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 11 Sep 81)..... 24

Draft of Laws for Higher Education Changed
(ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 16, 18 Sep 81; TRYBUNA LUDU, 17 Sep 81)..... 28

Reporters Question Minister Nawrocki
Rectors' Conference Reaction
Krakow Academics Prepare Strike

ROMANIA

Roundtable Discussion on Crime Prevention
(ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Aug 81)..... 32

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbian Orthodox 'Brotherhood,' Clericalism Denounced
(Djuro Kozar; OSLOBODJENJE, 18 Sep 81)..... 37

Damage to Islamic Graves in Zenica Discussed
(OSLOBODJENJE, 17 Sep 81)..... 40

Enrollment Results Noted at Kosovo University
(Slobodanka Ast; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 20 Sep 81)..... 42

Yugoslav Delegate Discusses Polish TU Congress
(Josip Franic Interview; RAD, 18 Sep 81)..... 44

HISTORICAL DISPUTE WITH YUGOSLAVIA REPORTED

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 28 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by Zakhari Kotsev and Aleksandur Boyanov: "Another Forged Document from Skopje"; for BTA summary of this article see FBIS Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, Vol II, No 188, 29 September 1981, p C8]

[Text] Write whatever you like; the clean sheet of paper you write on can't tell the difference. . .

A number of Skopje authors have long since proved this. They have written posthumous congratulatory telegrams in the name of the famous commander of the Khristo Botev military partisan battalion, Dicho Petrov. The infringements in Skopje upon the relics and personal documents of outstanding Bulgarians such as voivode Dimitur pop Georgiev Berovski from the village of Berovo (Vardar Macedonia) who were active participants in the struggle for national liberation did not begin yesterday. The voivode's descendants, aggrieved by the odious attempt to take his Bulgarian name away from him, responded scathingly in POGLED [Look] (No. 52 of 29 December 1980). We need not mention the systematic misappropriation of Bulgarian public, scientific and cultural figures of the near and distant past, of poets. . .

And now, lo and behold, we encounter another instance which in its uniqueness is worthy of the annals of international criminology.

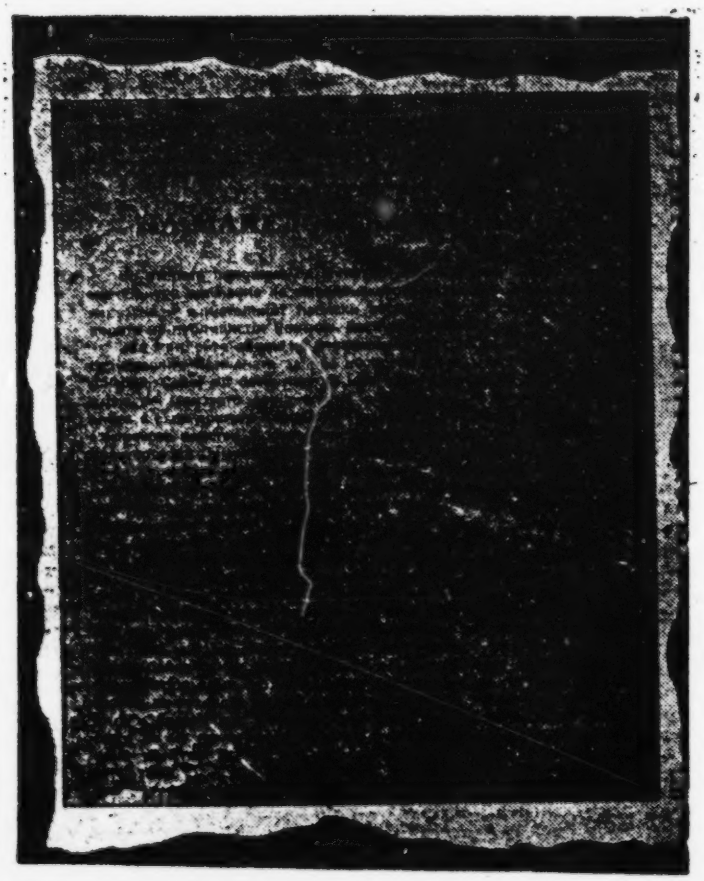
The magazine MAKEDONIA [Macedonia], a publication of the so-called Little Mother [Matitsa] of Exiles from Macedonia which is circulated abroad, published in issue No. 334 of 1981 on page 11 "authentic" material headlined, "To the Detriment of the Macedonian People."

We translate the material into standard Bulgarian:

> In the second half of the last century French public opinion called attention to the Macedonian question. The influential Parisian newspaper JOURNAL DE PARIS expressed this point of view through the pen of publicist (Voitenaine). The newspaper writes, "Unfortunately, all attempts of the Balkan people to come to an agreement are unavailing. The reason for this lack of agreement can be easily explained. Each of these nations laying claim to

Macedonia has had its golden age in the past when it surpassed the other nations of the peninsula in glory and strength. The Greeks had had the Byzantine Empire, the Serbs the empire of Dushan the Strong, and the Bulgarians the empire of Simeon. Forgetting that the Macedonian nation, too, had had its empire of Samuil, each of these three peoples, once their national spirit was reanimated, dreamed of bringing back the most glorious time in their history without taking into account that this would be to the detriment of the Macedonian people.

МАКЕДОНИЈА



The magazine MAKEDONIYA, No. 334 of 1981, p. 11.

Serious people must know that in not a single nation does history repeat itself. With the passage of centuries living conditions change and the new state must adapt to these changes, and not just for its own sake either, but also for the people whom it wants to annex. During the Middle Ages it was possible to establish states by force; today this is neither possible nor moral. We live in an era of mutual respect of all nations.

"Today when Balkan states want to dominate the Macedonian people solely in order to establish a large state, they run the risk of stirring up for themselves ceaseless struggles in this state between captives and conquerors. This truth must be seriously understood and everyone should assist the nation that wants to liberate itself rather than replace one slavery with another." (JOURNAL DE PARIS, 17 November 1867.)

This Monsieur (Voitenaine) must have been a sorcerer to have managed to master more than a century ago the present-day style of Skopje propaganda. Towards the end of 1867 he "urges" French public opinion to "turn" attention to the Macedonian question. It's all the same whether you make Homer instead of Achilles sing the praises of Napoleon or Musa Kesedzhiya.

(Voitenaine) was no publicist. He must have been a prophet. Because in 1867 the Balkan peoples had made no attempts to come to an agreement on any question whatsoever other than to escape from Ottoman dominion. The European governments were greatly disturbed by the exacerbation of the internal situation in European Turkey and were on their guard lest Russia profit from this situation and establish her lasting influence in the Balkans.

In the same year, 1867, France presented her plan for reforms in Turkey, constructed on the idee fixe of equality between Mohammedan and Christian subjects of the empire. In this connection Karl Marx asks ironically whether true believer and infidel, Mohammedans and rayah can be equated. The sole purpose of these plans, according to Marx, was to throw dust in the eyes of the European nations.

In 1867 the Russian government also proposed a plan for reforms in Turkey whereby the national autonomy of the captive peoples might be provided within the framework of the empire. This plan was, of course, rejected by the Porte.

Let us not dwell on the grouping and manifestations of the internal forces of the national-liberation movements in the Balkans at precisely this time, but we want more than a century later to respond to Monsieur (Voitenaine) that the Bulgarian exarchate was established four years after the publication of his article in the newspaper JOURNAL DE PARIS and this institution was de facto official recognition of the Bulgarian people while the Bulgarian state would appear on the European map 12 years later. It is odd how Monsieur (Voitenaine) could in 1867 impute to the Bulgarian state aspirations towards other peoples. Monsieur (Voitenaine) says that serious people must recognize the laws of history, but he himself is so illiterate that he does not even know what states there were in the Balkans in his time. Another thing, he anathematizes force as a factor in the liberation of the captive

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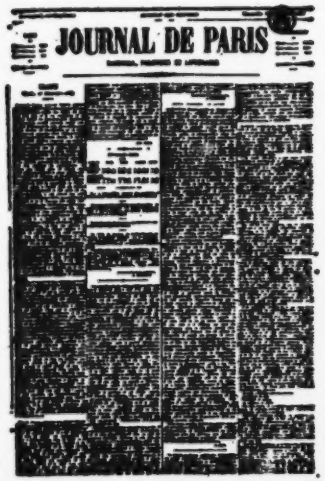

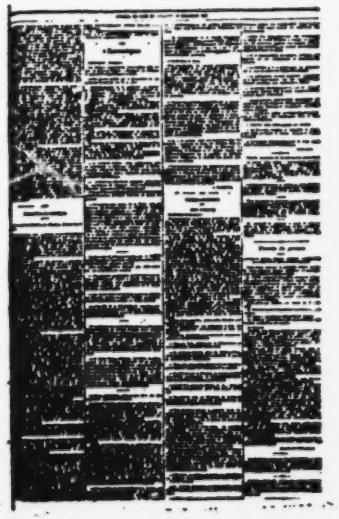

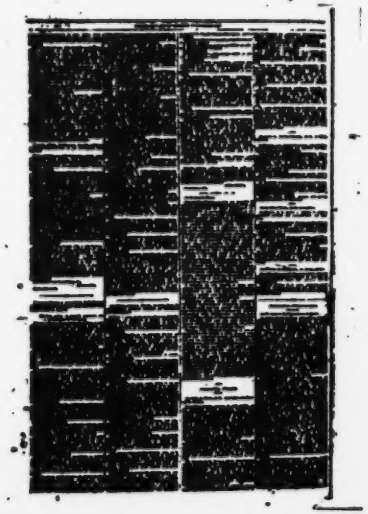

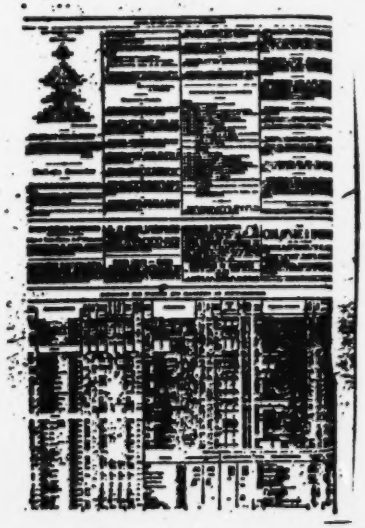

Facsimiles of the newspaper JOURNAL DE PARIS of 17 November 1867

peoples because "it is neither possible nor moral." The Bulgarian peoples to a man used force to liberate themselves and shed blood to the point of utter exhaustion.

So the sorcerer and prophet (Voitenaine) could be accused of abject ignorance. If he existed.

It turns out, however, /that he is fabricated/ [words enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface].

We sought assistance from French libraries and specialists.

We examined the file of the JOURNAL DE PARIS. In this issue we found neither author by the name of (Voitenaine) nor any material on such a topic. (We present a facsimile of the entire issue. A copy of the newspaper in its original format is available in our editorial office.)

Owing to its vile nature this forged document of Skopje, one of a series in a turbid torrent of anti-Bulgarian materials in Yugoslavia, needs no more detailed commentary. World public opinion was supposed to be duped by Moneieur (Voitenaine) on the principle that the clean sheet of paper you write on can't tell the difference. But as is plain to see, a clean sheet of paper can also mercilessly expose . . .

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GNEISENAU HONORED AS FATHER OF NATIONAL MILITIA CONCEPT

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Aug 81 p 8

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, in August: "Gneisenau Is Left to the GDR--On the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of the Prussian Reformer's Death." For various references to other items of related information see translation of a June 1981 East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Helmut Bock published under the heading, "'Progressive' Aspects of Prussian History Illustrated," in JPRS 78923, 8 Sep 81, No 1916 of this series, pp 40-48]

[Text] Von Weizsaecker, the mayor of Berlin, recently stated that in the intellectual dispute between the two states in Germany, Prussia was a controversial subject. At times, however, it looks as though in some fields we bow to the GDR without a fight. A good example in this regard are the Prussian reformers, above all Gneisenau.

Next Sunday [23 Aug 81], it will be 150 years since the death of August Wilhelm Anton Neithardt von Gneisenau--Field Marshal, military reformer, patriot and conqueror of Napoleon. On this day, memorial hours will be celebrated in the GDR, and at Gneisenau's place of birth, his grave and his memorial in East Berlin, wreaths will be laid down; and as was the case last year on the occasion of the 220th anniversary of Gneisenau's birth, he will be extolled as a progressive German military commander and one of the originators of the GDR's National People's Army and reference will be made to Friedrich Engels, who called Gneisenau a "man of genius."

As for the Federal Republic, the Federal Ministry of Defense stated that no official or unofficial Gneisenau memorial service was being planned. As far as we know, aside from two Federal-Armed-Forces barracks in Koblenz and Wolfenbuettel that are named after him, there is in this country nothing reminiscent of Gneisenau. It appears that one of the main reasons for the reluctance to pay the great man due respect is the fact that Gneisenau--like other great figures in Prussian-German history--was abused by the National Socialists for their sordid purposes.

The GDR did not have any scruples about claiming Gneisenau for its "socialist national consciousness." As early as 1952, the town of Schildau in Torgau Kreis [kreis: GDR administrative unit] (Leipzig Bezirk [bezirk: GDR administrative unit])--Gneisenau's place of birth which today totals approximately 1,800 inhabitants--was given the sobriquet "Gneisenau-Town." In 1960, the Gneisenau monument

was reerected in the town's marketplace; the old bronze monument had been melted down at the end of World War II. In 1968, a unit of the GDR border troops was given the honorary title of "Neithardt-von-Gneisenau-Regiment," and in 1979, the town of Schildau established for its great son a memorial place and a museum in the house where he was born. The park of the former Gneisenau estate in Sommerschenburg (Oschersleben Kreis in Magdeburg Bezirk), which is located directly at the Marienborn/Helmstedt border-crossing checkpoint, contains the Gneisenau mausoleum and monument--tended and maintained by the soldiers of the "Neithardt von Gneisenau" border regiment. Side by side with the statues of Scharnhorst, Bluecher and York von Wartenburg, the bronze Gneisenau statue--created from a model by Christian Daniel Rauch and erected by Friedrich Wilhelm IV on Unter den Linden Boulevard in 1855--has since 1964 resumed its place vis-a-vis Schinkel's Neue Wache [New Guardhouse] on East Berlin's Unter den Linden Boulevard.

Whereas Gneisenau's place of birth and his grave are located on GDR territory, his literary bequest--namely documents and letters taking up 6 meters of shelf-space--is in the West, in the Berlin Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz [Berlin Secret State Archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage]. So far, the public has been denied access to this valuable collection. Even the organizers of the great Prussia Exhibition in Berlin were not able to draw on it. It is planned, however, to publish Gneisenau's posthumous works within the next few years. Perhaps this will help to put Gneisenau in our country in the right light.

As regards Gneisenau's early childhood, there are quite a few legends, perhaps because the little town of Schildau, in which he was born--according to the well-preserved entry in the parish register--on 27 October 1760, is the locale of the "Schildbuerger" [Schildau citizens] and their follies. Since the Schildau citizens had for a long time failed to pay their taxes and had annoyed him in other respects as well, Johann Friedrich von Schoenberg, a Saxon squire and man of letters, in 1598 ascribed to them--in his version of the Lale-Book (published in Strasbourg in 1597)--all those follies that in the Alsatian book of pranks are committed by Laleans of Laleburg.

Gneisenau spent only a few days in his place of birth. After an eventful childhood and youth, after short periods of university study in Erfurt and military service in Austria, he entered in 1780 the service of the state of Ansbach. As a member of a detachment ordered to relieve the English mercenaries, he went to North America where he had the opportunity to observe the people's army and the strategy of scattered military operations in the American War of Independence.

In 1786, a few months before the death of Frederick the Great, he joined the Prussian Army. The following 20 years were a time of boring garrison service; Gneisenau put this period to account by reading and--above all--by studying the military strategy of Napoleon, the man he admired and hated. It was on account of his role as commander of the Fortress of Kolberg that Gneisenau became known: Along with Nettelbeck and the hussar officer Schill, Gneisenau defended and held the fortress against Napoleon from April until July 1807, when the Tilsit Peace Treaty was concluded.

Upon the conclusion of peace, Gneisenau was appointed to the Military Reorganization Commission headed by Scharnhorst, which also comprised Clausewitz and Boyen. Among the reformers, Gneisenau, who said about himself that "Bonaparte was my

teacher in war and peace," was the most decisive one. In a memorandum, he went so far as to call for a national uprising, and in his military memoranda, he deeply delved into the era's fundamental problems. The bourgeois reformer and patriot turned into the theoretician of armed resistance by the people, including guerrilla warfare--arguing it was "reasonable and politically prudent to give the peoples a fatherland, if they are expected forcefully to defend a fatherland." However, King Friedrich Wilhelm III rejected Gneisenau's proposals as "poetry."

After the dismissal of Freiherr von Stein (1808), Gneisenau submitted his resignation and went abroad. In 1811, he was called back to Berlin by Hardenberg; he now urged to launch the campaign against Napoleon. In the wars of liberation in 1813 and 1815, which resulted in implementation of the Prussian military reform, Gneisenau advanced--after the death of Scharnhorst on 28 June 1813--to the rank of chief of staff of the "Silesian Army" under Bluecher, who defended the "one-man decisions" of his political-minded adviser, enforcing them against the resistance of the generals in the field.

Thus Gneisenau became Napoleon's most important military opponent. Through skillful operations, he forced Napoleon into the Leipzig Battle of Nations, which resulted in victory for the allies, and then pursued the Emperor of the French across the Rhine. Gneisenau experienced his greatest triumph in the battle of Waterloo: Being entirely on his own after the defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, he ordered: "The army moves northward." Thus he was able--in the nick of time--to relieve the hard-pressed Wellington and together they crushed Napoleon's imperial army.

In view of the restoration of princely rule in Europe, which was initiated by the Vienna Congress, Gneisenau felt his liberal and national concepts no longer had a future; in 1816--promoted to the rank of general and transferred to the provincial town of Koblenz--he submitted his resignation. In 1825, on the 10th anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, Gneisenau was promoted to the rank of field marshall, and in 1831 he was put in charge of the observation army in the Prussian province of Posen, which was to contain the revolutionary spark in the Russian kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland) and to lend assistance to the Russians, against whom the Polish national army had risen up.

On 23 August 1831, Gneisenau died in Posen from the cholera. A few months later, there followed the death of Clausewitz, who had been appointed chief of staff of Gneisenau's army in Posen. Ten years after his death, Gneisenau's remains were transferred to and interred in Sommerschenburg.

Next Sunday, when the GDR will mark the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Gneisenau's death, his last mission in Posen will again be passed over in silence. The reasons for this silence have become still more apparent.

SED View of Prussian History

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22-23 Aug 81 p 13

[Article by Werner Mueller: "Theoretician and Practitioner of People's War in Prussia--On 23 August, 150 Years Ago, Neithardt von Gneisenau Died"]

[Text] Neithardt von Gneisenau is one of the eminent reformers and patriots, who at the beginning of the 19th century made history in Prussia by instituting civic reforms. His work is inseparably linked with Gerhard von Scharnhorst, the leader of the military reformer-patriots. It was above all during the period from 1807 to 1815 that Gneisenau achieved outstanding results as a theoretician and practitioner of people's war.

Born on 27 October 1760, Gneisenau--after a short period of study at the University of Erfurt--followed in his father's footsteps and embarked on a military career. As a young lieutenant in an Ansbach-Bayreuth infantry unit sold overseas, he experienced the struggle for liberation waged by the American farmers and townspeople against the English mercenaries. Thus he witnessed a people waging a just war to attain freedom and independence, and it made a lasting impression on him.

It Began in 1807 on the Walls of the Fortress of Kolberg

But it was not until much later, in consequence of other events, that the knowledge obtained in America was applied in practice. Upon his return to Germany, Gneisenau joined the ranks of the Prussian Army, which lived off the military exploits of Friedrich II. But the ambitious officer--who meanwhile had advanced to the rank of captain--did not consider the routine service in a dreary garrison town east of the Elbe River a promising field of activity.

For Gneisenau--just as for many of his contemporaries--the turning point came in 1806, when he experienced the defeat of the old Prussian army by Napoleon's army at Jena and Auerstedt and when he began to understand that the catastrophe was rooted in the supremacy of the Prussian Junker [squire]. In a memorandum written at that time, Gneisenau thus attacked the archreactionary army constitution; he even developed an operational plan which proposed to attack with guerrilla fighters the lines of communication of the French troops. But it was only in his capacity of commander of Kolberg, the small Pommeranian fortress that had not surrendered, that Gneisenau--together with Ferdinand von Schill and the patriotic citizen Joachim Nettelbeck--was able to implement his ideas--at least in this respect--by organizing the defense of the fortress with the participation of the citizenry. Thus, aside from Scharnhorst, Gneisenau proved to be the "only officer in the army who understood and was able to apply in practice the modern type of warfare originated by the French," as Franz Mehring put it--100 years later--in his paper "Jena and Tilsit." During the fighting, Gneisenau published in VOLKSFREUND, a Koenigsberg paper, a forceful article on the great merits of Nettelbeck, his comrade-in-arms; this piece represented the first such article by a Prussian officer published in the bourgeois press.

His Great Models Were Spain and Russia

On account of the glorious defense of Kolberg, Gneisenau was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, awarded the "Pour le mérite" order and appointed to the Military Organization Commission, which had been established--under the chairmanship of Scharnhorst--upon conclusion of the Tilsit Peace Treaty. Here Scharnhorst's ideas concerning universal conscription merged with Gneisenau's conceptions concerning armed militia units as the core of a national army--conceptions that brought the deserving and service-proved officer into discredit at the court and among the notables of the Old-Prussian squirarchy. It was especially with Friedrich Wilhelm III that Gneisenau was becoming more and more suspect as a "Jacobin."

In 1808, there broke out in French-ruled Spain a national uprising, which Napoleon was unable to quell (at that time, the term "guerrilla" was coined), and Gneisenau drew on these events in Spain in developing his plans to drive Napoleon from Prussia and Germany by means of a people's war. These ideas culminated in the memorandum of August 1811 concerning preparation and realization of a national uprising in the event that Napoleon should march against Russia. Gneisenau tried to incite the king to action, but the king quenched the fiery appeal with the cold blast of his infamous annotation: "For poetry, quite good."

What upset Gneisenau--much more than the king's silly marginalia--was the fact that in February 1812 Prussia concluded an alliance with Napoleon, thus aiding Napoleon's attack on Russia. Gneisenau went abroad; in Sweden and in England, he tried to obtain support for his insurrection plans, but as had been the case once before--in London in 1809--he came to be deeply disappointed. Napoleon's defeat in Russia and the catastrophic retreat of the Great Army again opened to Gneisenau the road back home. Enthusiastically, he extolled the military exploits of the Russian army. These feelings were reflected in an article that was inspired by Gneisenau and published by Ernst Moritz Arndt in PREUSSISCHER CORRESPONDENT: "Moscow has become a model to us.... A people that...acts like Moscow will have attained victory once it becomes unified."

As chief of staff in Bluecher's Silesian army, Gneisenau now was finally able--in the spring of 1813--to implement his people's-war plans. The plans were concretized in the Landsturm [Territorial Reserve] Decree of 21 April 1813. Thus the people's war--which had already been started spontaneously--was given official sanction. In the view of the Junkers, however, this Landsturm, which now arose in many places, was much too democratic; even a bourgeois war historian such as Hans Delbrueck felt that it "completed the reversal of the old public and social situation." Thus the new institution, regarding employment of which the king had reserved to himself the final say, was never officially called up; it operated illegally, as it were. After the victory in the Leipzig Battle of Nations, the creator of the Landsturm was treated by Friedrich Wilhelm III so coldly and condescendingly that Gneisenau admitted that "after the war" he would "rather starve than to force myself on this unfriendly ruler and his army."

When Napoleon Was Finally Defeated at Waterloo

Nevertheless, in 1815, after Napoleon's return from Elba, Gneisenau--operating side by side with Bluecher--again impressively demonstrated his outstanding military

skills. It was above all due to Gneisenau's initiative that the Prussian defeat at Ligny was turned--by means of a decisive surprise maneuver carried out in collaboration with the English under Wellington--into Napoleon's catastrophic defeat at Waterloo.

These accomplishments, which rescued Prussia from its self-imposed predicament, were never acknowledged by the king, who failed to show any gratitude vis-a-vis Gneisenau and other reformers. During the last years of his life, Field Marshall Gneisenau was highly respected and at the same time left out in the cold. When he died from the cholera on 23 August 1831, he had personally experienced the whole tragedy of the Prussian reformers, whose efforts bogged down at the halfway mark, because behind this small group of noblemen making history there was no social force steeled in the struggle for progress.

History's judgment on Gneisenau was clearly stated by Friedrich Engels: "Gneisenau was a man--and a man of genius."

8760
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PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CITED IN SELECTION OF PILOT CANDIDATES

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 22 No 4, Aug 81 pp 185-186]

[Article by Ulrike Langer, psychologist: "On the System of Psychological Selection of Professional Officer Candidates for Use as Military Pilots"]

[Text] Summary: The introduction describes the important problem of psychological selection as an overall social concern under the conditions of socialism and mentions the requirements that primarily have to be solved under psychological work aspects. The second part gives a survey on psychologically relevant demands on flying in connection with a high-level rapid development of aviation technology. In the end the system for the psychological factors in the selection of pilot candidates for the NVA and the essential methods and criteria for judging psychological qualifications are summarized.

1. Psychological Selection as a Social Concern

Psychological selection must in principle be understood as a psychological suitability concern to be correlated, on a dialectical-materialist basis, with the inevitabilities in the relations between man and his environment, and with the development of personality in action. The basic conception of dialectical materialism, on the one hand, takes social conditions and requirements into account and, on the other, it is generally aiming at assisting a person when he decides on his occupation and meets the tests of it. (1)

"The subject matter of suitability psychology lies in examining the interaction between what an individual brings along to be successful in his work and the demands made by that work, primarily through psychological-diagnostic methods. This helps determine the degree of conformity between what an individual brings along to be successful and the demands made by the work, so that he will successfully cope with it in fact. This may be called an optimization of the man-work requirement ratio, and the optimization criteria can partly be economic benefit parameters derived from human work. But then--and this is more important--direct suitability considerations also enter, which have to do with the encouragement for the all-round personality development of man." (SEEBER, 7).

What does one mean now by subjective performance prerequisites? That concept, according to HACKER (4), is a general terms for all physical and psychological conditions a person brings along for a successful and safe exercise of certain required tasks. Physical prerequisites, to some extent innate, are relatively clearly delineated (constitution, nutritional condition, health), so that they can be made mandatory for guidelines and authorizations (e.g. guidelines for employment investigations, ASAO, Penal Code). Psychological prerequisites, on the other hand, include knowledge, skills and abilities and character prerequisites, especially as they concern attitudes, which much more than the physical prerequisites are formed, shaped and reinforced in the process of a person's life history. That is to say, psychological prerequisites develop through the training and education in the very activities to which they are prerequisite.

Methodologically speaking this means that selection decisions can relate and be based only on relatively constant basic personality prerequisites, thus can selection decisions only be probability statements. Because "through a diagnostic assessment of the performance prerequisites at the given moment of the personality development, predictions are made on his coping with his requirements at a later time (vocational training)." (SEEBER, 7). The author points out that judgments of "suitable" or "unsuitable" as a rule are normative in character, i.e., depend on economic benefit considerations. Finally he emphasizes as an essential problem that appropriate systems for a qualitative and quantitative description of work requirements ought to be worked out, which would have to be the basis for using diagnostic investigative procedures.

2. On the Requirements for Flying

The need for psychological testing in selecting pilot candidates results from specific characteristics in flying. A general description of it was given by LAPTEV and MAL'KOVSKI (5). They are emphasizing the motion in the air (in three dimensions), the necessarily high speed of the activity, the demands for stability and for elasticity in flying technique, and the unexpected risks the life of pilots is subjected to.

According to STEININGER (8), the critical requirements relate to learned skills as well as personality traits. The author is of the opinion that most skills expected of a pilot include an assessment of space-time processes, supervisory tasks, complex control activities and learning processes. In an article on the psychological problems in high-speed flying, GERBERT (3) comes to the conclusion that the demands made on pilots in civil, and more still, in military aviation, have reached a point that makes increasingly clear the limits of human capability.

The author emphasizes that far-reaching automated air control devices supporting the pilot does not alter his observation. With regard to high-speed flying in the military field, GERBERT (3) describes the psychological problems as follows: "Operating and reacting in the aircraft make primary demands on the human functions of attention, observation, memory, thinking and intention. Especially a high-speed flight shows the limits in the absorption capacity, the reaction speed and the decision-making and in handling more than one thing at one and the same time."

Based on STEININGER (9), GERBERT points out that increasing speeds will more and more give rise to a "blind spot" in the pilot's apperception range, will keep shifting more and more "ahead of the aircraft," which will more and more demand of the pilot to anticipate matters. PONOMARENKO (6) likewise deals with the psychological problems in flying under the aspect of the psychophysiological limit to human capability and in this connection emphasizes increased flight safety requirements. In connection with flight safety, "technological and human potentials under certain condition lead to the well-known contradiction: as it has become possible today to engage in ultrasonic flight at lower altitudes, the effect of human action diminishes." (6) Solving the contradiction referred to by using automated systems does not as such relieve and facilitate matters but leads to substantive-qualitative shifts in the psychological demands on the pilot. In this context one is talking about an intellectualization of the activity. PONOMARENKO (6) further states that what makes flying specific is that no level of automation cancels the effects of flight-specific factors such as the distance from the earth, the need for space orientation, noise, vibration, acceleration effects, turbulence and others. Controlling automated equipment under such conditions requires that the pilot must constantly be ready to make necessary decisions and revisions. Doing so he must be able to cope with possible conflicts between the information his devices supply and his own sense of where he is (flight illusion), which is another source of highly charged psychological and emotional stress.

Up to the most recent date the literature keeps pointing to the difficulties in providing accurate definitions of the requirements for pilots. GERATHEWOHL (2) suggests investigations thus far were mainly descriptive and had little to say about the pilot's basic skills, facilities and features. STEININGER (8) has taken a good look at these problems and suggests as the main reason for it the steady and dynamic development of aviation, which keeps running ahead of understanding its requirements, so that all one has are some pragmatic approximations. That also is of consequence of course to the cogency of any suitability prognosis for psychological factors. "In view of the difficulties of objectivating requirement and judgment criteria, too much is asked of any suitability selection if one expects of it alone a sure prognosis for professional qualifications. A reliable prognosis presupposes not only objective qualification tests but also objective testing criteria, with requirements remaining equal in a standardized training system." (STEININGER, 8).

3. On the System of Psychological Selection of Professional Officer Candidates Training to Become Pilots in the NVA

Only candidates who meet the medical pilots criteria complete the psychological selection process. Psychological selection falls under the aspect of an all-round assessment of the individual-psychological particulars of a personality in connection with the social conditions of their previous development and their future professional demands.

As the time available for selection investigation is short, experimental psychological procedures bear the brunt of our investigative methodology. Above and beyond the psychological testing, external criteria are gathered through an analysis of the curriculum vitae and an analysis of judgments, of grades in

school and premilitary education, which allow predictions on professional qualifications and prognoses. For spotting individual characteristics, a talk about psychological suitability is of great importance. In connection with the performance profile of a personality, one must judge a candidate's experience and attitude under the aspect of his compensating for particulars in his experience, attitude and performance. We have available a number of devices and written investigative procedures for testing intellectual endowments and prerequisites, like concentration capacity, the mode of attention spread, and the level of knowledge and information, which are conducted either as individual or as group tests. They include verbal skills as well as "practical-intellectual" demands. The candidate has to form concept-analogies, find common features and inevitabilities, solve puzzles and mathematical tasks and figure out spatial orientation tasks. Other performance-diagnostic procedures are directed at the subjective prerequisites in attention, concentration and sensomotor coordination.

Personal questionnaires play a role as a testing tool under the individual-psychological aspect. They, together with the judgments and performance evidence, are the basis for psychological exploration. Among the basic prerequisites for successfully training highly qualified individual fighters are such psycho-diagnostically relevant categories as emotional stability, dedication and consistency, discipline and an adequate experiential resonance. In a general way, demands are made on the development of successful pilots that ensure an attitude appropriate to the situation of stress, a sufficient psycho-emotional stress capacity, and an absorption capacity for experience that causes as little conflict as possible. Psychological selection relies on diagnostic test procedures that were scientifically tested for their evidential value before they were applied. For testing the validity of procedures newly admitted into the selection program, data are now being collected. A subsequent paper will describe in detail its results and the methodological problems in gaining objective, reliable and valid stress criteria from the actual training process connected with it, as suggested in sections one and two. In this connection we should like to reiterate that any selection decision, that is to say, any opinion and judgment on suitability, irrespective of the field from which it comes, can always only be a probability statement and no guarantee for training or career success.

FOOTNOTES

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5885
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ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSES NEW APPROACH TO TEACHING HISTORY

Badapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Aug 81 p 5

[Roundtable discussion entitled: "Concerning the Teaching of History" Participants included Mrs Gyorgy Balazs, Associate Professor and the Director of the Research Group on Methodology at the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest; Ferenc Glatz, Section Head of the Instutute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the editor in chief of the Historica; Gabor Gyapay, author of the textbooks and senior teacher at the Fazekas High School; and Andras Petro, director of the Textbook Publishing House. The roundtable discussion was moderated by our columnist, Laszo Sarkadi.]

[Text] One of the still clearly perceptible shortcomings of the teaching of history today is that this discipline is still unable to portray and to demonstrate with sufficient clarity the interrelationship and regularity of social developments. Without such clarity, however, it is very difficult to understand, let alone to teach the nature of various political systems. In the course of the past decade we have witnessed the birth of sufficient results in historical research, as well as in methodological experimentations. But it is most difficult for these results to become part of the curriculum that is in force. New textbooks have been printed, but can we really be satisfied with the changes in them? Were there fundamental changes made in their methodology, and in the conception and teaching of history. These were some of the topics that were discussed at the roundtable discussion in which the following persons participated: Mrs Gyorgy Balazs, Associate Professor and the Director of the Research Group on Methodology at the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest; Ferenc Glatz, Section Head of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the editor in chief of the Historica; Gabor Gyapay, author of the textbooks and senior teacher at the Fazekas High School; and Andras Petro, director of the Textbook Publishing House. The roundtable discussion was moderated by our columnist, Laszlo Sarkadi.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Increasing attention is being paid nowadays to history, to the teaching of history, to the social sciences in general, and in particular to the teaching of history in various schools. What are the reasons behind this increased interest?

[Mrs Gyorgy Balazs] If I am forced to be brief in my response, then I have to attribute this resurgence to changes within the discipline of history and the social sciences in general. It is of equal importance, however, that the specialists were able to sum up the most recent achievements of the historical discipline in the form of a single subject matter.

[A. Petro] The previous history textbooks have simply been in use for too long. They have become dated. The history text for the fifth grade of the elementary school, for example, has appeared in eighteen editions. With various degrees of revisions, the rest of the textbooks have also been in use since the mid-1960's. After so many years, one would be justified to produce new textbooks even without basic curriculum changes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The publication of new textbooks, therefore, is justified both by new research results, as well as by curriculum changes. But what new results has recent research in the historical discipline produced?

[Mrs Gyorgy Balazs] Historical research has expanded both in time and space. As an example, based on new archeological research, the date of the beginnings of human history has been pushed back much earlier than we thought possible two decades ago. Research is being conducted on hither-to unresearched continents, and major advances have also been made in the related social sciences. The verification methods used by the historical profession have also improved. The comparative analysis of long term historical periods permit us to observe the impact of political and economic conditions, and upon similar lifestyles in the past. This approach can be exciting and most interesting undertaking from the point of view of the students.

History and the various other branches of the social sciences have also become involved in the process of integration, and we should make use of this in our teaching. Research in economics, demography, economic geography, ethnography, archeology, linguistics, art, architectural history, and other disciplines has added a whole new verification methods to our century's largely descriptive and subjective historical discipline.

[NEPSZABADSAG] If history as a scholarly discipline has gone through so many changes, why is it that our plans for changing the point of view of the textbooks has failed to surface until recently?

[F. Glatz] A certain timelap has always existed between scholarship and teaching. I am not even thinking primarily of the delay in incorporating and in propagating, i.e. teaching of more recent facts and data, but rather of the lag in changing our attitudes. Within our cultural-scientific policy, there are certain strains in the relationship between scholarship and teaching. I am referring to the fact that the Eighth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has tried to reorganize the very foundations of that ideological-institutional system that developed during the period of the personality cult, and which created a centralized "up-to-date unity" (of a faulty unity) between scholarly research and everyday politics--and did so under the one-sided primacy of the latter. Our new cultural-scientific policy has put an end to this. The basic guideline of this policy is to give a free vent to research and debates on various levels of scholarly forums and journals with limited circulation, while at the same time permitting only accepted truths to seep out onto

the public-opinion shaping forums, including textbooks. This new policy advances the cause of scholarship. At the same time we have to pose the question: Could this different attitude have been one of the main reasons for the fact that, notwithstanding significant efforts to put an end to it, there is still a tendency for certain time-lags to reoccur between scholarly truths that can be said to have been accepted by the profession, on the one hand, and views presented in publications intended for the public at large, on the other.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You have spoken of factors that influence public opinion, which includes education. What else, besides education, shapes the historical views of mankind?

[F. Glatz] Many things. When speaking of those historical and social concepts and that live in the minds of people, we have a tendency to attribute all of these to education. The period of our [formal] schooling is doubtless the most important epoch in shaping our views of society. It is also certain that in the shaping of our views concerning human society, systematic knowledge and the observation of interrelationships during our formal edcuation play a very significant role. At the same time we cannot forget one of the most important factors concerning our view of society; namely that this view has the tendency to change and to assume new colorations to the very end of our lives. We may also state that following our schooling-or perhaps parallel with it--all types of environmental factors strongly influence us. These include official commemorations, the anmes of streets, literary experiences, the radio, television, the movies, and so on. The information so gained may strengthen, but may also undermine that system of thought and logic that was formed by our study of history, which shaped our thinking and our philosophy of history. We don't really know the extent of these influences. Yet we are still reluctant to try to measure them, even though it is really impossible to talk authoritatively about the effectiveness of history teaching and about changes in our views of history without taking these influences into consideration.

[NEPSZABADSAG] With this we have again returned to the main topic of our discussion, namely to the problem of the history textbooks. What should a good textbook be really like?

[G. Gyapay] If anyone could give you a precise answer, then we would be involved today in heated debates over textbooks! One thing is certain. The already finished textbooks have utilized the demonstrated results of all of the research centers. Yet, there were also some serious difficulties. To give you an example: In the past, history texts for the first year of high school have only dealt with world history up to the fall of the Western Roman Empire. The new textbook, however, covers this history right up to the eleventh century, and devotes the same number of pages and in the same number of hours to it. Additionally, it also covers Hungarian history up to and including St. Stephen's rule. Thus, the material covered has been expanded by including feudalism. In the second year of high school, the number of hours have been reduced from three to two, however the material covered has not been reduced to such an extent. The material in the textbooks for technical high schools is even more crammed. In spite of this, in the new textbooks greater attention is given to demography, to the history of technology, to military techniques, to the history of institutional systems, to developments of intellectual currents, as well as to a more descriptive demonstration of human lifestyles and ways of life. Selection of

readings, pictures, diagrams, maps, tables and graphs all contribute to making the text come alive. At the same time it also offers new methodological possibilities so as to get the most out of students and thus strengthen their knowledge of history through active personal involvement.

[Mrs Gyorgy Balazs] Let us also add that these phenomena can in fact be shown in light of the accumulated research data. It is rather strange, however, that while these data have accumulated, the teaching of history has lost some of its prestige. History has ceased to be a subject of high school comprehensive examinations, and its eclipse produced some sad results. Fortunately, these regulations have now been withdrawn, to a large degree because of pervasive arguments by the university personnel and by the scholarly researchers at the various institutes of the Academy of Sciences.

[F. Glatz] It is really difficult to respond to the question as to what should a good textbook be like. At the same time we can already enumerate some of its basic desirable features. These include the recognition of historical laws that move human society, as well as the development of a uniform, summarizing and synthesizing way of looking at things on the basis of these laws, both of which are unequivocal positive achievements of scholarship. Naturally therefore, we would like to see history being presented in a systematic way--from its beginnings to our own time--based upon these historical laws. But this still creates problems, for aren't we putting too many conceptional generalizations into the material taught? And aren't the textbooks simply made into depositories of historical laws, even though these have been sifted, validated and approved by scholarship? Generalizations have no lasting import unless their validity has been substantiated by a whole series of concrete facts. But are we giving enough factual knowledge? Do students receive enough factual information about specific periods of history to make it possible for them to appreciate the meaning of such abstract "social forms" as feudalism and capitalism? Can they understand and appreciate the miserable existence of the serf-peasants who worked the soil, or the powers of the ever-expanding feudal lords, or the dynastic goals and aspirations of the rulers, or the wanderings of the shrewd merchants, or the mind stupefying daily labors of the artisans? In other words, can they understand the workings of our human society? Undigested generalizations have the tendency to remain simply slogans--be they about class struggle, about the ever-increasing process of exploitations, or about the development of productive forces, or revolutionary movements. Without substantiation, these largely undigested assertions will come back to haunt us in our adulthood. They are regarded by most people simply as "attributes of the oft-heard agitational process." The result is that one of the most important goals of the teaching of history is lost for ever. According to this goal, history should help us understand and put historical meaning into our everyday existence. It should also give meaning to our social and political deeds, and thus make us able to view the present as an organic part of historical evolution.

[A. Petro] Unfortunately, in Hungary we don't have systematic research on the theory of textbooks. On the other hand, we do have some textbook experimentation, and the related scholarship is quite rich both at home and abroad. They all give us some help, but do not free us from debates. Here, for example, is the thesis mentioned by Ferenc Glatz concerning the desirability of textbooks to incorporate only proven data that have been accepted by research scholars. The problem is that even the categories of accepted data is a matter of choice. I could also raise the problem of size. Everywhere in the world, this is one of the so-called neurotic or critical

points of textbook writing. There is a real danger in giving too much, in trying to achieve perfection. We have to be careful about this. A thick textbook is frightening. Thus we are always trying to force our authors to limit the material covered. Yes, but it is precisely history as a discipline that is most demanding of space and text, and by being too strict with it, we may in fact lose precisely its most important attribute: namely the story and the excitement that goes with it, without which only a dry, though valid collection of facts remain. Nor should we forget--and this applies to all subjects, but most of all to history--that only in the hands of a good teacher will even the best textbooks turn into useful textbooks. A good selection of historical readings is also indispensible.

[G. Gyapay] It is already a well-established truth that even a good textbook is really useful only in the hands of a good teacher, i.e. one who is academically well-prepared, who loves his profession and his subject, and who regards teaching as a vocation. The effectiveness of teaching, however, is influenced by a number of other factors as well, including the social composition of the students, their value system, their family background, as well as the efforts of the youth organizations. As we can see, textbooks in themselves are not enough, but they still contribute the indispensible foundation of good teaching. History has a unique position within the system of subjects that are covered, for it is based tightly upon information gained from the study of all subjects. This is so because it treats historical events in chronological order--and how else could it really treat them?--and because its coverage is generally preceded by the study of literature, geography, and the arts. Thus, other subjects are also compelled to deal with history. This approach has many advantages, but it also has at least as many drawbacks. Unfortunately, we are often faced with the problem that when students take their high school comprehensive exams or their university entrance examinations, they paint one historical picture in explaining a literary piece and a different one when responding to a history question dealing with the same historical period. In other words their knowledge is isolated from one another, and they do not form unified whole. One of the goals of the teaching of history, for example, is to bring about synthesis among these isolated islands of knowledge.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The history textbook for the first year of high school, which incidentally, was authored by Gabor Gyapay, is generally viewed as a successful textbook. True, there are those who would claim that the book is so successful precisely because, when it was written, the curriculum--i.e. the bane of all textbook writers--was as yet unfinished, and thus did not bind the hands of the authors.

[G. Gyapay] What else could I say about this than that the curriculum has the force of law behind it, and that its regulations must be followed under all circumstances. Naturally, a less then perfect curriculum does make the work of an author more difficult. Nenetheless, there are still many possibilities for individual solutions even within the limits of a strict curriculum.

[NEPSZABADSAG] But perhaps the requirements for the curriculum are not really realistic?

[Gy. Gapay] This is not really a major problem. Much more significant is the limitation on the size of the textbook. If, for example, we are describing a process of development only with words, it is usually still understandable, but it remains

simply an intellectual experience. If on the other hand, this same process is depicted with the help of graphics, and is illustrated with selections, then it becomes much more lifelike, and its relationship to other parallel developments will also become much clearer. But all this requires more space. Unfortunately, there are still those who assume that the thinner the textbook, the easier it is to learn its content. But the above example clearly shows that it is precisely an increase in the size of the textbook that can make the process of studying not only easier, but also faster and more successful. A many-sided approach to things permits us to gain a more sophisticated knowledge and more lifelike image of reality. Thus it is the best way we can hope to project an image of reality that is free of illusions. And it is precisely the formation of an illusion-free view of history that is one of the primary goals of the teaching of history. The consciousness of the older generations is often determined by attitudes that from a scholarly point of view are obsolete. They are also heavily burdened by illusions, largely because their consciousness was formed many years earlier. This is the reason behind their uproars when encountering a historical exposition which does not coincide with those earlier views of history. Problems, however, can be produced not only by these illusions, but also by every other misdirected views. Today we may even say that the greatest dangers are emanate from various "negative illusions," and we should devote most of our attention to these. Because of their superficial approach to history, many people look upon the past as if it were simply a list of the crimes of our ancestors. At the same time many of the significant achievements of this past are simply passed over or are presented in a one-sided way. This is obviously wrong, for the long decades and centuries of social evolution have also produced worthy achievements. As an example, there are the many technological, scientific and artistic achievements of our history, which should be appreciated to and valued in the same manner as these are valued in the history of other nations.

One of the requirements of textbook writing is that the book should be free of factual mistakes and of imprecise prose. At the same time, it is equally important for a textbook to be written in an individualized and colorful style, and that it be geared to the peculiarities of the specific age group. The effectiveness of the approach differs with the level of the schools (e.g. elementary, high school, university). But even within these categories, one has to pay attention to the age group. The textbook has to be written and compiled accordingly.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Perhaps we could avoid all such pitfalls by having open debates before the publication of the textbooks. And with this we have reached one of our greatest relevant problems, namely the question of the publication of textbooks.

[A. Petro] The most acute publication problems include the urgency of time and the lack of financial resources. Our system of competition has proved itself, even though it is precisely history which has less applicants then desirable. In addition to the system of competition, we should also be more aggressive in asking and commissioning scholars to write textbooks.

Limitations of time have a powerful and very constraining impact upon textbook writing. Let me just mention one example: The textbook for the fourth year of the technical high school had to be rewritten three times. Similar problems have also occurred in connection with other subjects. There is really no guarantee that anyone of the authors will prove to be successful. The publisher needs a given time to get the

book ready for publication and for the editing process. Thus, it is the author who is under the greatest pressure. At times he has to deliver the manuscript within a very short period of time. Nor should we forget that the honorariums are so modest that textbook writing does not necessarily attract the best authors, nor the most competent teachers. Moreover, not even the moral recognition is equivocal. Creative freedom is perhaps the greater benefit, but not even that can compensate for the risks involved in textbook writing. Moreover, notwithstanding all our efforts, we are still unable to do justice to the individual styles of the textbook writers.

[F. Glatz] Perhaps it is the main centers of historical research that should be approached to write textbooks. But to do so successfully, the prestige of textbook writing, which has declined considerably since the 1950's, should be reestablished, Those who are familiar with the recent research results through their own research activities and who also write well would certainly be able to write both textbooks, as well as other history books for teaching purposes.

[NEPSZABADSAG] We will probably never reach the point where we can publish textbooks at a leisurely pace. At the moment, however, conditions are so bad that it is most difficult to attract creative-minded educators to write textbooks. We are most likely to find the solution in the direction that has just been outlined by Ferenc Glatz: to entrust research centers with this undertaking.

[A. Petro] The publishers are certainly not against such a solution. But for that we need more flexibility in curriculum regulations, more time, and more financial support.

[Mrs Gy. Balazs] I do not regard this as a utopian proposal. This could be done in the way the methodological experimentations have been conducted for years, i.e. as a commission connected with one's regular duties. A university instructor whose primary interest is the nineteenth century, is certainly best equipped to direct research concerning a book of readings on the nineteenth century. For the same reason, the writing of textbooks could also be entrusted to the larger centers of scholarly research.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let me ask one more touchy question: Will there be a second, i.e. and alternative history text?

[A. Petro] This is pedagogically justifiable, and methodologically desirable. In a number of subjects we already have alternative textbooks. The results of this research will have to be taken into consideration when making our decision. We have to acknowledge, however, that according to a number of people we are already using too many textbooks. In history, for example--taking into account all types of school--we have in use 24 different textbooks, 12 different reading books, and 5 different workbooks.

[NEPSZABADSAG] One can hardly question that the most significant changes within the social sciences have occurred in connection with our view of history. Thus, the teaching of history is certainly one of the primary goals of our cultural policy.

9271
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REFORM OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ASSESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Tadeusz Wrobel]

[Text] The current school year brings to an end the reform of the 3-year course of elementary education. We hope that the proper analysis and evaluation will be made to show the degree to which the results achieved will fulfill the expectations placed in the program. The critical remarks, issuing both from teachers and other public circles, have been more intense recently. They concern both modifications and corrections in the programs--within the framework of the current idea of improving the didactic means and the material supply of schools, as well as within the framework of far reaching changes in the very concept of elementary education.

How were the current solutions (the program, textbooks, the system of upbringing) arrived at? Let us take a look at the past. The program reform which took place at the turn of the 1950's was overladen with content (e.g., history in the fourth grade), the textbooks lacked adaptation to the perceptional potential of students, teaching methods were characterized by verbalism, and the entire system was ineffective (a considerable number of students were kept back in the first grade for a second year, particularly in the country side). The following years brought about changes in programs, improvement in school textbooks and better teaching methods; certain corrections in the system of upbringing were also made, all of which improved the teaching situation in schools and facilitated the teacher's work.

The 1960's brought a great deal of revitalization in our educational system. This trend was known popularly as "pedagogical progress." A wave of experimentation passed through the schools. Leading teachers in cooperation with scholars sought new organizational, methodological and programmatic solutions in conjunction with the new needs of children and social needs. Much good was done here by the campaign of so-called school registrations tied in with corrective-equalization efforts which were initiated in the Warsaw and Lodz areas. The elementary school teachers community participated to spread this campaign.

At that time answers were being sought not only to the question, at what level the child [should] entered school (educational maturity), how could he be helped to equalize his chances as he begins school, but also to the question, how can the negative signs appearing in a child during his later school years be dispelled to foster this development, i.e., what forms of effective health and pedagogical care

should be used. Practice (the results of the research of clinical psychologists) and the theory which outlined the sources and the mechanism of the appearance of various developmental deficiencies and disturbances have born each other out. The recommendations issuing from this applied not only to the enrichment of classroom but, primarily, by supplementing it with corrective-equalization work outside the classroom.

The next problem requiring new solutions was to ensure [gifted] children the proper developmental stimuli in conjunction with their increased intellectual potential. For many years of records show accelerated development for children this age is the result of various operating factors. Although these have a positive effect on the development of many mental functions, the problem itself has not yet been unequivocally clarified by theory.

Studies have also demonstrated the special importance of earlier school acceptance (6-10 years of age) for continued development. It may be simply stated, that the new program and methodological proposals are contained in the slogans: to teach more, earlier and better and to educate the whole child, since "it is not only the brain that goes to school." Hence, the former concept of elementary education, in which the basic work was consisted of drills in reading, writing and counting skills as well as cognitive work within a very limited area, has also been subject to criticism. Lowered standards (which were, nonetheless, poorly implemented), obsolete methods and the overly infantile treatment of children created a situation in which the academic threshold between the 4-year elementary program and 5th grade was too great. This was attested to by the failures of students in this class.

The new makeup of elementary education was also influenced by new social needs, which have a decisive effect on the content of the general upbringing of the young generation. The demands of modern science and technology and the demands of the development of social life and the arts already permeate the work done with small children, who are gradually absorbed into these "objective systems." The cognition, experiences and activity of children represent their gradual absorption into these systems as well as the implementation of their own mental needs.

The conclusions thus derived with regard to the structure and choice of content related to reconciling the requirements of (team teaching) and the gradual introduction of (subject-systematic) teaching. This is why the demands of modern linguistics, modern math and other demands related to the remaining curriculum of general upbringing have also been taken into consideration.

New curriculum, gradually introduced, has had a favorable effect on all children, including the slow learners (who are often referred to as "lacking in capability") under the condition, however, that the proper methods are applied (including differentiated learning), that the proper rate of working with the children is used and that they receive extra help outside of the classroom to bring them up to the level of the others.

Changing the length of the elementary program to 3 years, which fits in with the projected structure of the school system, has supplemented the concept of elementary education.

The scope of elementary education has increased significantly. The principle which has been adopted concerning teacher training at the school level in institutions of higher learning in a master's program also attests to this.

Clearly, the concept of elementary education as expressed in new program, textbooks, and education and upbringing methods developed over a longer period. It was prepared by a large number of teachers, school psychologists and numerous teams of scholars.

Why all this criticism of the reform? This question may be answered in the following manner: the concept is basically sound, but when one gets down to the nitty-gritty, as it has developed, above all in programs, the results have been unsatisfactory. Most of teachers have been positive in their acceptance of the new concept: they have described the programs as "ambitious." Initially they were confronted with many problems; these programs, properly implemented by teachers who have been thoroughly trained in substance and methodology are of great benefit to students, but... But, in the broad sense, practice has shown that these programs are too extensive, too detailed, and certain material is too difficult also haste in schoolwork evokes many negative phenomena among students. An obvious conclusion: while preserving the basic concept, we must modify it in several aspects to improve the programs according to the intellectual potential of "average" students. The efforts of the Ministry of Education and of the Institute of School Programs [IPS] have also moved in this direction, and their results will soon be published as a new version of the programs with pertinent commentary.

This represents the majority view of teachers today as well as the view of other qualified persons. But there are also other, differing viewpoints. Namely, there are those who express the desire to reject the present concept of elementary education and to develop a new concept, which would include new programs and modified texts. An initial demand here is the restoration of the 4-year elementary program; in the wake of this would follow many serious problems, such as changes in the programs of the new 4th grade, which will be entering school this September, having completed the 3 year reformed elementary school program.

Such demands conceal many extremely complex problems, some of which are controversial and others relate to a new program concept for a 8-grade elementary school program and its internal structure. Does the undertaking of program reform and the rejection of the structure (a 10-year school) signify a return to former organizational solutions? Are we to return automatically to a 4-year elementary school curriculum? Other problems concern the organization of work, of teacher cadres and the like.

With regard to the concern over the appropriate level of work with small children, many issues related to improvements in teaching, in the material base of the school, limiting the number of students in a class and changes in the system of evaluation and the like have been advanced. These are independent of the concept itself and the situation of elementary education. They are demands which are extremely well-founded, which have been brought up for many years and which should finally be introduced.

Whatever the shape of elementary education in the future, the following two requirements should be adopted: 1) we should not introduce any solutions which would

again sidetrack elementary education, 2) we should improve on our heritage thus far, enriching with continual discussions among broad circles of qualified persons. We should make use of the dozens of points of valuable information contained in the various, hitherto unknown research studies (work on a so-called crucial problem, doctoral dissertations and others).

Undoubtedly, the problems the educating and bringing up children during the early school years, so complex and at the same time so important for their later development, showed always be resolved with a sense of concern for the welfare of the children themselves.

8536
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DRAFT OF LAWS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION CHANGED

Reporters Question Minister Nawrocki

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] The guest at the 15 September meeting of the Cultural and Educational Journalists' Club of the Polish Journalistic Association (SDP) was Prof Jerzy Nawrocki, the recently named minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

The minister discussed perspectives and a model for higher education with journalists, the chances for employment of graduates, projected changes in the recruitment system and scholarship assistance, capital investment problems and the financing of education, increases in the participation of ministerial institutions in the national economy. . .

Not much came of it. The journalists had really only one question; i.e., who, when and for what purpose were the corrections to the—after so many rather difficult discussions and consultations exhausting with the public, trade unions, student organizations and other ministries--draft of laws for higher school system introduced, when in the end achieved social acceptance. At the moment when the entire academic community and a large portion of society impatiently anticipated sending the draft to Sejm, to everyone's shock, and especially to the draft's authors Prof Resich's codification committee, corrections were found in the draft, of which none have been accepted by the community. It simply has been acknowledged as a boycott of the work done by the codification committee.

Unfortunately, these are not--according to suggestions—only legal specifications, but--in the universal opinion--the frustrating interference in the sense and liberal, progressive character of the future laws. It is sufficient to recall the changes in their fundamental excerpts, such as the principle of electing the rector through electors and not through the Senate (this was reversed, and the minister was given veto power) or the principle of worldvie multiplicity in higher education. This was simply crossed out.

The result of introducing these changes just prior to the start of the new academic year is such that--after many protests by student organizations and trade unions--a stormy beginning for the new year is afoot.

At the meeting, the question was posed as to why these events could not have been forseen, and why did they happen? After all, the new minister had an unusual

opportunity to erase the errors of his predecessor and have a good "entrance."

Minister Nawrocki, recalling certain conditions, could not, as he himself admitted, answer those questions. Confirming that this is by no means the final version of the law, and maybe one could regard it as yet another attempt at community discussion he only promised that if the draft of ministerial changes were not accepted by the public, the preliminary draft in its original version from last spring will be sent to the Office of the Council of Ministers. He also declared that during the next 10 days, after completion of discussions with the trade unions, the ministry's position on the matter will be announced.

Rectors' Conference Reaction

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] The press spokesman for Warsaw University delivered a communique from the Polish University Rectors' Conference, which is summarized here.

On 25 August 1981 a meeting of Polish University Rectors' Conference, which, in discussing the daily problems of the universities, will propose initiatives and suggestions that could be useful not only for every institution of higher education but also for socio-cultural life in the entire country.

During the course of its several weeks of work, the Conference proposed a series of demands to the minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology. Above all, the demands dealt with sending as quickly as possible to Sejm the draft of laws for higher education prepared by the social codification commission in the form proposed to the ministry on 11 June 1981.

The Rectors' Conference also delivered an opinion on various crucial problems in higher education to the minister. Among them were a critique of the ministry's draft of laws as regards portions contained therein like the substance and manner of preparation, issues of financial independence for the universities and their participation in developing drafts of laws dealing with education and the Polish Academy of Sciences.

On 14 September 1981 the minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology presented in a letter to the university rectors the position of the ministerial administration with respect to the submitted demands. Although some views were accepted, the Rectors' Conference once again expressed criticism of the draft of laws prepared by the ministry, declared itself to be in support of giving the parliamentary commission the codification commission's draft and demanded categorically that the universities obtain the ministerial authority necessary to facilitate the proper course of academic work and teaching during the new academic year.

Krakow Academics Prepare Strike

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] At its first post-vacation meeting on 16 September, the Jagiellonian University Senate unanimously passed a resolution that included, among others, the

following: " . . . expresses a deep concern about and is decidedly opposed to 1) changes made by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology in the draft of laws for the higher school system, which was developed by the social codification commission, and 2) conduct by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, and especially of the method used in consultation with society, in the work on the draft of laws for the higher school system.

"The ministry's conduct stirs up in full a justifiable protest on the part of the university community and threatens an explosion of serious conflicts and unrest among employees and students on the threshold of a new academic year.

"It is now doubtful whether the fulfillment of socially justifiable expectations, which the academic community connects with universally approved and until recently declared (also by the ministry) principles of self-government and autonomy for the institutions of higher education, will occur."

Let's recall that the last version of the draft of laws for the higher school system was agreed to in June of this year. As is known, it came about as a result of long-lasting bargaining and discussions, and it was a compromise in essence among academic communities, trade unions and student organizations. The ministry also identified with it, the proof of which was the agreement to elect university authorities according to new principles. In the same month, the social codification commission, which had worked under the direction of Prof Zbigniew Resich, delivered the document to the minister at that time, Janusz Gorski. More than once at later meetings with rectors and at the Parliamentary Commission of Science and Technical Progress, the ministerial chief emphasized the necessity for quick transfer of the draft of laws to Sejm, so the laws could take effect on 1 October and sanction changes already existing in the universities.

The laws will not go into effect by this deadline. We posed the following question to Prof Josef Gierowski, rector of Jagiellonian University: when were you informed officially about the existence of the ministerial version of the draft of laws? It took place on 9 September at the moment he received both versions of the draft of laws from the ministry. The cover letter contained nothing regarding a request for consultation nor the view of the universities on the changes. And those changes, in the opinion of Prof J. Gierowski who actively participated in the work of the codification commission, are significant. There are 180 amendments; a portion of them is of little importance, but the most important ones are those which limit self-government and autonomy in the institutions of higher education. For example, unacceptable are changes in the principles for electing the rector and financing of the universities. In both cases, the right of final decision in effect would belong to the minister.

In the social version of the draft, the rector is elected by an electoral college; in the ministerial version, by the Senate. Moreover, after two vetoes, the minister could name his own candidate as rector. In the amended version, the authority of the Main Council of Higher Education (RGSW) was also reduced, as its right to approve the universities' financial plans was taken away. Moreover, in disputes between the Main Council and the minister, the arbitrator was to be the Council of State. The ministry proposes the premier who is its superior. Opposition within the Krakow academic community was also provoked by changes concerning, among others,

limitations on admissions for university study, division of authority between single-person and collective organs, supervision by the ministry of student organizations and rules regulating the work done by university teachers.

The minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology has the right, of course, to propose his own solutions and defend the ministry's position. It is too bad that he did not decide on these issues during the course of the draft's preparation by Prof Resich's commission. Now the academic community has been taken by surprise by the new draft of laws; thus, the opposition.

An expression of the opposition is the 8 September decision of the university commission from the Jagiellonian University's branch of the independent trade union (NSZZ) "Solidarity," which called for strike preparations and simultaneously appealed to all universities to undertake protest actions against the changes made in the draft laws.

According to Prof Tomasz Studnicki, a member of the university commission's presidium within the Jagiellonian University branch of "Solidarity," the protest was provoked not only by the contents and substance of the ministry's amendments but also by the very fact of their arbitrary introduction, without taking into account the opinion of the academic community, which is the real creator of the draft of new laws. Moreover, he said that he was of the opinion that the amendments could not be the subject ff any negotiations.

Strike preparations were declared by other Krakow institutions of higher education; i.e., the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy (AGH), the Krakow Technical University, the Academy of Physical Education (AWF) and the Academy of Agriculture (AR). The remainder--the Academy of Medicine (AM), the Higher Pedagogical School (WSP), the Academy of Economics (AE) and other art colleges--limited themselves to support of the protest action. A similar position was taken by the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) and the Polish Teachers' Association (ZNP). The Executive Organ of the University Committee of PZPR also declared its support fot the resolution passed by the Jagiellonian University Senate. Teletype messages of support are coming from other universities throughout the country, as well as from industrial plants like the Cegielski Works in Poznan. On Wednesday, 16 September, a meeting of the Intercollege Coordinating Committee for Protest Action, which was called the day before, took place at Collegium Novum. Representatives from all 11 institutions of higher education in Krakow and the Independent Association of Students (NZS) attended.

During the evening of 17 September in the Krakow headquarters of the Democratic Party's Urban Committee, a meeting of the Krakow academic community took place on the subject with delegates from the subcommittee on education.

We posed the following question to "Solidarity's" university commission: what will cause the cessation of the protest action? Answer: sending to Sejm of the Polish People's Republic the draft worked out by the codification committee. This is also the position of the Jagiellonian University Senate.

9807
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ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON CRIME PREVENTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 15, 5 Aug 81 pp 23-25

[Article containing specialists' views on subjects covered at roundtable discussion: "A Concept and Practice in the Prevention and Combatting of Crime"]

[Note: The article on the roundtable discussion appeared in JPRS Translations on Eastern Europe, No 78619 of this series 28 Jul 81, pp 33-48]

[Text] With regards to the roundtable discussion "A Concept and Practice in the Combatting and Prevention of Crime," published in our magazine's issue No 12/1981, our editorial staff received some comments in which researchers, judges and other specialists in the field of applying the law expressed their opinions in connection with the subjects discussed and the proposals made by the roundtable participants for improving criminal laws and the means of applying the law and respecting the norms of social behavior. Within the context of the broad dialogue that should characterize any exchange of opinions, we are publishing in shortened form a portion of the letters received by our editorial staff.

Dr Ioan Vida, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: In dealing with the crime phenomenon, I believe that we must begin with the reality of the facts and the specific situation in each stage of development of society, correcting, on this basis, some theses that have become "ingrained" by virtue of authority and not by virtue of their scientific value. Such a view requires us to regard the prevention and combatting of antisocial acts as a permanent and firm action that must involve the theoretical factor in its pluridisciplinary dimension, as well as social practice and the totality of the implicated social agencies. One of the key problems of the efficiency of the struggle against antisocial acts is understanding the real causes that bring about or favor criminal behavior.

In carrying out the roundtable discussion, the participants made pertinent references to the causes and conditions which bring about or favor the commission of antisocial acts, leaving out, however, the problem of the general causality of crimes in the socialist system. I feel, first of all, that this problem must be clarified since the formulation of a scientific concept in preventing and combatting antisocial acts depends upon it. Furthermore, the idea still persists that crime in the socialist system has its causes outside of this system, that

it is caused by certain elements inherited from the preceding society. In my opinion, this view is refuted by experience. Actually, some of the criminals were born and raised in the socialist system. On another level, the socialist lawmaker was required to deem certain antisocial acts as crimes, crimes that were not recognized as such by the previous social system (for example, crimes punished by the Law Regarding the Protection of the Environment). In the case where we accept those "habits" inherited from the old social system as the general unique case of crime in the socialist system, we end up placing the causality exclusively on an hereditary level, which we believe does not correspond to reality or in the most direct manner implies the question: how come the great majority of the people in the socialist order do not have these antisocial "habits?"

These are several arguments that justify the fact that crime has a social-human nature and that it has a complex, general and particular causality, to which can be added those factors that favor it. Under these conditions, we believe that it is important to note the fact that crime represents the manifestation of a contradiction that appears between the manner in which man understands how to behave in society and the manner in which society wants man to behave within that society through the norms of criminal law. This is also the source of the need to observe the totality of factors that lead to the manifestation of this contradiction, some belonging to the biological and psychological fields and others to the social-cultural field. In the end, there is also importance in those contradictions of a political-juridical nature, used in the theory and practice of defining and punishing anti-social acts and in the realism and firmness of criminal law.

Victor Ursu, Institute of Juridic Research: I recalled from comrade Nicolae Popovici's comments some of the acute problems of juridic propaganda activities and for that reason I would like to express some of my opinions with regards to this. The unanimously admitted principle in law according to which if there is a violation of the law no one can avoid punishment or escape the consequences for this actions, is graphically shown by the efforts to popularize the laws and to initiate and carry out viable juridic propaganda activities tied to social practice and realities. I think that juridic propaganda activities are still insufficiently coordinated and are frequently launched at the initiative of certain non-specialized organs. The jurists association is carrying out broad actions of this nature, but it is not enough since no matter how many symposia and conferences are organized or how many thick papers on legal themes are published they are insufficient to achieve a general "capturing" of the interest of those people who work in production and need to understand legal provisions. In some cases, many such symposia have a pronounced festive nature and are meetings between specialists who are merely exchanging experiences and expounding on research themes in light of their own personal experiences. Certainly, I do not want to state that such events are useless. On the contrary, they summarize the results of direct, specific work in one field or another of social life, but they use less of the propaganda regarding adhering to the law.

The handbills and papers published at the county level suggestively entitled "Civics" or "He Who Knows the Law Does Not Err" and so forth, are not always accessible, with the reader not always finding in them useful legal explanations. In some of these materials mant themes of a theoretical interest are published, such as: "Strengthening the Socialist Legal Order," "The Country's Laws - Our Laws" and so forth, which note problems we have become accustomed to. Of more use are the materials of the type: "We are at the Prosecutor's Office...," "Let Us Understand the Law, And the Obligations," "Useful Information for Young People," "Position Does Not Give the Right to Derogation" and so forth. Such materials present and explain to the reader the facts of life that he encounters daily.

From this point of view, which also comes out of the roundtable discussion, the integration of juridic propadanda into the general educational system has become an objective necessity, requiring the growth of its social-eductional efficiency. The new requirements for applying the law and the complexity and dynamics of social relationships, as regulated through legal norms, bring about, in my opinion, a series of methodological reorientations that will take into account the basing of juridic propaganda to a greater degree upon the new civic requirements with regards to knowing and understanding the party's decisions and the country's laws and strictly applying them in the economic activities of the socialist units. An appropriate juridic propaganda activity is not being achieved just when an auditorium of 30 to 50 people listening to a theoretical presentation masters a certain amount of juridic knowledge or legal principles, but when they master the essence of a law and when they firmly work to eliminate certain illegalities and to stop abuses. "Extending" the presentation or a legal conference by revealing the ways to prevent certain crimes and by pointing out the diverse means of applying a law are what is required by efficient juridic propaganda activities.

I feel that the statements made in the roundtable discussion by comrade Ioan Salajan are important. Actually, through juridic propaganda we are not pursuing the citizens' strict, technical "specialization" in legal norms and provisions and in each article contained in normative acts. It has a priority orientation, as was stressed, in the direction of explaining the essence of a law and the intentions of the lawmakers and towards identifying the means of applying normative acts, as well as towards those means of preventing the violation of laws.

In order to achieve an efficient juridic propaganda activity, in my opinion you must taken into consideration at least three decisive factors: who is organizing the activity, who supports it and who are its targets. Unfortunately, in activities for carrying out propaganda and preventing the violation of legal norms these factors for efficient are not always kept in mind. Thus, with regards to the organizers, these people frequently "fill" conference rooms in a formal manner with people selected at random (students or retirees), and are not sufficiently concerned about "convening" those who truly have a need to have the law explained to them and especially the consequences of violating the law.

Another aspect of the efficiency of juridic propaganda activities refers to those who are called upon to carry it out. Sometimes these people, who are otherwise specialists, limit themselves to dry speeches that say nothing and that abound in generalities or, in the other direction, in information that is strictly specialized, technical and dry. In order to have the best efficiency in juridic propaganda activities it is necessary, likewise, to keep in mind the targers of these activities.

Lt Col Alexandru Vulpescu, Ministry of the Interior: The roundtable discussion presented in ERA SOCIALISTA pointed out a series of especially interesting problems related to the crime phenomenon. I agree with the comments referring to the shortcomings that still exist in juridic propaganda activities and to certain deficiencies in the activities of the teaching faculty who have concentrated their efforts on transferring knowledge, frequently neglecting the formative-educational role of the teacher and the importance of the educational actions organized with the family, the first framework for the "socialization" of the individual and the first factor responsible for the future behavior of minors.

Along these lines, I feel that it is necessary for the actions for guidance and control organized in the schools of the county school inspectorates, the councils of the pioneer organizations and the committees of the Union of Communist Youth to pursue to a greater degree the achievement of educational tasks and the results of the work of the faculty personnel and the school units should also be evaluated through the prism of the young people's civic education.

The special school for work and re-education for minors, whose educational value was discussed in the roundtable, ensures the harmonious combination of the humanist principle of socialism with the firmness of punishment for dangerous acts.

The school personnel, professors, educators, specialist in instruction who have an appropriate professional and psychopedagogical training, are pursuing not only the achievement of the scholastic and professional instruction of minors and the development of their level of culture, but also their moral-civic and juridic training.

On the basis of the program-framework drawn up by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and the Ministry of the Interior, activities in these schools have a scientific nature, pursuing the socialization and re-educational of those enrolled. I feel, however, that the current legal regulations referring to the organization and operation of the special schools for work and re-education are to a good degree inadequate to fully accomplish the recovery activities for young offenders. Future criminal legislation should more clearly establish the stimulative and coercive system applied to the young people enrolled in these schools.

Society's concern for the re-education of minors is expressed through the legal framework covering the crimes committed by minors and the establishment of appropriate punishment: the internment of these people in special schools for work and re-education. Through the adopted re-educational system and through the system of carrying out educational measures, young offenders in these institutions are given favorable conditions for correction and social reintegration.

In some of these schools there also are minors who have committed especially serious crimes, for which the educational measures of internment in special schools for work and re-education for a period of 5 years does not correspond to the high degree of danger of the crime committed. "To be human does not mean being tolerant of offenders who strike at the values of society and who endanger the rights and interests of the citizens," noted comrade Nicolae Popovici during the discussions. For that reason, I feel that in future criminal legislation for especially serious crimes minors should be punished more severely and for a longer period of time than at the present. At the same time, we subscribe to the opinion expressed in the discussions that prison sentences should be applied to minors who commit especially serious crimes (as an alternative to educational measures and applied on a case-by-case system). Minors thus punished would be subjected to a differentiated sentence, not coming into contact with adult offenders, at the same time giving them an opportunity to acquire a professional training and to continue their school studies. Under these conditions, general prevention would increase noticeably and, at the same time, detention units would take on an educational role.

In another area, it must be pointed out that in the current re-education system the former young offender is still encountering troubles and difficulties in his socioprofessional reintegration. Despite the fact that the Office of Manpower has the legal obligation to forward assignments to jobs for the young person who is close to release, recently 55 young persons did not receive assignments. The lack of certainty about getting a job after completing a sentence that conforms to professional training, as well as the difficulties pointed out to us by some young people who were released to the Office of Manpower, has negative impacts upon socioprofessional integration. In order to achieve a thorough social reintegration, I think that these shortcomings must be effectively eliminated.

8724
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SERBIAN ORTHODOX 'BROTHERHOOD,' CLERICALISM DENOUNCED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 81 p 8

[Article by Djuro Kozar]

[Text] The illusory nature of the "Orthodox Christian communities" in the Zvornik-Tuzla see. Our Yugoslav society is struggling against clerical nationalism, not against freedom of religion.

In our Yugoslav socialist self-management soeiety, where democracy has received its true place and is constantly expanding, the expression of religious belief is absolutely free, and the religious denominations perform their religious activities and rites without interference, as guaranteed by Yugoslav constitutions and legal regulations continually since the War of National Liberation. Whether a man wants to profess a faith or not profess a faith is his private affair, and no one has the right to force him to do one or the other. We are conscious of the fact that in the postwar period of development many churches have been restored or built, along with mosques and other sacred structures. We also know that religious education exists and that a certain number of people participate in religious rites, but at the same time, the number of atheists has been growing, representing a gradual liberation from religion, particularly from mysticism and fanaticism in faith as such.

Great Religious Freedoms

Naturally, all the religious denominations want to gather the greatest possible number of believers, and so using various methods, they strive to attract people, especially the youth. But that speaks also of something else. Specifically, part of the hierarchy in religious denominations, as well as some priests, imams and pastors, apparently are conscious of the secularization, or the weakening of their influence in society, since here in Yugoslavia the state and the church are separate, so that it is clearly established that the religious denominations must function within the bounds of freedom of religious profession.

The most recent practice shows that there are religious officials who, despite the fact that they know the meaning of their conviction, still have not abandoned the hope of attempting to influence matters that we regard as social, whenever the opportunity arises. The subject at hand includes attempts to politicize religious denominations, which is against the constitution and the law on the legal position of religious denominations. This is always dangerous, for it develops objectively

the elements of clericalism that it contains within itself. This is simply because religion and the religious convictions of people and the activities of the religious denominations are manipulated for political and antisocial purposes.

From that standpoint Yugoslav society fights against clericalism, but not against religious freedom. On the contrary, we advance those freedoms with the development of our democracy. We are against clericalism because, regardless of the form in which it appears, it brings political pressure on the interests of the working people and citizens. Our Yugoslav politics do not give an opportunity to clericalism in any way.

The Manipulation of Believers

It is known precisely where the freedom of religious conviction ends and where clericalism begins. A cleric also calls for religious freedom, but we have always known what is concealed behind the turbans, skull caps and vestments of individual religious officials, for in certain circumstances the last thing on their minds has been faith, but rather they were interested in something else-politics. How else, for example, could we expalin the attempts to have religious values recognized as valid social standards of behavior, and the propagation and imposition of religious views as the exclusive possibilities for proper interpretation of the world and the ordering of relationships in it, the equating of religious and national values, the striving to have religious convictions proclaimed as equal in all spheres of life, and particularly in training and education, and the urge to have religious denominations regarded as intercessors between the believer and the society.

Even without more detailed analysis of these clericalist attempts, it is clear where these notions would lead, if they were not nipped in time. But apparently it is useless to point out to individuals in the confessional denominations the harmful consequences of any sort, even the least, extrareligious activity on their part, since they immediately interpret that as an attack on religious freedom while they willfully sew on the label of "martyr" which, supposedly, is inconceivable in their "naive worship of God."

Thus it is typical that clericalism always conceals itself in the cloak of the religious, defending its old positions, its old logic and moral message, and insisting on proclaiming this as a component part of the religious sentiment of the citizenry, while asserting its rights to present itself as the only true authority and judge. The separation of church and state is conceived by individuals in the religious denominations as the right to do whatever they please, to attack the social community and especially, the League of Communists of Yugoslavis. From such activities and those attacks we can recognize the individuals who during the course of the War of National Liberation sinned against the people by sprinkling the quizling army with holy water, or even fighting openly, with rifle in hand, against the national liberation army.

Throughout the postwar period in all religious denominations, individual religious teachers have been involved in conjuring up the phantoms of the past, and not rarely they have given the blessing to an occasional phantom, all under the label of reincarnation and the like.

To certain individuals in the Serbian Orhhodox Church not even that is sufficient, so that they have turned their efforts to the formation of some sort of completely different "Orthodox Christian community of the Holy Mother of God of the hierarchial regency of Bijeljina." At the beginning of March this year the work of such a "brotherhood" was organized in Bijeljina, under the wing of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and thereafter in Pozarnica near Tuzla as well. It is a matter, in truth, of a so-called pietist movement, which lies outside the bounds of the constitutional rights of religious conviction and is a flagrant attempt at politization under the portection of a religious denomination.

What Exactly Are the "Brotherhoods?"

When the practice and behavior of individuals in and around the Orthodox Christian communities are examined, then one can conclude that this creation has nothing at all to do with the church, and that it is least of all a "peaceful community of apolitical believers." Rather, it is a clerical nationalist gathering. To be specific, a precondition for joining that "brotherhood" is to cease all other social activity and to treat adherents of other religious faiths as "enemies of Orthodoxy," which from the religious point of view as well as others is inhuman and in every sense, is harmful and dangerous, as well as socially impermissible.

The newspaper PRAVOSLAVLJE (Orthodoxy) has tried in all possible ways to explain how the pietist brotherhoods are groups of believers, for, To claim, "to be a pious member means nothing other than to be a good and proper Christian." They add that the pietist movement has a renaissance role in the Serbian Orthodox Church, that it represents "the return to Christ and to his church," that "the plant of faith has set its roots, branched out and blossomed, and brought fruit." This idyllic pastorale, however, is lost after the evaluation, also found in PRAVOSLAVIJE, that "the pietist movement is also a reaction of the simplehearted, popular soul against everything that is alien to Orthodoxy." Obviously the militant spirit cannot be removed from these words, we would only ask why and against what they are directed.

Thus the "divinely inspired apostles" from PRAVOSLAVLJE open their efforts to bring the Serbian Orthodox Church to take "a step beyond the traditional ritualistic, impoverished, and paganized, beyond the Christmas straw-burning rite and the family name day celebration, to something else, and that something else is, supposedly, represented by the "Orthodox Christian communities," where with the participation of priests, lay persons and the people they will glorify among other things the last letter of bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic, the pro-Chetnik emigre and the sworn enemy of our country. Velimirovic sent this last letter from the United States of America before his death. They will read his works, published abroad, and poison the socialist community, brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav people and nationalities.

Bishop Velimirovic calls our Yugoslav socialist self-management development Golgotha, and says "Serbia has been crucified on a cross and is a martyr, and the cross is being borne furtively, while the pietist brothers, the "faithful servants of Christ," openly call to "new victories." A song with such content is far from peace and apolitical aims, but it is close to what is usually called counter-revolutionary.

12131
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DAMAGE TO ISLAMIC GRAVES IN ZENICA DISCUSSED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croation 17 Sep 81 p 7

[Article by "F. Mdz."]

[Text] The Presiduum of the SAWP Opstina Conference of Zenica discusses the destruction of tombstones in the old Islamic graveyard at Gornja Vraca.

The Presidium stressed the need for quick implementation of the resolution of the opstina assembly concerning graves on the basis of which graveyards, as communal objects, are to be turned over for maintenance to the appropriate organization of associated labor or local community.

Zenica, 16 September. By considering information on the destruction of tombstones at the village of Gornja Vraca at its meeting last night, the SAWP Opstina Conference Presidium of Zenica has confirmed its own tasks that orginate in the evaluations and positions taken by the Republic Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Bosnia and Hercegovina on further implementation of social policy toward religion and the activities of religious denominations.

The presidium issued a communique on the subject which stated:

During the night of 14-15 August of this year, identified individuals smashed a number of tombstones in the old Islamic graveyard in the village of Gornja Vraca.

In considering the causes of this act, the Presidium has learned that as early as 1976, an initiative was begun among the citizens of the "Nedjo Radic" local community at Perin Han to expand and fence the Orthodox graveyard that borders the old Islamic graveyard. The same year, a request was sent to the responsible agency of the Zenica opstina assembly seeking city planning approval. On 12 October 1979 the "Prostor" labor organization presented the technical city planning conditions for expanding the Orthodox graveyard on the bordering land parcel (the old Islamic graveyard), and on 8 February 1980 the Opstina secretariat for city planning issued its decision on city plan approval for the proposal.

Upon receiving this document, the "Nedjo Radic" local community of Perin Han formed, on 3 December 1980, a council to collect money and organize all matters related to the maintenance and expansion of the Orthodox graveyard.

The Presidium stated that the overall activity to obtain and issue documentation on property and legal relationships had been conducted without informing the Zenica opstina assembly's commission for religious denominations relations and without consultations in the section for social questions of religion of the Zenica SAWP opstina conference.

Without waiting for a decision on property and legal relationships by responsible agencies, certain individual members of the council for maintaining and expanding the Orthodox graveyard, with the help of officials of the Serbian Orthodox church, and in the name of the local community's self-management agencies, negotiated in writing with the Islamic community council on the ownership of the land. Thereafter, some members of the Islamic community council organized actions to maintain the old Islamic graveyard All of these actions preceded the destruction of the tombstones.

At an expanded session of the presidium of the Nedjo Radio local SAWP conference in Perin Han, held on 17 August 1981, the act and the perpetrators of destroying the tombstones were sharply condemned. Both the working people and the citizens condemned them at the same time in meetings and gatherings of the SAWP units on the territory of the Nedjo Radic local community; they strongly demanded that the guilty parties be punished, and that the matter of responsibility of all those who contributed to the development of this situation be investigated.

In analyzing this incident, the opstina conference presidium of the Zenica SAWP organization also sharply condemned the act and its perpetrators for destroying the tombstones.

In expressing its deep conviction that this disagreeable event will be condemned by all working people and citizens of the Yugoslav sociopolitical community, the presidium also considered that it represents a precedent in the area where it occurred, as well as in the entire sociopolitical community, where good relations and unity have traditionally been nurtured, developed and strengthened on the basis of brotherhood and unity of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.

In considering the consequences of this incident, the opstina conference presidium of the Zenica SAWP organization stated that it was cuused by shortcomings in the work of individuals in responsible opstina assembly agencies, self-management agencies of the local community, and individuals in the ranks of the religious denominations.

The presidium stressed the need for more rapid implementation of the opstina assembly's resolution on graveyards, on the basis of which graveyards, as communal objects, are to be transferred for maintenance to the appropriate organization of associated labor or local community.

Considering that this disagreeable event, in the environment in which it occurred, did not ruin the good relations of the community, the presidium pointed up the need for markedly greater involvement by all organized socialist forces and institutions of the political system of socialist self-management to more effectively resolve all matters of general social interest, in a way that is in harmony with the established policy of the area so that in the future such or similar occurances can be avoided.

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ENROLLMENT RESULTS NOTED AT KOSOVO UNIVERSITY

AU061816 Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1603, 20 Sep 81 pp 30-32

[Report by Slobodanka Ast]

[Excerpts] Although the new term at the Pristina University begins on 1 October, the colleges are humming like beehives with activity: Delayed examinations are being taken, the third enrollment round for freshmen is concluding, applications are being submitted for dormitory places. There are no students yet in the freshly painted student dormitories, which are almost idyllically clean, and the grass has been freshly cut too.

Although the final results have not yet become known, we have learned that 65 young men and women have been denied enrollment at the university. However, perhaps more concern is caused by the report that several hundred secondary school students whose names are on the lists of the most active and most vociferous demonstrators have not even tried to enroll. The question also remains of what to do with the remaining 10,000 or so secondary school students who have not applied for college admission, although they graduated in June. According to the latest figures of the provincial employment institute, about 20,000 secondary school graduates are waiting for jobs.

All the Departments Remain

Reports on the number of students who in the period did not follow the league of communists line should reach the colleges from the communes by the end of the month. These students will register for the courses according to special criteria, depending on the level of involvement in hostile demonstrations. The college doors will remain closed to them for 1-5 years. This delicate business has yet to come, it is said at the Kosovo University.

The big wave of students in the social sciences has finally been stopped this year; 10 percent fewer freshmen than last year have enrolled in the faculties of economics, law and philosophy. This year, there were more student places in the faculty of engineering (12 percent) and the faculty of science and mathematics (20 percent). The faculties of metallurgical engineering and of medicine, because of their space limitations, enrolled the same number of students as last year. However, the number of students from other communities has been reduced 20 percent at the Kosovo University.

The continuation of groups with Serbo-Croatian as the teaching language at several faculties was until recently a great unknown of the enrollment this year, as well as a sensitive political problem. The self-managing interest community for vocational training this summer recommended that the letter of the law should be strictly adhered to: It provides that groups for which less than 20 students apply should be abolished. At the insistence of the university, this intention was dropped, and the Serbo-Croatian departments will not be abolished, although a very small number of Serbs and Montenegrins applied for some of them--Russian, French, Oriental studies, mathematics, physics, chemistry, the metallurgical college in Mitrovica. The rector says that there is no danger that these departments will be abolished because it is expected that all the groups will be more or less filled in the third round of enrollments.

Thus the new school term inevitably broached the sensitive question of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. The wave does not seem to be abating. As Mirko Cukic writes in PRISTINA JEDINSTVO, in the Pristina commune alone, 482 requests for emigration from Kosovo were submitted between 23 July and 2 September. We heard, for instance, that in an eighth grade class of the ACA Marovic elementary school, there were 12 fewer pupils this September. It is not known exactly how many students have left, but the first incomplete statistical reports show that about 500 of them are now at the colleges and higher schools in Belgrade, Nis and Kragujevac.

Some teachers have been removed from Kosovo secondary schools. A certain number of teachers have been sentenced. The process of differentiation at the colleges is moving at a somewhat slower and quieter pace. It has been established, the rector says, that no university teacher participated in the disorders. Some have been called to account because they were passive in the past period. There are only 7 or 8 of them according to the present assessments.

CSO: 2800/20

YUGOSLAV DELEGATE DISCUSSES POLISH TU CONGRESS

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 81 p 4

[Interview with Josip Franic, member of the Presidium of the Council of Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions and head of that federation's delegation to the Congress of the Polish Trade Union Solidarity 5-7 September 1981, by RAD, organ of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation: "Solidarity With All the Socialist and Progressive Forces of Poland"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Congress of the Trade Union Solidarity, the first part of which ended 2 days ago, has aroused quite a bit of controversial polemics and has attracted the attention of the public. You were at that congress, can you give us some of your assessments or impressions?

[Answer] We spent 3 days at the congress, the time for which we were invited, though the congress lasted longer. As is well known, the congress was planned in two phases: the first one 5 to 7 September, and the second from 26 September to 3 October. It was expected the report would be heard in the first part of the congress, the bylaws would be adopted, the leadership would be elected, and various procedural issues would be settled. The second part of the congress seems to have been planned for the debate on the programmatic orientation and adoption of the program. In the first 3 days, while our delegation was at the congress, only the report was heard and the speeches of the foreign delegates, and various procedural issues were settled. The bylaws were not adopted, nor was the leadership elected. It was pointed out that there were more than 350 amendments to the draft of the bylaws, and that there was difficulty in examining such a large number of proposals in such a brief time. It was therefore proposed to the congress that the Commission for the Bylaws and also the Commission for the Program, with 12 subcommissions, continue their intensive work up to the beginning of the second part of the congress. There were no very significant decisions then. There was talk among the delegates about the difficulties the congress was encountering, and there were also various dilemmas about which direction to take in view of the different currents within Solidarity.

[Question] But the congress has adopted the bylaws and the so-called appeal to the workers of the East European countries, as well as a resolution calling for the draft of the law on self-management, which is before the Polish Sejm, to be put to a referendum?

[Answer] I read that in the press here in Belgrade, just as you did. We know from wire service reports that the first part of the congress lasted another 3 days. We do not know whether the bylaws were adopted according to the procedure envisaged or by some abbreviated procedure. Nor do we know the basic characteristics of the organizational structure, since we did not have a copy of the draft of the bylaws. In talks and contacts with various delegates and members of the leadership of Solidarity we did hear that they had no intention at this point to create a structure within Solidarity based on crafts and trade. That is, the tasks which confront them, they say, are primarily of a political nature, so that regional trade union organizations better suits them in performing those tasks. They mention as part of those tasks democratization of the political system, introduction of self-management, abolishing the "monopoly over the news media," reform of the economic system, and so on.

[Question] What can you say about the appeal to the workers of the East European countries?

[Answer] You know that the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions has always staunchly defended the right of the working class of each country to determine on its own the physiognomy, role and tasks of its own trade union movement without interference from outside and without foreign formulas. We have advocated, then, respect for the right to one's own strategy of development and have opposed every attempt to deliver lectures on other trade union organizations and put labels on them. This position of ours remains unchanged, and we in fact expressed it in our speech at the congress. Since we have been consistently against every interference, it follows that we are also opposed to this one.

[Question] If as you say you attended only one-half of the first half of the congress, and you did not even receive drafts of the documents, what was the purpose of your participation and the participation of the other delegations at the congress?

[Answer] We and the other delegations attended the congress for just the time for which we were invited by the host, i.e., for 3 days. That was supposed to be the duration of the first part of the congress. The organization which invited us--Solidarity--says that its membership amounts to more than 9 million Polish workers. It is duly registered by the laws of its country as a legal trade union organization and is a partner with which the Polish government is trying to find a common language in resolving various problems. The premier greeted the congress and read a message from Rakowski, deputy chairman of the council of ministers. The Polish government back in June named Lech Walesa, president of Solidarity, as Poland's worker delegate in this year's meeting of the General Conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva. Incidentally, we should mention that delegations of the other two Polish trade union groups--the craft unions, which sent their delegation, and the independent unions, which sent a telegram of greetings, were invited to the congress.

The congress was attended by 26 delegations of trade unions of various ideological and political commitments and international affiliation. Along with the two world trade union federations with headquarters in Brussels and the International Labor Organization, there was also a delegation from the Japanese /Sohi/,

which is autonomous, i.e., is not a member of a world trade union federation, representatives of all three large Italian trade union federations, two of which are members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the third, the CGIL [General Confederation of Italian Labor], is autonomous, then the French CGT [General Confederation of Labor], which is a member of the World Trade Union Federation, with headquarters in Prague, the CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor], which is autonomous, and delegations of other trade unions from western Europe, Canada and Latin America.

It is understood that presence at the congress did not signify for any trade union organization, including ourselves, any sort of automatic agreement with a particular political or ideological orientation or with any specific decision. By our presence and statements at the congress we expressed our solidarity with all the socialist and other progressive forces of Poland on the road toward overcoming the difficulties that exist today in that country.

[Question] What actually happened with the invitations to the trade unions of the East European socialist countries?

[Answer] We don't know that any official announcement has been made on that. In contacts with certain officials of Solidarity we heard differing versions: one, that those trade unions had been invited by the mere fact that an invitation had been sent to the World Trade Union Federation; the other that an invitation had also been sent individually to all the trade unions of the socialist countries when the leadership of Solidarity realized, 2 days before the congress, that the delegation of the World Trade Union Federation would not come, and then again we were told that the trade unions of the socialist countries had not been invited on time because the position had supposedly been taken in the leadership of Solidarity that the trade unions of the East European countries were not independent and therefore should not be invited to the congress. It was also presented to us an argument that the trade unions of the socialist countries are constantly attacking Solidarity.

In our speech at the congress we emphasized our resoluteness to continue in future to combat political and ideological exclusivity and discrimination, since we are firmly convinced, and we have seen countless confirmations of this, that this gives rise to great damage to the international trade union movement and the interests of the working class.

[Question] What is your impression on the whole of the congress?

[Answer] You yourself have said that we attended a small part of the congress at which nothing exceptional took place. All the decisions which you have already mentioned were taken during the extension of the proceedings of the congress. At the same time defining the programmatic goals and setting forth the political platform on which Solidarity intends to develop its activity were left to the second part of the congress. The same applies to selection of the leadership. I think it would be immodest under such circumstances to make an evaluation or, as you put it, to give my "impression as a whole." Only when the congress completes its work, when all the significant facts are known about the

programmatic orientation, will it be possible to draw a conclusion as to how much the congress might have contributed to stabilizing the situation in Poland.

[Question] In Warsaw you also met with chairman (Sziszak) and other members of the Commission for Consensus of the Craft Unions. What is the position of the craft unions and what was the aim of your meeting?

[Answer] As is well known, after the events last August the Federation of Polish Trade Unions disintegrated and Solidarity gradually took shape. Some of the theretofore craft unions, which were also disintegrating, reorganized, removed their previous leaders and established mutual links through the Commission for Consensus. These trade unions do not have a regional and horizontal structure, but are preparing to set one up. At their invitation, which was delivered in Gdansk, we made a quite brief visit and exchanged information with one another, on which occasion we were especially interested in the situation of the Polish trade union movement and how the craft unions saw their role in these circumstances.

That visit of ours, like our presence at the Solidarity congress incidentally, was a logical consequence of our policy of cooperating as a matter of principle with all trade unions, and our attitude is one of due respect for all of them. I would recall, for example, that we are collaborating with four trade union federations of India, three in Japan, six in Sri Lanka, three in Italy, two in France, three in Spain, two in Belgium, three in Venezuela, and so on. Regardless of significant differences that exist among us because of political and ideological commitments, membership in international trade union federations, and attitudes toward the military and political blocs and their policy, we manage to find issues of common interest to the working class of all countries and the world as a whole, and on that basis we develop fruitful and useful cooperation. Experience has confirmed that only on that basis is it possible to develop cooperation in the international trade union movement.

[Question] What are the things which divide Solidarity from the craft unions?

[Answer] I would not be able to offer a complete answer to that question at this point. Both trade union groupings are in a phase of getting set up, of preparing and adopting bylaws and programmatic documents. In the absence of official documents, it would be difficult and risky to draw conclusions about the differences between them. We did hear certain overall remarks by Solidarity to the effect that the trade unions do not sufficiently "protect the interests of the workers," since they are excessively tied to the government's policy, while on the other hand the craft union said that the leadership of Solidarity excessively politicizes various problems and is too much concerned with political problems of the working class and too little with its real and concrete problems. However, it is up to them to formulate both their own views and also their differences and the ways of overcoming them in the interest of the working class and people of Poland.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1933

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1933

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Sample-Picking Device for Testing Contaminated Matter Described
(Kuncho Mariyanski; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 7, 1981) 1

Suggested Treatment of People Affected by Nerve Gas
(Petur Ganchev; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 8, 1981) 6

Training Methods of Local Civil Defense Officials
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 7, 1981) 9

Profiles of Local Civil Defense Leaders
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 8, 1981) 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Operations of Flight Simulator Training Described
(Wilfried Kopenhagen; AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Sep 81) 19

HUNGARY

Underutilization of Technical Intellectuals Charged
(Adam Juhasz; MAGYAR NEMZET, 27 Sep 81) 22

ROMANIA

New Appointments in Agriculture [Electric Power] Planning
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 22 Sep 81) 28

Briefs
Presidential Appointments 29
New Official in Calarasi 29
Amendment of Decree 29

YUGOSLAVIA

Chronic Shortcomings of Youth Federation Detailed
(Marko Lopusina; SVIJET, 24 Aug 81) 30

Editorialist Attacks Legacy of Orthodox Bishop Nikolaj
(Miroslav Stojanovic; POLITIKA, 5 Sep 81) 35

Zagreb Journalists Describe Scene in Kosovo
(START, 15, 29 Aug 81) 38

Marinkovic on Contradictions, by Gojko Marinkovic
Trnski With Security Forces, by Mladen Trnski

Briefs
Macedonian Language Teaching 48

BULGARIA

SAMPLE-PICKING DEVICE FOR TESTING CONTAMINATED MATTER DESCRIBED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 1981 pp 29-30

[Article by Col Kuncho Mariyanski: "The KVP-1 Sample-Taking Kit"]

[Text] Reconnaissance in the Civil Defense System is organized and carried out with a view to obtaining prompt data on the situation which develops as a result of the enemy's use of nuclear, chemical, biological or conventional weapons. Such data are needed in order to assess the circumstances within the shortest possible time so that decisions may be made on the protection of the population and rescue and emergency damage repair work can be carried out.

The implementation of these tasks is possible only if the reconnaissance authorities are properly trained and if the necessary technical means are available. That is why, starting with this year, all reconnaissance organs within the Civil Defense System will be issued a new technical means: a domestically-developed kit (KVP-1) for the testing of the soil, water, food and other projects in the external environment which may be contaminated with radioactive and toxic substances and bacteria. The instrument weights 6.4 kg and has the following dimensions: length, 312 ± 2 mm; width,132 ± 2 mm; height, 202.5 ± 2 mm.

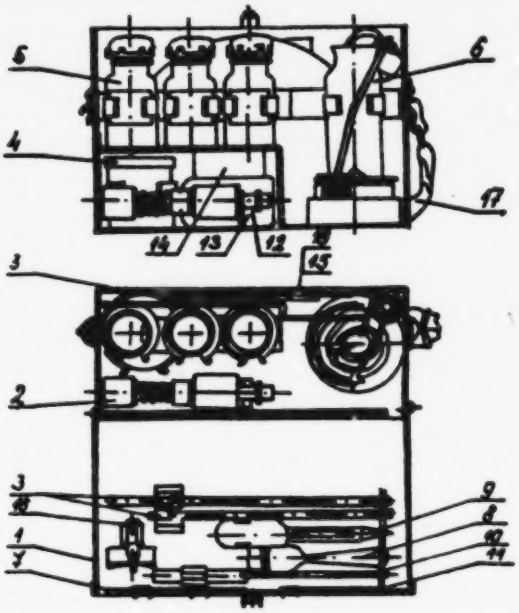
Figure 1 shows the structure of the kit and the way to operate it. It consists of a special set of instruments laid in a properly-designed metal box.

An important part of the kit is the soil sample taker (figure 2). It consists of three basic parts: digging mechanism (1), handle (2), and drill (3). The digging mechanism consists of a pusher (4), a cylindrical cup (5) and a spring (7).

In its working position the pusher (4) is raised. With a strike of the digging mechanism, the cylindrical cup (5) is filled with a sample. With a pressure on the sleeve (6) the sample is pushed into a jar (5) (fig 1). The spring (7) (fig 2) returns the pusher to its operating position. The soil sampler is cleaned by separating the digging mechanism (1) from the handle (2), removing the pin (8) and dismantling the mechanism.

A drill (3) is used if samples are taken from hard or frozen ground. The drill is screwed on the handle (2) and the soil is loosened by turning the handle. The sample is put into the jar with the shovel (8) (fig 1).

SAMPLE-TAKING KIT (KVP-1)



Фиг. 1

Figure 1

Key:
1. Box
2. Sample-taker
3. Bag
4. Cylindrical case
5. Jar
6. Water sample taker
7. Tweezers
8. Shovel
9. Drill
10. Knife
11. Scissors
12. Cup
13. Envelope with gauze and string
14. Envelopes for samples
15. Bag
16. Strap
17. Note paper

SOIL SAMPLE TAKER

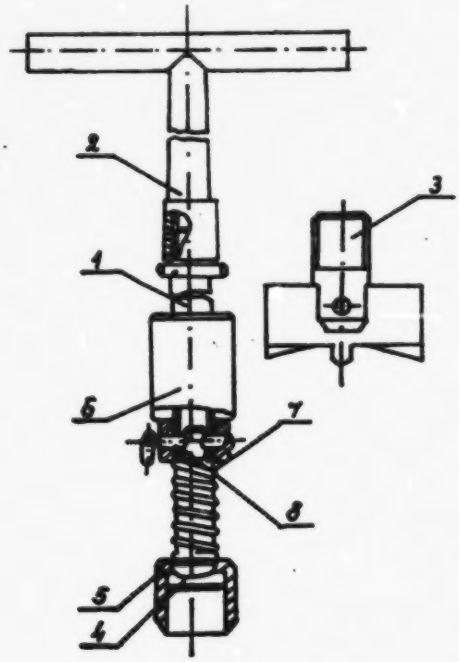


Figure 2

Key:
1. Digging mechanism
2. Handle
3. Drill
4. Pusher
5. Cylindrical cup
6. Sleeve
7. Spring
8. Pin

The bag (3) (fig 1) is for trapping insects. It consists of a small cheesecloth bag attached to a metal ring and two connecting handles attached to the bag.

The cylindrical case (4) (fig 1) is a plastic box with four glass flasks and a cross-piece handle. Its purpose is to take samples indicating biological contamination substances. Soil samples are taken mainly in areas where the contamination is most likely (in the vicinity of blast craters). To this effect, the flask with the little spoon is removed from the cylindrical box, the plug with the metal spoon is removed and 5-10 grams of soil are carefully taken from two to three different areas. They are put in the flask which is sealed tightly and sent to the specified laboratory where the sample will be studied and a conclusion will be made.

Samples from open surfaces (weapons, equipment, installations, ammunition and others) are taken by removing their grease. This is done with the flask containing a scraper. The cork with the scraper is removed and is covered by a piece of cotton, with which, if possible, surfaces showing traces of precipitated liquid or powdery substances are scratched. The tampon is then replaced in the flask, sealed tightly and sent to the laboratory.

In the case of small pools containing contaminated liquids, the quantity needed for the analysis is suctioned off with a pipette, placed in a flask which is tightly sealed and sent to the laboratory.

The drill (9) (fig 1) is a nail-shaped attachment which is used for taking samples of loose substances without tearing off the soft packaging. The sample is taken from the surface stratum lying directly under the burlap. To this effect the drill is inserted through the canvas, turned 360° and carefully pulled out. The handle is untwisted and the sample is poured into a jar. This way several separate samples may be taken from the same bag.

The water sampler (fig 3) consists of a metal body (1), closed on the top with a cork (2). At the bottom a disk (4) is attached to the gasket (3), thus stabilizing the water sampler.

A string (5) which comes out through the cork (2) is secured to the gasket. The water sampler is used for taking samples of water at all levels in a reservoir up to 30 meters deep. The disk of the water sampler is dropped into the water at the desired depth and the cork (2) and body (1) are held and subsequently dropped. The filled water sampler is pulled out and the sample is poured into a container (5) (fig 1). In taking a sample from the bottom of the water reservoir, the disk is dropped to the bottom and the body and cork are held. The precipitation of the bottom is muddied several times by lifting and dropping the disk, while the string is kept tight. The body and the cork are then dropped into the water, the water sampler is pulled out and the sample is poured into the jar (5).

The jar (5) (fig 1) is made of glass with a capacity for 150 ml. This is where the samples are kept. It is tightly sealed with a special top with a rubber gasket. There is a label on each jar on which the sample is identified.

The bag (15) (fig 1) is made of polyethylene. It is used to store dry vegetal samples and insects. After the sample has been put inside, the top is tightened with a string (13) (fig 1).

Water Sampler

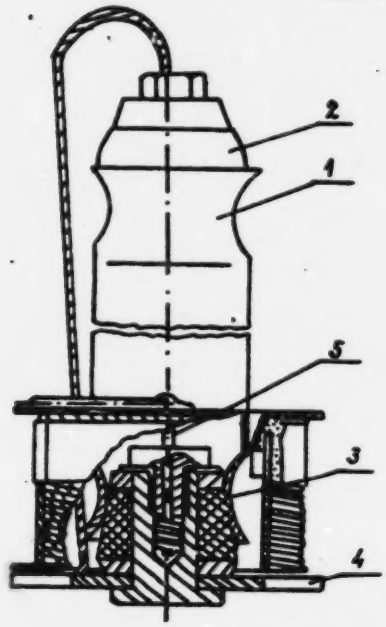


Figure 3

Key: 1-body; 2-cork; 3-gasket; 4-disk; 5-string

The tweezers (7) (fig 1) are used mainly for taking samples from the surface of equipment and machines, with the help of cotton wads prepared in advance with the cotton (12) and gauze (13) (fig 1) which are part of the set. Such wads are stored in one of the jars.

The knife (10) and the scissors (11) (fig 1) are for taking samples from vegetal and other materials.

A mandatory prerequisite in the use of the KVP-1 by reconnaissance personnel is to be familiar with and to observe strictly safety measures. Reconnaissance chemists must always check the condition of their individual protective facilities and immediately report damage or contamination; they must avoid unnecessary contact with contaminated objects; if contaminated with toxic substances or bacteria, protective measures must not be taken without permission; the external surfaces of the jars and bags containing the samples to be sent to the laboratory must be thoroughly treated with degassifying solutions.

In preparing the sample taking set, the availability of all the necessary attachments and instruments must be checked against the list.

After the samples have been taken, all instruments and attachments must be cleaned thoroughly, processed with a degassifying solution and slightly lubricated. The requirements governing the storing of the set in the warehouse must be studied thoroughly.

The supplying of reconnaissance organs within the Civil Defense System with yet another technical facility will greatly facilitate their work and will contribute to the better implementation of their assignments and to upgrading their readiness. For this reason, the moment they receive the sample taking kits, the Civil Defense staffs must organize the training of the reconnaissance formations so that this equipment may be properly used.

5003
CSO: 2200/139

SUGGESTED TREATMENT OF PEOPLE AFFECTED BY NERVE GAS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8,81 pp 16-17

[Article by Petur Ganchev: "Psychopharmacological Defense"]

[Text] All mass destruction means -- nuclear and biological weapons and combat toxic gases, including those with neuropsychic effect -- will be widely used in a modern war. This will call for surmounting a great variety of tremendous difficulties. The use of such weapons may create mass psychoses, panic, and so on, which will increase casualties. This problem will face the health authorities, the Civil Defense formations, the armed forces and the civilian population. The use of various psychopharmacological drugs may be of great assistance for its successful resolution.

Psychopharmacology is a relatively new development in psychiatry. In 1952, at a congress in Luxembourg, French psychiatrists (Dele) and Deniquer reported on results they had achieved in the treatment of psychoses with the help of a previously unknown neurolytic-neuroleptic method. Over the subsequent 30 years this new direction developed quite rapidly through the combined efforts of chemists, neurologists, psychiatrists, neurophysiologists, biochemists and others.

One of the most important tasks of psychopharmacology is the development of the kind of psychotropic preparations which cover a wide variety of treatment facilities with minimal side effects and complications. Thus modern psychopharmacotherapy helps the psychiatrist to intervene more actively in the treatment of mental diseases. Pharmacotherapy has created a favorable basis for the effective treatment of various neuroses and psychogenic reactions and for effective rehabilitation and resocialization.

However, despite their unquestionable healing effect, psychopharmacological drugs must be used with a great deal of caution. In particular, the widespread use of so-called psychostimulants creates the danger of drug addiction, which affects adversely man's state of health and work capacity.

Neuroleptic, antidepressant, tranquilizer, psychostimulant and psychodisleptic drugs may be used as psychotropic means.

A stay in areas with radioactive contamination, work in combat circumstances or in any kind of a critical situation, which may develop in the course of SNAVR [Rescue and emergency damage repair work], adversely affect the mental resistance of the

people. All of this, combined with great fatigue, frequently creates a feeling of fear, vegetative disfunctions, stress or intrusive impressions. Tranquilizers reduce the severity of or remove such disturbances of mental activities. Psychostimulants increase temporarily mental and physical alertness, eliminate fatigue and improve the mood. A typical feature of both types of drugs is that they do not cause sleepiness.

Depending on their chemical composition, tranquilizers may be classified into several groups, each one of which has its derivates which may be fast or slow acting and which may be used in different cases without being rejected by the healthy organism. Benzodiazepines are among the more frequently used tranquilizers because of their muscle relaxant, anticonvulsive and anxiolythic properties. The more important among them are the following:

Chlordiazepoxide: administered in cases of nonpsychotic excitement caused by action and fear, feeling of insecurity, severe intrusive emotions, etc. The daily dose ranges between 10 and 60 milligrams. The effect is felt 2 hours after administration. Side effects occur mainly when bigger doses have been administered, include dizziness, apathy, slowness, etc.;

Diazepam: neuroses, intrisuve feelings, psychopathies, etc. Daily dose, 10-30 milligrams. Side effects: same as those of chlordiazepoxide;

Chlobazepam: more effective than chlordiazepoxide and easier to take;

Methylpentinol: used in cases of fear, excitement and stress. Daily dose: 500-1,000 mg. Side effects appear only with doses in excess of 1,000 mg.: retching, sleepiness, dizziness;

Trioxazine: no depressant effect on spinal reflexes, lowers inner stress, restlessness and fear. Daily dose: 0.6-2/3 mg. Side effects: dryness in the mouth.

Psychostimulants are the second group of psychotonic drugs used by the Civil Defense system. They eliminate the feeling of fatigue and improve the mental and physical capacity to work. Essentially, however, they lack real antidepressant properties. Sleep disturbances and loss of appetite are their side effects.

The following effect of psychostimulants on healthy people has been noted: they stimulate intellectual activities, accelerate thinking and speech, create a feeling of euphoria but, occasionally also stress and worry. They make the user more active, temporarily eliminate fatigue, enhance alertness, but create sleeplessness and loss of appetite.

Psychostimulants do not actually increase man's work capacity. Essentially, they only restore the loss of working capacity reduced as a result of fatigue or depression. Their main counterindications are hypertonic disease, organic cardiovascular diseases and advanced aterosclerosis.

Psychostimulants include Pomolin, Propylhexedrine and Aponeuron. Administered in doses indicated by specialists they reduce fatigue, increase the ability to work and lower depressions.

These are some of the psychopharmacological drugs which can help to preserve mental resistance and increase work capacity in Civil Defense. Their effect is unquestionable, but we must never forget that they must be used sensibly. Abuse of one or another psychotropic drug may trigger opposite results and, sometimes, even more severe damages to the health. Their use by Civil Defense personnel must be properly organized in doses determined by the specialist and administered at the proper time preceding the SNAVR.

5003
CSO: 2200/139

TRAINING METHODS OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE OFFICIALS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 7, 81 pp 24-25

[Report: "Awarded for Services to GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Nikolay N. Bakurdzhiev is an employee at the Shumen Okrug People's Council. Together with the implementation of his immediate duties, he is one of the active members of the okrug GO staff. The experience, skills and habits he acquired in the ranks of the Bulgarian People's Army, in which he served as an officer, help him to this day to organize his work well and to find the best solutions in resolving Civil Defense problems.

Reserve Major Bakurdzhiev still gratefully remembers the useful time spent in the army. It was there that he developed valuable qualities such as discipline and self-discipline exigency and self-exigency, organization and feeling of responsibility. That is precisely why he is very well aware of the importance of civil defense training under present-day conditions, and that is why he works dedicatedly on his assignments.

Bakurdzhiev pays particular attention to ideological-education work, which precedes each training class. He is convinced that success in all things depends largely on the approach to the people and on the way the purpose and significance of the exercise will be explained to them. He remembers from his army service that a

commander who wants to be successful must be close to his subordinates and to those with whom he works. He has never forgotten this golden rule.

Nikolay Bakurdzhiev uses his time most productively. Before the class he concentrates his efforts on upgrading the feeling of responsibility in the students. The results of such activities are best seen in the good order and active participation of all the students in class work. Reporting the results of the socialist competition during the training also greatly contributes to the activeness of the people. Thus, in the course of a recent exercise, the students had to use all their strength, extensive knowledge of the subject, discipline and exceptional order. This required good preliminary preparations. When the formations entered the "striken area," troops and commanders acted impeccably, displaying friendship, mutual aid and a feeling of duty and responsibility. The people applied that which they had spent months mastering. Members of the senior staff gave a high rating not only to their practical skill but to their high spirit as well. This rating pleased every one, Nikolay Bakurdzhiev in particular, who had made a personal contribution to organizational and educational work. He is the proud bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB."

Twenty-two years ago Yordan Kolev accepted the party assignment of becoming director of the Pobeda Furniture Plant in Veliko Turnovo. At that time, the production plan was being fulfilled only by 50 percent. A radical change was needed in the planning and organization of the work and in the minds and attitude of the workers toward the production process. The condition of GO at the plant was also poor. Even attendance to classes was difficult to achieve. Shortly after assuming his new position, with his typical thoroughness the director studied the plant's preparedness for defense and indicated to the staff the main ways for surmounting the lagging.

Despite his heavy work load, the director shows a most responsible attitude as head of GO at the project. He is aware of the importance of setting a good example and heads much of the training personally. He checks on the attendance and the quality of the training given by service commanders or heads of formations. He personally talks to discipline violators and tries to make them understand the harmfulness of their actions.

Yordan Kolev strongly emphasizes the need for extensive practical training of the formations. He prepares himself for each exercise in order to be able to lead the activities of the staff and the services organizedly. Unquestionably, this encourages the remaining staff personnel to be properly prepared. The steady interest shown in the implementation of planned measures has a very positive influence on the training process. He personally instructs heads of classes and demands of them reports on class work he has been unable to attend.

On the plant director's initiative, GO material facilities have been steadily improving. A GO defense system and class room have been built. The quality of explanatory work on the responsible nature of the obligations facing every citizen for defending the homeland has been improved considerably.

As a result of all of these efforts, for the past few years the Pobeda Plant has maintained a leading position in GO in Veliko Turnovo Obshtina and is leading within the system of the Mebel DSO in production affairs. The contribution which plant director Yordan Kolev has made to these successes is unquestionable. This has been acknowledged with the high awards bestowed upon him: The gold People's Order of Labor and the honor badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," second class.

Boris Petkov Borchev is a Patriotic War veteran. During the war he was awarded Soviet and Bulgarian medals. After the war he worked with dedication for the establishment of the people's regime. He was the founder of the TKZS in Dobrusha, his native village, and became its chairman as well as party secretary and instructor at the okrug BCP committee. Such was the career of the current GO chief of staff at the V. Pik State Cement Plant in Beli Izvor Village, Vratsa Okrug, until 20 years ago.

In addition to the general neglect of GO problems, which was characteristic at that time, the situation at the combine was complicated by the fact that workers and employees commuted to work from several villages, by train, by bus or even on foot. The training process was conducted formally and was not successful. Happily, this period is long past. We are mentioning it in order to show the difficulties which had to be surmounted before the combine could emerge in one of the leading positions in the GO system in Vratsa Okrug.

Today, the formations are fully staffed. Engineers, technicians and economists head services and formations and instruct mandatory training groups skillfully and according to plan. The training facilities are being steadily improved. The GO premise has been equipped with everything necessary and is kept in top order. The plant's party committee and management agree with the suggestions made by the chief of staff. One of them is the now traditional most solemn inauguration of the new school year. This has a positive effect on the attitude of workers and employees toward civil defense. The Stage Council Civil Defense Ukase and the regulation on its application help the combine's chief of staff in his efforts to improve the planning, organization and accountability of the training process. Exercises with formations and mandatory training groups are conducted on a half-day and full-day basis. This great achievement helps to improve the quality and effectiveness of the entire training process.

Boris Borchev says with satisfaction that such good results are due to the steady help he gets from the plant's party committee and trade union committee. In his view, one of the important reasons for the good successes is the proper organization and promotion of the socialist competition. Naturally, the latter must be consistent with specific conditions and the possibilities and achievements of the collective. Thanks to the competitive method, which is systematically applied in production and training activities, organization, discipline and effectiveness in economic activities and defense preparedness have improved.

The GO chief of staff at the V. Pik State Cement Combine has acquired a solid reputation as a result of his ability to work with people, his trust in them and his ability to concentrate on the main projects and to undertake their implementation. He has made a personal contribution to raising the level of GO at the combine to the level of contemporary requirements. His industriousness, honesty and conscientious attitude to the work have been greatly appreciated. The awards given to him include two badges "For Services to the GO na NRB," which he wears proudly.

Tsvetko Gr. Andreev, an employee at the Vratsa Okrug Communications Administration, welcomed properly the 30th anniversary of the founding of GO. For the past 15 years he has worked with dedication for ensuring the defense system of the Vratsa conurbation system in a critical situation. During that time, whatever job he may have held, he made it a rule to ensure permanent and reliable communications and to

work steadily for their improvement by applying new developments, whose appearance he follows closely.

Tsvetko Andreev has been familiar with order and discipline since childhood. This feeling developed even further at the Telegraph-Postal Institute from which he graduated successfully. He worked as communications technician, maintaining the okrug's communications cables and wireless services. This difficult and responsible work gave him experience, and it was precisely this experience, complete knowledge of communications conditions and of the people's work qualities that led to his appointment as head of this responsible sector.

To people like Andreev new developments and the complexity of assignments in the area of communications equipment are no obstacle. He achieved his first successes as head of a GO formation, which became one of the best.

Bay Tsvetko, as he is familiarly known to friends and acquaintances, works well with people, helped by his gay character. When the head of the Order and Security team undertook stubbornly to prove that his service was the most important within the GO system, Andreev wittily remarked that "This is true, but it seems to me that Order and Security teams cannot do without the Communications and Announcements Service."

The work which Tsvetko Andreev and his subordinates do requires strict discipline and skillful handling of the equipment. With the help of the okrug GO staff, within a short time he met these strict requirements. Today he and his subordinates consider maintaining strict discipline, fulfilling announcement norms, steady maintenance of communications facilities in a state of fitness and readiness to repair possible breakdowns a matter of honor and dignity. This was proved to the population of the Vratsa conurbation system during the severe blizzards and icing in the winter of 1980, which cause substantial damages to the okrug's communications network. Within the shortest possible time the damages were repaired and communications were restored despite stormy winds and very low temperatures.

One can see in Tsvetko Andreev's office many awards presented by senior GO staffs for achieved successes. One of them is the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," which was awarded to him for his great contribution to these successes. However, when he mentions the awards, he does not omit to point out that they constitute a both a token of recognition and an obligation.

5003
CSO: 2200/139

PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 8, 81 pp 26-27

[Report: "Awarded for Services to GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Over the past 18 years Ivan Nenov Doychev has been Civil Defense chief at the Oborishte Plant in Panagyurishte. Talking to him, it would be difficult to establish what he has been and what he is now. He may start talking about himself, but suddenly moves on to others, to the people with whom he works, and one realizes that he is one of the hundreds of modest Civil Defense workers who give credit for all their successes to those with whom they work.

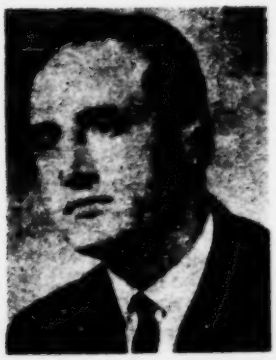
However, it turns out that his biography is rich in events. He was born in Poibrene Village and served in the border troops. For 10 years he worked in forestry, planting trees in the basin of the Topolnitsa Dam. Later he worked as book keeper and accountant at the Persiyski Kilimi State Enterprise. Then he was appointed instructor at the former Panagyurishte Okoliya Komsomol Committee, after which he became instructor in agricultural problems of the city BCP committee and, for a period of about 3 years, secretary of the city Komsomol committee.

The organizational and political experience he acquired made it easy for him to assume the obligations of chief of staff of a project, a position he took at the Oborishte Plant in 1963. He likes the job, which he performs with a feeling of high

responsibility. His first concern was to establish all the required formations and staff the existing ones. Bearing in mind that the people gain the necessary knowledge and ability to act in critical situations through exercises and training classes, he focused his attention on the organization of a high-quality training process.

All the formations took part in the comprehensive exercise, which was held some time ago on the plant's territory. The participants displayed high conscientiousness and ability to operate in a striken area. The chief of staff gives great credit for the high rating of the exercise to the properly organized training process and the high conscientiousness of the participants. He finds it difficult to name specific individuals. However, he lists among those who particularly distinguished themselves Lilyana Butovska, chief of the Radiation and Chemical Defense Service, Yovka Nemichencheva, deputy chief of staff, Asen Ivanov, assistant chief of staff in charge of combat training, and the formations headed by comrades Filip Uzunov, Radka Khasanova and Stanka Dokuzanova.

Naturally, Ivan Doychev deserves great credit for all of these Civil Defense successes. This can be seen by the respect shown to him by plant workers and employees and the management. It has been manifested in the numerous awards, one of which is the badge "For Merits to the GO na NRB."



As senior laboratory technician and section physician, Dr Kiril Elenkov Kirkov headed the training of sanitary posts and units. It was in this position that he gained his first experience in Civil Defense, an experience he enriched in the course of his responsible position as head of the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug medical service. This experience revealed to him the major importance of practical training in ensuring the successful operations of medical support detachments. He makes skillful use of the opportunities presented by GO exercises. Periodically, on his initiative, the readiness of the detachments for action under complex conditions is checked through unexpected sounding off of the alarm and in the course of the personnel's participation in rescue operations during natural disasters.

Dr Kirkov personally supervises the training of the medical support detachments. During comprehensive project and obshtina training, service specialists check personally results achieved in the course of the training process. According to Dr

Kirkov, the main thing is for the personnel in detachments and medical units to be perfectly familiar with their functions and perform them strictly. That is why he requires that the tasks of the various medical subunits be explained most precisely and that practical training be based on their specific features.

In recent years the service leadership has paid particular attention to the qualitative structure of the medical formations. Since the medical support units are short of higher medical personnel, persistent work is being done on interchangeability. To this effect, all physicians and method workers are retrained at the Central School of the Bulgarian Red Cross on the basis of a special plan. The good coordinated work with the leadership of the okrug's GO staff is a guarantee for the successes achieved by the service headed by Dr Kirkov. The chief of staff is member of the bureau of the okrug Bulgarian Red Cross committee and is in charge of the training of medical and sanitary formations operating in striken areas. The okrug Bulgarian Red Cross committee bureau takes the necessary measures for the elimination of training weaknesses on the basis of his reports. To this purpose use is made of the opportunities offered by obshtina, rayon and okrug reviews and competitions among sanitary units. Furthermore, the personnel of the medical formations actively participate in preventive measures, mass immunizations, blood donor campaigns and rescue operations in natural disasters and major industrial accidents. For example, during the earth slides in Orsoya a medical center was set up. It performed a great deal of useful work under difficult circumstances. The rescue operations were given medical support and the victims were given warm food and shelter. To this day, many okrug enterprises and establishments have sanitary posts and sanitation personnel at road barriers are ready to give first aid.

Dr Kiril Kirkov, chief of the Mikhaylovgrad Okrug medical service, deserves great credit for the great successes achieved by the medical support detachments, sanitary units, antiepidemiological detachments and sanitary posts in the okrug. His dedicated efforts have been rewarded with moral and material awards.

Banko Mitev Vasilev is known among the workers and employees of the 9 Septemvri Factory in Byala Slatina for his dedicated work on improving Civil Defense training at the factory. He deserves credit for the fact that, as chief of staff, he has contributed to the consideration of Civil Defense work here as a responsible and highly patriotic project and to the enviable reputation enjoyed by the GO service at the factory.

His initial encounter with the factory director in 1965 led to his initial disappointment. The director at that time considered GO training and various related measures a waste of time and an additional obstacle to production work. However, Vasilev did not despair. Day after day, he persistently explained to the workers the need to be trained for defense. He was encouraged by the fact that the new GO head at the factory, Khristo Evtimov, showed great interest in GO training, the condition of the property and training facilities and the staffing of the formations, from the moment he assumed his duties.

To this day Banko Vasilev remembers an occasion which turned into a test of the level of GO training at the factory. He was scheduled to teach a class with one of the crews. Only a few hours before the class was scheduled to start, he was called to participate in another project. Members of the superior staff had come to supervise, and it was decided not to postpone the class. The class was taught by Ivan Marinov, head of the Accident-Rescue Service, and was given a deservedly high rating. That is why Vasilev has continued to emphasize the need for comprehensive -- theoretical, practical and special -- training of heads of services and crew commanders.

Another major line of work of the chief of staff is the differentiated training of the formations. Since there is danger of fire at the enterprise, he demands of the fire fighting section to be able to put out fires caused for a variety of reasons by its own efforts and through excellent interaction. So far, they have been able to cope with fires, regardless of their cause.

Interest in GO problems is manifested in a number of ways, but is particularly apparent in the high percentage of training attendance. Vasilev chooses specialists to give lectures, people who can share topical and purposeful knowledge based on the stricter training requirements. The building of training grounds, similar to those at the Tundzha Plant in Yambol, is forthcoming. Vasilev visited the plant personally to study the successes achieved by his colleagues in training for operations under complex circumstances. For a number of years the factory has held a leading position in okrug GO competitions and reviews and particularly in practical training. For all of this, Banko Vasilev, GO chief of staff, has been awarded the badge "For Merits to the GO na NRB" in addition to many other awards.

Yordan Nikolov Khristov, former officer in the Bulgarian army, who had taken off his uniform only a few months previously, assumed his duties as chief of staff of GO at the DAP [State Automotive Enterprise] in Silistra with interest and readiness. His army training had taught him how to deal with the difficulties of life. The first days in his new position were hard. That was almost 12 years ago and reserve Captain Yordan Khristov, now gray-haired, frequently remembers them.

During this time a great deal was accomplished for upgrading the readiness of the automotive combine. Many enterprise chiefs of staff vould be envious of the well equipped premise, the excellent control center and model record keeping not only at the combine itself but at its branches as well.

Taking the characteristics of the project into consideration is an important aspect of the chief of staff's activities. Bearing in mind the fact that many of the personnel are on the road during training classes and exercises, he plans and

carries out such assignments in two shifts. This creates conditions for the greater involvement of the personnel in the training process. He is well familiar with the nature of the drivers' work, their load, stress and use of nervous energy. That is why he tries to introduce new aspects in the work which will enliven the interest of the trainees.

The combine's management highly values the work of the GO chief of staff. He is the recipient of many awards for high conscientiousness and persistence in such a difficult but highly patriotic and noble activity. He is the bearer of the second and third class badge "For Merits to the GO na NRB."

This year as well, a year saturated with noteworthy dates and events, such as the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state, the 12th party congress and the 90th anniversary of the founding of the BCP, Yordan Khristov is once again among the champions. The slogan under which the personnel are working is "Steady implementation of labor norms, greater fuel savings and greater Civil Defense successes. This slogan is yielding good results, for the excellent workers at the automotive enterprise are those who are the best at their job, have achieved the greatest savings and are most active in GO training.

5003
CSO: 2200/139

OPERATIONS OF FLIGHT SIMULATOR TRAINING DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, Sep 81 signed to press 3 Jul 81 pp 64-69

[Article by Lt Col Wilfried Kopenhagen: "With 700 Things Through the Hall"]

[Text] Just as he finishes calculating the last flight and navigational factors and entering the necessary data on the map in the preparation room, officer candidate Goettlich is summoned over the loudspeaker to proceed to the plane. Over his leather head-cap he slaps on the red helmet with the darkly tinted visor, grabs his oxygen mask, gloves, knee guards, and flight map, and sets off. After climbing into the cockpit, he fastens the straps which connect him to the parachute and ejection seat, and checks on the oxygen supply. Each switch setting in the cockpit is inspected. This proceeds rapidly and thoroughly, but not hastily. One notes: Here is each lever and maneuver--and by now even the dividing of one's attention has been practiced repeatedly by the officer candidate, has become second nature already, as the saying goes. His hand reaches upwards for the cockpit canopy and pulls it down, making the safety catch engage with a metallic click. A squeeze with the left hand on the power lever (as the airplane pilot calls the hand throttle) brings radio contact with the control station. Following permission given from there to start up, the engine is warmed up and there is a trial running and checking out of all systems and flying controls for the flight. The engine monitoring instruments indicate the prescribed values, and an inspection of the navigational equipment confirms that it is functioning correctly.

Thereupon the officer candidate taxies his plane to the takeoff area, positions himself at the starting line, and receives his takeoff clearance over the radio. Again the eyes of the young pilot trainee check the indicating instruments. With the press of a button he starts the aircraft's clock; he will be able to read off on it at all times the flying time already elapsed. Only then does he release the brakes. There is an increase in the noise of the engine, now running at the maximum number of rpms, and at the same time a powerful vibrating signals to the young man in the cockpit that his aircraft is going faster and faster along the runway. The airplane lifts its nose. Now the pilot trainee eases up somewhat on the control stick, which has been held at almost the rearmost setting, so that the plane does not lift off at too small a velocity. The rattling noises of the takeoff cease. A glance out of the cockpit confirms: The aircraft has lifted off from the runway. Landing gear and landing flaps--

at takeoff, these serve as lifting aids--are drawn up. The light panels are inspected. The air-traffic controller is reported to. Officer candidate Goettlich puts his plane into a climb. By way of the radio he has it confirmed that he may approach the starting point of his run in order to carry out his flight mission and thereupon land at his home base. As calculated, he corrects his course so as to avoid being driven away from his commanded flight path by a cross-wind, and after reaching the instructed altitude he flies toward the first way point. By now, his flying speed has reached 700 km/hour.

Let us leave the officer candidate and future fighter pilot peacefully continuing on with his run--during which, by the way, he was observed the whole time by the photojournalist. Even at the landing. Because everything took place in a training building at the officers' advanced school of the air force/air defense--in the flight simulator TL-39. Here, the "counterpart station" for the radio communications is made up of an instructor in a side room. This is an officer who himself has many years of flying experience. With the help of monitoring and indicating instruments, he can determine at any moment whether the pilot trainee is carefully keeping to all required parameters, whether he is working correctly with the ground navigational equipment (for example with direction finders and radio beacons on the ground, so as to be able to keep closely to the stipulated course, to determine at any time his location on the flight path, or to approach the airfield correctly), whether his radio communication procedure is in line with the aircraft radio rules, and quite generally whether he is observing the air traffic code. Moreover, it is especially important that the instructor is able to feed in numerous technical breakdowns and hazardous conditions, of which the pilot trainee does not know anything as yet before the takeoff and to which he must react as in a real situation.

To mention only a few examples: Because of rain or snow, the weather can become so bad at his own airfield that he must fly to an alternative airfield having better weather conditions. Radio contact may fail. Fire may break out in the engine, and the engine can stall. With these and other hazardous conditions which he can initiate, the instructor is able to coach the pilot trainee without risk in lightning-fast recognition and assessment of a critical situation, as well as in how to react to it.

After the landing, the instructor analyzes each phase of the flight very thoroughly with the officer candidate. For this, he has available two flight-path recorders, on which the entire flight path of the young pilot is drawn in. By means of these, the seasoned flight instructor can point to mistakes in the trainee's dividing of his attention in watching the instruments. Because with the multitude of indicating instruments in the cockpit, it is especially important for the pilot to constantly check these in a precisely stipulated sequence. Together, the two men search for causes of shakiness in mastering courses of action in special cases. But Lieutenant Colonel Oswald Winkler also cautions the trainee about the consequences of unsteady, jerky handling of the controls in taking off and landing. The officer candidate follows his advice attentively. He will strive to heed it in the future.

In the flight simulator, every knob, every switch setting, and every movement, including the already-mentioned division of the attention, can be practiced on

until everything is mastered with certainty. Moreover, what was doggedly and patiently prepared for in the other branches of on-ground training is continued and consolidated. Thus the simulator represents a quite economical and safe opportunity to become acquainted with and to repeatedly practice all the actions to be done in the aircraft cockpit before the combat flight training proper begins. Thus, when the young pilot trainee climbs into the "Albatros" jet trainer L-39 for the first time, by then he is familiar with every indicator and every lever, with every switch setting and even every noise: With electronically controlled and hydraulically operated systems of the full-flight simulator TL-39, developed and built in the CSSR, it is possible to simulate practically every flight movement, from the takeoff to the landing.

Thus, in this airplane cockpit--which corresponds completely to that of the jet trainer--one senses all the noises and vibrations which are typical in the real takeoff, flight, and landing. Its taxiing, climbing, accelerating, gliding, and braking have a completely natural effect on the pilot trainee, because the cockpit moves up and down, swings to the side, and allows rolling motions about the longitudinal axis. In addition, on a projecting screen the trainee sees the airfield, the grounds surrounding it, villages with streets, rivers, as well as prominent orientation points within his flying range, not to mention clouds and the horizon.

With this, opportunities are offered for repeating all typical courses of action, on the ground and practically at any time of the day or night, regardless of the weather, and at a relatively low cost, until these courses of action are mastered faultlessly, and these opportunities are being used at the officer's advanced school "Franz Mehring" in such a way that the officer candidates are "flying" already in the hall before their training in the L-39. Moreover they use the TL-39 even during the practical flight training. After all, here the grades of difficulty of separate phases of flying can be increased and the various courses of action can be further imprinted, thus providing good prerequisites for comprehending and coping in fractions of a second with hazardous conditions in the air, by way of a thorough training on the ground.

It remains to be mentioned that on the special ejector-training device NKTL-29/39 it is possible to practice escaping from the aircraft by means of the ejection seat in emergency situations.

By the way: By no means is the flight simulator to be encountered only in flying schools. On the contrary, today even with the field units its absence is inconceivable. Thus, among the MiG-21 fighter pilots there are simulators of the appropriate type which are serving to maintain and consolidate their level of training, to prepare new fundamentals and then run through them on the ground, in order to conduct certain checks and inspections. Also it is possible for aviation physicians to carry out certain examinations on aircraft pilots within the simulator. Moreover, the flight simulator is a suitable method for preparing pilots to fly again after a relatively long time away from flying.

12114
CSO: 2300/16

UNDERUTILIZATION OF TECHNICAL INTELLECTUALS CHARGED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 27 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Dr Adam Juhasz, state secretary of the Ministry of Heavy Industry: "The Technical Intelligentsia Today"]

[Text] At some of the technical universities the number of applicants for admission fell short of the planned enrollment. In many of us this produced the same effect as the ringing of an alarm bell. And even at these schools, just as at most technical universities and colleges, the minimum score for admission had to be reduced considerably in comparison with its previous level. And here we must already speak of counterselection. Since this process, begun years ago and intensifying, is encountered primarily in technical higher education, it indicates that our society is beginning to underrate the technical professions, specifically at a time when a conutry's ability to generate national income is determined increasingly by the level of intellectual perferomances, and within them particularly of the technical performances. This level determines the country's place and rank in the intensifying worldwide economic competition, from which no country can pull out amidst the present and future levels of international division of labor and international interdependence. The score in this competition at any given time is reflected the most accurately in the development of the terms of trade, in the level of national income, and in economic equilibrium. Much is being said today about the fact that we are not in the lead, and that our performances cannot guarantee even the maintenance of our present position.

Training and Employment

How we place in the team competition for so-called innovation and marketing opportunities will determine our present and futere living standard, the quality of our life, and thereby the well-being of our people. It should be emphasized that the entrants in this competition are entire countries, communities of countries, and even societies. To retain our comparison: The country's every resident of work age is on the team, but the technical intellectuals are the team's forwards. For it is indisputable that at every level the technical and agricultural intellectuals play a key role, but by no means

the only role, in the international performance competition whose main elements are the indicators of efficiency: the modernness and quality of the products and of production; organization of the cooperational, supply and production processes; the art of marketing; research and development, the capacity to innovate; and the quality of management. Which of course is not so much a question of rank, rather of responsibility. The fact that we have relatively little to boast about in the listed fields is due in large part to the technical intellectuals. In industry, for example, the proportion of engineers within enterprise management is more than 60 percent, while the proportion of economists is only about 20 percent. Although this ratio cannot be regarded as sound, it is nevertheless a fact of life. This is why we have to sound the alarm bells when we encounter various signs of counterselection and see that society is underrating the technical professions, causing dissatisfaction among the technical intellectuals.

What is the cause of this spontaneous underrating? It should be emphasized that this process is spontaneous, because the efforts and intentions of the political and economic management have always been, and will remain, the opposite. Many people are of the opinion that the cause is overproduction, the training of too many technical intellectuals. This is foolish, because knowledge--particularly useful and modern professional knowledge--can never be superfluous. There can never be too many "educated brains." It is a different matter that training is expensive, but its cost is recovered if knowledge is used skillfully. The gradual increase of the proportion of technical intellectuals within total employment at enterprises is a worldwide phenomenon and should be welcome also in our country, because the share of intellectual effort within the creation of value is constantly rising. Even today the demand for graduate engineers is several times the number of such graduates, which also proves that there is no overproduction of technical intellectuals. This is in contrast with other areas of higher education where applicants for admission exceed the number that can be enrolled, yet occasionally the placement of graduates causes problems. This peculiar situation likewise indicates that there is a social demand, mostly an enterprise demand, for technical intellectuals. Partially because young technical intellectuals at the start of their career are, regrettably, becoming the lowest-paid manpower. Obviously this, too, ties in with the frequent situation, mostly at enterprises, that beginner technical intellectuals are not assigned work commensurate with their training and are not given room to demonstrate their creativeness. Too many engineers are assigned to administrative and dispatching tasks, and too few are assigned to development, organization and management. The problem is not the oversupply of technical intellectuals, rather their underemployment. Let us analyze the causes of this problem.

There is underemployment if we do not need and utilize the abilities, capacity and the willingness to work of an individual, and particularly of a social stratum's significant proportion. This is one of the most dangerous social phenomena.

The performances of individuals and groups are always geared to the general and specific requirements placed on them. We cannot expect outstanding

performances if the immediate or wider environment does not demand innovative creativeness, is indifferent toward it, or even resents it because of the problems it creates; if the performance standards are low; if the task can be performed even at half steam. Yet individuals and collectives are capable of almost incredible performances, if to the requirements we provide also the necessary conditions and grant recognition of the performances. The result, the performance, makes the work enjoyable. Therefore most technical intellectuals demand that real creative work, with performances equal to those of their fellow competitors, be required of them at their workplace, and that they receive suitable remuneration if they succeed. Hungary's technical intellectuals are capable of even more than their present performance. Best proof of this are the world-famous industrial and scientific achievements associated with the great names in our industrial history who represented the world level in their time. I am convinced that Hungary's technical intellectuals and scientists are capable of such achievements also today, because they are equal to their world-famous predecessors in terms of ability, training and creative urge. Provided society and their immediate workplace demand this of them, and give them the necessary assistance. This intellectual asset is a productive force of the highest order, but we are not utilizing it adequately. Many potential artists are assigned merely to carving chair legs. [Michelangelo in the phalanstery scene of Imre Madach's "Tragedy of Man.] This, I think, is a serious omission of society, and of the enterprises in particular, an omission that will be difficult to remedy. Of course, unrealistically high standards likewise do not provide any stimulation. But we can avoid this mistake if, in the formulation of the requirements, we start out from the level achieved by others, e.g. by fellow competitors. That level is certainly not unrealistic and not unattainable. We must provide the opportunity and joy of creative work to every qualified technical intellectual. We are bound to do so by our social system, policy, and immediate interests of our people. Creative work, technical creative work in particular, is the guarantee of our future!

Distorted Ratios

The problem of underemployment comes into sharp focus particularly in the case of creative workers, among whom we must include also the technical intellectuals. They must regard creative work as their profession and vocation; it must be their duty at their workplace to constantly compare their activity with the world level, with the activity of the best technical intellectuals; it is their obligation to ensure that production and output are competitive worldwide, in terms of efficiency, quality, and flexible adjustment to market demand; and the level of their work predetermines whether the efforts of hundreds and thousands of blue-collar workers and administrative employees will be fruitful or doomed to fail. On the technical intellectuals depend the level of design and technology, and the efficiency of production. Admittedly, their work can be ruined. A blue-collar worker can ruin one or a few well-designed parts and perhaps machines, provided the technical intellectuals let him do so. But only the designer and production engineer can ruin all the parts or machines. A blue-collar worker can loaf

away an hour of his working time and create confusion around his machine (if management tolerates this). But productivity, quality, capital utilization and the general level of organization depend on the good or bad work of the technical managers at the workplace or plant. In comparison with the other participants in production-development activity, then, the technical intellectuals bear a greater share of responsibility for the performance of our large plants, and thereby for the performance of our entire economy. From this fact many people draw the naive conclusion that the technical intellectuals in general should be given a substantial pay increase, commensurate with their greater responsibility, and then everything will be in order. But this is faulty logic, similar to the proposition that would want to increase the blue-collar workers' wages commensurately with the value or performance of the machines that they operate. But let as proceed further: Is there any guarantee that performances would automatically increase in every case if we were to give the technical intellectuals a general wage increase (which of course we would be unable to do at this time)?

Social phenomena usually have many interrelated causes. I think that here, too, it would be a mistake to seek the Archimedean fixed point, even though there actually are serious problems in conjunction with the remuneration of technical intellectuals. It is an idisputable fact that--in contrast with the world trends--the wage and particularly the income ratios of the technical intellectuals have shifted to their disadvantage, in comparison with the blue-collar workers, a few other intellectual strata, and particularly the self-employed. We must take note of these shifts and remedy them. In 1965, for example, the average earnings of technical intellectuals were still 150 percent of the average earnings for total employment in industry. This ratio dropped to 140 percent in 1975, and by 1979 it already dropped to 132 percent. Basically the enterprises account for this declining trend. It reflects neither the growing role and responsibility of the technical intellectuals, nor the policy efforts to provide greater recognition for creative work. The problems of remuneration are especially pronounced in the case of young technical intellectuals at the start of their careers, and of increasingly more other technical categories as well.

This phenomenon is another manifestation of the technical intellectuals' gradual underrating by society, and within it--surprisingly--by the plant collectives and the managers who set wages. It is an important task of both the central organs and the enterprise managements to uncover and eliminate the causes of this underrating. The "educated technical brains" are utilized basically in industry, including industrial sales, marketing and development. In order to grant recognition for actual performances in industry, it is high time to revise the job classification schedules that have become obsolete in terms of both their content and approach, and to introduce differentiated wages based on performance. We must change the highly mistaken practice under which the creative workers' income from their participation in the work of the competing team mentioned earlier depends not on their performance, but on their seniority or job classification. This practice compels the most gifted technical intellectuals to seek better-paid jobs in

administration and management, jobs that do not satisfy their creative urge. With this I would not want to underrate in any way the decisive role of plant managers, because plant management is one of the most important and most difficult assignments for technical intellectuals, requiring special skills and managerial ability. However, managers are not the only ones who can perform outstanding work. Subordinate development engineers also can do such work, and every technical intellectual must promote development!

Society' Value Judgment

The declining wage and income ratios of technical intellectuals are merely manifestations of more profound social phenomena that have numerous interrelated causes. The income ratios express society's value judgment of the technical intellectuals' performance. The not too high value judgment reflects the technical intellectuals' low performance, and this in its turn is linked to the low requirements that we set for the technical intellectuals' performance. Those who formulate these requirements are themselves technical intellectuals, but they formulate society's requirements, exaction, or its lack. Regrettably, low requirements regarding the technical intellectuals' performance are increasingly becoming a social phenomenon from which even the technical intellectuals are unable (many of them perhaps also unwilling) to extricate themselves.

Society unquestionably owes the technical intellectuals more prestige and recognition. But this works both bays, because also the technical intellectuals owe society more, and their debt is the most evident in the persisting lag of their performances in comparison with the performance level of those in the lead.

I am convinced that work, and within this the technical intellectuals' work, must be "better" appreciated not in general, rather specifically in proportion with the actual performances, on the basis of bold differentiation. We are able to differentiate sensibly only if we can also measure the performances. This is the most difficult in the case of creative work, but it is not impossible. Here again it will be of help if we measure performances not in terms of the invested effort but of the produced result, comparing it not with our own past results but with the results of our fellow competitors, with the world level. Such constant comparison must become a natural part of managerial work and of technical work in general, at the level of the national economy as well as at the enterprise and workplace levels. Technical intellectuals must learn to regard such comparisons as necessary and natural, already in their university years. The best performances must be the standard everywhere and in every case, regardless of whether export or "merely" domestic goods and services are involved. For also the domestic performances will be judged by the foreign market, only indirectly. The standards for the domestic market cannot differ from those for the foreign market. This of course presupposes a detailed and up-to-date knowledge of world developments in the given field. Effort to gain such knowledge and its practical utilization must an inseparable part of technical

performance, at every level. Recognition and remuneration should be based not on the burden of responsibilities, rather primarily on their fulfillment, on the level of the creative performance. In this respect there are very substantial differences also among technical intellectuals. These differences are much greater than what the wage differentials indicate, if they reflect these differences at all, and not merely the job classifications. Regarding the problem in this light, we must grant more recognition not to technical intellectuals in general, but specifically to those technical intellectuals who perform their work creatively, on a high level, and successfully. But these technical intellectuals must be given more recognition boldly, without any reservations.

1014
CSO: 2500/12

NEW APPOINTMENTS IN AGRICULTURE [ELECTRIC POWER] PLANNING

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 22 Sep 81 p 2

[Presidential Decree on Appointments to and Removals From Positions]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--Comrade Nela Ionescu is relieved of her position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 2--Comrade Vasil Bumbacea is appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 3--Comrade Constantin Iftode is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 4--Comrade Ion Ceausescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry and appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 5--Comrade Constantin Caloianu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the State Planning Committee and appointed deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Article 6--Comrade Gheorghe Nicolescu is appointed state secretary in the State Planning Committee.

Article 7--Comrade Marin Constantin is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry.

Article 8--Comrade Emilian Mihailescu is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry.

Article 9--Comrade Constantin Istrate is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry.

Article 10--Comrade Gheorghe Mihail Fierbinteanu is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry.

Article 11--Comrade Costea Nicolae is appointed deputy minister of electric power.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 21 September 1981
No 222

CSO: 2700/28

BRIEFS

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe-Iustin Dimitriu is appointed deputy minister of the chemical industry and director general of the Industrial Central for Rare and Nonferrous Metals in Bucharest. The following comrades are appointed state secretaries in the Ministry of Geology: Marian Radut and Constantin Mihailescu. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 73, 18 Sep 81 p 2]

NEW OFFICIAL IN CALARASI--Inasmuch as the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the provisional people's council of Calarasi County has become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Alexe Constantin is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the provisional people's council of Calarasi County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 73, 18 Sep 81 p 2]

AMENDMENT OF DECREE--Article 16, paragraph 1 of Decree No 649/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of Electric Power, which became Law No 44/1969, with subsequent modifications, is amended and will read as follows: "The Ministry of Electric Power is headed by a minister and four deputy ministers." [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 74, 22 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/28

CHRONIC SHORTCOMINGS OF YOUTH FEDERATION DETAILED

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Marko Lopusina: "Voluntary Work Brigades Are Not Everything"]

> [Text] Quite a bit of criticism has been addressed to the youth organization. The impression is that the SSOJ [Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia] is experiencing a crisis of both influence and confidence. Although the causes of that situation are easy to recognize (noninvolvement of the rank and file) and the solutions well known (a campaign of action), the changes are nevertheless--slow!

Often we have every reason to say of young people that they are impatient, that they take pains, and do their best to get their message across--count on us. But that is usually the way things seem concerning matters on the periphery of life. But when something has to be tackled that truly resembles life, then references of this kind concerning the work of the youth organization may take up less space in the report.

"Young people seem to wait until someone else raises their issues and resolves them," it is said in Alfa, a work organization in Vranje. "The presence of young people in the bodies of self-management is formal, since they are usually silent in the meetings," runs the frank admission of the workers of Javor, a work organization in Petrovac. Again, in Loznica it was remarked that "as a rule when young people are enrolled in the LCY, they give up working in the SSO [Socialist Youth League]...." Speaking in a meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee concerning the events in Kosovo, Lazar Mojsov said that the "SSOJ fell utterly short of expectations." And Vasil Tupurkovski, until recently president of the SSOJ SK [Federal Conference], admits that "... we have wonderful young people, but that does not apply to its leaders, I give them a barely passing grade...."

Top-Heaviness an Obstacle

Even though these are only little snapshots from the mosaic concerning our young people, they nevertheless fit very easily into the general truth. Recently quite a bit of severe criticism has been addressed to the SSOJ. This is not

only because of the events in Kosovo. They were only the tip of the iceberg or the last drop of the overflowing cup of wormwood. It seems that youth officials themselves are aware of this in their sincere presentation of their observations and criticism in meetings of the Presidium of the SSOJ Federal Conference.

Thus Marko Golobic, delegate from Slovenia, states simply that "our roses are not blooming." Dragan Ilic, president of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO, notes that "this is the moment when the SSOJ may experience the fiercest criticism because of its poor organization." While Goran Radman of Vojvodina admits that "we have been accused of operating through forums, it is no wonder there is such criticism, since that is the way we operate.... Unless we concern ourselves with the essential issues of young people, then there is no need for this kind of SSOJ. In the third meeting of the LCY Central Committee in 1972 we created a unified organization of young people, and today we have turned it into a forum."

Translated into everyday language, this means that the young people have more and more been observers and extras in our social life, and less and less have they been activists. We therefore draw the following evidence from a report on the work of young people in Serbia. "There are still 3,000 young people who are not members of the SSO," it is said in Smederevska Palanka. In Mali Zvornik, however, in the 21 Maj Factory it is stated that "young workers have no impact on decisions concerning income, on self-management." This accounts for the impression that the SSOJ is experiencing a crisis of both confidence and influence. Why?

The question, as children say, is simple as pie, but the answers on the other hand can give you a headache. After all, there are many of them, and each of them is equally important and complicated. We cannot enumerate them all, but here are just a few little snapshots for our mosaic.

First, the cumbersome primary organizations of the SSO, many of them moreover lacking concrete work plans. Second, deficient activity of delegates in the SSOJ and other sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities. A third picture. Since the voluntary principle is basic to the approach and work in the youth organization, because the membership is frivolous, it often becomes a personal review of wishes. Lacking responsibility. An example from the Nikola Tesla School in Belgrade. "My comrades are not interested in self-management by the students. They prefer the discotheque, excursions, sports. They come to SSO meetings only when we put under 'miscellaneous' on the agenda--dance...," sincerely states Milan Docic, a student in the eighth grade.

Lack of Confidence in Elders

The fourth, the detachment of the youth leadership so that the officials themselves operate on behalf of young people as a conventional political representative. The fifth, young people in associated labor are not motivated (52 percent) to be politically active, but they are also frustrated (48 percent). A very graphic example from Ub. "The leaders set themselves on a pedestal above the activity of the young workers. The motto of the leaders is: we do not need

a politician, but a worker," states the Report on the Work of the SSO at Ubljanka.

Sixth, according to many people the most dangerous shortcoming of all is the inadequate political and ideological training of young people. "We brag about our political schools, while our secondary school students are becoming nationalists," is Dragan Ilic's critical comment. When the question of Kosovo was discussed in the SSOJ, a majority of the delegates confessed that they were surprised, except for the comrades from the Yugoslav People's Army and from the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of SSO. Seventh, the inactivity of young party members in the SSO. Eighth, the one encountered most frequently in practice, confinement of activity to forums from the bottom level to the top, which was picturesquely stated by Gorica Mojovic, Serbian delegate in the SSOJ, when she said that "we cannot go on making decisions exclusively in offices, in the manner of 'if' and 'we should,' letting others tell us 'how to go about things.' We carry on discussions without arguments, with rhetoric, creating empty pictures about us young people which have not been created by life...."

Summa summarum: though these are only some of the causes of the crisis, it is obvious that there are a great many of them, specifically within the youth organization. Both at the lower level and also at the top level. There does not exist a permanent connection between them. The lower level is not interested in politics, nor is it even interested in the top level.

According to a survey of the Center for Studies in Political Science in Belgrade, 58 percent of young workers are interested in politics, 36 percent of university students, 33 percent of secondary school students and only 25 percent of elementary school students. In practice this means, and the survey indeed proved it, that young people in Belgrade devote only 6 percent of their free time to sociopolitical activities. On the other hand young people devote all of 56 percent of their leisure to pop and rock music. For all these reasons one hears more and more frequently how ordinary young people have lost confidence in the SSOJ as a social organism through which they can resolve many of their problems and satisfy the interests of their contemporaries and age group. On the other hand the young officials have resolved their own problems, since they have become bureaucrats, they have become tied to the office, to meetings, to the opportunity and desire to advance upward.

Nevertheless, since the SSOJ is not the only organization representing a particular interest or the only political organization, it can be said that a part of the blame for its poor work also goes to the other sociopolitical organizations, which recently have been indicating a "lack of confidence" in young people. Miodrag Vukovic, who is now the president of the Federal Conference of the SSOJ, interprets this in two ways: "The SSO is treated in many quarters as an organization for recreation, for the hours that are free in the afternoon. In other quarters the SAWP and the LCY do not offer sufficient room for the SSOJ to be involved in action." In more concrete terms this means that the SSOJ finds itself at the tail end of events when major political issues are involved. Lacking the attributes of a true political organization, in many quarters the SSOJ experiences the fate of a trainee in politics. In the smaller opstinas there is

no money, nor is there any space where the youth organization can conduct its operations, so that the entire effort of the youth organization comes down to welcoming and seeing off the relay team when it passes through and to forming the work brigade. And that is all. Too little for an entire year, too little for the problems which bother young people today. Unemployment, reform of the educational system, high prices.

Where Are the Errors?

In this situation the SSOJ as a whole has not shown sufficient readiness to resolve the basic existential issues of young people. It has been more concerned with itself as a forum than with its members and with the organization as a whole. Boris Bavdek, Slovenian delegate in the Presidium of the SSOJ, asserts therefore that "we have not been concerned at all with the housing problems of young people, though, as we know, young workers and young married couples are the ones most sorely affected." Gorica Mojovic on the other hand feels that the SSOJ is "to blame" that a unified system of education has so far not been created in our country. And Milivoj Kanacki of Vojvodina wonders "why we have not achieved anything in the area of new jobs. We are obviously in a gap between theoretical commitments and reality."

The events in Kosovo provide us with harsh and painful confirmation that this observation is accurate. As has already been stated, and Miodrag Vukovic confirmed it to us as well, "it has turned out that the enemy is here among the young people and has come instead of us. A large number of school and university students fell under his influence when he said that Albania is our homeland.... There is no other way to look at it than that the SSOJ failed in its activity."

We add to these facts last year's resolution of a meeting in the Serbian Republic Conference of the SSO, which stated that because of "insufficient attention to foreign students in Belgrade some individuals have shown resentment toward Yugoslavia and dissatisfaction with our sociopolitical system." Here again the SSOJ failed. But it was not alone in that.

Which is why today we ask Miodrag Vukovic: Where are the mistakes, and where are the solutions? He says that the "mistakes lie in the fact that the youth organization has not yet sufficiently realized the possibilities of our political system. In addition, the SAWPY and LCY should make room for young people to become authentically involved in action. The youth organization itself must achieve initiative on the part of its own membership, youth officials should take clear and concrete work plans directly to the young people."

But here a new question opens up. How is this to be implemented? Activity confined to forums is changed by reducing the number of professional operatives; collective work, leadership and responsibility, along with the delegate system, offer the opportunity for young people to express all their interests and to realize them through the operation of the SSOJ. Young people should be mobilized around specific plans and actions. Aren't the work actions, especially the success of the program "Let Us Collect Secondary Raw Materials" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, an example of how the effort should be made.

In the meantime the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee intended during May to take up on a priority basis the report on performance of the tasks set forth in last year's plenum on young people. What happened was something we hadn't counted on. The SSOJ did not prepare the report on time, since even after six versions of the text it was found in the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SSOJ that the assessment it gave of performance was a purely formal one and was not based on consultation with people at the lower level. The proposed version of the text was therefore sent back to basic organizations for their consideration, and the meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee was shifted to the fall, when there were already plans to discuss young people. We can therefore agree with Miodrag Vukovic when he sincerely says that the SSOJ is "in a crisis of action, since we always lack a finished result." We hope that this will improve.

7045
CSO: 2800/13

EDITORIALIST ATTACKS LEGACY OF ORTHODOX BISHOP NIKOLAJ

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by Miroslav Stojanovic: "Resurrection of Darkness"]

[Text] An adventure in politics has placed two more Orthodox priests in prison.

Readers of yesterday's issue of our newspaper might have read that two priests belonging to the office of the representative of the archpriest of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bijeljina, Petar Lukic and Cviko Mojic (along with two workers of the Bjelovar Wire and Cable Factory, Branko Petrovic and engineer Mihajlo Petric), have each been sentenced to 60 days in jail. They were convicted of "creating religious intolerance and acting from positions of religious nationalism."

What one might call the natural end of any act of this kind when religion is abused. We would not therefore draw the particular attention of our readers to this most recent event. Nevertheless, it does in a direct or indirect way offer several occasions for us to be concerned with it.

We would merely call attention to certain facts:

first, it should be noted that this is not an isolated case. Recently the news media has unfortunately borne evidence of increasing frequency of cases of this kind or similar ones, in any case of very dangerous political gambles among members of our various churches and faiths.

second, the characteristic and striking religious exclusiveness and revanchism toward different religious convictions, which automatically turn into nationalistic narrow-mindedness, enmity and benightedness.

and third, the increasingly frequent references in the case of the Orthodox priests to Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic, in which emphasis is put on his biography as a "martyr" in the years of the last war (it is true that in 1944 the bishop was confined in the camp at Dachau, but it is also true that the Germans released him from there at the request of the Quisling Gen Milan Nedic). This is a case of incomprehensible and unacceptable defense of him as an individual, of a defense which remains blind to his extremely reactionary activity before the

war, which has been documented, and especially to his open hostile activity toward the new Yugoslavia after the war.

Let us take things one by one. It would be absurd to argue that the increasingly frequent confrontation between judges and individual priests is not [sic] the consequence of some altered and new attitude toward the church on the part of society. The commitments which society has made in this area are steadfast and unalterable: religious convictions are the private matter of every Yugoslav citizen. There is not and cannot be any discrimination whatsoever toward people who are religious. The activity of religious communities is altogether free in every respect except--when they undertake to abuse religion for political purposes.

We have been and we remain opposed to a confrontation with any church. We feel that this is also one of those unambiguous commitments of society. But confrontation of attempts to draw the church away from the field of religion and faith is the inevitable response to the challenge which is thereby thrown up to society. Incidentally, like it or not these attempts lead into the blackest darkness and into dangerous exclusiveness.

Not much wisdom is needed to understand how opposed this is to the essential interests of both the church itself and of religious persons in general. One of the blackest curses which has raged through this region that belongs to us, sowing hatred and death, is precisely that curse of religious exclusiveness and intolerance.

So now let us concern ourselves in a bit more detail with the "use" of Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic in these efforts. His presence in all of this can only give the appearance of seeming accidental, which it obviously is not. On the contrary! Nor the fact that his work and his name are appearing in the establishment of the religious brotherhoods referred to as People's Christian Communities.

In a meeting of the "Brotherhood" of the Orthodox religious community, once again to quote the indictment, the priest Cviko Mojic organized the playing of tapes containing messages with hostile content, including the last "letter to the Serbs in Yugoslavia," sent while he was still alive by Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic when he was a member of the extremist emigre community in the United States.

It is with regret that we point to the fact that all of this is happening with the official blessing and open support of the church.

Coming to the defense of the people's Christian communities, PRAVOSLAVLJE, the newspaper of the Serbian Patriarchate, says in its issue dated 1 September that the community "has existed and does exist lawfully as a component of the Serbian church and in no respect is it contrary to the church's bylaws." (This was written with the intimation that respect for the constitution of our socialist state and its laws is not the first obligation of every one of our citizens, whether he be religious or not.)

In disputing the assessments of "one of our high government and party officials" concerning the activity of these communities, accompanied by the comment that "there is still hope that a misunderstanding is involved and that the error will be corrected," PRAVOSLAVLJE asserts that "the formation and activity of the brotherhood have been monitored and followed by official church authorities, which guarantee that the correct path is followed in the revival of our pietistic movement."

What "official church authorities" will have to say about the activity of their priests in Bijeljina remains to be seen. PRAVOSLAVLJE, however, is quite unambiguous in its assessment of the historical role related to that pietistic movement of a man who, it turns out, inspired the Bijeljina priests in their efforts--Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic. Referring to the development of that movement and its goals, PRAVOSLAVLJE writes: "The right and most suitable person, a man of the people, a man very close to members of the pietistic movement, Nikolaj Velimirovic, bishop first of Ohrid and then of Zica, was chosen as the leader of the pietistic movement. His role in strengthening and guiding the movement was especially great when examined from our present viewpoint. He was elected leader by the members of the pietistic movement themselves back in 1921 at the assembly which took place at that time. The bishop managed to unify all the purely Orthodox branches into a single pietistic movement, into, that is, a People's Christian Community." So, it is with this standard and this standard-bearer that certain of the members of the new Orthodox brotherhood are marching!

The newspaper of the Serbian Patriarchate (the issue dated 1-15 August) is still more explicit in its defense of Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic against what it refers to as "comparisons in which people like Archbishop Alojzija Stepinac and Bishop of Zica Nikolaj Velimirovic are put on the same stereotyped level of the 'war criminal.' We have no intention at all to speak here about the former, while in the name of historical truth itself we cannot but protest against placing the latter in the now stereotyped category of the 'war criminal,' just because in his ideology he was an anticommunist or, more accurately, an antitheist [sic]...." Exactly so!

Some of the highest representatives of the Catholic Church in Croatia, we recall, used almost identical arguments in recently coming to the defense and undertaking the rehabilitation of Archbishop Stepinac. According to them he was only a "Christian patriot," and not a politician, an "embittered opponent of communism," but, you see, he was familiar at that time "only with the Stalinist model of communism...."

Just as there is no point in our undertaking a dialogue with the church concerning Archbishop Stepinac, so there is no point in discussing Bishop Velimirovic either now or in the future. As far as our society is concerned, that was removed from the agenda long ago. Both of them have on their own, through their reactionary and hostile activity, determined their place in history. We therefore have no intention whatsoever of attributing anything more or taking anything away from the bishop. But, however opposed PRAVOSLAVLJE may be to comparing and equating," its defense of Nikolaj Velimirovic, which is so consistent and obvious, without a single word about all the grounds on which he was placed in the blackest reaction and most rabid enemies of this Yugoslavia as it is, is--in the name of historical truth indeed--a resurrection of darkness that is as dangerous as it is impermissible.

7045
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ZAGREB JOURNALISTS DESCRIBE SCENE IN KOSOVO

Marinkovic on Contradictions

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 328, 15 Aug 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic: "What Is the Situation in Kosovo?"]

> [Text] When a newsman sets out for Kosovo, he tries to answer the question: "What is the situation there actually like?" And then he begins to enumerate the failures, economic and political, which are the most difficult to report in this province, and then he describes everyday life and the mood of the people--in short, he writes like a foreign correspondent, since we know precious little more about the province, and indeed about the other republics, than we do about some neighboring country.

One cannot come to Kosovo these days without passing checkpoints at the airport or on incoming highways--but this is now far from the strictness and zeal of a few months ago, especially in the days when a state of emergency was declared in the province. To be sure, there do seem to be more policemen on the street than in other cities, but in all other respects the situation is normal. The movie theaters are operating normally, showing the same bad films as the rest of the country, the theaters are giving performances, and sporting events will soon resume. It is difficult to find a table in a restaurant, and the evening promenade in Pristina and other places is overflowing. And if there is anything that catches the eye at first glance, then it is this multitude of people, unusual for this time of the year, when all the Yugoslav cities become empty and there is the mass exodus for vacations. Pristina gives the impression of the liveliest city in the country, and the reason does not lie solely in the high cost of going somewhere for the summer, but there is also the decision that there is no annual vacation for many people this year.

During these hot summer days, then, the people of Kosovo will attempt to correct and repair the consequences of the seething and boiling spring, a spring on which a unanimous political assessment has been pronounced--counterrevolution, a flagrant onslaught of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. No one is so unrealistic as to think that the problems which have built up like sediment and have

then lain dormant can be solved in the course of these few months. The minimum requirement of consolidation--which will last for years--comes down at this moment to ensuring the conditions for normal commencement of the new school year and suppression of the hostile activity which is still present.

What this most frequently means is slogans written on the pavement, on walls, on fences; or actually just one and the same slogan: "Kosovo a Republic." Then the spreading of rumors and misinformation, intensified propaganda, not only from Albania, but also the propaganda of various emigre organizations. But this is still not the only reason why assessments of the situation in the province unfailing use the words: "The situation is still problematical" or "difficult." This most brutal, most fierce, and most open attack of the enemy was repulsed, but the political battle, which is referred to here as the differentiation, will last for a long time yet. Nationalism has left deep traces, it was sponsored by an official policy which in the creation of its image, in the seeking of its foundation, long ago crossed the boundary of what is properly national and sailed far into nationalistic waters. We are aware of the danger of general assessments being made or offered on the basis of one example or several, but still the black two-headed eagles are by no means a rare sight on the front doors and gates of many Albanian houses. They are now regarded as something normal, but it is a short step from that to cases when young people at sporting events root for the Albanian teams rather than for their own teams from Pristina.

So there is no point in shouting and making a ruckus, in becoming angry at the enemy, since he has only taken advantage of numerous shortcomings which are not any specialty peculiar to Kosovo, but in the province, because of Kosovo's backwardness and underdevelopment, have been raised to the second or third power. There are unwise capital investment projects throughout the country, everyone has his own Obrovaces and Viroviticas: the losses and uncovered investment projects run to fair amounts, but for some people that signifies only a somewhat slower growth, but it is still more serious for Kosovo. Instead of new factories being built, new jobs opened up, the resources of the Federation are being used to rescue an economic potential that has already been built. Even elsewhere productivity is limping behind the European average, but in Kosovo it is limping behind the Yugoslav average. Even elsewhere there is a shortage of some personnel and a surplus of others, but Kosovo is least in a position to allow itself such a luxury. Even elsewhere magnificent projects have been built, but elsewhere there are no ramshackle buildings in the immediate vicinity of buildings from fairy tales; even elsewhere there are differences in social welfare, but they are most evident in Kosovo.

For years these young people have been bombarded with propaganda to the effect that We owe no one anything, We have no unemployed, We have no differences in social welfare.... That propaganda was accurately aimed at those thin wires of national and social sentiment, and, of course, the results were not lacking. And instead of answering those half-arguments with arguments, the only response on our part was: this is flagrant intervention in internal affairs. Instead of bringing those who have been in Albania before the TV cameras and showing how the "only democratic country in the world" looks, every pain was taken to absorb

the insults, the slander and the fabrications, merely to maintain some sort of relations. Actually this was a one-way application of the view that Enver Hoxha will not live forever, and this bastion of Stalinism will one day fall, and then it will be better in that future time to have a friendly rather than an unfriendly neighbor. But how much we actually know about Albania is best illustrated by an anecdote told by a high-level leader in Kosovo. Some 10 years ago our ambassador in Tirana came on his vacation and this comrade asked him:

"What's new over there?"

"That's what I came to ask you, since over there we are not allowed to move about, we know nothing and we see nothing," came the answer.

"For shame," this Kosovo leader says, "if he had simply stood at the window and looked at the way people are dressed, whether they have patches on their clothes, at what hour they go home, what is the price of bread, what are the slogans on the squares, had he read the newspapers and magazines, he would have had enough for an analysis."

Or again, numerous professors, members of academies, and cultural figures go to Albania, they travel it up and down, they deliver toasts and the like, and not one of them has ever written a line about that country.

Following these events there has been a great deal of talk about how Albanian television covers 60 percent of the area of Kosovo, how numerous transmitters of Radio Tirana are directed toward our country. It became clear all of a sudden how powerful that Albanian weapon was, and people reflected on how to jam that broadcasting. Technically this is, of course, feasible, but it is prohibited under all international conventions, since a portion of Albania would not be able to listen to the radio and look at their own national TV broadcasting. But the real question is whether that is necessary at all, or, why someone did not ask earlier why so many antennas in Kosovo were aimed toward Tirana? Why do people need to look at Albanian television aside from our own broadcasting, aside from the programs of TV Pristina, which are also broadcast in the Albanian language? Albanian propaganda would have no effect whatsoever if it had not followed on fertile soil, on a soil which no one else has sown, and then it is clear who has gathered the fruit. We have had occasion to see the evening news from Albania. In Tirana they pay attention to small details, and it is no accident that there is half an hour difference between our evening news and theirs--so that both can be watched. And they are watched. That day half of the broadcast from Tirana was devoted to triumphs in the workplace, to the harvest, to production, to shock workers, to rank-and-file workers and all of this was done with many, many names. There were no meetings, no official sessions, nor indeed did the world exist--only one news item about how some English newspaper had praised Albanian achievements.

The assessment is correct that counterrevolution is involved, but the more time that passes, the more relevant is the question--Why is it that this happened in Kosovo? We have already given part of the answer without claiming any sort of complete analysis, but it seems that the other part is becoming evident right

now, in this phase of the differentiation, which is proceeding with difficulty and slowly, for the simple reason that this process is being conducted by the League of Communists, which had already lost its ability to act and its ideological competence, which is burdened with top-heaviness, which has become bureaucratic and has left many things to go as they will.

In the end Kosovo has actually had almost no time to learn self-management. What is there to self-manage when there is no accumulation, how is one to self-manage when the resources for development are obtained from a fund, when the decisions are made in small exclusive groups?

These are all reasons why the process of differentiation is not proceeding at the pace desired. Why were compromises and half-hearted moves made at the beginning; for example, when the Bylaws Commission had to announce that Mahmut Bakalli was no longer a member of the presidium of the provincial [party] committee? Some people did not want to assume their part of the responsibility, some people rightly asked what the leaders are up to, there is a great deal of indecision and inconsistency, but there has also been a lack of help from the top Yugoslav leadership. Not that someone should go to Kosovo and say: you go, you stay, but for the criteria to be set down on staying and going. The Kosovo leadership is now subject to numerous pressures, from those fundamental pressures to the pressure of those who think that it is all over or who call for heads to roll, for mass resignations, for dismissals and criminal charges. There are even those who think that personnel of Albanian nationality bear all the blame for this situation. It is self-evident that in a multinational community the greatest responsibility is borne by those who are most numerous, but certainly they do not bear it alone, since this situation in Kosovo was cooked up by all of them together.

But recently there has been more talk about another pressure, about the Serbs and Montenegrins moving out of Kosovo. It is beyond dispute that Serbs and Montenegrins have been leaving Kosovo, which is in fact demonstrated by the datum that there are 19 percent fewer Serbs in that province than 10 years ago. The question that logically follows is this: Why did they move away, and where to? The most frequent answer is to Serbia because of the climate. But the reference here is not to the weather, but to that other type of impure air and pressure. No honest man, and we have seen for ourselves these past few days, can dispute that there were Albanian nationalists who wanted an ethnically pure Kosovo, that the slogan "Kosovo to the Kosovites" (another version of the demand for a republic) is actually the same as Kosovo to the Albanians. And when arguments are sought to back up this thesis about pressures, then it is explained that it was more difficult for the Serbs and Montenegrins to get jobs, more difficult to obtain education, and there were even physical attacks. And in actuality there was the first, the second, and the third--but the datum still stands that Albanians comprise 77.5 percent of the population of the province, and 64 percent of the labor force. The datum also stands that it had become established practice to require knowledge of both languages for almost all jobs, and this affected the Serbs and Montenegrins, since as a rule they do not know Albanian. But--why don't they? We asked how anyone could be a republic official, a political official, without knowing both languages, when he must use earphones in

meetings? But how is the other language to be learned when the children begin to be divided even in nursery schools? Nevertheless, we were told by one Albanian, if I were to live for 2 years in China, I would learn Chinese, but even among the Albanians there are those who do not wish to learn Serbo-Croatian.

There has been talk recently about how there existed some sort of "secret fund" in Kosovo (like those funds for soccer players) from which huge sums were paid to the Serbs and Montenegrins who were leaving Kosovo. We checked it out, we were told: pure fabrication! But the truth is something else, and it is best illustrated by an example from Djakovica, where a few days ago a man who has been working abroad bought 3 hectares of land from a Serb for 1.2 million dinars. Since there is little of it, land here is fantastically expensive, and anyone who wants to sell can get a good price, and with that money one can live better and more comfortably elsewhere. Serbs and Montenegrins are leaving Kosovo, and why shouldn't they, when they can live better somewhere else? Aren't the Albanians doing so as well? There are as many as 60,000 of them all over Yugoslavia, and 26,000 abroad.

Certainly these events will augment the pressures still more, but don't the party members who are Albanian feel the pressures as well, since it is quite clear that it is they who most hinder the Albanian nationalists? Many of them who have publicly attacked Albanian nationalism are receiving threatening letters. They are called traitors, some have even been sent death sentences pronounced by "people's courts."

Much more of this might be written about Kosovo, about the events and lessons of Kosovo, but doesn't it seem to you that this article, like numerous others, resembles a bit the reports written by foreign correspondents, doesn't it seem to you that all of us know too little about Kosovo?

Trnski With Security Forces

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 329, 29 Aug 81 pp 34-36

[Article by Mladen Trnski: "On the Self-Protection Front"]

> [Text] Our reporter has spent the last several days visiting the temporary camp of the Consolidated Detachment of Yugoslav Security Forces in Kosovo. This report describes the life and work of members of the police from all our republics and provinces.

The first twilight was reaching the roofs of the Pristina suburbs as we entered the capital of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo from Podujevo. Our large Ford Transit with Zagreb plates passed the first police patrol without stopping. There were several patrols before Pristina, with equipment, with automatic rifles, wearing gray-blue helmets, with two-way radios and vehicles.

In Pristina the streets were lighted up, the shops were open, the stands in the open-air market were overloaded, goods were on display, there were piles of

watermelons and peppers on the cobblestones. A bit of the Orient, a bit of the Balkans. The usual bustle in the early evening. At first we did not even notice that there were more police cars and uniforms than usual. In the days that followed we became accustomed to that.

In the expansive and pleasantly arranged lobby of the Grand Hotel in Pristina it was lively. The customary formalities were brief, the people at the desk were pleasant, the elevators were operating, the rooms were large, but they fell a good bit short of their original tone, which had been rather nicely conceived, but obviously not so well maintained. An hour later we had before us a glass of juice and good Kosovo grappa at a round table in one of the large rooms of the provincial secretariat for internal affairs. The evening din and echoes in the city were muffled, there were a great number of telephones, tangles of cables and a cot covered with a soldier's blanket. Meaning that someone was always on duty here....

"So, you see yourself, it might be said that the life of the city is normal. You can sit down where you like, have a drink, have supper, and even dance, stroll about freely.... The movie houses are operating, the first sporting events have been held.... There is no rest for us, much less an annual vacation. It is not hard for you to imagine all that must be done and accomplished day and night after everything that happened and everything that came before that...," began Mehmed Maliqi, provincial secretary for internal affairs, flicking off ash into the overflowing ashtray. The secretary lit a new cigarette, showing his fatigue and lack of sleep. This tested veteran of the war, the revolution and the security service--until quite recently president of the Kosovo Veterans' Federation--and now a man whom probably no one envies his new post--is trying to be an accommodating and pleasant host and patient in giving an interview.

"I think I do not exaggerate when I say that we all expect everyone who comes to us to help us in his way. There should be no sparing those things that are wrong, but there is also a need for a well-intentioned word about everything that we desire and also about what we are doing. It was really bad, but even now it is not easy. Trials are taking place, penalties are being meted out, we are trying to find the guilty ones, pursuing them, improving our methods and effectiveness, we are changing many things.... But with all this we must win the battle for our own children, whom we have released into the hands of those who were and are against us, against everything that is ours in Kosovo, in Yugoslavia, and now we are embarrassed and are racking our brains about how that was possible."

The smoke hovers near the ceiling. Although it is already near midnight, Mehmed Maliqi talks about the police methods of those who are "concerned" about us, about the differentiation, about the silence, about evasion of responsibility, about special warfare, which is actuality here, and at length recalls with a fatigued but broad smile yesterday's meeting with young people in the camp of the youth work brigades and the words which are not empty political rhetoric for those young people.

The next day, at 1300 hours, while the sun is melting the asphalt, the regular meeting of the staff of the Pristina Secretariat for Internal Affairs is in full session. The most recent data on the security situation in the opstina are being considered and the necessary security measures for that night agreed on....

"This is nothing special, only routine, but we have been working this way, on a day-to-day basis, for months now," the secretary Vesel Latifi, who has a master's degree in law, later explained. "Every member of the secretariat has been fully mobilized, and we are trying to direct this entire total effort as much as possible toward timely and greatly improved prevention."

There are somewhat fewer offenses and crimes of the usual kind than in previous years, but the police are now more concerned with crimes of a political nature. The references to leaflets, pamphlets, outbursts in public places, covert dissemination and ethnic intolerance and enmity.... And that is why the entire staff of the Pristina Security Service is involved at "full capacity" in the broad political campaign being waged in all strata of society to stabilize the situation in Kosovo.

"In actuality the local community, and associated labor, and the schools, indeed every institution, street and individual, everyone must be involved on the self-protection front if our system of self-protection is going to operate better. This is a system in which we are only the professional backbone. Those are our most important tasks, the rest we can handle easily," the secretary said.

In the operations center, in the duty room, at the reception desk, there was a bustle everywhere as in a beehive. Inspector Suljevic was supervising the shift, there was a crisscrossing of policemen, civilians, women, men, languages, requests, inquiries, petitions and charges.... Just like in any large police station on an ordinary day....

At dusk, in the dust and sweltering heat, traffic policemen stop all vehicles arriving from Pec in what almost seems like a convoy. It is also like that on all the other approaches to Pristina. Members of the security service, in uniform and in plain clothes, check documents, examine the vehicles.... All this has now become pretty much routine, they say, before they literally paid attention to the smallest detail. No one can enter the city without a particular purpose and invitation. Especially no foreigners. A German and a Frenchman, with a good suntan (they were coming from the coast, but why this way?) protest. The police are polite, but they stick unalterably to their position, and the foreigners skirt the city in an arc.

The night shift reaches the checkpoint in a cross-country vehicle. The red reflection of the sun, which is sinking behind the smokestack of the steam power plant, slides softly along the ridges of the helmets and the barrels of the machine guns. The dust hangs in the air. There is a flickering play of blinker lights on the jammed highway by which we return to the city. The first lights are coming on in Pristina....

The streets we travel toward the hotel are nearly empty in the early hours after midnight. Here and there someone moves. A patrol comes along, on its rounds, as we used to call it. From their shirts, jackets and badges we recognize two local policemen and two from the "Bosnia-Hercegovina contingent." We exchanged greetings and glances, they did not ask us any questions. We heard from somewhere a radio and a woman's laugh--small groups in good humor were still sitting on the terrace of the "Kosovo Peony."

The silhouettes of the buildings around the hotel are sketched out distinctly against the bright nighttime sky. Down across the way in the shadow of the wall the helmet of the soldier standing guard in full battle dress shines dully. Another strides at a uniform pace along the paved square in front of the building of the military command.

We pass by a pond, by shouting children, by oxen in the shade and several peasant houses with the typical high walls and openings which more resemble loopholes than windows. We enter deeper and deeper into the wooden hollow. A second guard, a third, and a check, though they know of our arrival. In a few minutes we reach one of the temporary improvised camps of the so-called Consolidated Detachment of Yugoslav Security Forces in Kosovo. Tents, buildings, more tents, countless police vehicles in the greatest variety, playing fields, laundry on clotheslines, amphibious armored personnel carriers, field showers, wooden tables, assembly places.... Signs, emblems and symbols signify the separate camps of the units from the various republics and SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina. The diversity of the uniforms and equipment catches the eye.

The usual morning of work and drills in the martial arts, learning about and handling particular types of weapons.... The silent and nimble boys in camouflaged clothing of a cut and appearance completely new in our country, throw steel blades at large wooden targets from all positions. Uncovered brown butts of Colts in open holsters at their belts. Or perhaps the Smith-Wesson detective special. Others can be seen to have the same weapon.

The unit from Croatia--the one in which the three men supposedly married Albanian girls from here, whose summer uniforms, especially the finely tailored shirts with the same insignia, are greatly sought after here as "souvenirs"--are just now attending a class in political ideology. A helicopter lands. Two police officers hurry into the headquarters. In the Slovenian part of the camp there are guards in typical caps, sweaters, trousers made of camouflaged cloth and boots. One feels as though he has wandered into a commando camp or is walking across stage sets where an adventure film is being made.

Unfortunately this beehive, which does not look harmless at all, is no film, but reality. Against the enemies and shrewdly chosen forms of special warfare--directed in Kosovo against Yugoslavia's most sensitive connecting links and values--a response had to be made with special forces of the security services from all over the country. Kosovo is not an exercise, but a real-life test of the capability of the system of social self-protection. Against an open enemy, or, as is the case now in Kosovo, a covert one, one cannot fight with the power of

conviction, and still less with kid gloves. It is clear that this is a force, but not in the naked use of force, but a force at the service of community consensus.

The personnel carriers rumble by carrying members of the special forces with helmets in the new shape, resembling bunches of grapes, wearing bullet-proof vests, wearing masks, armed to the teeth. This time it is only a drill. The actions, when there are any, are mostly carried out at night.

"When they say that they would be happiest if they could go home tomorrow, you can believe them," says the provincial assistant secretary for internal affairs Ismet Krasniqi during our conversation in the School Center for Internal Affairs and Social Self-Protection in Vucitrn about these nights in Kosovo, which may bring fresh slogans, fires, property damage and challenges. But one should not arrive at a mistaken judgment about everything in Kosovo from a slogan, from isolated outbursts.

"The security service, which has been reinforced in terms of personnel, professional competence and supply, is having ever greater success in opposing the enemy. The entire system of social self-protection is on the offensive. We hold the situation in our own hands," Ismet Krasniqi says.

After the accumulated errors of commission and omission, miracles cannot happen overnight. The battle has to be won by the League of Communists, by every organization and by every individual within himself. Then a neighborhood in the city, a street or part of a village will not, for example, silently shrug its shoulders, but will know who is the "author" of the slogans 10 or 15 meters long, and will prevent him before the police do.

At the entrance to the Pristina factory Amortizer, which is cooperating successfully even with Peugeot of France, more uniforms and armed guards. The head of the shift of guards and the people in the plant wear the insignia of noncommissioned officers. The superintendents Muharem Vata, Nikola Jokanovic and Hamid Maqedonci, the workers Sulejman Berisha, Shaban Kqiku and Amhet Krasniqi wear uniforms as they work at their machines and have weapons within reach. Lest there be any confusion--the army has not "occupied" the factory.

"It is this way throughout the province. Every shift in organizations of associated labor has a complete territorial defense unit which stands ready to oppose any threat to the factory, to property or to production. All members of Kosovo's territorial defense are performing their regular duties in uniform and with equipment, or they are in training camps," Gen Maj Fadil Quranoli explained to us. We were sitting in the shelter of a tent, somewhere high in Kosovo's hills, in the midst of the afternoon bustle of the camp of engineers. The general looks at the members of territorial defense who specialize in mines and demolition and says that the territorial units from associated labor are now a maneuverable force capable even of combat operation outside the work organizations. Such units are now a regular part of every local community and in this situation are preparing first of all for tasks in self-protection.

"Those critical moments, and even those direct conflicts with demonstrators around certain facilities, when firearms were not used, all the experiences from those critical events, have imposed an appreciable and serious addition to the training program of territorial defense units and staffs, on which we are working intensively at present," the general said.

On the Yugoslav-Albanian border the abandoned and temporarily closed Vrbnica border crossing. The Veljko Vlahovic Border Patrol Station is a good-looking building, a model estate, a fruit orchard, a vegetable garden, roses and a lake. Youth with border patrol badges, smiles and good humor. We listened to tales of the border, about trackless areas in the mountains, blizzards, extremely hot weather, wolves, shepherds, the precious water which is so scarce, friendships with the local people, also border patrol people in their way, about tasks, worries, joys and letters.

"When the concerned letters, calls and actions by parents began to come one after the other in all those events," the border guards recall, "we had to write home collectively and persuade our people that we were fine and that the border is peaceful." The young men laughed. "And it really is. The situation is normal here, and no one should be concerned."

It is nearly 40° Celsius. Over the way, on the other side, are the clearly marked boundary lines and the red flag with the red two-headed eagle, which is popping dryly on the hot south wind which from time to time carries the barking of dogs. No one anywhere. In this deeply cut passage between Pastrik and Koritnik into which the summer gales are pumping the southern breath from Otranto, a bit over 100 km away by air, there is a kind of unreal calm.

7045
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BRIEFS

MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE TEACHING--An analysis of the professional quality of the teaching of the Macedonian language in parallel with the Albanian and Turkish languages in elementary schools in Tetovo Opstina was the subject of an expanded joint session of the Assembly of Tetovo Opstina. The conclusion was that in the majority of cases the teaching of the Macedonian language in these schools is unprofessional and superficial, as a result of which the success rate is very low. This is confirmed by the fact that of 54 teachers who taught the Macedonian language last school year only five of them had the necessary qualifications. Several concrete resolutions were adopted in order to improve the situation. [Text] [Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 Sep 81 p 3]

END

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29 October 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1935

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CONTENTS

HUNGARY

Role of Party Organs in New School Year Outlined
(Imre Rakos, Laszlo Gyenes; PARTELET, No 9, 1981) 1

POLAND

Youth's Views of Religion Vs Science Examined
(Zenon Kawecki; GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, 8 Jun 80) 9

ROMANIA

Decree on Ministry of Machine Tool Industry, Electrical Engineering, Electronics
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 81) 15

Decree on Organization, Operation of Ministry of Machine Building Industry
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 8 Sep 81) 22

Agricultural Neglect Seen as Result of Ideological Emphasis
(Alexandru Catana, Doina Catana; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Jul 81). 29

YUGOSLAVIA

Complaints on Disaster Relief Payments Answered
(Radomir Djacic Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 13 Sep 81) 39

Briefs
New Slovenian Youth Leaders 46

ROLE OF PARTY ORGANS IN NEW SCHOOL YEAR OUTLINED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 9, 1981 pp 15-21

[Article by Imre Rakos and Laszlo Gyenes: "The School Party Organizations in the New School Year"]

> [Text] To a certain extent instruction and education work starts under new conditions in every school year. So at such times the party organization also must rethink how to ensure the most favorable political conditions so that the school can better meet the demands being made of it. We talked about these questions with party workers and teachers in Nograd Megye. Opinions on the question were expressed by: Miklos Balogh, deputy director of the Mihaly Tancsics Trade Secondary School in Salgotarjan; Lajos Bihary, director of the School; Bela Csongrady, a department chief in the megye party committee; Ferenc Kovacs, gymnasium school inspector; Janos Ruzsanyi, secretary of the teachers' party committee in Salgotarjan; and Dr Gyorgy Szalanczay, a worker in the megye party committee.

Those participating in the conversations agreed that helping to introduce the new study plan will be a central question of party work in the school year now starting. Although use of the new study plans and textbooks can look back already on a certain past in many respects the teachers are just now becoming acquainted with the essence and content of the new documents. As Ferenc Kovacs said: "They must teach material which to a certain extent they are now studying themselves. In the process they will need new procedures in the methodology of teaching, education and instruction and they do not have sufficient time and energy to develop these at this time."

So it appears that one or two years practice is not enough for the spirit of the new study plan to pervade instruction and education work as a whole. And this depends not simply on subjective intent. The teachers are sincerely trying to apply the new but the ties to the old do not disappear so easily; it will take time for the new content and the methods connected thereto to become habitual. So the party organizations—this was the thought of Janos Ruzsanyi—while consistently representing the new must also show appropriate patience. They must tirelessly explain the essence of the new aspirations, making use of the various tools of

political work to this end. In Nograd Megye party instruction is being used also to clarify the theoretical questions interdependent with the present practice of school work.

Independent Action and a Critical Spirit

Taking into consideration the concrete conditions of instruction is an important principle of our education policy. This requires from the teachers a high degree of initiative, flexibility and independence together with, naturally, precise adherence to the study plan requirements. This is not easy in practice and the skills necessary for it are not uniformly developed in all teachers. There is a sort of risk factor here also because every new step carries with it the possibility of error. At the same time one cannot doubt that the concrete conditions are known best by the teacher who is teaching in the given class. But what works in one class will not necessarily lead to the goal in another. So judging the work of the teachers requires great circumspection from the school leadership and the development of tension and conflicts cannot be ruled out.

The tasks of the party organization--the participants in the debate observed--are especially complex at such times. Before all else they must offer a hand in developing an atmosphere in which the previously mentioned independent action can develop to a maximal degree. At the same time this atmosphere must include a critical spirit also. Perhaps there has never been greater need for a critical and self-critical spirit in the schools than just now, because only this can weed out erroneous and inexpedient procedures.

This situation is contradictory in itself. There must be simultaneously an encouragement of greater independence and more initiative and a more determined use of the tool of criticism. The resolution of this contradiction requires from the school leadership and the party organization a high degree of circumspection, careful thought and attention concentrated on the personal traits of people but most of all it requires far-reaching commitment to the cause. One cannot be frightened of debates or the clash of opinions--there are natural concomitants of the work. At the same time the communists must do everything to see that these debates take place in a collegial spirit and do not become bitter. Questions should be clarified in a principled manner and not lead to indulging in personalities or other subjective manifestations. One must reckon with such factors as different interest relationships, prestige viewpoints, differences in schooling and experience and approaches deriving from individual temper.

For this very reason the party organizations cannot do without a high degree of political sensitivity in bringing to the surface and resolving in a constructive way the contradictions appearing in the life of the school. In this way they can recognize the pedagogical conceptions and theoretical content hiding behind differing views and, concentrating on these and eliminating the incidental circumstances, they can achieve the implementation of the most progressive positions. Before all else the communists must achieve unity in the more important pedagogical questions.

Mention was made in the conversations that the new instructional and educational documents require the use of certain definite tools. These tools are lacking in

quite a few schools and they probably will not be available in the near future. In some places this has a certain demoralizing effect; some, calling attention to this fact, cast doubt on whether the requirements of the study plan can be met. Much depends on the party organizations in convincing the doubters that exertion is not senseless even under such circumstances. We might put it this way: A realistic picture must be formed of the relationship between possibility and reality. In any case, the party organization—as Lajos Bihary also said—should use its own strength to find solutions. At the same time, one can develop cooperation between schools or between schools and factories for the joint use of certain tools. There are already a number of good examples of this in Salgotarjan, Balassagyarmat and elsewhere. The participants in the conversations agreed that there are still very great reserves in this area which can be discovered and used with rational, careful organization. The teachers' party committee and the affected city party committees can do much for this.

The Conditions for Instruction

The objective and personal conditions appear in another interdependency also. Thus it is worthy of note that under present conditions the burden on the teachers is increasing. Becoming acquainted with and using the new study plans and textbooks represents an increased demand in itself and requires more preparation, broader information, thinking through the methods and more disciplined self-control. The situation is made more difficult by the fact that a new demographic wave is passing through the general schools as a result of which the teachers must deal with classes which are larger than optimal. This certainly makes their work more difficult and increases their burdens.

In this situation the party organizations should turn more attention to factors influencing the general feeling of the teachers, to their working conditions and to material and moral recognition of them. There can be no doubt that the possibilities for material recognition are limited. The question arose in the debate of how one should pay attention to the quality of the work of a teacher. As Lajos Bihary emphasized, even with the limited possibilities there is a way to differentiate recognition so that it should express respect for the awareness of vocation and the careful work which embodies it. The party organization can help in this if it encourages the school leadership to provide clear information to the collective and if it develops in the faculty an atmosphere favorable to the reception of differentiated recognition.

It is one consequence of the repeated demographic waves that it sometimes becomes necessary to regroup the teachers. This makes it necessary for a larger number of them to be trained in more directions. Preparation for this, strengthening their inclination to undertake activity in a different direction to which they are unaccustomed, is also an important part of political work—as Janos Ruzsanyi noted. Naturally, in this case also it is true that carrying out operational tasks is not the work of the party organization. But they can take the initiative with the school leadership in the interest of realizing the necessary measures. They can do much to create an atmosphere in which the measures will find understanding.

In Nograd Megye there are a larger number of teachers than the national average who began their careers without training and acquired the necessary degrees while

teaching. The party organizations should see to it that this does not become a dividing wall between the teachers; performance, and not this, should be the only standard in judging work. A number of examples show that many such teachers are not behind, in knowledge or pedagogical preparation, those who acquired their training in the "classical" manner. At the same time we should not shut our eyes to the fact that some of them have a problem from the viewpoint of theoretical preparation or even awarness of vocation. It is justified that the party organization turn special attention to helping them and preparing them.

One of the main problems in ensuring the objective conditions in the new school year is certainly caused by the tight classroom situation. Although 110 classrooms were built in Nograd Megye during the Fifth Five-Year Plan classrooms are in short supply in the cities as a result of the demographic and urbanization waves. The leadership of the megye is making efforts to avoid two-shift teaching if possible, without excessively increasing class size. A number of temporary solutions are planned in the interest of this. These are far from being ideal, but there is an unavoidable need for them in the given situation. For example, they will make use of cultural institutions which are empty in the forenoon hours and of areas in factories and residential area party organizations suitable for this purpose. These solutions go beyond the sphere of authority of school party organizations. The situation studies, ingenuity and determination of the guiding party organs will play the crucial role in these solutions. The Nograd Megye party organs have recognized the political significance of this question and are treating it in accordance with its importance.

But these temporary solutions will place definite tasks on the school party organizations also because they will be accompanied unavoidably by certain inconveniences and will require a greater degree of organization. Political work will also play a role in seeing that the faculty meets these problems and that the negative effects be kept to a minimum. It is no small matter that the teachers should represent the temporary utility of these emergency measures before the parents with suitable conviction. In all this one can justly expect the communists to set an example.

Educational Questions

The educational guiding principles of the MSZMP placed in the foreground of pedagogical work such questions as the development of talent, abilities and creativity and aid to those in disadvantaged situations. Significant progress has been made in the lattar area in Nograd Megye—as it has throughout the country--and putting this question in the foreground of public attention has led to considerable practical results. This cannot be said of the other pedagogical tasks of similar importance. There is much uncertainty even about the interpretation of the concepts and a good number of problems await clarification in regard to the essence of the problems and in regard to forms and methods.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the social policy importance of these questions. What can the party organizations do in this respect? It is obvious that this pedagogical task cannot be solved by a single action, campaign or "cavalry charge." This is a long-range task or program for the party organization also.

The first step in this is to be aware of the social policy importance of the task, to make people understand that what is involved here is not some sort of subjective desire but rather a necessary social requirement. The student in today's school will have to stand his ground in a world which is changing at an accelerated pace. The responsibility of the school of today is not insignificant in seeing that he is capable of this. It is the task of the school party organization to awaken an awareness of this responsibility, to encourage the school leadership to treat this question appropriately as a matter of political import.

This viewpoint should not be ignored in judging the work of teachers either. One should expect the school leadership to watch the activity of the teachers in this regard also. The school leadership should be required to encourage good initiatives and propagate positive experiences. The work of teachers and instructors pioneering in this should receive appropriate recognition. In addition, the party organization itself can initiate debates and exchanges of ideas about the interpretation of this sphere of problems and about the political and other conditions influencing this activity in some way. Such work of movement organs already has noteworthy achievements in Notrad Megye. As Miklos Balogh said, at the initiative of the party organization and the school KISZ committee they make a survey in the first year at the economics trade secondary school in Salgotarjan to see who is more talented than the average and they make an organized effort to get them into professional clubs, special classes or movement work.

If a path for the unfolding of talent is to be opened then certain extraordinarily tenacious pedagogical habits must be overcome. There are many forms of one-sidedness, from the demand to be "eminent in everything" to an overestimation of encylopedic knowledge; in behavior, from putting obedience before everything to an underestimation of education to an awareness of one's obligations. It is perhaps here that the struggle between the old and the new appears most strongly in pedagogical work. And, as in the case of every important social question, progress in this area cannot do without the attention of the party organization, its role in forming views and behavior, its determined stand for the new and modern.

The Democratism of School Life

Questions of school democratism came up in many ways in the course of the conversations. One of the most essential elements of this is the relationship between the school leadership and the faculty, the participation of the teachers in deciding or solving the essential problems of school life. The one-person responsibility realized in school leadership does not at all rule out, rather it presupposes attention to the opinion of the faculty in every essential question in which the director must decide.

This has its own forms, state regulated forms, in the school. But the essence of this is in the content of the functioning of these forums, that really worthy questions get on the agenda, that there be a way to take a position regarding the essence. It can be set down as a general principle that the more complex the tasks, the more components they have, the greater the need for the realization of democratism, for the maximal development of activity.

The communists have no little responsibility in seeing that a democratic public spirit rules in the school. This includes an awareness among the teachers of their personal and collective interest in the realization of the general tasks of the school. Participation in the common affairs depends not only on the extent to which the school leadership ensures the conditions for this but also on the extent to which the teachers make use of these possibilities. In this sense the role of the school party and trade union organizations in educating for and prompting public life activity is not insignificant. One cannot trust to spontaneity in the development of this. The personal motives for this are different in the case of every teacher and this must be carefully considered.

The party organization has an important task in weighing the extent to which the conditions for school democratism are ensured. Of determining significance among these is the style of work and personality of the director of the school. Of crucial significance is the extent to which he sincerely requires the opinion of others, how he can tolerate positions deviating from his own, the extent to which he can rise above the subjectivity which sometimes necessarily arises in the course of debate. In his person the leader of the school is responsible for the spirit or atmosphere reigning in the faculty, and the party organization and the guiding party organ must emphasize politically and realize this responsibility also.

The more rich the expression of opinions and the greater the activity in any social medium, the greater the need for deliberation. The democratism of school life will be substantive and effective and will serve the attainment of our socialist goals if the political leading role of the party is consistently realized. This can be achieved only if the subjective aspects of the various opinions do not unfavorably affect the decisions, the solution of the problems.

In this connection it is also necessary to examine such questions as the internal life of the party organization, party democracy and the political judgment of school tasks. The action and unity of the party organization, as a community of communists, and the principled character and professional and political preparedness of its members are fundamental in seeing that the developing democratism is filled with socialist content and worthily aids the attainment of our educational policy goals.

A lively democratism in the school will bring various interests to the surface and cause them to clash also. The stronger the communist community the greater the guarantee that those interests will come to the fore and prevail which best expresses the social necessity.

The level of democratism in the faculty fundamentally determines the fullness of democracy within school life as a whole, an organic part of which is the relationship between teachers and students. The socialist teacher-student relationship cannot mean some sort of rigid, absolute subordination. What is involved here is a common interest being realized in a unique system of rights and obligations guided by the same goals. Within this the students have an obligation to master definite information but at the same time they have an interest in the development of a conditions system for instruction and--within given frameworks--they must receive the right to express this interest. It is a basic question of school democratism that the students be made aware of this interest and that their activity develop on this basis.

There is an ever-growing awareness in the schools of Nograd Megye that every view which limits the role of the students to passive acceptance is false. It is not by chance that good results are achieved precisely where this view can be developed in the class collectives and within individual students. "Without ignoring the realities and taking into consideration the characteristics of their age we must treat the students as partners," Miklos Balogh emphasized. "In our trade secondary school the school leadership not infrequently submits alternative proposals to the student communities and leaves the decision to them." Naturally, the age of the students has a substantial influence on this relationship and obviously it is realized differently in the lower and upper grades of general school and differently again in the several years of secondary school.

It still happens that some teachers have a real fit over the independent initiatives of students or their sometimes critical ideas touching study conditions. But the example of the best teachers and instructors shows that he can achieve truly lasting results who consciously builds on such actions and fits them into his pedagogical activity. But those participating in our conversations also pointed out that this is far from being a simple problem. The party organization can help in its solution not only by emphasizing the need to express student interests but also by bringing in the youth organization so that the participation of the students should be embued by an appropriate awareness of responsibility and so that these expressions should remain without the bounds of school order and discipline.

In the political guidance of the school youth organizations it is very essential to see that the students understand the essence of democratism. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that this is one of the most sensitive questions of school life; there are no few stumbling blocks, and this requires great attention and care from the political and movement organizations. It is in no small part dependent on this that this positive process be accompanied by ever fewer negative phenomena. In the upper classes of secondary school especially it is necessary to remember that the age of life requires a unique pedagogical approach.

The expression of student opinion cannot be limited to this or that forum. "The children must feel that we are counting on their opinions not only on particular occasions, for example at student parliaments, but rather constantly, continuously," the director of the Tancsics Trade Secondary School emphasized. Their independence and independent activity are especially indispensable in the various special clubs and groups. The youth movement can carry out its mission only if the young people themselves can take care of their own affairs—naturally, not left on their own. Those participating in our conversations said that a very important role is played in this by the teachers acting as advisers or patrons to the youth movement and by the personal style of work and methods of the class chiefs.

The school is the immediate operational area of the teachers. But, naturally, they also are affected by the broader environment. For this reason, when organizing political work, attention must be devoted to the problems of the broader environment, the country and world also. Experience proves that a considerable number of teachers are public life people; social activity is a natural need for them. But this does not relieve the party organizations of the responsibility of deliberately strengthening this need and taking care that the activity is manifested amidst appropriate frameworks.

One cannot agree with the practice of a few regional party organizations whereby teachers are regarded as maids-of-all-work, trying to give them so many jobs that this interferes with the fulfillment of their school responsibilities. And we certainly cannot approve if this becomes, somewhere, the chief standard for a political judgment of a teacher. However significant some public life assignment may be what is primary and fundamental in judging the activity of a teacher is how he carries out his chief obligation, at what level and with what awareness of vocation he does his instructional-educational work.

The party organizations should turn more attention to state-authoritative guidance of the schools. To no small extent the level of instructional-educational work depends on this. The council organs have a basic obligation to ensure the conditions needed to operate the schools. The party organizations should not tolerate the official insolence which can still be experienced in places, the bureaucratism which afflicts the work of the teachers.

Successful pedagogical activity also requires looking outside the walls of the school. Especially in our day when masses of information--including political information--are reaching the students. The contemporary world and the internal situation of our homeland are further increasing the social openness of the school. So the school party organization must turn greater attention to the guidance and organization of ideological-political work, to strengthening the political atmosphere.

The information which we obtained in Nograd Megye and the lessons of our conversations naturally do not embrace every area of school party work. We have tried only to highlight the most essential interdependencies. Every school party organization must now review those conditions amidst which it must work in the new school year and must determine its tasks deriving therefrom. The positions taken by the 12th congress and the rich thoughts of the congresses of various social organizations and movements provide adequate guidance for this.

8984
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YOUTH'S VIEWS OF RELIGION VS SCIENCE EXAMINED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 23, 8 Jun 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Zenon Kawecki: "The Youth's View of the World"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface"]

[Text] /In discussing our youth, its attitudes, views and relations with the world and other people it is often saddled with blame for being too eager to conform, being egoistic in the sphere of social relations and lacking ideals. This harsh appraisal is made very often, whereas our factual knowledge is rather modest. In putting forth our assessment, we proceed from our own experience, since not too many works contributing to our knowledge of contemporary youth have been published. The lack of such works is felt primarily by the teachers and educators, who do not find enough support on the part of science in their practical activities. Deficiencies in the study of youth are common.

To satisfy this need, the research of the worldview of the youth has been carried out by the Institute of Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism of the CK of PUWP among 12,500 students of secondary schools (lower and senior classes). The article by Doctor Zenon Kawecki attempts to answer the question about the views of the world represented among the school students./

With an eye to determining fundamental convictions of the secondary school seniors, their opinions have been solicited on the content of the religious doctrine and the scientific worldview, such as the genesis of the world, regularity of its development, origination of the human race, mutual relationship of religion and science, role of religion in human life, gnostic possibilities of science and sources of social evil. It had been assumed that acceptance or negation of alternative statements offered for selection was a substantial indicator of identification with a certain worldview: religious or scientific. /Primarily, an answer was sought to the following question: to what degree the ideas of respondents about the natural and socio-cultural reality are moulded by the influence of the religious doctrine and to what degree - by the influence of lay science and culture?/ What is the scope of coexistence of religious and scientific views in the consciousness of seniors studied and what are the reasons for it?

As the answers received in the study suggest, the content of the religious doctrine is approved unambiguously (the answer "yes, of course") by definitely a minority of respondents. Specifically, the following are negated: the dogma of original

sin, the statement that the achievements of science bear out the truth of the religious worldview, the assertion that only religion can make human life meaningful, the belief in the supernatural life. Nonetheless, the views held by the seniors on ontological problems (existence of Providence, creation of the world) and especially the view of religion as a phenomenon necessary in the life of mankind and the ones that can be reconciled with science, are to a large degree influenced by the teachings of the [Catholic] church. The influence of church doctrine also shapes the conviction stating that many of the yet unexplained natural phenomena will forever remain a mystery for man. In the light of the respondents' answers it can be inferred that for many of them religion is a factor helpful in understanding "mysteries" of the world and putting this world in order, eliminating chaos and chance. For a significant segment, it is also a value providing a deeper meaning to the existence of man. Also of note is the skepticism of the research sample in assuming an attitude towards provided statements of the religious worldview. This has found its expression in a large share of "rather yes" answers.

The data also suggest, that the attitude of seniors to certain scientific statements is differentiated according to the character of these statements. Most often approved are the views evidently borne out by everyday practice which, at the same time, do not openly contradict the fundamentals of religious worldview. Thus, a decisive majority of the respondents accept the Marxist thesis on the roots of social evil, state that the future of mankind depends on the people themselves and agrees with the statement that everything in nature goes according to the laws of its development. The majority of the sample is also optimistic about the gnostic opportunities of science, it states that the meaning of life can be found independently of religion, admits the correctness of the theory of evolution and holds the opinion that achievements of science prove the correctness of materialistic worldview.

At the same time, the least approved are the statements removed from empirical experience and clearly contradicting the principles of religion. This concerns, specifically, the opinion on eternity and non-creation of the world and the thesis about the withering of religion in the society of the future.

The distribution of agnostic attitudes (answer "I do not know") also deserves mentioning. The share of such answers is much higher in response to the statements further removed from everyday experience and at the same time carrying a definitively atheistic message. Surely, a certain influence is exerted here by "mental reservation" towards accepting the views which, to be sure, are supported by science or everyday practice, but are not approved by the immediate social millieu.

A correlation study shows that the worldview of the youth is not a coherent system. Instead of a collective of postulates unified into a cohesive worldview, it comprises the views of different, and sometimes fundamentally conflicting schools of thought which mutually coexist. Such a coexistence embraces not only the opinions which are not in mutual fundamental disagreement, but also the directly contradictory assertions, which often times create a logically unexplainable compromise. For example, one-fourth of the sample reconciles in its subjective attitude the religious dogma of the creation of the first humans with the theory of evolution,

or the religious view on the existence of the phenomena which can only be explained by the action of supernatural forces with the scientific thesis that everything in nature goes according to the laws of its development. For many respondents, the statement of science and law are reconcilable.

In the light of collected material, this phenomenon might be explained by the following hypotheses:

/Firstly/, much of the younger generation is simply not aware of the existence of contradictions between religion and science or theats these as a natural phenomenon proceeding from the precepts of the "dual truth" theory. It can also be determined that in the mind of these seniors there is a certain separation of the knowledge gained in school from the religious belief instilled in their childhood. The most often used device of reconciling scientific and religious views is found in separating the problems of everyday life from the problems of faith, lack of deliberation on the mutual interrelation of these two spheres. However, it is primarily explained by the knowledge gained in the process of learning being translated into a worldview convictions to an unsufficient degree. This attests to the shortcomings of the educational system.

/Secondly/, a significant segment of the seniors display a tendency to reconcile science and religion willingly, being prompted to do so by various considerations. First of all, it must be taken into account that the shaping of the personality of young people is influenced by the [Catholic] Church, attempting to reinforce their religious feeling through catechism, and, specifically, to prove that there are not and should not be any contradictions between religion and science. The dissemination of this attitude is facilitated by the lack of appropriate counteraction of lay institutions and also the inadequate knowledge in the sphere of natural and social sciences.

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/The research shows that the problems associated with the worldview matter prominently in the interests of the youth. A proof of that is presented by several thousand questions voiced by the young people, answers to which they would like to obtain/. Among the most often repeated are the questions concerning the scientific-naturalist view of the world, problems of religion and religiosity, the meaning of life and also ethics and morality. The content and wording of these questions and especially the motives offered along with the questions reveal that in its search for worldview options the young generation often runs into significant difficulties it cannot overcome.

The seniors pay special attention in their questions to ontological issues. They desire to reveal the origin of existence, to learn the rules and premises of the development of the world and universe, and to gain reliable knowledge of the essence of life and the origin of man. They want to know whether the universe has been really created by God or, as the materialistic philosophy states, has always existed. How in the world has our existence and our meditation on the meaning of our life come about? Is there really God and if yes, what is his attitude towards the world? The seniors are interested in the present state of knowledge about these issues and in those existing theories or hypotheses which are more reliable

in the light of achievements of contemporary science, also, in what probable ways these issues can be solved by science in the future.

The majority of those asking questions clearly show signs of trying to assert the validity of religious teachings, and, specifically, to eradicate some doubts. This is why they ask: "Is science capable of proving that God exists?", "How did the world come about?", "Is there life after death?", "Is human life in the hand of Providence?", "How can the thesis on the eternal existence of matter be justified, when everything around us has its beginning and the end of its existence?" "Does not science really recognize the religious concept of the world?". Questions of this sort are numerous; what draws attention, is the fact that those asking the questions, in spite of declaring themselves "believers," are not totally convinced that the religious attitude is correct.

/A substantial segment of the seniors approved of the scientific viewpoint. However, their statements testify that they do not yet possess the appropriate wealth of scientific knowledge, though they lean towards the interpretations of materialistic philosophy/. Accordingly, they take interest in the latest achievements of science striving to reinforce their materialistic worldview. The interests of these respondents are expressed in the following questions: "What are the latest achievements of science in defining the origin of the universe and the human species?" "How can it be proven that the religious interpretations of the origin of the world and the universe contradict the findings of science and, consequently, are untrue?", "How come people still believe in what religion teaches on the origin of the world, man and life on Earth?"

At last, there are those who do not take a definite stand on the ontological issues, but strive vigorously to make their position more precise. These respondents are interested in how it really is, who, after all, has the truth-science or religion, whether the existing theories and hypotheses will not be the subject to radical change in the future? Characteristically, these seniors voice reservations about the religious as well as scientific interpretations.

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/Specifically the problem of antropogenesis is the hub of the seniors' interests. At issue is the solution to the debate on whether the human species has been created by God or has been separated from the animal kingdom in the process of evolution?/ The latter theory often draws critical remarks, showing that it is understood by a part of the younger generation in a simplified manner.

Cognitive difficulties are also associated with the issues of human existence. The seniors ask: "Does biological death equal the total end of an individual life, or is there life after death?", "Does man have a soul?", "Does human fate depend on the people themselves or on some supernatural factors?". It can be conjectured from the wording and essence of the questions posed that the young people do not have adequate knowledge of the material base of superior nervous functions, nor are they acquainted with the Marxist theory of personality. This facilitates the retention in their mind of idealistic views based on the religious tradition. This is especially so with regard to the issues of the meaning of life, which are

relatively seldom propagated on the Marxist-Leninist basis, but are discussed by Catholic theoreticians.

The young people desiring to enhance their knowledge of the surrounding reality are not spurred exclusively by cognitive goals, but primarily by utilitarian ones. Such knowledge is necessary in their opinion, in order to grasp the meaning of life and to take rational actions. Feeling uneasy about their status and place in the world, they search for scientific solutions. Vulgarized concepts of development, narrowing the meaning of life down to the struggle for welfare, work and natural aspects of individual human do not strike a chord in their hearts. At the same time, they doubt the correctness of religious concepts. They look for something more sublime, humanistic and optimistic in the human nature itself. This position seems to be characteristic of the period when a traditional set of concepts of the world and of the meaning of life has been abandoned whereas the scientific-materialistic worldview has not yet taken root. This worldview, on top of that, is sometimes simplified in the process of instructing and educating our youth.

The research proves that the traditional worldview of youth is definitely on the course towards internal disintegration, in other words, a process is going on in which the role and meaning of religious concepts are reduced while the role and meaning of the scientific materialistic concepts are on the rise. This is borne out by the comparison of study results on the mentality of lower class and senior class students. It turns out that the worldview convictions of seniors are to a lesser degree derived from religious motivation than those of lower class students. It can be asserted that the further into the course of studies a student is the more rational concepts of the world, of its development, and of the role and place of man in reality penetrate the system of religious interpretations facilitating the shaping of scientific views. This is not to say that reverse processes do not take hold among a segment of the youth, these processes being based on the "rationalization" of their religious worldview, or in such an interpretation of the data of natural science and achievements of humanities which leaves them in agreement with the teaching of the [Catholic] church. These tendencies surface most markedly in the group of persons declaring regular participation in Bible study sessions.

On the basis of the questions and answers provided by the respondents, the following aspects of worldview confrontation and, therefore, directions of activity in shaping the scientific worldview of the youth may be outlined.

/Philosophical interpretation of the achievements of contemporary science is the first such aspect. Propagating positive knowledge is no longer enough. It should also be accompanied by philosophical generation of the freshest scientific achievements/. Specifically, materialistic interpretations should be sought for discoveries in physical sciences, astronomy and biology. Quite a few idealistic interpretations can be mentioned in association with the discovery of antiparticles, of new facets of casual links in the microworld, of interdependence of space and time, as well as the discovery of new worlds beyond our galaxy, genetic code and other such phenomena. These serve as a basis for trumpeting "the doom of materialism" and for justifying the "correctness" of idealistic concepts.

/Another aspect of the worldview confrontation is represented by the problems of the meaning and goals of life/. It seems that we have all the prerequisites for mounting a more efficient attack in exactly this terrain with regard to criticism of both the theological concepts and contemporary bourgeois concepts.

Not only do we have the Marxist theory of shaping the "fully developed" and "harmonious" man, participating actively in economic, socio-political and cultural life, but we can also boast substantial practical progress in the field of humanization of interpersonal relations and of overcoming social barriers on the road to the full liberation of man.

The goal is to make the young people comprehend the world according to the empirical information provided by concrete sciences and to the theoretic generalizations correctly drawn from this information, to interpret to themselves scientifically the way in which the evolution of matter has brought about the advent of life and later on of man, of social development and the mental life of an individual. It also includes the understanding of how the subjective material activity of man (producing practice) lies at the root of the development of the spiritual life of mankind and being able to explain to themselves the way in which certain myths, ideological delusions and other forms of false consciousness appear to be the distorted images of certain social links and conditions of existence. The goal is also to endow them with rational views on what is most valuable, what is worth living for, what moral values should be given priority, what to aspire to in life and how the proposed goals can be achieved. Worldview education should be treated as an integral part of the all-society activity for the cause of accelerating the implementation of socialism, especially the propagation of the ideologico-moral values of socialist humanism.

9761
CSO: 2600/5

DECREE ON MINISTRY OF MACHINE TOOL INDUSTRY, ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING, ELECTRONICS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 8 Sep 81 pp 4-7

/Decree No 268 of the State Council on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry/

/Text/ The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry implements the policy of the party and state in the field of the industry of the building of machine tools, electrical engineering and electronics, precision machinery and special equipment.

The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry fulfills the function of coordinating central body for the activities in its field with regard to all socialist units subordinate to the central or local state bodies and to the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations.

Article 2. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry manages, guides and supervises the activity of the industrial centrals, of the units equivalent to them and of the other units subordinate to it and is responsible, as plan titular, for the fulfillment of the plan for its entire activity.

Article 3. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry provides in its activity for the application of the laws, the decrees, and the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry collaborates with the other ministries and central bodies and with the local bodies in order to fulfill the duties that devolve upon it.

Chapter II
Duties

Article 5. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry has the following main duties:

A. It provides and is responsible, within the framework of the sole national plan for economic and social development, for the development at a steady rate of the production of machine tools, precision machinery, tools for the machining of metal, hydraulic and pneumatic equipment, electric machines and apparatus, transformers, electronics, computer technology, equipment and apparatus for telecommunications and automation, medical technology and special equipment, for which purpose:

a) It prepares development programs and studies taking into account the orientations and trends on a world level in technical progress and the prospects of developing the deliveries of products on its manufacturing list, on the domestic and foreign market;

b) It prepares the drafts of the annual and long-term plans, and the special programs for products, groups of products and activities, on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of the subordinate units;

c) It allots the economic and financial plan indicators to the subordinate units;

d) It provides for the diversification of production and the continual raising of the qualitative characteristics of the products, in order to satisfy the needs of the national economy and increase their competitiveness on the international market;

e) It analyzes the periodic reports and balance sheets of the subordinate units and prepares the ones that involve the activity of the whole ministry;

f) It approves the technical and economic studies for the assimilation of new products of great importance;

g) It establishes the need for circulating funds for the subordinate units, in accordance with the legal norms;

h) It pursues and is responsible for the fulfillment of the indicators that devolve upon it from the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget, periodically informing the Council of Ministers;

i) It prepares and executes, in accordance with the law, the income and expense budget for the central administration of the ministry and of the subordinate budgetary units.

B. It is responsible, together with the plan titulars, for the preparation of the draft plan in branch form, providing for the balanced development of the branch.

C. It guides, supervises and provides, in the whole of the branch, for the rational utilization of the means of production, the introduction and expansion of new techniques, the assimilation of new products and the improvement of existing products, the providing of the continual raising of the quality of the products, the growth of labor productivity and the reduction of costs, and the specialization, cooperation and development of the existing units.

D. It provides for the specialization of production and the cooperation between the units subordinate to it and those of other central and local bodies.

E. It coordinates, guides, supervises and provides for the rational use of equipment and the fulfillment of the plan for capital repairs on it.

F. It coordinates and guides the activity of research, technological engineering and design in the subordinate units and that of those in the province of the branch and takes steps to supply them with necessary technical-material means and increase their efficiency. It keeps track of the results of the scientific research and is responsible for their utilization. It concerns itself with the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress into the subordinate units and the coordinate ones. It organizes the technical documentation activity specific to its field of activity and provides information to the subordinate units about the trends in technical and scientific progress on a national and world level.

G. It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation with other ministries and central bodies in the country and with partners from abroad, in its field of activity. It provides and is responsible for the application of the international conventions and agreements concerning the activity of the ministry. It supervises and provides for the fulfillment of the obligations that result from them.

H. It prepares the export plan, makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of the trade exchanges in prospect and is responsible for the fulfillment of the export tasks that devolve upon it.

I. It guides and coordinates the activity of organization of production and labor, both in the subordinate units and in those in the province of the branch. It organizes the activity of preparing, applying and supervising the work quotas and rates for all categories of personnel in its sphere of activity. It organizes the preparation of uniform work quotas and rates in the economy for the work for which it is established that it is an initiator. It approves the specific methodologies of quota and rate setting and the uniform quotas and rates in the branch, subbranches and other activities and supervises their manner of application. It promotes the introduction of modern methods and techniques into the organization and management of the economic units and of production.

J. It guides the activity of invention and innovation and concerns itself with the generalization of the most important achievements. It makes proposals regarding the matters of typification and standardization. It coordinates and supervises the activity of metrology in the subordinate units.

K. It organizes the writing of the works regarding the need for raw materials, supplies and equipment, for the subordinate units, whose balances are approved by the Council of Ministers, ministries or other central bodies and allocates the quantities provided in the balances to the industrial centrals and the units equivalent to them. It provides for the balancing of the balances for raw materials, supplies and equipment in its jurisdiction. It prepares the balance sheets of materials for the products for which it is a coordinator. It is responsible for the observance of the consumption rates for raw materials, supplies and fuel. It is responsible for the recovery and utilization of reusable material resources.

L. It exercises, in accordance with the law, the powers concerning prices and rates, in its branch and subbranches of activity.

M. It provides for the application of the policy of the party and state on personnel matters, for which purpose:

a) It establishes uniform criteria for selecting, training, improving and promoting the personnel in its branch and subbranches of activity and supervises their application;

b) It establishes the need for personnel in prospect and takes steps to train them, in accordance with the law;

c) It hires personnel for its own apparatus. It appoints the management bodies of the centrals, the equivalent units and the other directly subordinate units;

d) It organizes and provides for the improvement of the training of the management personnel and the specialists.

N. It participates in the preparation of the proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the pay system, organising the making of studies for this purpose. It provides for the uniform application of the elements of the pay system for the branch and the coordinate subbranches. It establishes general measures for continually improving the working and living conditions of the personnel.

O. It establishes, in accordance with the law, measures regarding labor protection and provides the best working conditions for the prevention of work accidents and occupational illnesses, at the subordinate units.

P. It fulfills any other duties provided by law.

Chapter III
Organization and Operation

Article 6. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry is managed by the management council, which decides on the general matters concerning the activity of the ministry. The collective leadership of the operational activity of the ministry and the providing of the implementation of the decisions of the management council are achieved through its executive bureau.

The management council of the ministry and its executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the Management of the Ministries and the Other Central Bodies of the State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 7. The minister informs the management council of the ministry about the main problems solved in the period between meetings.

Article 8. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry has in its management one minister, four deputy ministers and one state secretary.

The deputy ministers and the state secretary are appointed by means of a presidential decree, and their duties are established by the management council of the ministry.

Article 9. The minister represents the ministry in relations with the other bodies and organizations in the country and in international relations.

Article 10. Within the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry, there is organized and operates, in accordance with Decree No 78/1973, the Technical and Economic Council, a working body alongside the collective leadership bodies of the ministry.

Article 11. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry has the following organizational structure:

a) The General Directorate for the Plan, Development, and Production Supervision;

b) The Technical Directorate;

c) The Directorate for Investments, Repairs, Machinery and Power;

d) The Directorate for International Economic Cooperation, Foreign Trade, Supply and Sales;

e) The Directorate for Organization, Control, Personnel, Instruction and Wages;

f) The Directorate for Finances and Prices;

g) The Secretariat and Administrative Service.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the ministry are those provided in appendices 1 and 2.*

Article 12. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry has subordinate to it industrial centrals and units equivalent to them, enterprises, scientific-research, technological-engineering and design units, other economic units, budgetary units, specialized secondary schools and vocational schools for the training of specialized personnel.

Article 13. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry has directly subordinate to it the units mentioned in Appendix 3.

Article 14. The duties and the standards for operation of the units mentioned in Article 11 are established by the management council of the ministry, in accordance with the legal norms.

Chapter IV
Final Provisions

Article 15. It is approved that in the Technical Directorate, for the activities of technical preparation, coordination and supervision of the manufacture of equipment for nuclear electric power stations, there may be utilized two posts of principal engineer, physicist and chemist I and four posts of principal engineer, physicist and chemist II over the total number set for the apparatus of the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry, through the application of the provisions of Law No 57/1974 on Payment According to the Quantity and Quality of Labor.

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* Appendices 1 and 2 are communicated to the institutions involved.

Article 16. The personnel who move from the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry to the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry are considered transferred in the interest of service.

Article 17. The personnel transferred in the interest of service, or moved in the same unit, to positions with lower pay levels, and the personnel becoming available, as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree have the rights provided in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the Establishment of the Uniform Structural Standards for the Economic Units.

Article 18. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry is equipped with three automobiles for transportation of persons, for its own apparatus.

Article 19. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry and the other central bodies involved, will submit for approval the changes that result from applying State Council Decree No 265/1981 on the Founding of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry and the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry and the present decree, in the sole national plan for economic and social development for 1981 and for the 1981-1985 period and in the state budget.

Article 20. The provisions of laws, decrees and other regulatory acts referring to the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry apply accordingly to the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry, organised in conformity with the present decree, in accordance with its object of activity.

Article 21. Appendices 1-3 are an integral part of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 8 September 1981.
No 268.

Appendix 3.

The Units
Directly Subordinate to the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry

I. Industrial Centrals

1. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Machine Tools

2. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Precision Machinery

3. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Machines and Equipment for Light Industry

4. The Craiova Industrial Central for Electric Machines and Apparatus

5. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Motors and Electrotechnical Materials

6. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Electronics and Computer Technology

7. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Telecommunications and Automation Equipment

8. The Bucharest Industrial Central for Special Equipment

II. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and Design Institutes

1. The Bucharest Central Institute for Machine Tools, Electrical Engineering and Electronics

2. The Bucharest Scientific Research and Technological Engineering Institute for the Electrical Engineering Industry

3. The Bucharest Institute for Technological Engineering and Design of Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Enterprises

III. Other Units

1. The Bucharest Computer Center

12105
CSO: 2700

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF MINISTRY OF MACHINE BUILDING INDUSTRY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 8 Sep 81 pp 1-4

[Decree No 267 of the State Council on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry]

[Text] The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry implements the policy of the party and state in the field of the industry of the building of complex technological equipment, petroleum and mining machines and equipment, machines and equipment for construction, agricultural machines, means of transportation, aircraft, bearings and assembly parts.

The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry fulfills the function of coordinating central body for the activities in its field with regard to all socialist units subordinate to the central or local state bodies and to the cooperative organizations and the other public organizations.

Article 2. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry manages, guides and supervises the activity of the industrial centrals, of the units equivalent to them and of the other units subordinate to it and is responsible, as plan titular, for the fulfillment of the plan in its field of activity.

Article 3. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry provides in its activity for the application of the laws, the decrees, and the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry collaborates with the other ministries and central bodies and with the local bodies in order to fulfill the duties that devolve upon it.

Chapter II
Duties

Article 5. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry has the following main duties:

A. It provides and is responsible, within the framework of the sole national plan for economic and social development, for the development at a steady rate of the production of complex technological equipment for the petroleum and mining, power (including nuclear), metallurgical, chemical and petrochemical, construction-materials and food industries and the production of means of rail, automotive, ship and air transportation and systems of construction and agricultural machines, bearings and assembly parts, for which purpose:

a) It prepares development programs and studies taking into account the orientations and trends on a world level in technical progress and the prospects of developing the deliveries of products of the industry of the building of machines, heavy equipment and complex technological equipment and aeronautics, on the domestic and foreign market;

b) It prepares the drafts of the annual and long-term plans and allots the economic and financial plan indicators to the subordinate units;

c) It provides for the diversification of production and the raising of the qualitative characteristics of the products, in order to satisfy the needs of the national economy and increase their competitiveness on the international market;

d) It is responsible for the observance of the consumption rates for raw materials, supplies and fuel, takes steps to continually reduce the material, power and labor consumptions, and provides for the recovery and utilization of reusable material resources;

e) It is responsible for the attainment of the planned production and for the fulfillment of the other indicators that devolve upon it from the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget, periodically informing the Council of Ministers;

f) It approves the technical and economic studies for the assimilation of new products of great importance;

g) It establishes the need for circulating funds for the subordinate units, in accordance with the legal norms;

h) It analyzes the periodic reports and balance sheets of the subordinate units and prepares the ones that involve the activity of the whole ministry;

i) It prepares and executes, in accordance with the law, the income and expense budget for the central administration of the ministry and of the subordinate budgetary units.

B. It organizes and coordinates the execution of complex installations. It is responsible for the achievement on schedule and under good conditions of the complex installations that are in its own manufacturing plan, both for domestic needs and for exportation.

C. It prepares the export plan, makes proposals regarding the proportions, structure and orientation of the trade exchanges in prospect and is responsible for the fulfillment of the export tasks that devolve it. It is responsible for the fulfillment of the tasks of international economic cooperation in its field of activity.

D. It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation with other ministries and central bodies in the country and with partners from abroad, in its field of activity. It provides and is responsible for the application of the international conventions and agreements concerning the activity of the ministry. It supervises and provides for the fulfillment of the obligations that result from them.

E. It is responsible, together with the plan titulars, for the preparation of the draft plan in branch form, providing for the balanced development of the branch.

F. It guides, supervises and provides, in the whole of the branch, for the rational utilization of the means of production, the introduction and expansion of new techniques, the assimilation of new products and the improvement of existing products, the continual raising of the quality of the products, the growth of labor productivity and the reduction of costs, and the specialization, cooperation and development of the existing units.

G. It coordinates and guides the activity of scientific research, technological engineering and design in the subordinate units and that of those in the province of the branch and takes steps to supply them with necessary technical-material means. It keeps track of the results of the scientific research and is responsible for their utilization. It concerns itself with the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress into the subordinate units and the coordinate ones. It organizes the technical documentation activity specific to its field of activity and provides information to the subordinate units about the trends in scientific and technical progress on a national and world level.

H. It guides the activity of invention and innovation and concerns itself with the generalization of the most important achievements. It makes proposals regarding the matters of typification and standardization. It coordinates and supervises the activity of metrology in the subordinate units.

I. It guides and coordinates the activity of organization of production and labor, both in the subordinate units and in those in the province of the branch. It organizes the activity of preparing, applying and supervising the work quotas and rates for all categories of personnel in its sphere of activity. It organizes the preparation of uniform work quotas and rates in the economy for the work for which it is established that it is an initiator. It approves the specific methodologies of quota and rate setting and the uniform quotas and rates in the branch, subbranches and other activities and supervises their manner of application and promotes the introduction of modern methods and techniques into the organization and management of the economic units and of labor.

J. It organizes the writing of the works regarding the need for raw materials, supplies and equipment, for the subordinate units, whose balances are approved by the Council of Ministers, ministries or other central bodies and allocates the quantities provided in the balances to the industrial centrals and the units equivalent to them. It provides for the balancing of the balances for raw materials, supplies and equipment in its jurisdiction. It prepares the balance sheets of materials for the products for which it is a coordinator.

K. It coordinates, guides, supervises and provides for the rational use of equipment and the fulfillment of the plan for capital repairs on it.

L. It exercises, in accordance with the law, the powers concerning prices and rates, in its branch and subbranches of activity.

M. It provides for the application of the policy of the party and state on personnel matters, for which purpose:

a) It establishes uniform criteria for selecting, training, improving and promoting the personnel in its branch and subbranches of activity and supervises their application;

b) It establishes the need for personnel in prospect and takes steps to train them, in accordance with the law;

c) It hires personnel for its own apparatus. It appoints the management bodies of the centrals, the equivalent units and the other directly subordinate units;

d) It organizes and provides for the improvement of the training of the management personnel and the specialists.

N. It participates in the preparation of the proposals regarding the improvement of the elements of the pay system, organizing the making of studies for this purpose. It provides for the uniform application of the elements of the pay system for the branch and the coordinate subbranches. It establishes general measures for continually improving the working and living conditions of the personnel.

O. It establishes, in accordance with the law, measures regarding labor protection and provides the best working conditions for the prevention of work accidents and occupational illnesses, at the subordinate units.

P. It fulfills any other duties provided by law.

Chapter III
Organization and Operation

Article 6. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry is managed by the management council, which decides on the general matters concerning the activity of the ministry. The collective leadership of the operational activity of the ministry and the providing of the implementation of the decisions of the management council are achieved through its executive bureau.

The management council of the ministry and its executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the Management of the Ministries and the Other Central Bodies of the State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 7. The minister informs the management council of the ministry about the main problems solved in the period between meetings.

Article 8. The Ministry of the Machine Building Ministry has in its management one minister and six deputy ministers.

The deputy ministers are appointed by means of a presidential decree, and their duties are established by the management council of the ministry.

Article 9. The minister represents the ministry in relations with the other bodies and organizations in the country and in international relations.

Article 10. Within the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, there is organized and operates, in accordance with Decree No 78/1973, the Technical and Economic Council, a working body alongside the collective leadership bodies of the ministry.

Article 11. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry has the following organizational structure:

a) The General Directorate for the Plan and Development;

b) The General Directorate for International Economic Cooperation and Foreign Trade;

c) The Technical Directorate;

d) The Directorate for Investments, Machinery and Power, and Repairs;

e) The Directorate for Supply and Sales;

f) The Directorate for Organization, Control, Personnel, Instruction and Wages;

g) The Directorate for Finances and Prices;

h) The Secretariat, Administrative, Legal and Arbitration Service.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the ministry are those provided in appendices 1 and 2.*

Article 12. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry has subordinate to it industrial centrals and units equivalent to them, enterprises, scientific-research, technological-engineering and design units, other economic units, budgetary units, specialized secondary schools and vocational schools for the training of specialized personnel.

Article 13. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry has directly subordinate to it the units mentioned in Appendix 3.

Article 14. The duties and the standards for operation of the units mentioned in Article 11 are established by the management council of the ministry, in accordance with the legal norms.

Chapter IV
Final Provisions

Article 15. It is approved that in the Technical Directorate, for the activities of technical preparation, coordination and supervision of the manufacture of complex installations and equipment for nuclear electric power stations, there may be utilized two posts of principal engineer, physicist and chemist I and four posts of principal engineer, physicist and chemist II over the number set for the apparatus of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, through the application of Law No 57/1974 on Payment According to the Quantity and Quality of Labor.

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* Appendices 1 and 2 are communicated to the institutions involved.

Article 16. The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry is equipped with three automobiles for transportation of persons, for its own apparatus.

Article 17. The personnel who move to the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry are considered transferred in the interest of service.

Article 18. The personnel transferred in the interest of service, or moved in the same unit, to positions with lower pay levels, and the personnel becoming available, as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree have the rights provided in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the Establishment of the Uniform Structural Standards for the Economic Units.

Article 19. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, on the basis of the proposals of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry and the other central bodies involved, will submit for approval the changes that result from applying State Council Decree No 265/1981 on the Founding of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry and the Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry and the present decree, in the sole national plan for economic and social development for 1981 and for the 1981-1985 period and in the state budget.

Article 20. The provisions of laws, decrees and other regulatory acts referring to the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry apply accordingly to the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry organised in conformity with the present decree, in accordance with its object of activity.

Article 21. Appendices 1-3 are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 22. State Council Decree No 107/1975 on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 16, 20 February 1979, with the later amendments, is repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 8 September 1981.
No 267.

Appendix 3.

The List
of the Units Directly Subordinate to the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry

I. Industrial Centrals and Units Equivalent to Them

The Bucharest Industrial Central for Power and Metallurgical Equipment and Hoisting Machines

The Bucharest Industrial Central for Technological Equipment and Rolling Stock

The Bucharest Industrial Central for Technological and Chemical Equipment and Refineries

The Ploiesti Industrial Central for Petroleum and Mining Equipment

The Galati Shipbuilding Industrial Central

The Brasov Industrial Central for Motor Vehicles for Transportation

The Brasov Industrial Central for Tractors

The Pitesti-Colibasi Industrial Central for Automobiles

The Brasov Industrial Central for Bearings and Assembly Parts

The Bucharest Group of Enterprises for the Production of Agricultural Machines

The Bucharest National Center of the Romanian Aeronautical Industry

The Arad Group of Enterprises for the Production of Railroad Cars

II. Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and Design Institutes and Centers

The Bucharest Central Institute for Machine Building, the Office of Documentary Information

The Bucharest Scientific Research and Technological Engineering Institute for the Machine Building Industry

The Bucharest National Institute for Heat Engines (INMT)

The Bucharest Scientific Research, Technological Engineering and Design Institute for Hot Sectors

The Timisoara Institute for Welding and Testing of Materials

The Bucharest Institute for Technological Engineering and Designs of Machine Building Enterprises (ICPM)

III. Other Units

The Bucharest Enterprise for Special Industrial Construction and Installation (ICSIM)

The Brasov Enterprise for Industrial Construction and Installation (ICIM)

The Bucharest "Industrialexportimport" Foreign Trade Enterprise

The Bucharest "Mecanoexportimport" Foreign Trade Enterprise

The Bucharest Center for Advanced Training of Workers in the Machine Building Industry

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AGRICULTURAL NEGLECT SEEN AS RESULT OF IDEOLOGICAL EMPHASIS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 Jul 81 pp 4-7

[Article by Alexandru Catana and Doina Catana, Cluj-Napoca: "Scientific Research and Ideology"]

[Text] Science has always been socially conditioned. Scientific theories become integrated into the social conscience, not in the form of purely scientific information, but rather through a given concept of nature and society, a concept which guides all the activities of "knowledge producers" and which forms a veritable "ideologic filter" for their representations. The construction of a theory free from all social conditioning is an absurdity. The social conditioning of science acts a general law, with the ideologic filter operating both in the case of social sciences and of natural sciences. The general nature of the ideologic impact on science is dictated by the latter's single base, the material unity of the world, the unique object of study of science, and the universality of scientific research methods. Although they condition each other, science and ideology remain two relatively independent (but not autonomous) components of social knowledge. Beyond the internal laws which govern evolution, the specific nature of the methods with which they operate, as well as their finality, appear as distinct entities. Thus, while science discovers, demonstrates, and pronounces judgements of reality, ideology interprets, explains, and convinces, transforming judgements of reality into axiological judgements.

Party Spirit and Scientific Objectivity

Every society has its own scientific and ideologic representations of its operation. Naturally, the dominant representations are the ideal expression of its dominant material relationships, relationships which cause a given social class to be the dominant one: these are the ideas of its domination. The question is to determine in what measure these representations do or do not agree with the objective act of appropriately reflecting social phenomena and processes. In other words, it is a matter of establishing the correlation, specific to each social order, between party spirit and scientific objectivity. In every society, this correlation is structured by certain "pressures" which ideology exerts upon scientific objectivity.

In the doctrine of scientific socialism, the role of the "scientific" attribute is not solely to inform science about socialism, but first and foremost to indicate that for the first time in the development of society, science becomes the

foundation in the practice of building a social order. We believe that the proposition--which has now become a classic one--of transforming science into a direct production force, must be enhanced with the tendency of transforming science into a direct production relationship. Because if production relationships are those established among men in the process of economic production, and if scientific research becomes one of its spheres--closely interconnected with production itself, distribution, sales, and consumption--then it must be agreed that science stimulates and enhances the system of production relationships, while it too becomes a component of the system.

Naturally, the transformation of science into a direct production relationship needs to be interpreted, not from an economist's viewpoint, through the simple and artificial implantation of science into the classic architecture of the system of production relationships, nor through the formulation of its purpose of causing more, better, faster, and higher quality production. Science becomes a component of production relationships because by its means these relationships can be perfected and improved by man through knowledge, understanding, and innovation. The production manifestations of man in socialism do not solely reflect a given economic structure (base), since through the intermediary of science, man can and must predict and generate a new economic quality.

Through the intermediary of technical efforts and technology, science becomes objectified into the material elements of production forces, and through the intermediary of the theories, laws, and rules which it creates, it participates in the economic operation of society, enabling man to play the role of conscious economic subject. Seen from these two standpoints, science is an objective component of both aspects of the production mode, which it stamps with a new, specific, and authentically human quality.

But the objective determination of science must not be limited solely to the economics sphere, since it manifests itself at the level of global social determinism. Thus, beyond its striclty economic aspect, science in socialism expands its direct implications on human personality, contributing to the real assertion of the new man. "In order to operate properly," Marx has said, "the new forces of society need only one thing: new men." (1)

The need for the new men is synonymous with the need for science, and if the latter is itself of human essence, then the building of socialism is conditioned by the very development of science. In the building of socialism as a whole, any active manifestation of man tends to become scientific.

The attraction of all workers into the effort which generates scientific progress, becomes an objectively necessary condition for building the new social order. Acquiring a strong mass nature, under socialism science must become a social practice. It is no longer the prerogative of initiates, but penetrates into increasingly wide strata, strongly affecting the "sense of community." (2) Today, scientific thought attains social dimensions and the language of science becomes universal.

Because the building of the new social order is the result of a scientific, conscious action of the masses, socialism is by excellence a "political society" in which, however, political power is not manifested as class domination, but as a

leadership role, a legitimate political authority. From objects of domination, the people are transformed into subjects of political power. Interested directly and without reserve in promoting scientific knowledge, the working class led by the communist party, promotes in an objectively necessary manner a scientific policy based on an ideology of scientific truth. That which is science and that which is ideology become blended into scientific ideology (3), merging into an inseparable whole which generates a new quality, an ideology in which objective truth is part and parcel of the party spirit.

Through the actual social determination of science and scientific research, socialism thus offers conditions for substantially reducing the pressure generally exerted by society on scientific objectivity. Combining party spirit with scientific rationality, the ideology of the working class is characterized by vast outcroppings of knowledge, since socialism by its very nature offers the possibility to erase the contradiction between scientific values and ideologic values. Under socialism, the science-ideology relationship acquires a harmonizing effect: in order to be humanly verifiable, science cannot bypass the ideologic filter, and in order to be scientifically founded, ideology cannot avoid the "censorship of knowledge."

Relationships Between Scientific Values and Ideologic Ones

However, even under the conditions of socialism, the relative independence of science and ideology, as well as the distinct conceptual and methodological systems of these two areas of social conscience, can generate certain opposing forces and contradictory relationships, especially when they are a matter of voluntary interpretation of social reality. The disharmony between scientific rationality and ideology can thus be due primarily to subjective causes.

Under socialism, although the working class acts on the basis of its own ideology, it promotes the fundamental common interests of all social classes, categories, and groups. The economic foundation of all these common interests is the social ownership of the means of production. But socialist property assumes two forms--state and cooperative--which, when taken separately, are the economic foundation of the specific interests of the working class and cooperative peasantry. The dialectic of these interests is such that the economic and social manifestations of the two classes occur first under the direct impetus of specific interests, and only then under that of general interests. (4) The specific interests of the working class are much more similar to the general interests of society, as a result of which society, by virtue of its leadership role, assigns them priority.

It is known for instance, that socialism in developing nations cannot manifest its economic superiority over capitalism, given the absence of its own modern technical-material basis. The creation and development of this basis requires a vast, lengthy, and costly process of industrialization. Because it is of general socioeconomic interest, the need for industrialization has assumed concrete form in a fundamental law of ideology in those socialist nations which have inherited a poorly developed technical-material basis. But the relationship between the ideologic law of industrialization and the actual industrialization process has not been free from contradictions. "In the light of the experience gained from the building of socialism in our country," Nicolae Ceausescu has shown, "it now becomes quite evident that the idea of assigning priority to industrialization at the

expense agricultural development and modernization, has in fact led to neglect of the importance of higher agricultural production. The application of this orientation creates disproportions in the general socioeconomic development and has negative influences on the standard of living of the population." (5) Notable among the negative effects are the lower rate of agricultural development compared to that of industrial development; the allotment to industry of an excessively large proportion of the national income created by agriculture; the lower level of labor productivity in agriculture as compared to that of industry; the defective operation of the contract system for agricultural products; the widening gap between the decreasing manpower in agriculture and the insufficient mechanization of agricultural work; the feminization and aging of the manpower involved in agriculture; the inadequate system for vesting the material interests of workers in agriculture; and so on.

The logic of a unilateral economic policy of assigning priority to industrial development, creates conditions for contradictions between the working class and the peasantry. To be sure, these contradictions do not manifest themselves in the form of conflicts, but if they are not analyzed, are neglected, and are left unsolved, they can become antagonistic. That is why, aware of the class basis of its ideology, the party of the working class is constantly interested in objectively knowing the situation of actions taken by other social classes, categories, and strata. The working class can fulfill its social-historic role only by reconciling its economic position, its scientific ideology, and social practice. A balance in this tryptich reduces the "tension" between subjectivity and objectivity, generating and perpetuating the concordance of will, knowledge, and action.

An objective cause for an eventual disharmony between scientific objectivity and ideology could be found in the relativity of both terms in the relationship. The objectivity of knowledge is a subjective-mental reconstruction of the object being researched, verified in practice. But the subject is not a static entity: it is conditioned by the evolution of the object, its structure being determined by natural, economic, social, and political phenomena and processes.

Society as subject determines the reality as object, but in order to satisfy the rigorous demands of objectivity, subjectivity must be universal. At a theoretical level, socialism offers the possibility of attenuating the tension between object and subject, between what is objective and what is subjective. In fact, the ideologic standards of the working class can transform this possibility into reality by incorporating the objectivity of the actions of socioeconomic development laws, into decisions of political power.

Intimately bound with the objective cause discussed above, the correlation of scientific objectivity with party spirit can also be disturbed by the dialectic of the theory-practice couple, by the specific means used to adapt social sciences and ideology to its oscillations. Social evolution occurs not because it is demanded by the laws of social sciences or the theories they formulate, but rather follows an objective law independent of theoretical constructs.

In this context, the complexity of the theory-practice dialectic sometimes allows the coexistence of theoretical prediction, and of practical phenomena and processes that are not explained by theory. Even if the pre-existence of a theoretical explanation for a real, concrete manifestation of practice tends to assume the

character of law, the wealth and complexity of social life generates situations in which up-to-date phenomena and processes have not only failed to be theoretically predicted, but have also been insufficiently explained by theory during their occurrence. The latter situation is clearly a case in which science is overwhelmed by social practice. The objective cause for this situation rests in the pronounced independence of practice from science, an independence which among other things is manifested by an "explosion" of phenomena and processes which enrich practice to such an extent, that at times it becomes more difficult to grasp it, and more difficult to define and explain it from a scientific standpoint.

As an example, we note that the practice of the building of socialism did not proceed entirely along the lines formulated by Marxism. It is known for instance, that the classic theory of the socialist revolution forecast a world victory for socialism, while practice, which has been more extensive, followed another line, that of the building of socialism on a national scale. The confrontation of the Marxist theory of socialist revolution with the actual practice of building the new social order, was caused by the fact that the socialist revolutions did not occur in economically and politically developed capitalist countries, as Marx and Engels believed, but rather in those countries which were weak links in the world capitalistic system, and which generally were at a low level of economic development.

A similar discrepancy is known to exist between the Marxist prediction that the production of goods would disappear under socialism, and the undeniable reality of the commercial form of organization of the socialist economy. The dogmatization of the classic concept that socialism is incompatible with the production of goods, has generated the idea that the socialist economy should operate on the basis of state subventions, beyond criteria of profitability and efficiency, an idea whose practical application caused vast negative effects in the socialist economy.

For a while, the idea of socialism's superiority was sustained as the "absence" of contradictions, which were considered simply as unbalances, remainders of capitalism, and conditions which were not specific to the new social order. Reality showed that the building of the new order is a contradictory process, in the accepted philosophical sense of the manifestation of contradictions. Theoretically, Marx and Engels believed that the building of socialism would be a relatively rapid process, overestimating its real possibilities. Translated to its mechanics, this idea became a simplistic view of the duration of the socialist construction, limited only to the time interval necessary to build the unified socialist economy. However, historical practice disabled this proposition as well. The Romanian Communist Party, by formulating the Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society, demonstrated a profound understanding of the dialectic of the socialist society, a dialectic which assumes evolutionary stages and levels at which specific objectives are planned and achieved according to the real possibilities at any given time.

Starting again from the hypothesis of a rapid construction of socialism, Marx and Engels proposed the disappearance of the state under socialism, and the transformation of the state and other political organs into forms of self-administration on the part of producers, into a "government of the people by the people." But the practice of the building of socialism asserted the growing leadership role of the party, and the development of political institutions and relationships.

These examples show the stochastic nature of socioeconomic phenomena and processes, according to which history is the sole judge of scientific theories. "The question of whether human thought can attain objective truth is not a theoretical question, but a practical one... The controversy around the reality or non-reality of a thought that is divorced from practice is a purely rhethorical matter." (6)

In connection with the fact that science is being outperformed by practice, it is necessary to specify that for science to remain science, it must respond to methodological constraints. By this, of course, we do not mean the crowding of its object (in other words, practice) into methodologic molds; rather, the constriction of phenomena into laws, of the general into the particular, of diversity into unity, is a process relatively independent of the increasingly strong dynamism of social practice.

The relationship between science and practice is becoming even more complex due to the interconnection between its terms and ideology. The chain of interconditioning could have the following configuration: 1) practice requests, 2) science pronounces the judgement of reality, 3) practice verifies the judgement, 4) ideology transforms the judgement of reality into axiological judgement, integrating it into its general theory through its human verification.

Practice and the Gnoseologic Function of Science

Even if it is the sole arbiter of objectivity, the single instance of truth, the only criterion for verifying rationality, social practice cannot be substituted for knowledge. Science is synthesized, abstracted practice.

One consequence of turning social practice into an absolute, is an underestimation of the essential function of science--theoretical explanation--and an overestimation of applied research. The contention between applied research and fundamental research is one form of the more general contention between the application function of science and its gnoseologic function. The first function is strongly conditioned by the priorities imposed by concrete socioeconomic conditions, while the second function is less directly and indirectly dependent on these priorities. However, such an objective reality can be adulterated by a unilateral, utilitarian approach to science, which reduces it only to its impact on pressing practical problems of "here and now."

The classification of scientific research into fundamental and applied categories is relative, of course. Despite this, the term "fundamental" is often considered as the opposite of the term "experimental," which is not correct, since experiments are the indispensible basis for most theoretical research. The term fundamental is at times given a chronological connotation, in the sense that the fundamental research precedes the applied one. At other times, the term has an ontological connotation, in which the fundamental is the primordial principle from which science is derived. Used in an axiological sense, the term fundamental means "of special importance." In fact, the classification of scientific research into fundamental and applied categories strikes a certain bookkeeping note, which erects a rigid boundary between various types scientific research.

The applied nature of scientific research must not be taken literally and attributed only to research with immediate material results. Can anyone question the application value of the theory of relativity? Can anyone forget that the theory of complex numbers issued from the precincts of pure mathematics to become the foundation of the most advanced industries, such as electronics and aeronautics? Could anyone have imagined 25 years ago, that the theory of infinite dimensional space would today become the basis of models for macroeconomic optimization? Is then theoretical research in economics, philosophy, biology, and so on, divorced from practice?

To deem that production is the sole determinant of the applicability of scientific research, is to limit social practice to only one of its aspects--production practice. The history of science demonstrates that all scientific discoveries with rigorous theoretical foundations, independently of the area of knowledge from which they arose, whose usefulness was confirmed in a given sector of social practice, were sooner or later necessarily implemented into social practice, independently of the difficulty of their application.

Without falling into our own trap of unilaterality, we must nevertheless stress the importance of theoretical explanation, which is at least equal to that of application itself. The social loss caused by inadequate or poorly oriented theoretical research is incomparably higher than the corresponding social labor. The point is that the delayed effect of theoretical research, even if it is not directly and immediately oriented toward practice, generates the continued development of science in general.

Oscillations between theory and practice can thus be damped by conceiving the dialog between them in such terms that it will operate, not on the basis of an occasional relationship of demand (from the practical side)-offer (from theory), but on the basis of the built-in need of practice to become materialized theory, and of the built-in need of theory to be applied and verified in practice.

Promoting a scientific policy with broad forecasting possibilities, the Program-Directive for Scientific Research, Technical Development, and Introduction of Technologic Progress for the 1981-1990 Period, and Major Orientations up to the Year 2000, provides that "research will prepare the reserve of scientific discoveries and technical solutions necessary for the future development of our country." Conceived in these terms, the promotion of science will have a solid theoretical foundation which will assure the progress of knowledge, before socioeconomic practice generates pressing problems which render the need for this knowledge even more acute.

In the domain of social sciences, the overestimation of applied research can be manifested through the proliferation of economic determinism, which in turn can become the foundation of economic ideologism. The dogmatization of the Marxist demonstration of the primordial role of economic relationships in social development, can thus warp global social determinism, transforming it into absolute economic determinism, according to which the economic aspect of social life becomes an autonomous domain with absolute authority over the other domains of social life, and one whose movement is considered the unique cause of the evolution of society.

Under the concept of purely economic determinism, a change in the mode of production automatically changes the entire social order. In this manner, the dialectic causality of social development becomes a mechanical causality of economic development; for instance, social production and economic production are almost universally considered as identical, the first being used in the sense of the latter. Yet, economic production is aimed only at the reproduction of production factors and of the subsystem of production relationships, while social production incorporates the entire system of social relationships.

Similarly, purely economic determinism is rooted in the proposition that the law which correlates production relationships with the nature and level of production forces, is a universal law of historical development, while in fact it only reflects the functioning of the modes of production. In general, the unilateralization of determinism strikes either a strong technologic note which stresses the absolute nature of the primordial role of production forces in socioeconomic development, or a purely economic note, in which the primordial role is assigned to production relationships.

The multilateral dialectic outlook of Marxism excludes the assignment of an absolute value to the economic factor in historical development, a development it conceives as being determined by an uninterrupted chain of causes which at the same time prove to be an uniterrupted chain of effects. Society is the result of an interaction among the economic, social, and political subgroups; it is ultimately the result of a global social determinism, in which the economic factor is primordial, but not unique nor absolute. When the primordial nature of the economic factor is assimilated by ideology in an adulterated, absolute form, economic determinism becomes economic ideologism. At the theoretical level, economic ideologism institutes the use of economic research for purposes with inadequate scientific foundations, which in turn creates a gap between ideology and scientific objectivity. Dogmatism and traditionalism, superficiality and perfunctoriness, can then take root in the social sciences, making it impossible to stress the nature of these social sciences as instruments for researching and understanding events and reality.

The gap between ideology and scientific objectivity can be created by a distorted subjectivity which for this reason warps the researcher. This impasse is in no way due to "ideologic barriers," but results from the double subjectivity which paralyzes some researchers when faced with a new, original, creative thought. They stop on the borderline of the new, afraid of being told that "this is not written in any document," since they do not understand that party documents do not create a scientific vacuum, but on the contrary, demand a ceaseless socio-political and economic research.

Under socialism, science means action, attitude, responsibility, and courage, because in the words of the secretary general of the party, "the danger does not rest in the possibility that in the course of research someone or other will reach a wrong conclusion in social sciences... This is inevitable, and until now--and I believe in the future as well, including in the communist society--no one in the world can pretend that all that is undertaken will end only in good results. Science can develop only through a free confrontation of opinions and ideas. Of course, debatable and criticizable propositions and opinions exist and will arise, especially in the social sciences. This is not what we need to fear; the major fear and the principal danger is to not conduct research activities because of the fear to be wrong."

Under the conditions of the socialist society, the proposition that science is transformed into a production force, is also extended to the social sciences. These are no longer simple means for describing and interpreting socioeconomic phenomena and processes, but through an amplification of their pragmatic functions, they become instruments for founding and fulfilling the goals and priorities of the development of the socialist society. None of the problems which are facing the building of socialism can be solved any longer without the participation of social sciences.

The interdisciplinary approach to social progress is the major trend in the development of contemporary science. The efficiency of this approach also requires a new point of view on the role of society's sciences. Since socialism is itself a social innovation, an appropriate development of the sciences which analyze and lend strength to this innovation must also be undertaken. (7) In general, social innovation today plays a role at least as important as that of technical and technologic innovations. In our opinion, however, we are still witnessing an underutilization of the possibilities for communication between social sciences and socioeconomic policies. This underutilization is generated either by the slowness with which social sciences solve the problems raised by social circumstances, or by the fact that theoretical solutions are needed or proposed "by tomorrow," ignoring the methodological constraints of scientific research, and the analytic and lasting character of some solutions or their variants.

In fact, we must recognize that the major responsibility still rests with the social sciences, which are among the few sciences which do not make sufficient use of forecasting. This is actually the major argument of those who support the underdevelopment of social sciences with respect the other sciences.

The ethical significance of respect toward scientific objectivity is most profound in the field of social sciences. These sciences are the "carriers of reason" in social development, and if human reason is called upon to play an essential role in the building of the new order, then the researchers in the field of social sciences must be among its principal messengers. This imposes the need for a knowledge of the usefulness and work of researchers in the social sphere, based on true social responsibility. The first moral duty of the scientist is to struggle to assure the lasting nature of advances in his domain; in our society, the scientist must be a citizen profoundly involved in the process of social development.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Opere" [Works], Vol 12, Ed. Politica, 1962, p 4.

2. To think scientifically "means to move against the vulgar common sense which is dogmatic and hungry for peremptory certitudes" (A. Gramsci, "Opere Alese" [Selected Works], Ed. Politica, 1969, p 101).

3. A rigorous analysis of the term has been made by Georgeta Florea in "Ideologie si Cunoastere" [Ideology and Knowledge], Ed. Politica, 1979, pp 47-53.

4. The movement of the system of economic interests in socialism is analyzed in detail by N. N. Constantinescu in "Problema Contradictiei in Economia Socialista" [The Problem of Contradiction in the Socialist Economy], Ed. Politica, 1973, pp 144-171.

5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Second Congress of the Management Councils of Socialist Agricultural Units, of the Entire Peasantry", in SCINTEIA, 20 February 1981.

6. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Opere Alese in Doua Volume" [Selected Works in Two Volumes], Vol 2, 1967, p 373.

7. Petru Panzaru, "The Condition of the New in Social Sciences", in ERA SOCIALISTA, No 8/1978, p 19.

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COMPLAINTS ON DISASTER RELIEF PAYMENTS ANSWERED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1602, 13 Sep 81 pp 12-15

[Article by Milan Milosevic based on an interview with Radomir Djacic, director of the Montenegrin Fund for Reconstruction and Development: "Where Is the Solidarity Dinar Going?"]

[Text] On 15 April 1979 100 people died in Montenegro, 1,700 were injured, 30,000 workers were left without jobs for a lengthy period, and 80,000 people were left without a roof over their heads.

These facts are such that they make solidarity all but an untouchable subject. Nevertheless, some of the letters from NIN's readers reek so much of dissatisfaction that in spite of the risk of a misunderstanding attention should be paid to them at least as a fact in social psychology.

"I am aware that by setting aside money for the solidarity fund I am not buying the right to spend my summer vacation on the Montenegrin coast, but it does pain me that my wife and children and I cannot afford to go there when I am setting aside a part of my sweat for it." This letter from Sulj Vukojevic, a worker who lives in Zrenjanin (address: Backa 21), explains in a way the causes of the temperature which has risen this summer concerning the Solidarity Fund.

Zoko Rancic of Leban has sent us a letter which at the least bears witness that the assumptions recently set forth by our reader Dragan Savic are fairly widespread. He cites certain examples from Leban Opstina after the disastrous floods in 1976 and says: "Comrade Savic can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that Kursumlija and Titograd are not the only places where it is like that. He can freely come to Leban and see the villas and buildings on which the solidarity aid was spent. Some of them are even three stories high."

Milan Kovacevic, who is retired and lives in the 4th of July Settlement in Cetinje, writes that after the earthquake people in that city were seized by a "mania for credit, stories went round about how much in grants and credit each one was entitled to, various forms began to fly around, and owners of abandoned houses turned up with applications for credit, and connections based on godparenthood or friendship or some other relation were used to fish in troubled

waters." The content of our questions, then, should be attributed to the list of charges contained in these other letters which we have received!

There Is Not Enough Money for Hanky-Panky

Radomir Djacic, director of the Montenegrin Fund for Reconstruction and Development, and members of his staff very patiently answered these unpleasant questions, emphasizing that there is no occasion here for this kind of bitterness:

"It is in the interest of Montenegro, and this has been emphasized several times in the Assembly and in the Central Committee, to distribute the funds as optimally and honestly as possible. This requirement does not follow only from a sense of honor, but also from the fact that the funds furnished fall short by one-fourth of the estimated damage. The criteria for evaluating those funds are not yet ready, and it is certain that inflation is a threat to the funds which are in any case insufficient.

"The damage in Montenegro was assessed by 163 commissions from all the republics and provinces according to a standard Yugoslav methodology which, for example, called for losses to be assessed at the book value of the assets destroyed. In the case of facilities dating back some time it was necessary in some cases to furnish as much as tenfold more funds than the amount of assessed damage. It is in our interest, then, to keep an account of every dinar."

Because of the suspicion of one of our readers that a portion of the funds for the earthquake is going for adaptation of sports stadiums, we asked whether the monitoring institutions guaranteed that the money went only to those who had suffered a loss. Absolutely, Djacic said. Every specific case can be checked on the spot, we have no secrets from the Yugoslav public. We ourselves make checks twice a year, and the Social Accounting Service is monitoring the use of that money. Decisions on the funds are made by the Fund's assembly (86 delegates), and the funds, which are less than the damage assessed, are distributed in proportion to the assessments of those 163 commissions. Every year an exhaustive report is made on this and is debated by the SFRY Assembly and the assemblies of the republics and provinces. Up to now we have not had any criticism whatsoever. In any case, every dinar assigned to the wrong purpose must be returned.

Have there been complaints from individual citizens?

"A few. Mostly these were isolated cases. For example, we have received three anonymous letters, one from the Kolasin area, one from Bar; every one was checked out by us and by the oversight committees in the assembly. We received two complaints from individuals in Cetinje who felt that they had been shortchanged. One person from Kolasin complained because two co-owners obtained credits for a house that had been demolished, but he, since he did not live there, comes last on the list according to our criteria, so that those other two could not commence construction. Do not forget that 80,000 people were hurt by the earthquake; it would be an illusion to expect that no one is going to feel dissatisfied. One thing is altogether certain: every credit can be checked out this very day."

Some people point to the occurrence of fictitious breaking up of households to obtain more credit.

"I can tell you that there were such attempts. Wherever this has been discovered, however, it was thwarted. But it is quite certain that there have been few cases when anyone obtained something he was not entitled to. It might have happened that someone, for example, reached the top of the list 6 months or so earlier, but even those are only isolated cases. There have also been examples on the other side: One family has just moved from Cetinje to Bar. In Cetinje they did not grant credit, saying that they had moved. In Bar they also said no, arguing that they had not moved there, but were only visiting.

"There has also been a bit of human spite here. I have heard, for example, that there have been reproaches to that effect in Ulcinj. It is a fact, however, that in certain old buildings there were several households; though they were using a single entrance, each was living on his own."

Were there cases when households were hastily broken up after 15 April to get around the law, which states that the status on the day of the earthquake must be taken as the basis?

"There were such attempts, just as there were attempts for some people to claim that they were subtenants when they were not. This was combated as best we were able.

"I can say quite definitely that in other similar cases this type of systematic supervision has not been carried out in the past. We have worked out a system of what we refer to as earthquake checks. The individual would receive only a small amount of money at once; all the rest he would receive in installments through checks. When he spends the check for cement, a particular commission must certify this transaction before he can get the next check. We did this in order to prevent speculation and to prevent the money for reconstruction from being used for other purposes. Incidentally, in the earthquake disaster area the sale of real estate was prohibited until this July in order to prevent speculation."

What Can Be Done With 150 Million

What amount of credit has been extended?

"The law allows maximum compensation of 80 percent of property damage, and a maximum of 50 million old dinars for 20 years for a house that has been destroyed. Those who lived in the houses that were destroyed were entitled to a maximum of 55 million old dinars--5 million was given as a grant in aid not to be returned. In 1979 that maximum amount was actually far less--35 million. Credit up to a maximum of 25 million old dinars could be obtained for a damaged house. I ask you, and you ask me and anyone, what can be done with that money? To be sure, these checks are worth somewhat more than a tax exemption, but little would be done if relatives were not helping on a large scale--for every major job on a house here people get together and donate their labor. There are

few exceptions to that rule. Many people have invested all their savings, especially those on the coast, since most of the population there earns its living in hostelry. For them the house is not just a roof over their head, but also a means of making a living.

"So far about 8,500 housing units have been built, and more than 11,000 repaired. Construction in the socialized sector has been virtually completed, but in the private sector it will last until 1983, and probably will be extended to 1984 as well. Though providing housing to the population was a priority task, we still have not provided housing to 1,190 families. In Ulcinj, Budva, Kotor and Herceg-Novi they are still living in weekend cottages, in vacation camps and camping trailers. The property loss in the private sector has been estimated at 22 billion, and 13 billion dinars worth of credit has been furnished. Along with that we should not forget that in 1978 a kilogram of cement cost 1.41 dinars, and in 1980 it cost 2.7 dinars. Two years ago a window cost 2,537 dinars, and in 1980 5,080 dinars."

Djacic emphasized that in that kind of tight squeeze for money it was inevitable that temperatures should rise in certain cases, and he therefore thinks it was pouring oil on the fire for NIN to publish without verification the supposition of certain readers that officials in Montenegro were buying cars with the solidarity funds.

"I can assert quite responsibly and pledge, as the saying goes, my honor, my life and everything, that the funds of the earthquake fund were used to purchase one and only one car, which was a Renault 30TS for the official use of the Fund. The car was purchased in Novo-Mesto for 51 million old dinars; dinars, not foreign exchange, were used. These funds were not used to pay for a single other car, not even by work organizations.

"We have not discovered a single case when someone purchased a car with the credit, and this is something we certainly would have detected. It was not possible. Every individual and indeed every officeholder has a first and last name; if anyone knows of examples to the contrary, just let him supply the information. This way will not do."

In the next portion of his answer Djacic pointed out a possible source of confusion: "I know that some cars were allotted among the republics by the competent federal agency just in advance of the earthquake. The Republic of Montenegro received some 20 Audis assembled in Sarajevo and a smaller group from Kikinda. These are the only automobiles that turned up, and they were purchased before the earthquake. However, many automobiles have been donated. For example, when one firm makes a donation to another--Mercedes gives a car to Zeta-trans. Many specialized vehicles were donated for medical institutions by humanitarian organizations. There were cases when organizations of associated labor purchased vehicles with their own funds, not with the funds of the Solidarity Fund, since the cars of many were destroyed, and they were exempted from duty and taxes. That is the whole truth about vehicles, there cannot be any other truth."

The Truth About Sales

We asked about the fate of the goods donated which reached the disaster area right after the earthquake.

"Trailers, tents, blankets, and blood plasma, all those things were distributed by the republic solidarity fund, which recently ceased to exist, and we are its legal heirs. All the goods which have lasting value are public property; some has already been distributed to tourist organizations; even this season there were camps set up in that way. Some went to national defense, and some of those tents are now in reserve for some future emergency. For example, aid was sent to Italy and has now been sent to Banjaluka from that portion. All must be returned to the Fund for Reconstruction and Construction--not all has yet been returned (the deadline is in 1983), since people building houses are keeping the tents, for example, to use as cover for cement or furniture."

Have there been sales of those goods, as some readers have indicated?

Ilija Popovic, a member of the managing board of the fund, who at the time of the disaster was civil defense commander in Ulcinj, says that after the population had been cared for in local communities, there might have been some sales at a time when all needs had been met. For example, at that time we had no place to store food, Popovic said. The sale was conducted through business organizations, and the money was paid into the solidarity giro account and was used for housing the population. At that time certain enterprises were themselves offering to sell trailers, for example. But they were not part of the aid.

(At this point the reporter also encountered the other side of our solidarity: A part of the goods which reached the Montenegrin coast that April were unusable. And something else--the aid which arrived at that time was by and large recorded later as a contribution to reconstruction of the disaster area. Certain republics even included transportation services during the disaster as part of their share.)

As a matter of fact, one might have expected a greater fever in an area in which so many people's living was threatened. In one organization of associated labor in Belgrade known to this reporter the allocation of five dwelling units has been a topic of debate since the earthquake. It is a wonder no one has been killed. Compared to that remarks like these nevertheless ring true:

"Though I have two yellows, I did not get credit, and he did with one green, and he also divorced his wife to get the credit, and he is supposed to be a member of the party."

On the way to Cetinje the reporter understood these remarks to be a venting of dissatisfaction and a manifestation of the heated moral pressure brought to bear on every attempt to do something underhanded. On the basis of what is to be seen along the way down to Budva, Kotor and Petrovac one can conclude that private individuals are actually the most resourceful. Houses are being built like

those in the other sections of the coast. By and large people have reached the slab which covers the basement. One sees building materials everywhere, and one also sees builders from Bosnia, from Kosovo and from other regions. A passerby's general impression, however, is that this region has not yet got on its feet. In Cetinje, which has kept its old appearance, the Biljarda has been closed for renovation. Down in Kotor Bay, the town of Kotor is like an old man in a coma waiting for a transfusion.

"Cultural monuments are our most difficult problem," Djacic says. Most of the time went in preparing the plans. We do not have enough trained people who know this job. And here machines do not help. We are dealing with delicate things--the Piva Monastery, for example, has been carried over for 7 years. Next year we will finally begin in Kotor and Budva," Djacic says, emphasizing that at present movable works of art have by and large been stored in safe places. The earthquake destroyed 485 cultural monuments and damaged 1,156. All of approximately 15,000 museum exhibits were badly damaged. The tourist industry, which in 1979 dropped from 120,000 to 54,000 beds, has, to be sure, returned to the original number this year and has been experiencing the fastest renewal, but the atmosphere of the construction site is obviously holding things back.

Since the middle of last year project plans have also begun to come in for construction and reconstruction of the economy. Reconstruction of the port of Bar is beginning. Actually, only the most basic problems of the economy have been healed, but it will take several years for its complete reconstruction. Those we talked with point out how complicated these advance estimates are. Reconstruction of the sea salt facility at Ulcinj will cost 522 million. The facility received 338 in damages, it invested 70 million of its own, it received 560,000 from the fund for the underdeveloped, and it has borrowed 57 million dinars abroad in a situation when it itself has been greatly affected.

[Box, p 14] Who Is Giving How Much

Republic or Province	Obligations for 1981 (not adjusted for inflation)	Paid as of 28 Aug 81
1. Bosnia-Hercegovina	1,053.6	513.2
2. Macedonia	476.2	252.0
3. Slovenia	1,384.8	577.4
4. Serbia	2,029.6	1,261.7
5. Croatia	2,220.0	900.0
6. Montenegro	144.1	108.7
7. Vojvodina	936.4	570.0
8. Kosovo	183.7	62.5
Total	8,428.4	4,245.5

(in millions)

Last year, for example, slightly more than 7 billion dinars were committed to reconstruction (by 1985 the republics and provinces are covering 53 billion of the estimated total damage, which is 72 billion). Slightly more than 3 billion of last year's amount went to the economy, 2.3 to private individuals and 1.7 billion to noneconomic activities. Among economic organizations hostelry has so far received the most, 1.5 billion last year, and the largest items for noneconomic activities are socially owned housing, elementary schools and the health service.

Were structures demolished which should not have been demolished, as it seemed to one of our readers from Cetinje, when he saw demolition charges being placed on the Park Hotel, which originally had been scheduled for repairs?

"The Slovenes drew up plans for repairing that hotel," Djacic said. "The facade of that hotel was sound, and the commissions, which at that time had tight deadlines, estimated the situation from the cracks which they saw. When the mortar was removed, it was evident that the load-bearing members had been considerably damaged. The case of this hotel even came before the central committee, but unfortunately it had to be demolished. There are dozens of such structures which we have had to demolish, though at first they were not marked red. They include the Intercontinental Hotel in Budva, a school in Cetinje, and so on," Djacic said.

Those we talked with took pains to show that the solidarity dinar is strictly monitored and turned over several times before it is used. We are publishing their responses at length.

Will they be sufficient in and of themselves to convince those who have begun to suspect solidarity? And suspicions can be heightened by incidents like the one in Bar, where, according to POLITIKA, construction of certain dwellings "larger than 100 square meters" has begun in the face of all local regulations. Here the origin of the money was not even the essential thing. It is understandable that citizens look with a sharper eye at the solidarity funds than on other money. Possible machinations, just like unfounded suspicions, can undermine one of the basic values (and obligations) of our society: solidarity. Those we talked to also agree with that.

And, of course, no one wants to see a repetition of the theme in Domanovic's story: One man gave another a poncho to keep off the rain, and then afterward he pestered him so persistently that he drove him to jump into the river.

7045
CSO: 2800

BRIEFS

NEW SLOVENIAN YOUTH LEADERS--The republican conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia elected the following new members of the Presidium of the Republican Committee of the League at today's session: Bogdan Cepic, Branko Florjancic, Srec Kirn, and Vili Psenicny. Bojan Fink was re-elected vice-president and Robert Cerne was re-elected secretary. The new president is Darja Colaric and the former president, Boris Bavdek, has assumed the duty of executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia for the political system. Darja Colaric is a resident of Novo Mesto. She was born in 1952. She is a pharmaceutical technician by profession and has been active in youth organizations since elementary school. One of her positions was that of president of the Novo Mesto Opstina Committee of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia. [Excerpts] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 9 Oct 81 p 1]

CSO: 2800/38 END

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2 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1936

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Party Organ Reports on District Party Conferences
(Editorial Report) 1

'ZERI I POPULLIT' Details Population Increase
(ATA, 13 Oct 81) 3

Briefs
Death of Internal Affairs Cadre 5
Youths Volunteer To Settle in Villages 5

BULGARIA

BCP-SED West Berlin Talks End in Sofia
(BTA, 9 Oct 81) 6

Zhivkov Greets Journalists' Conference in Varna
(BTA, 14 Oct 81) 8

Briefs
Lao Delegation 10
TV Protocol With Cuba 10
Communications Competition, Conference 10
German Documents 10
Trade Agreement With Canada 11
Transportation, Traffic Conference 11
MPLA Delegation 11
Delegation Back From Hungary 11
Grigorov to Vietnam 11
Bozhinov in Ruse 11
Zhivkov Congratulates Iranian President 11
Cooperation Documents Signed in Bucharest 12
Soviet Reception in Plovdiv 12
Petur Dyulgerov in Stara Zagora 12
U.S. Ambassador Awarded 12
U.S. Ambassador Departs 12

International Conference 13
UNIDO Seminar 13
International Optics School 13
Trade Talks With Yugoslavia 13
Dailies Report on Poland 13
Consultations With Canada 14
Demand for Maydana's Release 14
Bozhinov Receives Cuban Jurists 15
SED Delegation Leaves Sofia 15
U.S. Strategic Nuclear Program 15
Tanzanian Military Delegation Has Talks 16
Tanzanian Military Delegation Arrives 16
Messages to Kim Il-song 16
Press on Events in Egypt 17
Premier Filipov Visits Shumen 17
Commission Discusses Self-Sufficiency Issues 18
Solidarity Congress Developments 18
Press on al-Sadat's Death 19
Agreement With Lao Front 19
Tanzanian Group Visits Veliko Turnovo 20
Economic Talks With Austria 20
Stanishev Receives Netherlands Visitor 20
Grisha Filipov Visits Tolbukhin Okrug 20

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Party Elite's Indifference to Workers Criticized
(Eugen Hanisko; PRAVDA, 18 Sep 81) 21

Dissident Urges CSSR Workers To Rally
(Jiri Lederer; LISTY, Aug 81) 24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Air Force Officers School's Flight Training Program Described
(M. Zeisler; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 5, 1981) 30

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives New U.S. Ambassador
(Bucharest Domestic Service, 13 Oct 81) 34

Ceausescu Receives Uruguay CP Secretary
(AGERPRES, 13 Oct 81) 35

French Socialist on Relations in 'LUMEA' Interview
(AGERPRES, 16 Oct 81) 37

Romanian Youth Delegation Visits Venezuela
(AGERPRES, 14 Oct 81) 38

French Socialist Jospin Gives Press Conference
(AGERPRES, 9 Oct 81) 39

Briefs

Elena Ceausescu Congress Speech 41
Egyptian Railway President Received 41
Uruguay CP Secretary Visit 41
Greetings to PDRY President 42
French Socialist Party Delegation Leaves 42
Romanian Speech at Women's Conference 42
Andrei Receives U.S. Ambassador 42
Ivory Coast Minister Holds Talks 43
CEMA Commission Session in Bucharest 43
DPRK Trade Union Official 43
Departing Tunisian Ambassador Received 43
Ceausescu Receives FRG Businessman 44
Message to Mexican CP Congress 44
Swedish King Receives Romanian Patriarch 44
Burtica Meets Nigerian Official 44
Governmental Appointment 45
Gheorghe Replaces Onescu 45
Academy of Medical Sciences Chairman 45

PARTY ORGAN REPORTS ON DISTRICT PARTY CONFERENCES

AU132039 [Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian in its issues from 2 October through 7 October publishes on page 2 a series of dispatches ranging from 1,000-1,500 words on the proceedings of AWP conferences in various districts. These dispatches outline the districts' achievements in various fields and the role of the district party organs in implementing tasks and policies, based on the reports of the district party first secretaries. The dispatches give the names of the AWP Central Committee delegates attending the conferences, and also some of the names of those who took part in the discussions at the conferences. According to the dispatches, the conferences elected the new party forums in the districts, the delegates to the Eighth AWP Congress to begin on 1 November and the first secretaries of the district party committees. With the exception of Lushnje District, the dispatches do not give a specific date for when the party conferences were held stating that they were held "recently."

The 22d AWP conference of Diber District was attended by Pali Miska, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, as the AWP Central Committee delegate. The conference reelected Jovan Bardhi as the district party committee's first secretary.

The 22d party conference of Kukes District was attended by Llambi Gegprifti, candidate Politburo member, as the AWP Central Committee delegate. The conference reelected Ali Doci as first secretary.

The Sarande District party conference reelected Jashar Menzelxhiu as first secretary, and was attended by AWP Central Committee Secretary Prokop Murra as the AWP Central Committee's delegate.

The Fier District party conference reelected Naunka Bozo as first secretary. Kadri Hasbiu, Politburo member and minister of people's defense, represented the AWP Central Committee.

Puke District's party conference was attended by Central Committee member Nesti Nase, who represented the AWP Central Committee; and Thoma Dine was reelected as first secretary.

AWP Central Committee member Foto Cami represented the AWP Central Committee at the Mat District party conference, and Hysen Shahu was reelected as the district's first secretary.

The Lushnje District party conference was held on 27 and 28 September and was attended by Manush Myftiu, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The party conference reelected Lenka Cuko as first secretary.

The Durres District's 24th party conference reelected Mihallaq Zicishti as first secretary, and the AWP Central Committee was represented by Hekuran Isai, Politburo member and AWP Central Committee secretary.

The 23d party conference of Kolonje District was held in Ersekes city. It was attended by Central Committee candidate member Fecor Shehu as AWP Central Committee delegate, and Hiqmet Cuka was reelected first secretary.

Adil Carcani, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, represented the AWP Central Committee at the 21st party conference of Shkoder District. Sulejman Bushati was reelected first secretary.

Skrapar District's party conference reelected Myzafer Sulejmani as first secretary, and was attended by AWP Central Committee member Rahman Hanku as the Central Committee delegate.

The Tirana District party conference reelected Gaqo Nesho as first secretary.

ZERI I POPULLIT on 7 October also carries a dispatch on the proceedings of the eighth conference of a military unit identified by the letter "N." No details as to where this unit is stationed are given. The conference was attended by AWP Central Committee member Gafur Cuci as the Central Committee's representative. According to the dispatch, the conference elected the directing party organs in the unit.

CSO: 2100/7

'ZERI I POPULLIT' DETAILS POPULATION INCREASE

AU132030 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Tirana, 13 Oct (ATA)--The experience of Albania fully testifies to the fact that only in a socialist country as ours which marches consistently on the Marxist-Leninist road, can the just solution of the mutual cooperation that exists between the demographic changes, socio-economic progress and the elevation of the material and cultural level of the people, be achieved. This experience turns down also all the bourgeois-revisionist and reactionary pseudo-theories of the neomalthusians etc., which propagate the most inhuman measures and ways against allegedly the danger of overcrowding of the world, writes Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission, in an article carried in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT about the demographic development of Albania. Under the care of the party, in our country, where the socioeconomic development is carried out on the basis of the economic and objective laws of socialism, the author writes, the fast rates, in the increase of the social production have been a basic factor to ensure and incite the rapid growth of the population, whereas the numerical increase of population on its part, and the complete activation of the active population in valuable social work has ever more become an important social factor to ensure and keep at high rates the increase of the social production, the allsided strengthening of our socialist order and the constant uplifting of the material and cultural level of the people.

For this reason, within us [in Albania], all the problems that have to do with the growth of population are solved and will be solved successfully in the future too, so that the demographic process develop and be directed on scientific basis.

The essential feature within us is the rapid growth of population. In 1980 as against 1938 the population of Albania has increased by 2.6 times at an average annual rate of increase by 2.57 per cent, which is amongst the highest in Europe. This has been made possible both due to the increase of child-births per 1,000 inhabitants and the decrease of deaths. The average life-span of the people has amounted today to 69.2 years, from 38.3 that was before liberation. This testifies to the increase of the people's well-being. Very positive is the fact that the average age of population within us, is 25.7 years. The domination of young-aged people in the structure of population has avoided the phenomenon of the growing old of the population, which is actually a national misfortune for many countries of Europe.

After pointing out that the growth of population has occurred both in the city and countryside, Petro Dode mentions facts that show that the correct Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the party for the construction of socialism has brought about deep transformations in the material, social and cultural conditions and in the mode of living of our people, which have ensured and aim at the growth of population at high rates in the future as well.

As compared with the pre-liberation period, the social production of the country has increased about 13 times and the consumption per capita over 3 times. The liquidation once and forever of the unemployment and emigration that were great social wounds before liberation, the improvement of the living conditions, the education and medical service free of charge, the establishment of the system of social assurances and pensions in the city and countryside, the electrification of all the villages, the removal of all levies and taxes, lowering of prices in different periods of time and their stability, the lowering of the tariffs of public services and house-rents etc., have increased the level of the material and cultural well-being of the working masses and have been a basis to stimulate the rapid increase of population. The laws adopted of late by the People's Assembly reflect the great care taken by the party of a better treatment of mothers before and after child-birth and for the good growing up of children, which are necessary conditions to ensure the rapid growth of population.

A characteristic feature of the demographic development of our country during the whole period of socialist construction is the growth at higher rates of the active forces as compared with the rates of the increase of population. In 1981 as against 1938 the number of the employed workers in different sectors of economy and culture has increased 28.3 times, in the countryside too, in 1980 as compared with 1967, the year when the collectivisation of agriculture ended, the number of the active forces employed in the cooperativist sector has increased by 37.2 per cent.

The draft directives of the 7th Five-Year Plan writes in conclusion Petro Dode, open major vistas for the development of the productive forces at faster rates and ensure the solution of the problems for the demographic development and the efficient employment of the new active forces.

On the basis of studies of the demographic development it is forecast that in 1985 the total population of Albania reach the figure of about 3 million people.

CSO: 2020/6

BRIEFS

DEATH OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS CADRE--Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 October 1981 page 4 publishes an obituary of Nusret Esat Dautaj, member of the bureau of the party committee and director of the Directorate of Internal Affairs of Tirana District, who died suddenly on 7 October at the age of 50. He was admitted to the party in 1948 and from 1955 to the present he "worked on and directed important missions in the internal affairs organs, both in the central apparatus of the Ministry and in the districts. He carried on a struggle, at all times, against the enemies of the party and of the people." The obituary is signed by: Kadri Hazbiu, Simon Stefani, Fecor Shehu, Rexhep Kolli, Gaqo Nesho, Mihal Bisha, Nesip Ibrahimi, Raqi Iftica, Niko Ceta, Zef Loka, Kadri Gojashi, Vasil Kola, Xhemil Karabina. [Editorial Report]

YOUTHS VOLUNTEER TO SETTLE IN VILLAGES--Some 350 members of the Union of Working Youth of Albania in the Stalin City locality expressed their desire and left to work and live permanently in the agricultural cooperatives of Perondi, Kozare and Gege. A ceremony organized on the occasion of their departure was attended by their parents, working people from local economic enterprises and leading party and state cadres from Berat District and Stalin City locality. The volunteers were greeted by Naum Halilaj, chairman of the Stalin City Locality People's Council Executive Committee. The volunteers who spoke at the meeting expressed their determination and promised that they will fulfill their tasks to the end and thus contribute to the further flourishing of our socialist countryside. [Text] [AU141951 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 81]

CSO: 2100/7

BCP-SED WEST BERLIN TALKS END IN SOFIA

AU091644 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 9 Oct (BTA)--A delegation of the SED-West Berlin Party, led by Mr Horst Schmitt, its chairman, paid a visit here from 5 to 9 October this year, at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, met Mr Horst Schmitt, chairman of the SED-West Berlin Party, and in a cordial and friendly atmosphere they exchanged views on questions of mutual interest.

The delegation of the SED-West Berlin Party had talks with a delegation of the CC of the BCP, led by Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

During the talks, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the two delegations informed each other of the work of their parties. They exchanged views on topical international issues and on problems of the international communist and workers' movement.

The delegation of the CC of the BCP made the guests familiar with the work of the Bulgarian Communist Party in implementation of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, of the successes of the Bulgarian people in the construction of the developed socialist society, of the peaceful foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and her efforts aimed at consolidating peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and the world. The BCP delegation expressed the solidarity of the Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian working people with the selfless struggle of the communists of West Berlin.

The delegation of the SED-West Berlin Party informed the BCP delegation of the efforts of the SED-West Berlin Party in implementation of the programme of its 6th Congress, of its struggle for peace and detente, against the policy of confrontation of the U.S. imperialism, as well as in defence of the democratic rights and freedoms of the working people. In the present exacerbated international situation the SED-West Berlin Party attaches great importance to the strict observance of the quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin and its key principle that this city is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and cannot be governed by it. The delegation informed of the efforts of the SED-West Berlin Party, in a united front with all democratic forces, to turn the city into a constructive factor for relaxation of tension in Europe and the world. The powerful demonstrations against the Brussels decision on missiles, NATO's policy of arming

and the U.S. decision for production of neutron weapons are an eloquent proof of the will of the citizens of West Berlin to live in peace.

The two delegations expressed their deep concern over the aggravation of the international situation in the last couple of years through the fault, above all, of the U.S. administration, which is striving for escalation of the arms race, pursuing openly its claims for military superiority over the Soviet Union. Along with the decision for deployment of the U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the decision of Reagan's administration for mass-production of neutron weapons is rife with the greatest threat to peace. They denounced sharply the militarists policy of the United States and expressed the determination of the two parties to continue the struggle for forestalling the new stage in the arms race, for preservation of detente and development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the states and the nations. In this connection they emphasized the enormous importance of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries.

The two delegations stressed the necessity of a further strengthening and cohesion of the world communist and workers' movement and expressed the determination of their parties to continue to work for strengthening unity of action and cooperation among all the anti-imperialist, progressive and peace forces.

The representatives of the two parties assessed highly the relations maintained by the Bulgarian Communist Party and the SED-West Berlin Party, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

CSO: 2200/15

ZHIVKOV GREETS JOURNALISTS' CONFERENCE IN VARNA

AU141530 Sofia BTA in English 1438 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Varna, 14 Oct (BTA)--"There is not a single problem in the contemporary world that can be solved without the active participation of the mass information media. Their role keeps growing and their possibilities in the conditions of techno-scientific progress are getting extremely great. The reactionary forces, however, are using these possibilities not for mutual acquaintance and getting closer together of peoples, but for the carrying through of their aggressive aims," reads a greetings message of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, to the international forum on defending the progressive and democratic journalists, which opened here today.

The meeting is attended by representatives of 33 national journalist unions and of seven international organizations of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

Their aim is to express, on the eve of the congress of the International Organisation of Journalists to be opened on 19 October in Moscow, backing to and solidarity with the progressive and democratic journalists all over the world subjected to repression and persecuted by regimes of reaction and dictatorship.

The initiators of the meeting are the International Organisation of Journalists and the International Association of Jurists Democrats.

It is emphasized in Mr Todor Zhivkov's greetings that the transnational information monopolies are trying to impose on people such a view of the world as is suitable for themselves. The Bulgarian leader assures the participants in the forum that in their struggle against informational monopolism the progressive and democratic journalists will always have socialist Bulgaria's backing.

"I acclaim the initiative to support the journalists who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against monoplizing the mass information media, against war propaganda, for peace and understanding among peoples," the message of greetings reads in part.

Mr Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, who is also chairman of the Social Commission of the International Organisation of Journalists put forward for discussion a proposal for a draft of a statute of a permanent body for defending the progressive and democratic journalists. "The information's

ideological orientation in the different parts of the world underlies the international climate and the possibilities of preventing a new destructive war," he said.

At the meeting questions related to the new information order and to the struggle for defending the journalists' rights are also to be discussed. Mr Yosifov said that this is obligatory because of the anxiety the activity of the Western agencies and publications evokes. "They have taken the monopoly over disseminating information in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and are trying to have some influence on the ideological situation in the young states. The people are offered semi-truths, false sensations and biased announcements," the chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists said.

Prof (Kaarel Nordenstreng), chairman of the International Organisation of Journalists, took the floor and said that the United Nations organisation and UNESCO have taken measures in defence of the journalists' rights and freedoms in the last decades. "Through UNESCO the international journalistic world maintains the progressive understanding for defending journalists' rights and freedoms," he said.

According to (Prof Nordenstreng), the initiative, discussed now in Varna, is to be given a practical solution at the Moscow congress.

The meeting went on with statements. Its closing is scheduled for Friday.

CSO: 2200/15

BRIEFS

LAO DELEGATION--At the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council, a delegation of the Front for the National Restoration of Lao, led by [name indistinct] member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and deputy chairman of the front, has arrived in Bulgaria. The guests were welcomed at Sofia Airport by Sava Dulbokov, first deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 81]

TV PROTOCOL WITH CUBA--Ivan Slavkov, director general of Bulgarian television, and Jose Alvarez Bravo, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, have signed in Sofia a cooperation protocol between Bulgarian television and the Cuban Institute for Radio and Television up to 1982. The document provides for joint work in (producing) films reflecting the socioeconomic and cultural development of the two fraternal countries, exchanging programs marking anniversaries and national holidays as well as visits of specialists to exchange experience. [Text] [AU041707 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 30 Sep 81]

COMMUNICATIONS COMPETITION, CONFERENCE--The third international competition of telegraph operators in international communications opened this morning at the Ministry of Communications Workers Rest Home in the Druzhba Sea resort near Varna. Telegraph operators from the USSR, Hungary, Poland, the CSSR, Cuba, Vietnam and Bulgaria are participating in the competition. An international conference on the exchange of experience in the telegraph communications sector is scheduled to take place this afternoon at the same place. [Text] [AU041707 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 1 Oct 81]

GERMAN DOCUMENTS--FRG Ambassador to Bulgaria Dr Harold Heimsoeth today presented to Todor Ribarov, secretary general of the all-national committee for celebrating the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian State Operational Bureau and deputy chairman of the committee for culture, a valuable gift in connection with the 1,300th anniversary. FRG specialists prepared for their Bulgarian colleagues important documents connected with the Bulgarian people's history during various periods of time--selected materials from the FRG Foreign Ministry on the establishment and development of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Germany during 1904 to 1923. On behalf of the Bulgarian public, Todor Ribarov expressed cordial gratitude to the FRG Government and people. [AU041707 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Oct 81]

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH CANADA--A long-term trade agreement between Bulgaria and Canada was signed at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Trade on settling the exports of Bulgarian textile products and readymade clothes to Canada. [Text] [AU111954 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Oct 81 p 6]

TRANSPORTATION, TRAFFIC CONFERENCE--The third scientific-technical conference on an international scale dealing with the organization of traffic and traffic safety opened in Varna on 2 October 1981 at the F. Joliot Curie International Scientists Home. The conference has been organized by the Bulgarian Scientific-Technical Union, the State Committee of Science and Technical Progress, the Ministry of Transportation and several other institutions, including the Bulgarian Automobile Association and the People's Militia Traffic Committee. Over 500 Bulgarian experts and 40 specialists from the USSR, GDR, Polish People's Republic, Hungary, the CSSR, Greece, Finland and Switzerland are attending the conference. [AU111954 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 81 p 2]

MPLA DELEGATION--A working group of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party Central Committee visited Bulgaria from 28 September-3 October. The delegation met officials from the BCP Central Committee, the Social Sciences and Administration Academy and the Gabrovo Okrug BCP Committee. The delegation held talks with the officials of these institutions and was briefed on the work and experience of the BCP in propaganda and agitation matters. [Text] [AU111954 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Oct 81 p 4]

DELEGATION BACK FROM HUNGARY--On 4 October the Bulgarian health delegation led by academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, returned from Hungary. The delegation took part in the 22d session of ministers of health of the socialist countries and the 12th session of the CEMA Permanent Commission on cooperation in health preservation. [AU111954 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Oct 81]

GRIGOROV TO VIETNAM--A delegation headed by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, has left for Vietnam. The delegation will attend the celebrations organized in Vietnam on the occasion of the Bulgarian 1,300th state anniversary. [Text] [AU111954 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Oct 81]

BOZHINOV IN RUSE--Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has arrived in Ruse. Accompanied by Petur Petrov, first secretary of the Ruse Okrug Party Committee, and other party leaders he visited the agro-industrial complexes in the villages of Novo Selo and Krivo Pole. He acquainted himself with the autumn harvesting problems as well as with the autumn sowing campaign. [AU111954 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 7 Oct 81]

ZHIVKOV CONGRATULATES IRANIAN PRESIDENT--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Sayyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of Iran, on the occasion of his election to this post. The telegram expresses confidence that relations between Bulgaria and Iran will continue to develop in future in the interests of both peoples, and in the interest of worldwide peace and understanding. [Text] [AU132100 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 13 Oct 81]

COOPERATION DOCUMENTS SIGNED IN BUCHAREST--Bucharest, 10 Oct (BTA)--Mr Vasil Khubchev, first deputy-minister of mechanical engineering and electronics of Bulgaria, and Minister Gheorghe Petrescu, secretary of state of the Ministry of Machine Building of Romania, signed a long-term cooperation agreement in the field of electric insulation materials and a protocol on continuing the agreement on direct techno-scientific cooperation in electrical engineering and electronics in the 1981-1985 period. The first document provides for techno-scientific and industrial cooperation in manufacture of electrical insulation materials to be carried out in two stages. In the first 1981-1985 period, wide-scale specialization and industrial joint production in this sphere will be effected, while in the second--up to 1990--joint production ventures will be built. A specialized bilateral coordination group will be set up in this field. The continuation of the agreement on direct techno-scientific cooperation in the field of electrical engineering and electronics creates favorable conditions for further expansion of contacts in the field of computer equipment, robotics, instrument-making, hydraulics and in producing technological lines for the development of this kind of industry and for manufacture of communal electronic and electrical engineering appliances. Exchange of finished products and components in this field is planned, too. [Text] [AU102011 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 10 Oct 81]

SOVIET RECEPTION IN PLOVDIV--On the occasion of the participation of the Soviet Union in the 37th international technical fair in Plovdiv, Boris (Pyadishev), minister plenipotentiary and charge d'affaires and interim of the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria, Boris Borisov, chairman of the commerce and industrial chamber of the USSR, Valentin Dyakov, USSR trade attache in Bulgaria and Evgeniy (Sopov), director of the Soviet pavilion at the Plovdiv fair, gave a reception at the pavilion. The reception was attended by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, by Kiril Zarev, chairman of the State Planning Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ivan Panev, first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug BCP Committee, the Soviet consul in Plovdiv (Sergey Churin), as well as numerous members of foreign delegations, and high-ranking Bulgarian officials. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 27 Sep 81]

PETUR DYULGEROV IN STARA ZAGORA--On 28 September Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council, took part in a meeting of the Stara Zagora BCP Okrug Committee Bureau, which dealt with the progress of the harvest and other agricultural issues. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Sep 81]

U.S. AMBASSADOR AWARDED--On 25 September Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, awarded Jack Perry, U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria, with the Madara Horseman--first degree order. The ambassador has been awarded for his contribution to developing Bulgarian-U.S. relations and in connection with his departure from the country. The ceremony was attended by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 81 p 2]

U.S. AMBASSADOR DEPARTS--Jack Perry, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, left our country yesterday after completing his tour of duty. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Sep 81 p 2]

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE--Blagoevgrad, 28 Sep (BTA)--Today a scientific conference on questions related to the plasm's surface waves began here. In the course of 6 days scientists of Bulgaria, Great Britain, the GDR, India, Canada, Mexico, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, the FRG, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Japan are to read 55 papers and scientific informations. [AU041708 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 28 Sep 81]

UNIDO SEMINAR--Sofia, 29 Sep (BTA)--A 4-day seminar on the problems of construction of canneries and cold stores opened here today with the assistance of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). The Engineering Economic Organization "Technoexport" is hosting the event. "We have chosen your country in order to study your experience in the field, along with the problems we shall discuss," underlined Mr (Valdemar Moreira Dias), a UNIDO representative. Bulgaria is a country with good achievements in the field. But far more important is that she is constantly progressing in the improvement of her production and her equipment. The seminar will help the representatives of the developing countries in the fulfillment of their production programmes for more and better-quality foodstuffs," he added. In the course of 4 days specialists from 10 countries will become familiar with the Bulgarian achievement in construction of complete plants and installations for the food industry, of cold stores for fruit, vegetables and meat. [Text] [AU041708 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 29 Sep 81]

INTERNATIONAL OPTICS SCHOOL--Varna, 28 Sep (BTA)--An international fiber optics school opened here today with the participation of specialists in the field of fundamental and applied research from Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Britain, Italy, France, the FRG and other states. Papers on the latest achievements in the most promising optics branches--the fiber optics link and holography--will be read at the school. [AU041708 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 28 Sep 81]

TRADE TALKS WITH YUGOSLAVIA--Today Mr Atanas Ginev, the first deputy minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria, had talks with Mr Ali Basic, assistant federal secretary of foreign trade of Yugoslavia, who is visiting Plovdiv. At the meeting they reviewed questions connected with the implementation of the trade plan and new measures to speed the implementation within the pre-set terms. Some new forms of commercial and economic cooperation were discussed at the conversation. [AU041708 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 27 Sep 81]

DAILIES REPORT ON POLAND--Sofia dailies on 16, 17 and 18 October continue to report on the situation in Poland. RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 16 October carries two 400-word BTA reports from Warsaw on page 7. The first, entitled "Appeals for Efficient Measures" is devoted to plenums of the PZPR committees in Warsaw and Gdansk and is based on reports of the PAP News Agency. The report deals with the resolution of the Gdansk PZPR committee plenum pointing to the "development of the political and economic situation in Poland following a dangerous trend" and calling for a "patriotic unity front." The second item is also a BTA report dealing with the appeal of the Polish Government to all trade union centers for creating a "joint committee," a proposal which was reportedly rejected by Solidarity. The BTA report states that the Solidarity leaders refuse to "sit at one table with the other social partners," and instead of "trying to assist the government in improving the situation of the people," Solidarity is trying to "link its willingness for cooperation to political conditions" and to "obtain advantages for

itself." RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 17 October carries on page 6 a 900-word report by a BTA correspondent on a plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, with a factual account on Kania's speech at this plenum. It stresses Kania's conclusion that "the basic task is to defend socialism against counterrevolutionary threat." The report dwells on Kania's remarks about the "extremist forces within Solidarity which are increasingly penetrating the trade union." This report is followed by a 400-word BTA correspondent's factual report on the conferences of branch trade unions in Poland, stressing the "leading role of the PZPR." A brief TASS report from Moscow follows on the same page, related to the visit of a group from the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society to Moscow, and their "cordial" meetings with Soviet officials. The report points out the statements of the Polish delegates about the "necessity of even more widely propagating the true character of Polish-Soviet relations since the Solidarity reactionaries are distorting this character and slandering the Soviet Union." RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 18 October carries on page 3 a 600-word factual BTA correspondent's report on the opening of the PZPR plenum in Warsaw listing the speakers expected to take the floor at the plenum, followed by a 300-word Warsaw BTA correspondent's report on the conference of branch trade union representatives, stressing that "many of those who took the floor at these conferences addressed sharp reprimands against the state leadership for the lack of decisive measures against those who are trying to overthrow the existing system." These two items are followed by a 300-word TASS report from Moscow on an IZVESTIYA article about Poland which deals with the activities of "Solidarity extremists" and states that it is their "goal to dig a profound gap between people's Poland and the Soviet Union." The article is cited as saying that the "hawks of 'Solidarity' are aware of the fact that Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation are a factor of stability for the socialist development of Poland," and "would like to eliminate the symbols of revolutionary struggle, comradeship in arms and the enthusiastic days of socialist construction." [Editorial Report]

CONSULTATIONS WITH CANADA--The regular consultations between the Bulgarian and Canadian foreign ministries have been held in Ottawa. The delegations discussed the international situation and stated their views on the causes of the present tense and aggravated atmosphere in the world. (?They also clarified their stands) on a number of topical international issues. The two sides expressed readiness to try to alleviate the international atmosphere and strengthen world peace. They acclaimed the forthcoming talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on arms limitation and expressed their support for continuing (?the SALT talks). The delegations analyzed Bulgarian-Canadian relations in detail and expressed readiness to strengthen and expand these relations, particularly in the economic sphere. [Text] [AU171601 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Oct 81]

DEMAND FOR MAYDANA'S RELEASE--Sofia, 18 Oct (BTA)--The Central Committee [CC] of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism in Bulgaria has sent to Paraguay's President General Alfredo Stroessner a protest declaration in which it is insisted on the immediate liberation of Prof Antonio Maydana, an outstanding Paraguayan political figure, a symbol of the struggle for Paraguay's social liberation. As a first secretary of the Communist Party of Paraguay, Antonio Maydana devoted his life and his whole energy to the Paraguayan people's welfare and happiness, to the struggle for democracy, social justice, national independence, peace and

progress--the declaration reads in part. For more than a year now Paraguay's authorities, without any reason are keeping him in prison. The 20 years he has spent in prisons, have strongly deteriorated his health. His life is in danger. The CC of the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism raise their voice of warthful protest against the barbarous attitude towards Mr Antonio Maydana, which is in an open contradiction with the elementary rights of man which are grossly violated in Paraguay. We join to the just voice of the world public--the declaration reads in conclusion--and we want Antonio Maydana, (Alfredo Alkorta), (Emilio Roa) and other Paraguayan patriots' prompt liberation. [Text] [AU182000 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 18 Oct 81]

BOZHINOV RECEIVES CUBAN JURISTS--Sofia, 18 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and first deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council received the delegation of the national state arbitration with the Ministerial Council of the Republic of Cuba, led by the chief arbiter Prof (Miguel Rehes Salia). This evening the chief arbiter of the supreme state arbitration with the Ministerial Council, Prof Dr Chudomir Goleminov and Prof (Miguel Rehes Salia) signed a protocol on the Cuban delegations' business visit. The delegation left the country. [Text] [AU181956 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 18 Oct 81]

SED DELEGATION LEAVES SOFIA--The SED West Berlin delegation, headed by Horst Schmitt, chairman of the party, left Bulgaria today. The delegation paid an official visit to our country at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee. The delegation was seen off at Sofia Airport by Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, as well as by Dimitur Stanishev and Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee secretaries, and by highranking officials of the BCP Central Committee apparatus. [Text] [AU091645 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 9 Sep 81]

U.S. STRATEGIC NUCLEAR PROGRAM--Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)--Commenting on the world public protests against the new programme made public by the White House for increasing the strategical nuclear arsenals, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes today that the attempts of the United States to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union are doomed to fail. "Moreover, the Soviet country has repeatedly declared and declares again that it will not permit a disruption of the military strategical balance, which objectively serves to preserve the world peace," stresses the newspaper. RABOTNICHESKO DELO points out in its commentary that the militarist super-programme of Washington is hailed enthusiastically only in the "death factories" the weapon-making monopolies expecting unprecedented profits from the planned unfolding of the American strategical power. At the same time this "death programme" evokes deep concern for the destiny of peace and security and for the economic state of millions of Americans and the population of the West European allies of the United States. NARODNA ARMIYA notes that while official Washington escalates world tension with its decisions, the Soviet Union persists in its tireless efforts to strengthen detente. "There isn't a single international forum--a meeting, conference or a symposium--unmarked with the proposals of the Soviet representatives for comprehensive security measures for the present and the future generations, for reduction of arms outlays, for halting the arms race and preventing the nuclear catastrophe," notes the army newspaper. "The latest proof of the constructive policy of the Soviet Union on the international arena

are the proposals submitted by Mr Andrey Gromyko at the 36th session of the UN General Assembly," stresses NARODNA ARMIYA. The newspaper comments further that putting the proposals of the Soviet delegation for preventing the nuclear catastrophe on the agenda of the UN General Assembly session is an expression of the world recognition of the peace policy of the Soviet Union. [Text] [AU101533 Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 10 Oct 81]

TANZANIAN MILITARY DELEGATION HAS TALKS--Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)--A Bulgarian army delegation, led by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of defense, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, today had talks at the Ministry of National Defense with a delegation of the armed forces of the United Republic of Tanzania, led by Lieutenant General Abdallah Iwalipo, minister of defense of Tanzania. The talks proceeded in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere. [Text] [AU121523 Sofia BTA in English 1433 GMT 12 Oct 81]

TANZANIAN MILITARY DELEGATION ARRIVES--At the invitation of Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense and BCP Central Committee member, on 11 October a delegation of the armed forces of the United Republic of Tanzania led by Lt Gen Abdallah Twalipo, minister of defense, arrived in Bulgaria. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Comrade Dobri Dzhurov; Col Gen Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee military-administrative department head; deputy ministers, and generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. The delegation was given military honors. [Text] [AU111927 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Oct 81]

MESSAGES TO KIM IL-SONG--Pyongyang, 12 Oct (KCNA)--The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received a message from Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in reply to his message of greetings sent on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the latter. The reply message dated 2 October reads: Esteemed Comrade Kim Il-song, I express heartfelt thanks to you for your warm felicitations and good wishes offered on my 70th birthday. I believe that comradely relations between us and the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will continue to grow stronger and develop in the interests of the Bulgarian and Korean peoples and the peoples of the socialist countries and the cause of world peace and security on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. [Text] [SK121026 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1005 GMT 12 Oct 81] Pyongyang, 13 Oct (KCNA)--The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received a message from Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in reply to his message of greetings sent to the latter on the 37th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The reply message dated 6 October reads: I express heartfelt thanks to you for your warm felicitations and good wishes offered me and the Bulgarian people on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Expressing satisfaction with the development of friendship and cooperation between our two parties, two countries and two peoples, I share with your the belief that they will grow stronger and develop in the future on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. [Text] [SK122244 Pyongyang KCNA in English 2205 GMT 12 Oct 81]

PRESS ON EVENTS IN EGYPT--Bulgarian newspapers continue to report on the situation in Egypt following the murder of al-Sadat. Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 9 October on page 7 carries a 400-word report from Cairo by Lyubomir Mikhaylov, BTA correspondent, entitled "Who Are the Assassins?" Mikhaylov quotes several Egyptian dailies, which reported that "religious extremists" are responsible for the murder. In addition, he maintains that "diplomatic circles in Cairo" assume that the murder could also have been organized by the "organized opposition." Mikhaylov himself refrains from any speculations or assumptions. Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 10 October on page 4 carries Petur Bochukov's "International Review." A 600-word part of the review entitled "Reverberations of the Attempt" deals with the situation in the Middle East after the murder of al-Sadat. Bochukov describes the U.S. reaction to the murder, mainly the state of increased alert announced in the U.S. forces in the Mediterranean, and stresses that "some observers think that the United States is preparing a possible direct intervention in Egypt if there is a change in Egypt's pro-American orientation." He points out that "so far the U.S. administration's circles have refrained from any official statements, evaluations and forecasts, but quickly resorted to the 'diplomacy of the gun,' which has frequently been tested in such situations." According to Bochukov, "Tel Aviv is also awaiting developments." Dwelling on Mubarak's personality, Bochukov maintains that "some of the moderate Arab countries do not display toward Mubarak the same strong and lasting hatred they had for al-Sadat." Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 10 October on page 3 devotes a 600-word part of Ivan Vladkov's weekly international review ot the situation in Egypt. Dwelling on the U.S. interests in the Middle East, Vladkov describes the U.S. military and economic assistance to Egypt as well as the U.S.-Egyptian military cooperation. Pointing out that the "Camp David separate agreements are an anti-Arab collusion which exclusively serves the U.S. and Israeli interests," Vladkov maintains that "every Arab who supports these interests is condemned." In his opinion "this fact has been proven by the example of al-Sadat, who is striving to serve the United States was isolated and severely punished." [Editorial Report]

PREMIER FILIPOV VISITS SHUMEN--Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, is visiting Shumen. He met the Okrug Party Committee Bureau and the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee and heard a report on the present economic tasks connected with the fulfillment of the industrial and agricultural okrug plans. Filipov positively evaluated the work performed by the okrug so far and later visited an exhibition. Accompanied by Georgi Nachev, first secretary of the Shumen Okrug Party Committee, Filipov acquainted himself woth the organization of labor in certain of the basic plants and departments of the Madara machinebuilding combine. [Text] [AU092003 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Oct 81] The machine building workers holiday was celebrated in Shumen today. The festive meeting was preceeded by an exhibition of freight trucks and other technical equipment. The machine building workers and citizens of Shumen greeted Grisha Filipov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at their festive meeting. Toncho Chakurov, minister of machine building industry and electronics, as well as local officials and representatives of technical research institutions were also among those present. Minister Toncho Chakurov delivered an address on the beneficial effect of the BCP Central Committee April plenum upon the development of the machine building industry. Grisha Filipov presented decorations and awards to meritorious workers and addressed the audience in the following words:

[Begin recording] Dear machine building workers, it is with joy that I take the floor at this rostrum to convey to you and through you to the entire Bulgarian workers class and (?especially to the machine building workers who are an essential part of this class,) the most sincere greetings on behalf of our party's Central Committee, the State Council, and the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. I am also greeting you on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our state and party leader. I would like to especially congratulate the new medal winners and outstanding workers in the machine building sectors who have now been awarded with special honors on the occasion of the machine building workers holiday. [End recording] Comrade Grisha Filipov further dwelt on the special tasks assigned by the 12th BCP Congress to the machine building workers in building up a material-technical basis adequate to the conditions of mature socialism and likely to enable our country to participate most actively in the international socialist division of labor. [Summary from poor reception] [AU092006 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Oct 81]

COMMISSION DISCUSSES SELF-SUFFICIENCY ISSUES--A session of the Commission for Managing the Self-Sufficiency System of the People's Conurbation Systems at the Council of Ministers chaired by Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was held in Sofia yesterday. Issues connected with fulfilling the joint decisions of the Council of Ministers Bureau, the Fatherland Front National Council and the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council on expanding the variety of consumer goods and totally applying the self-sufficiency system were discussed. The ministries and departments dealing with the production and imports of nonbulk agricultural implements and small-loading equipment must speed up their work to specify the needs of the private plots and the agroindustrial complex for 1982. The commission also discussed the steps which the National Agroindustrial Union is taking to meet the needs of the people for piglets and chickens and to improve the veterinary control of the animals so that the private plots can be supplied with the quantities in demand for 1982. The National Agrarian-Industrial Union is obliged to confirm the concrete tasks of the Scientific-Industrial Union to expand hog-raising as well as the basis for raising piglets. Measures were also discussed for the full delivery of the amount of fodder owed to the private plots for the animal raising they provided in 1981. It was decided to deliver these owed quantities up to the end of November with corn from the new crop and to give the farmers an advance for the 1982 contractual deliveries of animals and poultry. [Text] [AU091004 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 81 p 6]

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS DEVELOPMENTS--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 October 1981 on page 5 carries a 450-word report from Gdansk by BTA correspondents V. Karaivanov and K. Iliev dealing with the "basic document" adopted by the second stage of the Solidarity congress. This report is entirely covered by the referent item. RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the same date and page carries an 800-word report by Angel Bonev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, from Warsaw entitled "Far From the Workers' Interests" which analyzes the results of the second stage of the Solidarity congress and the effects of the so-called "cigarette war." The Bulgarian correspondent states that this conflict was a "favorable opportunity for the solidarity extremists," to even more sharply attack the authorities. Bonev also mentioned the rejection of the workers self-management, which was previously approved by the SEJM, and the request of the Solidarity congress for "people's education," which according to Bonev, is "a claim for control over educational institutions." The RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent adds that "sober voices" are increasingly being heard at the congress in reaction to "the

attacks of extremists" and cites some of these statements criticizing solidarity and supporting the government. According to Benov "common workers throughout the country" are concerned about the growing economic difficulties and denounce Solidarity for trying "to take over control over the government." [Editorial Report]

PRESS ON AL-SADAT'S DEATH--Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 7 October carries on pages 1 and 7 a 400-word report by Lyubomir Mikhaylov, RABOTNICHESKO DEO Cairo correspondent, announcing that "Al-Sadat died this afternoon following the wounds he received in the assault against him during this morning's military parade." After reporting the number of dead and injured, he then explains the arrangements that have been made in connection with the country's temporary rule. Mikhaylov also reports on the Mubarak televised statement that "Egypt will continue al-Sadat's mission" and that is "would not allow any disruption in the peace process." Mikhaylov also adds that this statement refers to the Camp David agreements. Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 8 October carries on page 5 a 550-word report entitled "Following the Assault in Cairo, Not Everything Is Calm." This report again gives more details on the number of dead and injured at the military parade in Cairo. It explains the emergency measures taken in the country emphasizing that the decreed 40-day period of mourning could only be added to these measures. The report announces that Vice President Husni Mubarak has already assumed the post of chief of staff of the Egyptian Army and that he was nominated by the parliament as a candidate for president of the republic. It is also stressed that "the legal opposition in Egypt and its leaders, as the news agencies had reported, condemned the use of force in politics." In conclusion, the report says the following: "The assault against al-Sadat is not an isolated manifestation of an organized action planned in advance. This drama was played after al-Sadat took merciless measures against the various opposition groups." The BTA Cairo correspondent, Lyubomir Mikhaylov, briefly compares the present developments in Cairo with the 1970 developments when Jama 'Abd al-Nasir died. He adds that "there is no trace now of the individual or mass manifestations of genuine grief as there were at that time." [Editorial Report]

AGREEMENT WITH LAO FRONT--Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)--A cooperation agreement was signed here yesterday between the National Council of the Fatherland Front of Bulgaria and the Executive Committee of the National Construction Front of Laos. This is the first official document operating between the two organizations. Guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism and their common struggle against imperialism, for durable peace and security in the world and for social progress, the fronts of Bulgaria and Loas have agreed to cooperate actively and to assist the consolidation of friendship and cohesion between the two nations. The agreement signed on the 1982-1987 period, results from the talks held here between a delegation of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and a delegation of the National Construction Front of Laos, led by Mr (Bulang Bualafa), deputy-chairman of the front. During its stay in Bulgaria the Laotian delegation was received by the secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union Party and first vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Tanchev, and by the secretary of the CC of the BCP, Mr Dimitur Stanishev. The guests had talks with Mr Ninko Stefanov, deputy-chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly and with the minister of Bulgarian forest industry, Mr Yanko Markov. [Text] [AU101534 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 10 Oct 81]

TANZANIAN GROUP VISITS VELIKO TURNOVO--The visiting delegation of the armed forces of the United Republic of Tanzania led by Lt Gen Abdallah Twalipo, minister of defense, today visited the higher military people's school in Veliko Turnovo. Maj Gen Velcho Stanimirov, commander of the school, briefed the guests on the history and development of the school, which is the oldest higher military establishment in Bulgaria. The delegation's members also visited the museum of the revolutionary movement in Veliko Turnovo and viewed ancient historic and cultural sites of the Bulgarian medieval capital. [Text] [AU141432 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 81]

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH AUSTRIA--The 12th session of the joint Bulgarian-Austrian commission for economic, industrial and technical cooperation has begun in Sofia. The Bulgarian delegation is led by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and the Austrian delegation by Josef Staribacher, minister of trade, crafts and industry. The state of bilateral trade and economic ties will be discussed and measures for their further expanding will be outlined. [Text] [AU151747 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 15 Oct 81]

STANISHEV RECEIVES NETHERLANDS VISITOR--Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, has received (Jan de Bal), chief of the international relations department at the Netherlands Communist Party Central Committee, who is visiting Bulgaria. During the cordial and friendly talks, issues of mutual interest, problems of the international situation and of the international communist and workers movement were discussed. Information on the development of the cooperation between the two parties in the interest of European peace and security was also exchanged. [Text] [AU151820 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 15 Oct 81]

GRISHA FILIPOV VISITS TOLBUKHIN OKRUG--The Sofia radio correspondent has reported that Comrade Grisha Filipov arrived in Tokbukhin Okrug tonight. He met the Tolbukhin Okrug Party Committee Bureau and the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee. Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary of the Tolbukhin Okrug Party Committee, briefed Comrade Grisha Filipov about the okrug harvesting campaign and the fulfillment of the plan for the first year of the eighth 5-year plan, as well as about the elaboration work for the 1982 plan. Comrade Grisha Filipov highly assessed the very good harvesting organization and the wheat sowing campaign in the okrug. He expressed satisfaction with the organization and political work for fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the plan of the first year of the eighth 5-year plan in Tolbukhin Okrug. [Text] [AU152033 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 15 Oct 81]

CSO: 2200/15

PARTY ELITE'S INDIFFERENCE TO WORKERS CRITICIZED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Eugen Hanisko: "'Elite's' Lingering Practices"]

[Text] We will begin our article in an untraditional manner. As in many previous years, we were visited several days ago by one of my wife's friends--a model blue-collar worker from an industrial plant at Puchov. Let us call her Comrade Anna. She has been a close friend of my wife for many years and never forgets to call on us whenever she comes to Bratislava. Her latest already mentioned trip to Bratislava was due to the fact that the respective ministry awarded the titles of Pioneer of Socialist Labor and other decorations to the best workers.

When she arrived, we noticed at once that she was somewhat bewildered and lacked her usual optimism and enthusiasm. I knew that something was not in order. A person comes to Bratislava, receives decorations, a diploma as appreciation of her work, and yet she is not satisfied! I became interested and had to tease her for a long time before Comrade Anna began to talk.

"You know, they offended us very much today. They invited us, the best workers, foremen and technicians from all of Slovakia. At a festive meeting, we heard a report which was perhaps beyond reproach. We lined up and gradually ascended the podium where the prominent party and economic officials of our ministry were seated behind the chairman's desk. They gave us our diplomas, congratulated us and then invited us to a small refreshment. When we sat down, however, all of those who sat behind the chairman's table during the ceremony disappeared. They did not do so to catch up with their work, but the organizers placed them into a separate room with closed doors. Was it perhaps beneath their dignity to sit down with us blue-collar workers at the same table? Did they not invite us also in order to have the opportunity of discussing with us our labor and production problems, since they seldom come to our plant and, when they do, speak to the manager only? Are they no longer interested in the opinions of ordinary workers? The opinions of those of us who have to work their shifts conscientiously every day?"

And so our Comrade Anna continued to ask questions. I could not understand what had actually happened. After all, in answer to my question: "Who was sitting at the chairman's table?" she mentioned also the names of some persons who only a few years ago worked their daily shifts as blue-collar workers or foremen in the same way as our Comrade Anna and many thousands of other workers.

Even if the experience of our comrade were a unique case, it would be our duty to write this article. I began to look into the matter, however, and soon found that the experience of our comrade had many variations in our social life--not only on such festive occasions as awarding of decorations. Even this year during the party conferences which were a preparation for the 16th CPCZ Congress some delegates even during the recess did not meet the representatives of higher party organs who usually spent the intermissions in separate rooms. I asked myself the following question: Where did these practices and, let us say quite frankly, these uncomradely relations actually begin?

Comrade Maga Mlynkova-Pohorelcova, the present vice chairwoman of the okres national committee at Liptovsky Mikulas recalled with excitement on the pages of PRAVDA in May of this year, how she as a girl, blue-collar worker, received the "Badge of Labor" state decoration at Prague Castle and how after the ceremony, during a friendly get-together of the decorated with the party and state leaders, she danced a walz with Comrade Klement Gottwald.

I myself recall an event from the period, when I was doing my basic military training in a remote unit of the Border Guard during the mid-1950's. Without advance notice, precisely when we were having lunch, our unit was visited by Comrade Zapotocky, the then president of the republic. Without any showiness he sat down at our table, tasted our traditional "pork, dumplings and cabbage," and listened to our complaints in a quite informal way. A soldier in basic military training was entitled to a vacation only as a special reward in those days. Many of us were already married and could visit our wives and children only exceptionally because the service and requirements were demanding. We argued in our conversation with Comrade Zapotocky. Before starting our basic military training we had the same legal right to vacation as apprentices or factory workers did. And now, while we are doing service to our fatherland, we actually did not have such a right. Comrade Zapotocky attentively listened to our reasoning and parted with the following words: "Boys, I will look into it."

Before completing our basic military training a special order was issued which put the right of soldiers in basic military training to a vacation on a legal basis.

Naturally, I do not want to idealize or contrast those years with the present. Nevertheless, those years were eventually followed by the crisis period after the 13th CPCZ Congress. It was precisely that period which was characterized by the haughty feeling of superiority by the "intellectual elite" toward the "manipulated" mass. That period was further characterized by the frantic effort not only to accumulate the largest possible number of titles in front of or behind one's name, but also to acquire a certain privileged social status. The managing "technocrats" were neither interested nor "needed" to hear the opinion of masses, to engage in discussions with the blue-collar workers. Some of them, who subsequently were deprived of their party cards, in fact had stopped attending the party members' meetings, if the "members' masses" had failed to understand their antisocialist, rightist conceptions. And so the practice of a specific status of the "elite" gradually developed to whose privileged position special, specific attention was to be paid in every respect.

In these considerations I gradually reached the conclusion that the experience of our Comrade Anna is a sort of lingering symptom of elitist practices to which we must put an end as rapidly as possible because they are at variance with the Leninist concept of the relations between the leading and the led, of the relations to the working class which, due to its objective position and real values produced by its labor, is the leading force of our socialist society. No bureaucrat or technocrat at any level of management has the right to act contrary to what we sincerely, comradely preach and what we want to carry out in practice. In the first place, the party officials must see to it that there be no discrepancy between words and deeds, that every meeting with blue-collar workers and workers in general must create enough room for our attentive listening to their proposals, suggestions and views, for our sincere comradely dialogue with them in order to solve the complex problems of the developed socialist society. Otherwise, all our resolutions on mass political work will remain only an empty and ineffective proclamation of correct principles which will be far remote from the needs of life and practice.

10501
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DISSIDENT URGES CSSR WORKERS TO RALLY

Rome LISTY in Czech No 5, Aug 81 pp 9-11

[Article by Jiri Lederer: "A Word to the Workers"]

[Text] Not long ago I received a letter describing the mood and situation at home. The letter contained the following passage: "It is strange, but the Czech working class allows itself to be abused...Perhaps in smaller enterprises someone might from time to time engage in mild criticism, but in the conglomerates there is an inertia of silence. It is downright frightening. It may be because people shirk work, steal, use their wits to survive, or perhaps because even when working, they only have their own interests in mind. Simply stated, the regime has succeeded in dragging them down into a moral morass with it, and they now feel that if they opened their mouths, right away someone would remind them of their own little sins and selfishness. In addition, of course, the concern for their children and their future plays a role, in other words, everyone wants his children to have a better life. It is quite comical, since there is no 'better' for us here, it is all nothing but illusion. Only the few chosen ones can expect that..."

The incumbent regime has achieved something which no other system in the history of the modern industrial working class had been able to do. First, the regime managed to deprive the workers of a sense of belonging, a sense of solidarity, a feeling that they all have common interests and aspirations. Secondly, the regime destroyed among the workers all confidence that, together, they can control their fate, that they are not nearly as weak as it appears to them when they meditate on their lot alone, as individuals. Under the pressures and constraints of a totalitarian regime, the workers have sunk into a debilitating form of fatalism which evokes in them defeatist moods and hopelessnes. They have come to believe that the hostile force which had stripped them of all liberties and rights, is so overwhelming that it is impossible to stand against it.

The workers must seek hope, their own inner strength in those examples which not only demonstrate but prove that the working class is indeed capable of exerting influence even on the seemingly inexorable and inevitable course of history. In recent times, the best such example is Poland. The hopeless economic, political, and social conditions into which the communist regime had reduced the country, aroused the workers into powerful, organized self-defense. Confronted with a workers organization, such as the independent unions, Solidarity, the government became disoriented and helpless, and was forced to retreat, step by step, and gradually accept all the basic demands voiced by the workers. Not even the Soviet

Union has as yet dared to send its armies against such workers power. Later, when the workers joined with the intellectuals and peasants, they became a force which began—with caution and deliberation--to steer the course of events, the course of Polish future development.

Against Hopelessness--Strength in Solidarity

If our workers want to free themselves, they must struggle against the hopelessness which, under the influence of official propaganda, permeates their minds. They must struggle against moods which numb them and force upon them the belief that nothing can be done against the fate of our land. If we truly believe that nothing can be done, then there is indeed nothing to be done. If we believe that we are weak and defenseless, then we are indeed weak and defenseless. Once we recognize, however, that the workers represent a substantial and important portion of our society, that portion which is capable of reversing the course of events, if each and every worker becomes aware of this, then the working people become strong and their greatest weapon is the solidarity of all.

Anyone who wishes to do battle for a change in our conditions, however, must recognize beforehand that such a struggle is unthinkable without sacrifices. Our nation is burdened with harsh historical experience, for we have in the past permitted the great powers to decide our fate. We were unable to resist superior force, we retreated into resignation,aand turned ourselves into weaklings, all the while blaming the government for everything. Such was the case at the time of Munich in 1938, and such was the case at the time of the Soviet invasion in 1968. Each worker must first look for strength within himself and then in solidarity with his companions. If, however, he is afraid to stand up for justice at his own place of work in fear of losing a good job or endangering the future of his children, he is reduced to passivity and inner dissatisfaction. An individual liberates himself in his own soul only when, while recognizing the risks, he finds sufficient courage within himself to stand up against superior forces. I stress the role of one's own consciousness because only those who have recognized the truth and decided to fight for it, can attract fellow combatants. Fearful people only spread timidity and panic around themselves and help deepen the sense of abandonment among all.

Begin Small

It would be a serious mist[illegible] f someone interpreted my words as a call to build barricades and engage in pa[illegible] warfare. This would be pure fantasy, irrational delirium which does not reflec[illegible] the situation or the times.

The workers must steel themselves through a struggle in their own workshops. First, they must strive for the best possible working conditions, for a solid organization of their labors, for reliable procurement of needed materials, for those prerequisites which are actually prescribed as standard in all enterprises. Since the fulfillment of such conditions is beyond the power of management in any given enterprise, workers voicing such demands will soon come into conflict with representatives of official power. The workers must appeal to trade union officials for help to generate a response to the workers' just and lawful demands. Since, however, the union organizations today are nothing but servants of management and the party, rather than of the workers, the latter must strive to see that only those

honest and fearless workers who would not shy away from confrontation with management and the party secretary, are appointed to union leadership positions.

If we understand each other, I am not suggesting that we start an open struggle against the regime today. On the contrary, I advise caution and deliberation, but a type of caution and deliberation which has nothing in common with fear, and even less with indifference. A worker who becomes aware of the strength and capabilities of his class, must wage his struggle beginning with little things, rather seemingly little things. First of all, he must become familiarized with all aspects of his job and its operational, as well as social implications, such as work safety, etc. He must with all thoroughness master all basic regulations governing the operation of the work site. This is a prerequisite for the struggle. Regulations governing operations and everyday reality are two different things. However, a committed worker can use the regulations as a mirror in which the actual conditions are reflected, in other words, use this mirror to confront his immediate supervisor, as well as plant directors and trade union officials whose duty it is to make sure that all regulations applicable to the workers jobs are adhered to. Finally, the worker should use this mirror with party functionaries who--according to regime propaganda, are to see to it that the enterprise management and the trade union organization operate according to the book.

A determined worker must use available opportunities for exposing shortcomings, including normal conversations during breaks, but mainly all meetings, consultations, especially those conducted by the trade union organizations. In this manner, the worker risks nothing, since he is only citing the very regulations which were adopted by the communist regime and which, by and large, remain only on paper. It is doubtful that such endeavor will result in substantial changes at the work site, and even if it does bring about minor improvements, they will be limited and temporary. The importance of determined exposure of shortcomings lies in the fact that the critic gains the confidence of his fellow workers, that they begin to regard him as their spokesman, that he assumes a certain authority at his place of work. Naturally, some of his supervisors will come to consider him a troublemaker who disrupts the calm atmosphere of irresponsibility and unresolved problems. While the party officials will sense the danger of his efforts, there is nothing they can directly do against him. The danger to the regime of this activity lies in that it concretely and publicly points a finger at the conflict between words and reality, and that on the small scale of the work site it, in fact, reveals the fundamental fallacies rooted in the system itself.

Come Together

After a certain period of this activity, the committed worker will be joined by another who also sees beyond his own selfish interests. It is at this point when a new situation arises, one which entails certain risks. For it marks the beginnings of a group of people who think alike and possess the will to affect the course of events. In the initial phase, they should get to know each other well, in order to establish mutual trust. This can be accomplished in small gatherings at which they would discuss the situation in their place of work, including labor, social, and psychological problems (peoples' opinions and moods, their relationship with the communist party, etc.), but also the overall situation in Czechoslovakia, current international problems, e.g., how people of their acquaintance are affected by the events in Poland. Finally, they should inform each other of what they read.

They should, above all, study history, especially the history of the workers movement. This would clearly show them what aspirations the workers had in the past, how their majority always stood on democratic principles, how they struggled to improve democracy in all areas of social life, while the communist party, wherever it came to power, had betrayed and destroyed all democratic principles, and enslaved the population, including the working class.

They should also study the post-World War II history of Czechoslovakia. They should analyze, for example, the workers uprising in 1953 at the time of the currency reform, the attempts to bring democracy into economic management in the 1960's, the 1968 developments, especially the then only independent union in the postwar history of communist regimes--the Federation of Locomotive Detachments.

With Clean Hands

To become spokesmen of the working class, individuals must know a great deal, but they must also be aware of their moral obligations. If their words are to carry weight, they must have clean hands. The present situation in the enterprises offers many temptations for transgressions, individual or collective theft or participation in fraud. Hands off from all this! Hands off, for the sake of one's own clear conscience, but especially because participation in tempting self-enrichment binds our hands, and makes our struggle against these phenomena impossible. He who wants to fight against the system under which we live, must free himself not only from the official doctrine but also from the corrupted practices which permeate our entire existence. Such an individual must conscientiously discipline himself to achieve moral strength. He may be a religious believer or an atheist, the main thing is that he be a convinced democrat who recognizes the capabilities of the working class in a struggle against a totalitarian regime, and who is deeply convinced that even an individual can initiate the struggle. To do so, however, he must be morally strong, he must free himself from fear of persecution and even imprisonment. From my own experience, I can say that worse than jail itself, is the inner lack of freedom caused by one's own indifference or fear of active participation in the common struggle.

The Party and the Rank and File

A man who possesses inner freedom, who knows what he wants and why, must be aware of what the communist party represents in our country. It is, first of all a paid--and well paid, apparat, that it is, first and foremost, a bureaucratic machine at the top of which stands the general secretary, the best paid bureaucrat of them all. I am saying this because we should approach rank-and-file party members a bit differently, especially those in factories. These are mostly ordinary people, the same as ourselves, who merely provide a facade for the bureaucratic apparat, without even being aware of doing so. We should, therefore, address them not as enemies but rather as people with whom we can reach agreement. Each one of us knows many real communists who basically think as we do, and who came into the party, or remain in it, for various reasons, often only out of fear of harming themselves and especially their families.

At the same time, we must remember that, by now, the communist party has become a totally alien body in our national life, which not only acts contrary to the current needs of our population, but also in sharp conflict with all political

traditions of our people. Many of us could have believed in the early postwar years when Gottwald and others were playing the nationalist tune, that this party represented the aspirations of our nations. Following the experience of several decades, however, and especially after the Soviet invasion of August 1968, the communist party stands totally revealed as an antinational and antipopular organization which defends exclusively the interests of a foreign power, the Soviet Union. Thus, it has become the instrument of foreign interests in our land.

We must keep in mind, though, that we do not have the capability to remove this body from our lives by means of a single giant strike. No one has such strength, therefore, all showy posturing to prove that the governing power stands on feet of clay, is childish. It stands not on clay, but on feet made of steel, i.e., on Soviet tanks. It is no secret that the power of the communist party here is actively backed by roughly 5 to 10 percent of the population, officials of the party, police, state, and trade union aparat. All experimental research shows that in free elections the party would win no more than that; however, while this power lacks the backing of its own population, it has the support of the Soviet army which did not hesitate to intervene forcefully in our life once before and would not hesitate to do so again in the future. Nevertheless, the Polish events demonstrate that it is possible to compel this power to tolerate significant change, provided the working class transforms itself into an organized force. Obviously, there is a different situation in each country and different conditions for activism; however, the first precondition of any--even the slightest, change is the will to act in the struggle for it.

Against Fatalism

I realize that our special history shows the time of the national reawakening has reduced us to an unpleasant state of fatalism. We have rooted within ourselves the feeling that we are nothing but history's plaything, that we are constantly being crushed by its wheels, and that we are the victims of world happenings. We do not admit this openly, sometimes we even engage in bombastic language, but the feeling is there. The 20th century has, so to speak, finished us in this respect, one might even say that it destroyed us. Munich, February 1948 and August 1968, those are the molders of our national psychology. These were the milestones when the strong decided our fate, while we were sitting quietly in some corner. These are not encouraging observations. However, if we wish to make changes, we must first change ourselves, our thinking. And to be able to change, we must first look in a mirror and contemplate our face with drastic realism. Only realization and understanding of our weaknesses can mean the beginning of something positive. For in real terms, in modern history, our will has equalled zero. Look at the Poles during the last two centuries, how often have they fought, without any hope of victory, in the struggle for liberty and national dignity. The year 1980 is no accident in Poland.

Legal Struggle

All that I say is, of course, highly simplified. In fact, each paragraph would merit extensive elaboration and justification. I am saying all this in abbreviated form so that those who have the qualities to engage in a struggle, might become more aware of the nature of the society in which they live, the state of social thinking and feeling. At the same time, I am convinced that the struggle for a

change for the better can only be initiated by committed individuals who will first acquire self-confidence for this struggle. And since I believe that, with respect to society, the most hopeful force is the workers, I speak of them and a little also to them.

The modest struggle which begins with a small collective at the workshop, the struggle for small changes and improvements at the work sites, adherence to the very standards adopted by the regime, this struggle will be long and difficult because its results will not be fast in coming, nor will they be spectacular. Nevertheless, this small struggle to improve our life and, in the long run, our destiny, is essential because without it there is nothing. Big confrontations with totalitarian power cannot be waged without first strengthening our muscles in these small, everyday engagements.

It is not inconceivable that the worsening economic situation will provoke mass and stormy manifestations of dissatisfaction. However, should this dissatisfaction express itself only in destruction and vandalism, it will lead to nothing. If, however, we have in the factories experienced workers who have earned their spurs in those small confrontations, they will become the leaders capable of standing at the head of bigger struggles stemming from this mass and stormy dissatisfaction.

If the situation should become favorable enough, the workers could initiate a campaign for their own, independent trade union organization to which they are legally entitled even today, but for which they are not yet strong enough. Such strength can only come from that small, everyday struggle which, for now, the workers must wage within the existing trade union organizations, even though these do not represent workers' interests but rather the party, i.e., antiworker and antinational interests. Nevertheless, these unions exist at every place of work and it is necessary to make use of them in the small struggle for workers' rights which are incorporated in various laws and decrees but which no one bothers to respect or enforce.

I am therefore advising nothing that is impossible, I do recommend a legal struggle, the rules of which emanate from existing legal standards approved by the communist regime itself. I am calling for an open, lawful struggle whose importance lies not in possible positive results alone. Its importance is much more deeply rooted, for this struggle can change us, ourselves, and our thinking. It will liberate us from the crippling effects of fatalism and free our own will to act in an attempt for an independent formulation of our destiny, while respecting and not underestimating certain realities of the historical forum.

9496
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AIR FORCE OFFICERS SCHOOL'S FLIGHT TRAINING PROGRAM DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1981 signed to press 16 Jul 81
pp 230-232

['MT Introduces' feature article by Col M. Zeisler, military scientist, commander, Flight Training Section, Franz Mehring Officers College, Air Forces/Air Defense Command]

[Text] At the Franz Mehring Officers College, Air Forces/Air Defense Command highly specialized military airmen, unquestioningly loyal to the working class, are being trained to serve as pilots of fighter planes, helicopters and of transport aircraft and as navigators.

Theoretical instruction and practical flight training constitutes a thorough unified process designed to result in raising Air Force officers dedicated to socialism who are highly qualified military specialists with well-rounded education. Theoretical instruction alternates with practical flight training in stages and is concluded by a written examination and graduation. By receiving a lieutenant's commission the young Air Force officer acquires the title of "professional engineer."

To discharge these tasks the flight training section has a highly qualified staff consisting of commanding officers, leaders and warrant officers teaching special subjects. Most of these comrades are college graduates. Many of them are graduates of Soviet military academies and have acquired additional qualification by service with military units, retraining to master new technologies, correspondence courses to earn credits in military psychology and pedagogy at a school of higher learning or by studying as candidates for the second academic title.

From the time of its founding the flight training section has developed into an educational institution qualified to meet the requirements of the state of the military art in a modern school building with appropriate teaching and training equipment and well furnished dormitories for cadet officers. Due to these favorable conditions a high standard is being maintained in fulfilling the training objectives.

The requirements of modern military science, methods of combat and technology, the needs of the troops and the demands which they place on socialist Air Force officers serve as training criteria.

Today's military airmen are masters of many specialized skills. Major General K. Baars has characterized socialist military airmen very fittingly when he said: "They personify resolute commanders ready to accept the risk involved in combat and possess at the same time the education of interdisciplinary engineers. They are strong-willed, politically committed men with an international outlook, decisive in their actions both on the ground as in the air, fighters unquestioningly loyal to their socialist homeland and their calling.

To imbue their charges with these lofty ideals each teaching member considers it his heartfelt duty to strengthen the cadets' communist way of thinking and acting and impart to them specific and useful political and military knowledge.

The theoretical instruction our section offers includes teaching the fundamentals of social sciences, technical mathematics, languages, general military and physical training as well as tactics, aerodynamics and military technology as specialized subjects.

Social sciences are taught by the Department of Social Sciences, general military science as part of basic training and sports and languages are taught by the flight tactics and technical education departments of our section.

The content of the specialized subjects taught deals with the nature of modern aerial combat, contemporary aircraft and helicopters and those in the planning stage. Mastery of the combat technique and the theory of aerial combat calls for knowledge and skill in the field of navigation and basic education in mathematics, aerodynamics, mechanics, thermodynamics, meteorology, automation, electrical engineering and electronics. Basic knowledge taught in our section is specifically selected for relevance to the specialized curriculum subjects.

Even so our plan of instruction presupposes knowledge of specific subject matter which every applicant for admission to the Franz Mehring Officers College must possess. Required among other qualifying criteria is successful graduation from middle school. It is gratifying to note that the applicants' level of education is steadily rising. As a result the requirements on the quality of instruction are also being raised both in the area of social sciences as well as in language skills and basic specialized training. The teaching staff of our section is at all times eager to foster this development and is constantly searching for better means and methods to render the training of the cadets more effective.

From the beginning special emphasis has been placed on developing and strengthening commitment to communist ideology, the cadets' way of thinking and behavior, on training relevant to the airmen and aimed at instruction in modern ways of combat, self education, independent study, the development of leadership qualities and the ability to resolve political and military tasks in a methodical way.

1. Key Elements of the Curriculum

In discharging their respective teaching assignments officers and teachers in the role of college-level instructors are primarily responsible for implementing the above objectives.

The subject matter taught in social sciences includes: Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Marxist-Leninist political and military economics, scientific communism, history of the worker movement and military history, military pedagogy, military psychology and political leadership and education.

Social science instruction constitutes the cornerstone of the training program because of the key role it plays in communist upbringing of our cadet officers. It provides the young officers with solid, well-grounded basic knowledge qualifying them to evaluate any situation in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and the worldview of the working class. Communist education also enables the cadet officers to apply their knowledge of Marxism-Leninism convincingly, demonstrate scientifically the correctness of our party's strategy and actual policies, understand the class struggle of our time, find their own rightful place in the struggle for military power and combat readiness and gain thorough and unambiguous understanding of the class enemy's ideology.

Throughout the program sports instruction constitutes the framework for physical fitness training. Only physically fit people in vigorous health are able to exploit fully the potential of the complex aircraft and helicopter technology. For this reason sports are an important part of the training program and are pursued intensively with emphasis on the sport of glider flying requiring instant reaction, courage, strength and endurance.

In the Department for the Study of Tactics cadet officers acquire knowledge on handling aircraft or helicopters in aerial combat and on enemy tactics. Basic theoretical knowledge in the use of weapons and sights and in aerial combat with various types of craft are being taught. The ultimate objective of this training is to teach cadets to use the aircraft or the helicopter as a weapon, assess correctly the combat situation and the enemy's intention and reach correct decisions. Knowledge of laws and regulations governing formation flying, flight security and tactical navigation are also being taught.

In the Department for Technical Instruction cadet officers acquire the necessary knowledge on aerodynamics and flight mechanics, the construction and basic functioning of aircraft assemblies, systems and engines. The theoretical instruction of cadets in the type of aircraft or helicopter they will fly begins upon completion of basic training in subjects such as mathematics, mechanics, thermodynamics, the knowledge of engines, aircraft, electrical engineering and electronics. Training is closely tied to the practical handling of aircraft, especially to mastering their operation, maintenance, control and monitoring of flight equipment.

Instruction in aerodynamics is the key subject in this department. It aims at imparting knowledge on the aerodynamic justification of technical solutions in the building of aircraft, helicopters and instruments, analyzing the aerodynamic and mechanical conditions governing flight safety, the control of aircraft or helicopters in flight and using flight control in combat to the limit of the aircraft's maneuverability.

2. Instruction Methods and Conditions

Instruction and especially instruction methods reflect to the greatest possible degree the modern theory of learning applied in the republic in schools of higher learning.

From the very beginning the teaching and learning process are arranged to foster independent study of the subject matter by the cadet officers. Following on lectures, which aim primarily at problem-solving and focus on key questions, cadet officers study individually to acquire new knowledge. With the help of literature, text books, their own notes and regulations the cadets broaden and consolidate their knowledge in seminars, colloquia and consultations.

Our section has well equipped classrooms, laboratories and study rooms permitting cadet officers to work independently. The equipment and arrangement of classrooms and the adjacent laboratory, the domain of Lieutenant Colonel R. Schaefer, is outstanding. The cadet officers respect Lieutenant Colonel Schaefer, a member of the party leadership, not only as an experienced aerodynamicist but also as a communist who helps them fulfill the training program and is at all times ready to assist them by advice and deed in problem solving.

Our cadet officers acquire the initial knowhow and skill needed to start and operate flight equipment in study rooms. Within the framework of military technical training the cadets familiarize themselves primarily with the flight cabin and keep practicing until they master all operational procedures to perfection. While consolidating their knowledge about flight tactics and navigation they receive permission to communicate by radio.

Our flight trainees broaden their knowledge also by contact with military scientists and innovators improving in this way their ability to solve problems independently, purposefully and with perseverance. As a result of this contact military scientists were able to submit valuable studies which enriched the training program. Experienced leaders of youth innovator collectives have succeeded frequently in guiding cadet members of such collectives to achieve considerable successes in developing and building efficient and useful training aids which gained praise at Future Masters Fairs. The personal gain of every participating cadet officer who broadens his knowledge and learns to engage in scientific work is viewed as an especially valuable asset.

The young military airmen graduating now and in the future from the officer training college to serve in military units will discharge their duty assigned them by the working class beyond the year 2000. Therefore, the current training program must be advanced enough to meet the requirements of the eighties and nineties. The educational and training process must be designed to shape the personality development of military airmen constructively so they can meet these requirements and the tasks arising from them.

The teaching staff and cadet officers of our section were assigned by the 10th SED Congress the task of elevating the instruction and training process standard to the highest level as our contribution to raising our military potential and combat readiness.

Our lasting objective is to raise competent, highly qualified and ideologically committed military specialists-airmen to become commanding officers and fighter pilots who know their business thoroughly and can lead their subordinates to victory in combat with attacking adversaries.

8664
CSO: 2300/11

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR

AU131512 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Excerpts] President of the Republic Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu today received David Funderburk, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to our country.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the greetings conveyed, and in his turn conveyed to President Reagan and to his wife warmest greetings and wishes for prosperity, peace and progress to the American people. In his answering speech, the Romanian head of state appreciated the positive evolution of Romanian-U.S. relations. These relations, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, are consistently based on the sound principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, principles sanctioned in joint Romanian-U.S. documents signed at the highest level. Stating that the promotion of those principles is the guarantee for normal interstate relations and for ensuring peace, security and cooperation in the world, the speaker said that they can serve as a basis for developing Romanian-U.S. relations even further.

The speaker then said that commercial, scientific, cultural and artistic exchanges have been continuously developing, and emphasized the existence of numerous opportunities for expanding and deepening bilateral cooperation. Good relations between Romania and the United States are in the interests of both countries and peoples, and constitute a specific contribution to the cause of international peace and cooperation. The speaker also highlighted that Romanian-U.S. international cooperation can also expand, with a view to increasing their contribution to constructively solving mankind's major problems. Given the current circumstances, it is the duty of all states—regardless of size, social-political system or differences of opinion among them—to intensify their efforts and cooperate ever more closely to halt international tension and to resume and continue the trend toward detente and the policy of cooperation, independence and peace. Romania is determined to extensively contribute to promoting such a policy, to consistently militate for settling all interstate conflicts through negotiations, to achieve general, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to conclude the all-European conference in Madrid with good results, so that a conference on disarmament and confidence on the continent may be organized and the process of security and cooperation initiated at the Helsinki meeting may be continued.

At the end of his speech, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his hope that the Romanian-U.S. summit dialogue will continue, for the benefit of both countries.

CSO: 2700/38

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES URUGUAY CP SECRETARY

AU132010 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Oct (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, met on October 13 Rodney Arismendi, secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

During the talk, information was exchanged on the activity and concerns of the two parties, as well as views on the current stage and further development of the relations between the RCP and Communist Party of Uruguay, on questions of the international situation and of the communist and working class movement.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Rodney Arismendi expressed their satisfaction at the evolution of the relations of close friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the two parties, characterized by mutual esteem, understanding and respect, and reiterated the joint resolve to further work for the amplification and diversification of those relations, in the interest of friendship between the two peoples, of the general cause of democracy, national independence and social progress, of international understanding and collaboration.

The secretary general of the Communist Party of Uruguay was highly appreciative of the Romanian people's achievements in economically and socially developing its homeland.

During the talk, questions were examined concerning the current international situation, the fact being considered that the communist and worker parties, all the progressive and democratic forces should rally their efforts now more than ever before for lessening tension in international life, for resuming and furthering the policy of detente, peace and respect for national independence, for politically settling, by negotiations, the states of tension and conflict in various parts of the world, all the problems facing mankind in the general interest of peace, collaboration and understanding among peoples. The need was also highlighted for all peoples' intensified struggle against the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policies of domination and national oppression, for observing each people's right to decide upon its own destiny without any outside interference. Both sides expressed anxiety over the current arms race as well as the two parties' determination to act, alongside all the progressive, revolutionary and democratic forces for halting it, for passing to tangible measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament in the first place, for hindering

the location of fresh rockets in Europe, for destroying the existing ones, for stopping the manufacture and stockpiling of the neutron weapon. Stress was also laid on the necessity of liquidating underdevelopment and building anew international economic order which should guarantee each nation's free, self-reliant development. In this context, emphasis was placed on the significance of the united struggle of all the political forces, of the peoples in Latin America against imperialism and colonialism for revolutionary transformations, for the right to be masters of their national riches, for democratic and independent development.

The determination of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Communist Party of Uruguay was reiterated to militate for the expansion of cooperation among communist and worker parties, on the basis of respect for their right to elaborate their political line, account being taken of the specific conditions in which they carry on activity, for the strengthening of collaboration among the progressive, anti-imperialist forces everywhere, in view of attaining the peoples' ideals of peace, security and independence, of progress and welfare.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere of warm friendship.

CSO: 2020/5

FRENCH SOCIALIST ON RELATIONS IN 'LUMEA' INTERVIEW

AU161820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0745 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Oct (AGERPRES)--In an interview exclusively granted to LUMEA review and published in its October 15 issue, Lionel Jospin, first secretary of the French Socialist Party, who paid a visit to Romania last week, at head of a delegation of that party, points out: We attach great importance to the relations between the French Socialist Party and the Romanian Communist Party, to the relations existing between France and Romania, to the policy promoted by Romania in the international arena and the role President Nicolae Ceausescu has been playing for several years. It is in fact the reason for which my first travel abroad after Francois Mitterrand's election as president of the French Republic and mine as first secretary of the Socialist Party was to Romania. I consider it a symbol of the special interest we take in the process of developing the relations between the two peoples.

The collocutor notes that, despite certain differences--strategical, political and ideological--there is a convergence of viewpoints between France and Romania on many questions. In this context, he also notes a similar hierarchization of questions, starting with peace and development aspects--two of the major problems of the contemporary epoch. We also have the same principles of action: non-interference in the domestic affairs of others, respect for independence and sovereignty, negotiated settlement of conflicts. This is what characterizes our relations in particular.

The French guest also said: I am very happy and particularly honoured to have been received by President Nicolae Ceausescu with whom I had an extremely interesting interview. It was a very intense, live exchange of opinions. As far as the current international situation concerns us, it has been a privilege for me the fact that I have benefited from the experience of a personality of the international life as President Nicolae Ceausescu is.

CSO: 2020/5

ROMANIAN YOUTH DELEGATION VISITS VENEZUELA

AU141003 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Caracas, 14 Oct (AGERPRES)--The delegation of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY], led by Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the CC of the UCY, that started an official visit to Venezuela, met with Teodoro Petkoff, president of the Socialist Movement Party (MAS), and with other members of the national leadership of that party. On the occasion the good relations were emphasized established between the RCP and the MAS, between the youth organizations.

Aspects were also approached of the home and international activity of the MAS, as well as of the activities of the youth organization.

The UCY delegation started talks with leaders of youth and students' organizations in Venezuela--the MAS Socialist Youth, the Communist Youth, the Socialist Youth of the People's Electoral Movement, the COPEI Revolutionary Youth and the Federation of University Centers (FCV). During the talks information was exchanged on their activity and the need was highlighted for the youth organizations all over the world to rally their efforts for achieving a climate of peace and understanding, for building a new international economic and political order.

During the talks the wish of those organizations was expressed to cooperate with the UCY and the Romanian youth.

Nicu Ceausescu, in his capacity as chairman of the UN consultative committee for the International Youth Year, extensively presented, at his collocutors' request, the preparations made for ensuring the success of this action, initiated and promoted by Romania, aiming at enhancing the role and responsibility of the world youth in the building of a new international economic and political order, of a better and more just world.

CSO: 2020/5

FRENCH SOCIALIST JOSPIN GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE

AU101509 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1952 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Oct (AGERPRES)--On Friday morning the first secretary of the French Socialist Party, Lionel Jospin, met during a press conference with representatives of leading newspapers, the radio and television and of the Romanian news agency--AGERPRES.

Specifying that it was his first visit to Romania as first secretary of the Socialist Party, replacing Francois Mitterrand who was elected president of the republic, Lionel Jospin stated: This illustrates the fact that we attach great importance to the relations between the two parties--between the Romanian Communist Party and the French Socialist Party--that we consider Romania's foreign policy, the role President Nicolae Ceausescu has been playing in the world for several years now particularly important.

Next, saying that the main purpose of his visit was to meet with Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the first secretary of the French Socialist Party mentioned that the interview focused on the relations between the two parties, on the Romanian-French relations in the economic, commercial, financial, banking and cultural fields, just as on major questions of the current international situation: detente, peace, the numerous states of tension, underdevelopment and the struggle against it. The exchange of views--Lionel Jospin said--was sincere and I, we all consider it as a privilege since we have shared from the experience of a personality of the international life like President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Then, the first secretary of the French Socialist Party answered questions, referring to the long-standing relations between France and Romania, to the links between the progressive and democratic movements of the two countries.

The relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the French Socialist Party are old and constant, the guest said. The interviews and talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Francois Mitterrand allowed for a consolidation of the relations of friendship and for an approximation of viewpoints on various political questions. The principles we safeguard in the international arena, the speaker stressed, respect for peoples' rights, for sovereignty and independence, the rejection of the policy of force, the settlement of litigious issues by means of negotiations--are common and we safeguard them everywhere. This is the basic

explanation of the particular character of the relations between the two parties, in spite of the differences between them.

The speaker approached next questions related to Europe. In that connection he said among other things: As for European identity I was surprised that President Nicolae Ceausescu insisted very much on that question. Not that he was doing it but by the force and vigour with which he was doing it. It is known that in Europe there are two social systems, two military pacts, different political institutions, that there also are big differences in point of international policy. I could note that despite all this Romania has always attached importance to the idea that Europe is and will remain a unity in spite of divisions, of differences. An historical unity, a unity of civilization, and, maybe, despite various differences, despite the outcome of the war, a unity of common destiny. We also attach great importance to the European unity and identity, to the preservation and development of our culture and I think that on this ground, which is a traditional ground of international relations, we still have many things to do together in order to score concrete results.

As to the goals of peace, security, detente, lessening of tension, the wish to come back to the spirit of detente, the speaker further said, I think that the Romanian and the French leaders have common opinions. In that connection the first secretary of the French Socialist Party pointed to the importance of achieving a world and European balance not by developing nuclear weapons but by reducing armaments, by means of negotiation. He also considered that a comeback to detente implies the observance of the principles and norms of international law--noninterference in domestic affairs, non-use of force to settle conflictual situations, peoples' right to free development. We must do everything possible so that the norms of international law be observed again, norms that are jeopardized on an economic, monetary and commercial plane, on the plane of human rights and even on a strategic plane, following the emergence of new conflicts which can lead but to nuclear wars. All these are destabilizing factors and we wish to come back to the observance of the principles and norms set. Romania and France can play a positive role so that these principles be observed and solutions found when conflicts crop up.

The speaker referred next to economic questions confronting his country saying that the government would act for relaunching the economy and investments which should serve social justice and level social inequities.

In conclusion, the guest shared impressions from his short visit to Romania.

CSO: 2020/5

BRIEFS

ELENA CEAUSESCU CONGRESS SPEECH--Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 8 September carries on page 3 the 3,700-word speech delivered by Academy Member Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu at the 7 September opening in Bucharest of the Second National Chemistry Congress. The speech deals with Romania's progress in the area of chemical research and industry, and its efforts to make "science contribute to solving mankind's current major problems, such as energy, raw materials, food, water and health, to the progress and civilization of all humanity." [Editorial Report] [AU101055]

EGYPTIAN RAILWAY PRESIDENT RECEIVED--Comrade Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of the government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, today received ('Abd al-Munaym Asmad Dhadu), president of the Egyptian Railways, who is visiting our country. The two sides discussed matters concerning the expansion and diversification of Romanian-Egyptian economic cooperation in the area of rail transportation. A contract was signed today at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation whereby Romania will build repair facilities for rolling stock in Egypt. [Text] [AU121533 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 81]

URUGUAY CP SECRETARY VISIT--Comrade Rodney Arismendi, secretary general of the Uruguayan Communist Party, arrived in Bucharest today on a visit at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee. He was met at Otopeni Airport by Comrades Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and Dumitru Tucus, deputy section chief at the RCP Central Committee. [Text] [AU121531 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 81] Bucharest, 13 Oct (AGERPRES)--Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met on October 12 Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, who arrived today on a visit to Romania. Views were exchanged on the activity and current preoccupations of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Communist Party of Uruguay. Satisfaction was expressed at the positive evolution of the relations and good collaboration between the two parties, in the spirit of the summit talks and understandings, in the interest of the Romanian and Uruguayan peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of international collaboration and cooperation. [Text] [AU131125 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0800 GMT 13 Oct 81]

GREETINGS TO PDRY PRESIDENT--To Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP], prime minister and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Supreme Assembly of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Aden: The anniversary of the national day of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen is a pleasant opportunity for me to extend, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the Romanian people and on my own behalf, warm congratulations and wishes for health and personal happiness, as well as wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Yemeni people. I want to express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and parties will constantly develop to the benefit of the two peoples, of peace, freedom and social progress and for understanding and cooperation throughout the world. [Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [AU151207 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Oct 81 p 5]

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY DELEGATION LEAVES--Bucharest, 9 Oct (AGERPRES)--The delegation of the French Socialist Party, led by Lionel Jospin, first secretary of the party, concluded its Romanian visit on October 9. On their departure the guests were seen off by Virgil Cazacu and Constantin Dascalescu, members of the Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP. Present was Marcel Beaux, French ambassador in Bucharest. [Text] [AU091945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 9 Oct 81]

ROMANIAN SPEECH AT WOMEN'S CONFERENCE--Bucharest, 10 Oct (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor within the proceedings of the First Commission of the World Congress of Women, in Prague, Ana Muresan, chairman of the National Women's Council of Romania, vice-chairman of the commission, referred to the women's statute in Romania showing women to be present in the most diverse spheres of activity, inclusive of the peak branches of economy and of the process of societal management. Laying stress on the importance of the women's decade and of the stipulations of the world plan of action adopted in Mexico City in 1975, the Romanian representative highlighted the resolved struggle of the women's organizations throughout the world, waged alongside the other progressive forces of society, which has led to the achievement of real successes as concerns the integration of women in the process of development. The speaker highlighted that Romania's experience as well as the general development of humankind proved that women, representing half of the population of the globe, made a strong social force playing an important role in the revolutionary transformation of society, in the people's material and spiritual progress. The Romanian representative expressed the solidarity of the women's movement in Romania with the struggle the masses of women waged the world over for international peace and cooperation, for the states' free, independent development. [Text] [AU101604 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 10 Oct 81]

ANDREI RECEIVES U.S. AMBASSADOR--Bucharest, 12 Oct (AGERPRES)--On October 12, Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, received David B. Funderburk, new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Romania, in relation to his impending credentials representation. [Text] [AU121935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 12 Oct 81]

IVORY COAST MINISTER HOLDS TALKS--Bucharest, 13 Oct (AGERPRES)--Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of Romania, had an interview on October 13 with Amoakon Thiemele, minister of trade of the Ivory Coast Republic, now visiting Romania. They analyzed the possibilities of expanding and diversifying the economic collaboration and trade exchanges in the spirit of the summit understandings in the interest of both countries and peoples, of the cause of international peace and cooperation. [Text] [AU132005 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 13 Oct 81] Bucharest, 14 Oct (AGERPRES)--Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, met on Wednesday, October 14, with the minister of commerce of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, Amoakon Edjampan Thiemele, now visiting Romania. The two ministers highlighted the evolution of the Romanian-Ivorian relations in various domains, laying stress on the multiple possibilities of dynamizing them in the future especially on an economic plane. Current aspects of the international life were also approached. [Text] [AU141916 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 14 Oct 81] Bucharest, 16 Oct (AGERPRES)--On October 16, Gheorghe Petrescu, Romanian minister of machine tools, electrical engineering and electronics industries, and Amoakon Edjampan Thiemele, minister of trade of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, examined, in Bucharest, the present state and the possibilities of expanding the cooperation between Romania and the Ivory Coast in the field of electronics, electrotechnics, industrial equipment, machinery and equipment particularly for processing wood and for the textile industry. The sides established concrete measures for developing the technical collaboration on multiple planes between the two countries. [Text] [AU162025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 16 Oct 81]

CEMA COMMISSION SESSION IN BUCHAREST--Bucharest, 13 Oct (AGERPRES)--On October 13 proceedings opened in Bucharest of the 12th meeting of the CMEA Committee on Cooperation in Material and Technical Supplies, participated in by heads of the material and technical supplies, central bodies of the CMEA-member countries. The Romanian delegation is headed by Ion Patan, deputy prime minister, minister of technical and material supply and control of fixed assets administration. [Text] [AU131948 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 13 Oct 81]

DPRK TRADE UNION OFFICIAL--Bucharest, 14 Oct (AGERPRES)--On October 14 Cornel Onescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, chairman of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council, received the delegation of the General Trade Union Federation of the DPR of Korea, headed by (Byong Rok), member of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, deputy chairman of the federation. On the occasion the sides exchanged information and experience in relation to the activity and preoccupations of the trade unions in the two countries on domestic and international planes. The sides expressed satisfaction at the good relations developing between the working people and the trade unions of the two countries, as well as the wish to amplify and strengthen further these relations to the interest of the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the DPR of Korea, the interest of the cause of socialism and peace worldwide. [Text] [AU142053 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1856 GMT 14 Oct 81]

DEPARTING TUNISIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Bucharest, 15 Oct (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on October 15 Zouhir Chelli, ambassador of the Tunisian Republic in Bucharest, on a farewell call, on the latter's ending his mission in Romania. On the occasion, a talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU152042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 15 Oct 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES FRG BUSINESSMEN--Bucharest, 15 Oct (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on October 15 Manfred Lennings, president of the Gutehofnungshuette (GHH) of Federal Germany, now visiting Romania. The guest was accompanied by Herbert F. Krull, director-general of the Kirchfeld firm within the GHH concern. The interview was attended by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. During the interview they discussed problems linked to the development of the collaboration between Romanian enterprises and the Gutehofnungshuette group (GHH) in various domains, in the general context of the good relations between Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany. The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU152045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 15 Oct 81]

MESSAGE TO MEXICAN CP CONGRESS--Bucharest, 15 Oct (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, sent a congratulatory message to the 20th congress of the Mexican Communist Party devoted to the unification with other left-wing forces in Mexico. The RCP, the Romanian working people, the message reads, follow with feelings of empathy the activity the Mexican Communist Party carries on for promoting the fundamental interests of the working class, of the friendly Mexican people, for safeguarding and consolidating national independence, for a self-reliant economic and social development of the homeland, for the triumph of the ideals of freedom, democracy and understanding among peoples. I express on this occasion too our satisfaction at the good relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and the Mexican Communist Party characterized by mutual esteem, trust and respect, as well as my firm conviction that they will further develop in the spirit of the meetings and talks we had, fact that contributes to the development of the Romanian-Mexican collaboration in various domains, the RCP general secretary shows in conclusion, noting that the congress of the Mexican Communist Party takes place in a moment particularly significant for the unity of action and struggle of the Mexican working class, of the democratic and progressive forces of the country. [Text] [AU151047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0917 GMT 15 Oct 81]

SWEDISH KING RECEIVES ROMANIAN PATRIARCH--Stockholm, 19 Oct (AGERPRES)--King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden received the delegation of the Romanian Orthodox Church led by Patriarch Justin with whom he conducted a friendly talk. The representative of the Romanian Orthodox conveyed to the Swedish sovereign greetings from the Romanian state leadership and people. In his turn, the king of Sweden conveyed wishes of peace, good health and prosperity to Romania's leadership and the Romanian people. [Text] [AU192028 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 19 Oct 81]

BURTICA MEETS NIGERIAN OFFICIAL--Bucharest, 19 Oct (AGERPRES)--On Monday, Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received (Alhaji Ahmadu Nahuce), minister secretary of state at the Federal Ministry of Commerce of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, who is paying a visit to Romania, at head of a delegation, on the occasion of the Bucharest International Fair. During the interview the possibilities were analyzed of expanding commercial exchanges and economic cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [AU200842 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0814 GMT 20 Oct 81]

GOVERNMENTAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Augustin Todea is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 75, 29 Sep 81 p 2]

GHEORGHE REPLACES ONESCU--The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Onescu is relieved of his position as chairman of the Central Commission for socialist competition among the peoples councils of the counties of Bucharest Municipality, of the [other] municipalities, of the sectors of Bucharest Municipality, of the cities and of the communes. Comrade Ion Gheorghe, vice chairman of the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems is appointed chairman of this commission. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 75, 29 Sep 81 p 2]

ACADEMY OF MEDICAL SCIENCES CHAIRMAN--On 14 September there was a meeting of the Academy of Medical Sciences which elected Prof Dr Docent Constantin Arseni, corresponding member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the position of chairman of the Academy of Medical Sciences. [Excerpts] [Burcarest MUNCITORUL SANITAR in Romanian 19 Sep 81 p 1]

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No. 1937

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1937

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Impressions From a Visit to America
(Gencho Uzanov; STURSHEL, 4 Sep 81) 1

Jewish Delegation Visits Israel
(Avraham Tirosh; MA'ARIV, 25 Oct 81) 4

Biographical Profile of Deputy Defense Minister Admiral Dobrev
(Dobrev Interview; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 8, 1981) 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Salvadoran Delegate's Allegations of CB Warfare in El Salvador
(Maria Teresa Martinez Interview; PRACA, 14 Oct 81) 12

POLAND

Situation in Poland, Solidarity Discussed
(TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 7 Aug 81) 14

Military Officers Comment on Reform Movement
(Marek Jakubowski Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 5 Jul 81) 68

YUGOSLAVIA

'TANJUG' Reports on Tetovo SAWP Presidum Session
(Tanjug Domestic Service, 15 Oct 81) 72

Briefs
Kicevo Meeting 73

IMPRESSIONS FROM A VISIT TO AMERICA

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 4 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Gencho Uzanov, deputy chief editor of STURSHEL. For Parts I and II see JPRS 79215 of 15 October 1981, No 1928 of this series, pp 8-14]

[Text] It is natural for people to show interest in America--this strange, distant, unknown, contradictory world. It is natural also that people have difficulties in understanding some of the data and figures, some of the impressions of those who live there, have spent some time in that country. It is natural for people to ask questions, to draw comparisons, or to have some reservations about what has been said or written. Many people, months after our return from there, continue to inquire in detail about matters which on first sight are quite clear. Thus, for instance, they are interested in the meaning--$900-a month paid to unemployed people. What they probably do is to convert the dollars into Bulgarian money and come up with puzzling results. In other words they start figuring out the amount of goods one can buy with these $900 in our Korekoms [stores selling Western consumer goods against foreign currency], how many pairs of jeans and parfums one could buy. And they reflect: "In these days to be unemployed in America is not that bad!" However, their calculations are not quite accurate. In the first place we said that this assistance to unemployed is given for a period from 6 to 9 months, while a year (including the American year) lasts, as is well known, 12 months. Next, the dollar in America has a different value. For instance, in America a Coca Cola costs $1.50. Now try to figure out how many cokes could an unemployed buy with these $900. What about the rent or housing costs! What about clothing and transportation costs! What about taxes! What about the humiliations...! I must tell you that nothing could be more depressing than being unemployed in America amidst all the glowing displays and countless riches, a country of natural beauties and places of entertainment.

I have also been asked many questions about the opportunities for the individual in that country. We said that "the opportunities for every individual are various and that to a large extent they depend on his abilities. Only one thing is required--to hack it. One more thing--he should not have a favorable attitude toward those horrible political regimes in the East, or be suspect for such an attitude because the managements of large corporations would rather not hire such people. People further ask: But America is famous as the "country of unlimited opportunities?" This is quite clear. Industry and agriculture are being automated, the management process is being computerized, business and

transportation as well, and, as a result, many people are unceremoniously layed off. Therefore, it is difficult to find jobs. The corporations are after large profits, nothing else matters to them. They pile up, pile up, pile up...countless profits, unemployment, and worries for the man of the street. Yet, the ordinary man in America would also like to lead a normal life, to have some security in his job, he too wants to give an education to his children and see them with good and secure jobs. This is why if he is employed and makes some money he immediately starts saving some money, or he will go into heavy debt to obtain the necessary loans in order to send his children to college where the tuition fees are quite high and support costs escalating.

As one can see, all these situations are incomprehensible to a person from a socialist country: countless riches in the hands of a greedy and pampered minority, and hardship and worries for the ordinary working person. (Well, after all, is it not necessary to throw billions of dollars against the "Soviet threat!")

Thus, on the eve of the New Year's holidays the people in the three areas we visited in America were in fact living with the hope that something might change. In New York, despite the low temperatures, the streets were festively decorated and, during the day, crowded with people who were noisy and in a hurry, a colorful crowd. The workers' strike at the Metropolitan Opera ended and the lights were glowing again. The holiday shows "Christ Is Born" and "Tales From the Entire World," whose technical staging and performance are fantastic, were going on in the world famous "Radio City." The solemn services were going on in the churches. Luxury limousines, carrying ladies and gentlemen, crimson with excitement and happiness, and who have already forgiven each other their sins, covered in expensive fur coats and with a feeling of contempt for the surrounding filthy world, were zooming along the avenues and streets in between traffic lights. Hundreds of tourists in groups were in hotels, department stores, entertainment spots, museums and other places of interest. Rastropovich and Bella Davidova, who left their motherland, were performing their concerts in the capital; Mark Eliezerovich, from a motley stall in Chinatown, was selling Russian dolls to passers-by, while in the taverns of the Bronx unhappy refugees were lamenting their fate with the oldest romances of Mother Russia with the accompaniment of balalaykas. Then there were the unemployed, the homeless, those who went bankrupt, the destitute and adherents of all sorts of religious sects who, for hours on their knees in praying postures, were just hanging behind their rags, carefully arranged in their "domiciles" on the sidewalks, or at street corners, or on the frozen ground in public parks. One feels that they were perhaps the only ones to remember the Ten Commandments nowdays. As if all the others were rushing to violate at least some of the Ten Commandments for good luck in the coming New Year.

In Washington, which is a city with a more sedate spirit, whose buildings are not so tall, with more trees and park areas, a capital city which is more spread-out, the mood was also festive but there was, at the same time, a tactile apprehensive expectation for something new. Along Pennsylvania Avenue, from the Capital to the White House, preparations for the inauguration of the new president were nearing completion and even rehearsals were under way. Along with other curious news

items the papers were also writing that while Carter (because he was, perhaps, nervous, or for some other reason) went skiing and broke his collar-bone, Reagan was strenuously preparing for his presidential honeymoon. (We now know that this honeymoon was not after all that pleasant).

Everything was like a premiere performance of a musical; you know the music, the actors, the subject, the hall in which it will be performed as well as the stage.... The only thing you do not know is what is going on behind the scenes, the kind of nonsense the producers might stage and the public's reaction. We already know. The world is not enchanted. Nations are protesting. They do not want any tutelage. They do not want to live amidst the explosions of deadly warheads. They know better than certain bellicose politicians that even the most accomplished computers can err, to say nothing about some hot heads. And then, our wonderful planet, in a few seconds only, can become an uninhabitable poisonous ash-heap. And then, perhaps, there will be no one left to tell about the precious intellectual and material wealth that once existed, a wealth created by the mind and golden hands of man-constructor. We spoke with many Americans; the majority among them are oppressed by the vision of that alternative rather than by some imaginary outside menaces.

The American, like any other person, loves his motherland, he is proud of the beautiful in it and, he is also uneasy about the shortcomings. We already talked about the unrestrained criminality, about the difficulties of finding a job, about the elevation of the dollar as some kind of an idol, about the homeless men, about the imaginary threat of communism....

CSO: 2200/14

JEWISH DELEGATION VISITS ISRAEL

TA251234 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Oct 81 p 6

[Report by Avraham Tirosh]

[Excerpts] The Jewish community in Bulgaria, which numbers approximately 5,000 people, is economically prosperous and its members have no intention of immigrating to Israel. This was stated by (Abraham Kalo), the secretary of the Bulgarian Jewish community's Public Cultural Organization, who arrived in Israel last night together with an eight-member delegation to mark the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian monarchy.

The delegation arrived in Israel at the invitation of the Israeli Public Committee in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of Bulgaria.

The head of the delegation, (Zdravko Mitlovsky), the acting chairman of the National Council of the Bulgarian "Fatherland Front" noted that no meeting with Israeli officials has been set for the delegation and added that neither does it carry any official message, except for the announcement of Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov that "his country is active in taking measures to maintain peace and strengthen it throughout the world."

(Crigor Grigorov), the head of the Bulgarian Cultural Committee's Department for International Ties made it clear that his department maintains friendship and culture ties with more than 40 organizations all over the world. Subsequently, official Bulgarian delegations will visit various countries throughout the world on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian state.

The "Fatherland Front" comprises more than 4.2 million Bulgarians. It was established in 1942 by then leader Georgi Dimitrov with the aim of uniting the Bulgarian people in their war against the Nazi conqueror.

Various organizations in Bulgaria are members of the "Front," including the Public Culture Organization of the Jewish community.

Mr (Mitlovsky) emphasized that there is no contradiction in terms of marking the occasion and the fact that Bulgaria is a communist country. He claims that marking the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian empire shows the

continuity of the Bulgarian people's existence and proves that its traditional values have been reinforced after the institution of the communist regime.

The delegation, six of whose members are theater actors and singers, will remain in Israel about 10 days and will participate in rallies in Haifa, Nazareth and other cities. The central rally will be held in Bat Yam. The members of the delegation will also visit public institutions as well as cultural sites and will meet with public figures.

CSO: 2200/18

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE OF DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ADMIRAL DOBREV

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 8, 81 pp 23, 24

[Interview with Admiral Dobrev, deputy defense minister, date and place not given: "The Party in my Life."]

[Text] B. V:"Comrade Admiral, what were the motives that made you adopt communism, become a member of the BCP and actively participate in the party struggle and its constructive work after the victory of the socialist revolution?

Admiral Dobrev: As concerns communism, I may say that it was inherited, a family duty, a family honor as I grew up in a communist environment. My father was an old communist, a member of the party since 1925. I was the youngest of five children and all five of us were influenced by our father. He was a stern man, stern and tough I should say, a product of poverty and deprivation. We also inherited from him the striving for education. He has had only 4 years of schooling but at that time this was considered enough.

My grandfather was one of the founders of the village school and my father subsequently became a school board member, an activist in school affairs. He and my uncle Karamphil were well known with their beautiful handwriting. My father considered it a must that all his children receive at least progymnasium [middle school] education. So, my brother Stoyan Dobrev, known by the pseudonum Strandzhata, graduated from the progymnasium and became a type setter and a noted

leader in the RMS [Workers' Youth Union]. My sister Kina went to high school but got sick in her sophomore year. Later on came my turn to study.

In my childhood, in the first years of awareness and perception, my brother was already a member of the Komsomol. My father was the party secretary in the village and in fact the creator of the party organization. When they had their meetings we were usually guarding the door and watching in the yard. We were always interested in the work of the adults and had access to the party press. There, the influence of my father and my older brothers and sisters encouraged me to think like them. It would have been unnatural for me not to become a communist. Every time Stoyan came back to the village and we went to the fields, he talked and read to us about the Soviet Union. He used to explain to us that there they ploughed with tractors and harvested with combines, that they had collectivization and that the people were free. In 1934 I was still in the village, and Stoyan sent me a post card with the portrait of Georgi Dimitrov, wishing me to become a real communist like him. Unfortunately, everything we had at that time was confiscated and destroyed during the many police searches of the house. We were very young when we were already called "the communists" because of my father who was known as Kenar Dobri the communist, or the Endmost Dobri, because our house was at the end of the village.

My father came back from town once and said that Stoyan had been arrested by the police, very badly beaten and kicked out in the street. My mother started to cry and my father tried to console her saying: "Well, that is how communists become tough." My brother Khristo and I went to bed, hugged each other and said to each other: "We are also communist like daddy and our big brother." We woke up next morning feeling six feet tall, willing to show that we were worth noticing. There, this is the material of which we were made, as the saying goes.

As a student in the Varna gymnasium I became very friendly with Mikho Lefterov, who was also in the army until 1957 as leader of the political section, as well as with Marin Bangiev and Iliya Dikov, and others. At that time I also struck a very solid friendship with Zdravko Bombov. I was also friendly with Vulkan Stoyanov, Stoyan Vlaev, Vulcho Ivanov, Yordan Dobrev, Nedyalko Milushev and Kosta Yankov, a co-partisan later on. However, I was most strongly influenced in the gynnasium by Georgi Grigorov, who became the commanding officer of our combat group, one of the first in the country in 1941. We were very much impressed by his knowledge and skill to express himself stressing always the gist of the matter.

My sister married when I could be together with Stoyan and my brother-in-law Kolyo. Kolyo was a metal worker and a party functionary, a communist, a product of his class as one says. This family environment was also leaving its mark on the molding of my ideas.

Working with all those people made me feel that I also carried great responsibility concerning the party. This gave me self-confidence. As an underground worker by then, I was sent in 1942 to meet an old communist of the village of Banovo. He asks me: "What are you, who are you, how old are you?" "I am twenty years old," I say. "Last year I was convicted but did not get the death sentence because I was a minor." "Have you served in the army?" "No," I say, "I had to join but I ran away from the committee." And he them said: "Listen, young fellow, I will give you a loaf of bread and you better go, as I don't want to have anything to do with children."

When I went, however, to the following one, I told him that I was a candidate non-commissioned officer, and have run away from the army. He says, "So we have loyal people in the army too..."

During this period I was in direct contact with the okrug administrations of the RMS and the party, their secretaries and members were the people who influenced me directly. As an underground worker and a partisan I worked together with Stoyko Peev and after his death, with Lambo Teolov and Borachev.

B.V.: Comrade Admiral, could you imagine your life today without the influence of the party, without being a party member? Do you think that you could devote your efforts and life to some other ideal?

Admiral Dobrev: At present the answer comes naturally. However, I have also asked myself sometimes, how and with what I would start if I had to start from the beginning. I cannot imagine my life to be different, I simply cannot. I have had, of course, all kinds of dreams, mainly in my youth. As I already mentioned, my brother used to talk quite often about the Soviet Union, about collectivization, tractors and combines. Being a country child, I quite often saw myself at that time as an agronomist. Upon the insistence of my father and uncle and also through my desire, I even applied to the economic school in Sadovo, Plovdiv Okrug. There were many candidates and although one of the teachers said that I did very well scholastically, I was not accepted. It was obvious that connections were needed as well as good grades. Later on I became a lathe apprentice; I liked to recite poems by Smirnenski and Yavorov; in the workers' clubs I was known as the tiny metal worker. I wanted, however, to continue my studies. My father became ambitious, scooped up some money from here and there to pay my tuition and I enrolled in the Varna gymnasium. In the three years as underground worker and in the partisan detachment I was involved a great deal in military training but I never expected to join the military as a career. The party, however, did not let us go after the victory and sent us into the army. I should not say that the party sent us to the army, it simply kept us in its military detachment, as we were its soldiers in the ranks of NOVA [People's Liberation Army].

In the beginning I was sent to attend a course for battalion commanders. One of our instructors was General Zahariev whom we considered a foremost authority—it is no joke to be a hero of the Soviet Union. And he often said, you cannot imagine how much I need young majors like you for air force commanders because now we are going to start developing our new air force. I was all excited but the medical commission found something wrong with my hearing and I was dropped. Infantry did not attract me, I would have preferred even cavalry as I was a very good horseman but being from Varna I was sent to the navy. As you can see I have had many professions but always within the ranks of the party. My ideals have always been connected with the interests of the party, with its specific and future policy. We had to fight against Fascism and we did. We had to stay in the army and we did. It could not have been otherwise. We were and still are soldiers of the party.

B.V.: You told us extensively about the influence of the people who had helped you become a communist. Tell us, if you please, have there been any cases in which you have helped others to embrace the communist ideals?

Admiral Dobrev: All my life I have been among RMS members and communists. We had very few non-party members in the partisan detachment. There were, however, communists, who needed help, especially during the difficult years. One of our comrades, a member of the underground, a partisan and sentenced to death at that, had a depression and doubted our victory. Others, not of our detachment, admitted their doubt and withdrew from the fight. He was, however, with us and needed constant help in order to overcome those temporary moods. Another of our commanding officers did not want to give the partisan oath. As concerns oaths, I have given my oath twice, both times to the king, Boris and to that little one. And what happened? I gave my oath and yet I am now in the detachment. You think I will give myself up to the enemy, he says, I have two death sentences, and now another oath. We had just put together the wording of the oath and liked it very much. Reading it was like a real ritual. Together with the commissar it took me a long time to convince him but finally he agreed to be sworn in. And then, he burst into tears, hugged me, shook me--he was a husky fellow--and said: "O, it is different now, I don't know why, but deep inside I feel completely different." He was recklessly courageous, devoted to the party and unfortunately died early.

I have had many such cases. As an underground worker, following the instructions of the okrug committee, I had to attract to our work many old party members who had dropped from the party in 1923 simply because they were afraid. This was an organizational work for protecting and strengthening the party organizations as well as increasing them. For this reason, the party organizations and later on the fatherland front organizations in the Varna Okrug were strong and the partisan movement relied mainly on them.

After the victory I went to study in the Soviet Union and during that time I was placed in charge of the party organization and became a member of the party okrug committee and its bureau. I have always tried to fulfill the cadre policy of the party, a struggle for each individual but also a struggle for loyalty of the cadres. This has always been my principle when expressing an opinion and accepting or expelling party members. And due to this policy our party does not have and will never have any difficulties as to training and loyalty of its members.

B.V.: Comrade Admiral, would you share with us your opinion of the contribution of the BCP to your moral and spiritual achievements and your examplary qualifications as an individual?

Admiral Dobrev: I have quite a few years behind me and I must have by now a well-shaped character. I have been a member of the BCP since 1942. Looking back I can judge what I was and what I have achieved. I am a military man and a communist and I owe my career to the party. The party has always been my guiding light and has uninterruptedly contributed to my spiritual growth. I have always had many shortcomings, personal as well as in my relations with others, I have made fast decisions, not always just decisions and, if you wish, I have even been rude. I can say that I have never been punished by the party. Well, it has not been all smooth, I have been scolded now and then but I have always been given a chance to correct my mistakes.

The party has always trusted me and it is exactly this trust that has embedded in me high standards as far as I am concerned. I am very self critical. For example, when I was elected a member of the okrug committee, for me, to be a member of the

okrug administration has always been a big thing, especially having as models people like Stoyan Pavlov, Georgi Kastov, my brother Stoyan, Soyko Peev, Lambi Teolov and others.

I became a fleet commander just before I was elected to the okrug committee. For me so far the ultimate goal for a navy man is to command a ship, a big ship or a squadron; these are positions, so to speak, which I would have preferred. However, for me my appointment as a commanding officer meant the greatest trust bestowed upon me on the part of the party.

In 1962 I was elected deputy to the National Assembly and an alternate member of the Central Committee of the BCP. I said to myself at that time: There, you are now becoming an object of criticism and attention, and do you have the necessary qualifications? And I answered to myself: If I don't have them, I must have them. I have to acquire them, to create them in me, to justify the trust. In this manner, the party, trusting me, making me grow, has always made me more critical concerning my qualifications, and has given me the impetus to improve. Therefore, I think I have grown together with the party, that I owe to the party absolutely everything.

Todor Zhivkov with high ranking military officials--delegates to 12th Party Congress

SALVADORAN DELEGATE'S ALLEGATIONS OF CB WARFARE IN EL SALVADOR

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 14 Oct 81 p 2

[Interview with Maria Teresa Martinez, Salvadoran delegate to the World Congress of Women held in Prague 8-13 October 1981, by L. Stoupova: "Salvadoran People Face Violence--They Need Help"]

[Text] A seven-member delegation from El Salvador has participated at the World Congress of Women. We asked one of them, Maria Teresa Martinez, a few questions.

[Question] What meaning does your participation in the Prague congress have?

[Answer] This is the first time I have attended such world forum of women. Our delegation came to Prague with three main objectives. Primarily we wanted to inform world's women about the situation in our country; to denounce the genocide carried out by the fascist regime and to ask for a widespread solidarity campaign in support of the Salvadoran people's struggle. The suffering of the people under the dictatorship of the fascist junta is immense. In the past 2 years, the struggle of the people against the internal oligarchy, as well as against the policy of imperialism, took lives of 30,000 persons. The United States supports the rule of violence and crime not only politically and economically, but also militarily. The fascists had tortured more than 2,000 women and massacred their corpses. Among these were mostly representatives of the revolutionary liberation movement, women trade unionists, who actively fought against the junta. According to the latest news, decapitated and quartered corpses have been found. Among the victims of these atrocities have also been old people and children. The junta is trying to scare people, so that they refuse support to the liberation movement. But they have been unsuccessful. The fascist hordes are facing the masses. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front together with the Revolutionary Democratic Front have a large hinterland. Determination and courage will be undefeated even by the biological and chemical weapons which are used against them.

[Question] Could you tell us a few words about your activity?

[Answer] I am a worker and former trade union functionary. Currently, I have been living in exile. Forgive me, but I will not reveal to you the place of my residence. My family--husband and adult children--stayed in our native country. I fear the junta might persecute them. The trade unions work in semi-illegality. In spite of the fact that many of the top functionaries have been murdered and trade unionists have been persecuted, they have managed to carry on the struggle against inhumanity and lawlessness even under the current difficult conditions. They organize meetings and strive to put through some of the workers' demands.

Most of all they want a permission for legal activities of the trade union movement. I left for exile not because of fear of the junta, but because I was assigned by our organization to do so. My duty, similarly as that of other "refugees," is to organize abroad committees of solidarity with the Salvadoran people, to obtain for them moral and material help. Our men, women and children need medicines and clothing. However, we have been unable to send anything but a very few things. It cannot be done either via the Red Cross, or via the Salvadoran Green Cross.

[Question] You have participated in the congress' session of the Women and Labor Commission. What did you talk about during your presentation?

[Answer] About the terror I already have mentioned. Also, about our goal to liberate the country. However, this cannot be done unless one is free from capitalism, which also exploits women. Their working conditions are very difficult in El Salvador. They begin working at the age of 10, both in household and employment. In the countryside, average daily wages amount to maximum $1.50 and employment opportunities exist only seasonally. We do not want a war, but we cannot go on living unless fascism and genocide are defeated. We ask the entire world, all progressive forces, to denounce the rule of violence and crime, to support the struggle of our people for freedom and a happy life in our country.

CSO: 2400/35

SITUATION IN POLAND, SOLIDARITY DISCUSSED

Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish No 19, 7 Aug 81 Insert pp 1-16

[The following text issues from a tape transcript. The statements were not authorized. The discussion was transcribed by the Solidarity Press Information Bureau [BIPS]. Text prepared by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC.]

> [Text] In the previous issue of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC we published a report and documents from a meeting of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] which was held in Gdansk from 24-26 July. Today, in accordance with a KKP resolution, we are publishing the proceedings of the basic discussion which ensued on the subject of the situation in the country and in the union [Independent, Self-Government Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity] during the second day of the sessions. This discussion, which was interrupted due to the necessity of resolving most pressing matters, is to be continued at the next KKP meeting.

Andrzej Celinski
Secretary, KKW [National Voivodship Commission], Gdansk:

I believe there are some people who are obsessed--in the union press as well--these terribly brave people today, who sat at home and did not let out a squeak a year ago and who now must, perhaps because they sat silent and feel bad when people begin to ask them "What did you do?" They must react to the silence, to this detraction of their dignity which was intact a year ago. In my opinion, it is natural that society should experience a certain amount of shock and confusion, but not the National Commission [KK]. If it is considered to be necessary for the country to be reminded of all these things, along with sketches of Katyn etc., etc., then let it be decided consciously that this is necessary, and let its relationship to other requests and demands be determined.

We may not simply assume that we have the right, we have freedom of speech, and so forth. This should be the result of a definite accounting, it should be subordinated to a definite strategy of action, to definite goals. I am of the opinion that this should have no part in things, or at least that it should not be so casual. I would expect that, here at least, conscious decisions would be made, and I would particularly expect the KK to be aware of the hierarchy of goals, demands and tasks of Solidarity. And so I greatly fear that what I call the actions of those obsessed now find great favor with society, because they are reactions to

certain stresses felt earlier. But in the situation of the collapse of this state one question will be asked: "What did you do in the face of the collapse?" and not "What did you do in your publications?" The moods of society can very quickly turn. History provides us with cases of the most wonderful movements and the most wonderful leaders perishing overnight.

To digress to another matter. The union attaches very great importance to matters of personnel, since there exists something in the nature of a dogma of the infallibility of the KK. Everything which does not succeed for us is the fault of particular people who merely push their own private interests, are incompetent, incapable.

I want to say that for a long time the shortcomings of the system in which we lived were blamed on the notion that the people were bad, and so after [the events of] August we began to remove people from their positions, giving very little thought to the fact that these people acted on the basis of ironclad logic. They could not do otherwise. And that it may be like the French Revolution, in which three successive provisions commissions which looked for food in Paris were guillotined for hoarding. Although this was false, these particular people had to bear the blame for everything.

I do not want us to make the same mistake that we made privately before August. We should not personalize or personify excessively the bad things which are happening in the union. Rather, we should think about structure, goals, methods and we should do less searching for scapegoats.

This union, in my opinion, is certainly self-governing, but it is certainly not independent. Practically speaking, if in the history of this union there have been four major conflicts with the authorities, confrontational conflicts, then each of these conflicts--if not the subject, then the place and time--was designated by the authorities, and in each of these conflicts we were not independent. We did not plan the conflicts. Except for August itself, when the union did not yet exist, we basically did not plan what we were going to fight about. And here I would like to say that it was no accident that the only defense, practically speaking, which the union has had and still has today--although it is significantly weakened--is the strike and that essentially the only things which we have carried out have been in a confrontation situation.

I think that this, to a certain extent, has also been the result of the lack of planning of our tasks. And so, concerning the very machinery of provocation, I would like, for a moment, to recall the Bydgoszcz affair, since before long we will face the next confrontation and it will certainly not pass us by. We can even anticipate the plane of this confrontation, perhaps even its time. In light of this, our experience gained from the Bydgoszcz affair may be essential to the union.

And so--albeit in banal and a truism, the Bydgoszcz affair showed us that there are also centers of authority which aim at confrontation. Perhaps they are quite aware of what comes next, what follows the confrontation. The congress saw to it that these elements as well would retain their place. It can be said that Solidarity is in a position to bring about the unearthing of the important elements of this machinery of provocation, but it can also be said that the authorities are not able to hold those who implemented it ultimately responsible.

I think that, in particular, the Bydgoszcz affair demonstrated that the union is strong enough to resolve a conflict which tends toward total confrontation. Here I envision four reasons for this capability of the union:

1) the consolidation of society around the whole of Solidarity as the guarantor of the democratic direction of the changes in public life in Poland;

2) society's confidence in the leadership's undertaking of tasks, despite the internal divisiveness within this leadership. I think that society has regarded this leadership all along as one whole and I think that this is not a bad thing for us;

3) the mitigating activity of the [Catholic] Church, in particular its hierarchy;

4) the lack of another real political perspective in this country other than a concept which is in a position to maintain relative social calm.

But it seems to me that each successive crisis--there have been four and their course can be followed--which is resolved in a compromise exhausts the power of the union more and more. The Warsaw agreement has been the most far-reaching of the three (I do not count August) great crises since August, bringing us the greatest gains. I think that, from the perspective of these 3 or 4 months since the Warsaw agreement, I have the right to say this. But I think that this crisis, at the same time, cost us the most, and that the union emerges from each successive crisis more and more weakened and also--in my opinion--that such a solution weakens the effect of the moderating tasks of the Catholic Church hierarchy. Perhaps this is too bold a thesis, but this is my opinion. Doubtless, the impatience of society, which is calling for decisive consistency in the effort to find ways of extricating ourselves for the constantly worsening situation of our country, is growing.

I understand "decisively" and "consistently" to mean not dropping issues taken up by the union. Until this time we have taken up a matter, approaching it and battling over it as the whole union, and the entire leadership has been involved in one issue. But when new demands arose, regardless of whether the old ones had been met, work on the old demands was left half-done. It is disconcerting that in a union with 10 million members, every issue that arises must be settled by all: we are all involved in determining the union's foreign policy, we are all involved in work with polygraph machines, we are all involved in the work-free Saturdays issue, etc., etc. It is the same for both internal and external matters. This is simply incompetence on our part, nothing more.

The next point: such a crisis is followed by the polarization of positions in the union leadership with regard to the ways to resolve the crisis. And there is also something which is perhaps much more important than the very polarization of positions--quarrels over a concept give way to personal quarrels, something which certainly does not foster the building of the union's program, but causes it to explode from within. Such quarrels are not backed up by clearly articulated concepts. There has been no discussion in the union of the Bydgoszcz affair. In practice we quarrel about names and not concepts. During the early months, I myself was opposed to disclosing what transpired within the KK. I have changed my opinion, I believe that secrecy causes rivalries among personnel, it leads to the discussion of matters in terms of names and not programs. I think that revealing

what is going on, in particular the motives behind KK decisions, can help the union. And it would also be a good thing to write down our motives behind decisions and resolutions which have been made.

The next issue: the clear advantage of immediate action to be taken by the union leadership in the implementation of a long-range plan of tasks. Whoever comes to the presidium, whoever is more forceful, whoever gets into the hall first--his issue gets on the agenda for the deliberations. It is a very depressing statement. After every conflict, the activism of the union--the KK and the presidium--drops. The leadership of the union is not in a position to make use of the authority with which society has endowed it for its resolute attitude toward the authorities during periods of conflict and for achieving a compromise solution. From time to time we gain a little authority, only to fritter it away senselessly and thoughtlessly.

Perhaps I am too quick to proffer my own opinions here, but I will not ask for the floor later during the discussion--In my opinion we lost in the Bydgoszcz affair. We did not win because the winning was not in signing the agreement, but in what happened after the agreement was signed. We have not managed to show what was most essential, that it was the union, not those in power, which was basically the sole agent responsible for the fortunes of the country. And that we took the responsibility, and lost. This was the only opportunity in several months for providing a clear demonstration of this.

But perhaps I am being too personal in saying so.

And now I would like to move on to something of great importance. I will discuss it briefly, because it is nothing to be dwelled on. In our country there is now taking place the disintegration of the organizational structures which are essential to the functioning of society, certainly, of the economic administration apparatus, in my opinion. This apparatus is simply falling apart. In a certain sense, the apparatus of the state administration is also disintegrating, although to a lesser degree. Likewise, to a great extent, the party. Such was certainly the case up to the congress.

Again a personal opinion. It must be remembered that formerly the party was an organization in which the so-called party masses had a certain interest in subordinating themselves to the party leadership, a material interest, but above all job security, security in a career, in the road to advancement, etc., etc. They paid for this by subjecting themselves and by quite effectively relaying their recommendations and overseeing their execution. But I believe that sometime late last fall or early this spring the leadership of the party and its member masses were severed. (...)

This is a very fundamental fact, if we remember that the share of the party in social management, particularly economic management, is very great. If this apparatus is lacking, and at the same time the economic administration apparatus is crumbling, then society is left in a catastrophic economic state, bereft of the structures which organize it from within. I think that society cannot exist without internal organization. Solidarity could have and should have developed its own internal structure; it should have established order from within. In my opinion, the economic administration apparatus, the state administration apparatus and the political administration apparatus are crumbling, but Solidarity lacks organization, and thus there is a void in society. And, my opinion is that society cannot survive

when there is no sort of internal organization. By internal organization I understand likewise a program around which society organizes itself. I do not see that either the government or Solidarity has such a program. Society cannot organize itself without a program--there is nothing to organize it around. It seems to me that this is the most threatening matter we have to deal with at this time. We are in disarray, although it seems to us that we are so concordant. I believe that these are masks, that it is a soap bubble which will very soon burst.

The final issue: awaiting the plane of conflict. There are two fundamental ones: 1) the workers self-government [SAMORZAD RABOTNICZY], 2) hunger, and two others 3) the price, wage, sector problem, however one wishes to call it. I would like to point out we will also fall apart from within over this issue, that there will not only be a Solidarity government confrontation, but also a confrontation from within: there will be confrontation between sectors; 4) and one more issue which we have somehow, for the time being, failed to remember. In December the elections for the national councils will be held. I think that we should be aware of this, in order to avert the eruption of very sharp conflict in the matter of electoral law in October or November. Right now we are not keeping this in mind, but I believe that this could become the fourth plane of conflict, not engendered by us but potentially able to occur.

Jacek Kuron
Expert, Warsaw:

I will begin with what Andrzej [Celinski] spoke of, since what I have to say continues his train of thought. I am purposely saying these things in a very brutal way in order to exaggerate certain issues. It seems to me that our former system of exercising authority has ceased to exist. The Central Committee still exists in reality, as do the government and the Politburo, but they do not discharge their functions, nor can they. I differ on this point with many of my colleagues, since I place major emphasis on the fact that they cannot function. It is not that they do not wish to function, but that they cannot. Why do I say this? Let me cite an absolutely concrete example. We say that authority does not have a program. This is surely true. We have no socially approved program for overcoming the crisis. But at the kiosks one could purchase such a program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy. I bought it and I would like to say to you that it is worth discussing this document; it is a significant document. The government issued it and it was sold in kiosks for a few zloty. What effect did it have? None. It is a letter to no one, because in order for us to overcome the crisis, to stabilize the economy, a massive social movement, a movement of the entire society, is indispensable in this country. Such a movement will not arise if a program is not worked out in a democratic way. The role of the government and of authority would be to propose the point of departure for discussion. But the government cannot propose this--how is it to do this? To which institutions should it appeal? The Sejm" But the Sejm does not represent society, and there is no way of transmitting information from society to the Sejm. They will take the proposal and they will resolve things the way the government tells them to and we will have the same program that I bought at the kiosk as a government progress, except that it will be called the Sejm's program, and things will continue on in the same manner.

The authorities have no way of working out a program together with society. Nor did it have such a method formerly; it only had a way of exercising authority based on a monopoly over organizations, which was based on a monopoly on information and

decisionmaking. We broke down these three monopolies and the system of exercising authority was thus destroyed. And for this reason the statement that we are dealing with a revolution seems to me extremely accurate. For it is a revolution in which the existing order has been overthrown. Well, if the present order has been overthrown, what then? Nothing. The situation we are now in--and this is most dramatic--is characterized by the fact that the old order has been overthrown and there have not even been any attempts to create a new order. It is characterized by the fact that we are living in a social wasteland, and the economy and the functioning of the various institutions of social life are disintegrating, and nothing is changing in this sphere and nothing can be changed because there are no forces to take this upon themselves. Why? If I say "revolution," and if we consider revolutions of bygone years, they were executed to take over power. This means that when the old order was overthrown, they were executed to take over power. This means that when the old order was overthrown, the revolutionary authorities became the state authorities. Immediately. Whether it was good or bad for the state and society is not something I wish to enter into, but this is the way it was.

For the present we have the Solidarity organization, which is a mass movement in defense of workers trade, social and national interests. It is a defense against authority, and in conjunction with this, it cannot take over the authority. Here I would like to say that I consider this state of things, and the universal awareness of this state of things, to be our great good fortune and major success. For I would like to bring the state's attention to the following very interesting phenomenon: in all revolutions up to this time, when the organizations of revolution took over the authority, then society, the people, the masses became defenseless, there was no one to defend it, it lost its organizations which became the state authority. We have an organization which will defend society against any sort of authority there could be. And the consciousness of this is unusually keen. Hence the mass call for a party--we constantly hear: "let's create a party." I have already heard this several times in this hall. Where does it come from?

It comes from the consciousness that Solidarity cannot enact the rebuilding and restoration of the system, there is no one to do it, and so we call for a party to call it into being. In a moment, I will explain my attitude to this, but now I would like to call attention to the fact that the situation as defined is the greatest tragedy and an issue which must become fundamental for us or our ship will really sink. But if we wish to be treated as a trade union, which is very much the government's desire, we must remember that Zbyszek Bujak said at the Warsaw conference--that if we are a trade union, we are a trade union of sailors on a sinking ship. Then what should this union do? Fight for shorter work hours? Fight to be treated well by the captain? Fight for a pay increase to be received at port, if the ship makes it into port? We cannot fight for an increase in food rations, since only as many rations as there are can be distributed. We can only watch to see that they are divided equally, only we must recognize that dividing rations equally on a sinking ship is a foolhardly task, since the ship will sink and we will still be overseeing the equal distribution of rations. This does not mean that the distribution should not have been equal, but it is an issue that is very far down the ladder from the fundamental issue.

This is how the issue shapes up. It is this of which we must become aware. We must view our tasks in this light. In short, we must answer for ourselves what we must do and how we must do it here, what we can do and what we ought to do, all of us together, to save this ship. What can we do as the union, should we abandon the role of the union or not? What are our possibilities for acting?

This is the question over which I have agonized since yesterday, when we were holding the debate. The whole time I had the feeling that we discussing things responsibly. I myself made a motion responsibly, knowingly. I made a motion that we should say that "the food ration must return to its former level" and we will go out on strike for this. In other words, we had already marked out the field of conflict for ourselves. Meanwhile, it is completely clear to me that in our situation, as in political action in general (and what we are pursuing is, after all, political action), we must mark out for ourselves the fields of conflict in the most important matters.

Radicalism, after all, does not consist of fighting for anything anywhere, but of fighting over those issues which are most important, those issues over which it is necessary to struggle, bypassing those which are of lesser importance. I am convinced that the issue of returning to the earlier food rationing level is not the most important issue from the viewpoint of saving the ship, that in this way we are embroiling ourselves in the wrong conflict. I made this motion, fully aware of the fact that if we did not bring it up, a movement would be set in motion which would shatter the union and everything.

It is necessary for us to lead this movement--it's too bad--there is no other way, but I believe that we must be conscious of the fact that we will not really win anything in this struggle. That is, we may win these increased rations not in August, but in September, forcing the government to make additional purchases. That we should win, but it will not change our situation as a union, as a movement, as a country or as citizens. Not in any way. And perhaps it will even worsen our situation, since this coercion causes a cut in another field.

The basic problem is this: Who, in this situation, is to put forth a program, and within what bounds is this program to be set forth?

Yet, we do have a revolution and we must answer this question for ourselves consciously. That is, we must know whether we wish to gain authority as a union, as a party, or whether we also wish to set up some other system. Very much depends on this. For example, yesterday we took up the battle here over the issue of liquidating preventive censorship--this is a noble demand and I am always for it, but it is the sort of struggle which, when one has proposed to become involved in something, is the outcome of many things and not the cause. For either we make up our minds to fight for total democracy, for the full authority of the entire society without limitations--then the consequence of this struggle is the struggle over the lifting of preventive censorship and all censorship--or we are admitting that we must impose self-limitations, and when we do this, we do it unwillingly but of necessity we agree to some sort of preventive censorship. And so this decision must be made, since without this consideration it is always undertaken foolishly.

And so the principal question for me is whether we have to impose self-limitations? Should this revolution impose self-limitations? In my conviction, yes. Here I will not develop this train of thought. My world view is such that in the event that we undertook such tasks as the leadership of the USSR would consider to be a direct threat to them, they would invade us. I am convinced of it. In conjunction with this, I believe that this revolution must consciously impose self-limitations in order to avert this danger. While a discussion on the subject of whether they will invade is speculative, on the other hand it is certain that this

may be tested in only one way. It is not necessary to take this risk. Let us go on to the appeal for a party.

This appeal is based on the conviction that political maneuvers make a party. There is a certain model of a party which facilitates such political maneuvers, that is the Leninist party of the new type, which was later imitated elsewhere. The model is such that a party is being built which copies the state and which seizes the authority within the state. At the moment that it seizes this authority, the authority becomes a party. I believe that we should not build such a party, because I am opposed to such a system. One such system is disintegrating before our eyes, and to build a new one which merely has a different color on its flags--in my opinion it would be no different--since the matter lies not in the color of the flag that is hanging but in the manner of exercising authority which is adopted. Another idea for a party--the struggle for free elections. Within the framework of such a struggle there is room for parties, parties which would struggle for these free elections and would develop an electoral program. I believe that for the reasons of which I spoke (the imposition of self-limitations), we should not undertake a struggle for free elections now, since elections held now would have to be worse than those which we will hold in 1984. We should also not embark on such a battle because the situation we are in is unusually volatile and the issue of free elections itself is an issue which postpones the resolution of other problems which are immediately in need of a solution.

What, then? Solidarity cannot organize the new system. The new system must be organized by the whole society. A new governing organization must be built, but it should not be a party but a movement of self-governments which will be an organization for managing the economy, the enterprise, the region. The struggle for autonomy must become for us the fundamental struggle. And the kind of autonomy should be one which has made its program of the day our emergence from the crisis. Setting right the agricultural economy is the task of the self-government movements, not of the government which, for practical purposes, does not exist.

I believe that what is necessary for us at this moment is the struggle for an autonomy which will undertake the process of building a democracy from the ground up, will organize itself centrally and thus will likewise gain control of basic influence over the economic plan. This must be done today. It will have the effect that there is a place in which the union does not retreat in the face of any conflict in the struggle over the makeup of the self-government and in the struggle for the right of this self-government to set up its own principles for reform. I believe that in this place we have the obligation, no longer merely the right, to have recourse to all possible means, of course utilized sensibly, that is, in the proper order, in undertaking the appropriate preparations and the like.

It is not on the basis of this principle that they now have begun the battle over the directorship of LOT airlines and we as the whole union are involved in this.

I have taken the liberty of expressing my view of ways to emerge from the crisis instead of giving my evaluation of the situation, but I have done so because, in my opinion, this is a relatively good method for describing the situation. How we view this situation is not something we discuss in the Union and it is too bad, when we see all possible threats and limitations and what we should do in this situation. Not until it marks out the field of struggle and the field of conflict for us.

There is another point of view which says that authority is strong, that it operates against us, that it has an entire plan which is to lead, by means of famine, to a return of our former situation. I believe that this is an erroneous point of view. But it is not necessary to debate this viewpoint, since whether authority cannot, because paralyzed, or does not wish to, and consciously brings about such a situation, the consequence is the same--the government does not govern and is not undertaking tasks to save the country. Thus, this obligation falls upon society. Should Solidarity take on this obligation directly--this is the first question. I believe that it should not, that we should not become a governing organization. The second question--who should do it? I believe that here the union has the obligation to undertake action to enable another organization, i.e., the self-government, to take it up.

In conclusion, I would like to say that with regard to the self-government tasks which exceed the bounds of the union, those interested in them should organize themselves into Self-Government Initiatives Clubs [KIS--Klub Inicjatyw Samorzadowych], as I myself have named them. Such a movement of clubs should be the form in which the various aktivs of the union operate in the name of self-government, and perhaps in time the movement of national councils will pass over to this movement of self-governments. However, at no time should this be a political party, not for tactical reasons, but for the reasons of which I spoke, i.e., that the party's function is either to gain authority of the totalitarian type, which I am against, or to fight for free elections, over which we should not yet struggle. In a word, I believe that this revolution is in an unusually dramatic moment, because it must now clearly and expressly specify its positive program, and it must determine whether and how it wishes to limit itself. This decision, however, must be made with open eyes. That is all I wish to say.

Lech Walesa
Chairman, KKP; chairman, ZR [Regional Board], Gdansk

Seeing the dramatic situation, we must begin to work as a National Commission. In order to work well, the body must not be too large--5 to 7 persons plus an additional advisor from each group. Rapidly, the training centers and regional teams which are working for us must be set in motion, and problems must be solved currently and quickly. Otherwise we will not hold our own. You must trust the operative body. If we do not have mutual trust, we will not emerge from this situation. Reflect anew upon this point of view, and later we will undertake further decisions.

Jerzy Milewski
Social Secretariat of the Net [Network of Plant Organizations] of NSZZ Solidarity, Gdansk

I am not the organizer of the Net, in reality I am an official of the Net, a representative of the social secretariat of this structure. In this way I am obliged, in the name of the Net, to present the suggestions which the Net has directed to the KK. I will do so in a few points.

In the first place, the Net recommends that the uniform stand of Solidarity should be elaborated on the issue of the entire complex of economic reform, and not only of workers self-governments [samorzady pracownicze unless otherwise noted].

Second, the Net recommends that the organizational aspect of this work should be entrusted to the Net and that it should have not only a substantial share in discussions but also in the organizational aspect, since the Net has demonstrated effective work in this regard. Moreover, it is known to me that there is an agreement in this regard both with the OPS-Z [Center for Social-Professional Work] and the Committee For Civic Initiatives [KIO] in Krakow, as with Mietek Gil [Mieczyslaw Gil] and perhaps with Jacek Klys, as also with the Public Committee for Economic Reform--I meanKrawczyk and Balcerowicz. And moreover the Net believes that this draft for reform should, in principle, be based on the work which was done some time ago by the SGPIS [Main School of Planning and Statistics] and the Academy of Economics in Wroclaw.

In addition, the Net recommended some time ago that a representative of the KKP attend each meeting of the Net. The KKP secretariat has always been notified of these meetings. Until now, as a matter of fact, only Lech Walesa showed up at the first meeting, I don't know whether as a representative of the KKP or as chairman of the Plant Committee [KZ] of the Gdansk Shipyard, which initiated the Net. I would like to bring your attention to the fact that the Net bases itself on the plant committees which are considered to be the fundamental elements of the union. This does not mean that it is cut off from the MKZ [Interfactory Founding Committee] or from the KK, but every communique of the Net is immediately duplicated and distributed in these plant committees and at the next meeting of every committee there are reports on the subject of the so-called work force reaction.

Of course we know that there is such a reaction, but that it is not fully thought out, because these things are not so quickly brought to the attention of the broad masses of employees. Nonetheless, such evidence of the formal lack of opposition to the plans of the Net by 208,000 members of our union is... In conjunction with this, the Net believes that it needs no KKP umbrella over its activity; no less does it believe that for the KKP to refuse to recognize the Net would be utter nonsense. The next meeting will be held in a few days, 28-30 July in Bydgoszcz.

Recapitulating, the Net recommends to the KKP that, in remaining a structure based on plant committees, it has attained the status of being an instrument of the KIS, and it wishes to take it upon itself in the name of this commission to organize work to formulate the uniform stand of the union in the matter of economic reform. Moreover, the Net recommends to the KKP that, at the highest level of unions, it should establish contact with farmers, with the NSZZ Private Farmers [NSZZ RI Solidarity] simply in order to encourage them to cooperate with the Net. Most likely, this must be done in accordance with diplomatic protocol, i.e., by the Presidium of the National Commission and the Presidium of NSZZ RI Solidarity. Thank you.

Mieczyslaw Gil
Chairman, Metallurgical Workers Commission, Lenin Iron and Steel Works, Krakow

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that at this time we are undertaking the most important issue for our union, i.e., the functioning of self-governments, those self-governments and self-government initiatives against which the union defended itself for a fairly long period of time and to which initiatives not all commissions and not all elements of the union as yet have an unequivocal attitude. What does self-government give us? Self-government certainly seizes certain economic initiatives and we want authentic self-government in its basic dimensions, the kind of self-government that there should be, but, at the same time, we must be aware of the

fact that in many elements of the union there is a certain kind of apprehension that self-government will take over those tasks which are normally being conducted at this time by the union. We come in contact with Solidarity trade unionists and commissions fearing that the union will grow dull in the sharpness of its activity. Of course the need to create self-government is absolute; on the other hand, it must be followed up by the transmission of concrete information to our trade unionists and by the establishing of relations between the trade union and the self-government, and the self-government and the union. I am speaking of this intentionally, because I remember all of the August and September discussions, when the government tried to force us into the channel of self-governments.

People have been afraid of self-governments because we have some experience in this from the 1940's, from all the initiatives after 1956 and from the workers councils, the KSR [Workers Self-Government Conference] and the like. And so, what kind of self-government should there be? We answer that it must be authentic, i.e., it must fulfill, among other things, the function of choosing and dismissing directors; it must fulfill the functions of designating the direction of development of particular enterprises, and the like. Consequently, in order for us to define these functions clearly, we must come out with a compete propaganda campaign and complete information. At this time, on the other hand, there is a government draft of a resolution concerning self-government to which we must react. This plan is now in the Sejm, as we all know, and will most likely be available for our observation on Tuesday. Regardless of our other union tasks at the moment, we must define our position with regard to this draft. Of course there is the Net draft and we must also familiarize ourselves with that. It is a general draft on economic issues and does not refer only to self-government, since the self-government cannot be considered in isolation, without the considerations of economic reform and prices. Until this time colleague Klys and I as appointees, have not been able to do very much in this regard because of elections and the like. We have explained only our position, together with OPS-Z (in concrete materials), on the government draft. You received these materials yesterday. We also determined our position on the Net per se, the initiatives of which we support, of all measures. On the other hand, the matter of relations between the KKP and the Net is a matter to be determined--today, or later if need be.

I would also propose that we become thoroughly familiar with the earlier draft of the resolution I spoke of above. There is also the draft of the Mazowsze resolution, already prepared--I don't know whether Zybszek [Zbigniew Bujak] has familiarized everyone here with that. I will not read these drafts, because you have all received them. With regard to the attitude of the OPS-Z to the government draft, we must have our say on this matter. It cannot be that the government does something and we go about indifferent to it.

Andrzej Gwiazda
Deputy chairman, KKP; member, ZR, Gdansk:

Colleagues: As regards the position of the authorities with reference to government drafts, above all I recommend that we should include in our report a point stating that the union will most emphatically defend all initiators of the self-government movement. That is, I believe that it is at this time indispensable that blocking their movement should not be allowed to succeed. On the other hand, with regard to the attitude of the union to self-government, this has, perhaps, been obvious from the very beginning, and the fact that initially Solidarity stifled

the self-government movement in order not to permit it to enter into its channel, but so that it should begin when the union would be fairly well established, and when some kind of views on this subject became crystallized during the activity of this union, so that the self-government movement would be our movement and not theirs, does not change this.

It seems to me that some members of our union fail to notice the fact that this is not a change in the union's position. The next issue is the attitude of the trade union to the self-government movement or to self-government initiatives. I am an advocate of the position that this union, as much as possible--and I believe that it is 100 percent possible--should be a trade union, i.e., an organization fighting for workers interests. It is obvious that given the situation in which our country finds itself, self-government lies within the interest of our members. It is not an interest for today, but a general and future interest, and in this conjunction our union has no other possibility.

With regard to the Net initiative, this is a very energetic organization which has its own power based on the support of plant commissions and the work forces of large enterprises.

Ladies and gentlemen, large enterprises still have greater power to act, even from the point of view of the effectiveness of an understanding within the plant, than groups of comparable size from small enterprises. We do not doubt this. It seems to me, in conjunction with this, that generally the situation of the union, the self-government movement and the whole country would be more conducive and better if this self-government movement were conducted outside the union. This gives the union and this movement greater flexibility. On the other hand, the union is in a position generally to defend this movement not by the force of several of the largest plants, but by the force of the entire union. Incorporating the self-government movement into the Net, as was recommended by colleague Milewski, directly into the union, would limit these tasks. It would limit them from the formal viewpoint, since each task of the Net, or, more generally, of the movement--as I would propose--of self-government clubs, would have to be approved by the KK. Gentlemen, we are again building a multilevel hierarchical structure which is unnecessary and will certainly considerably limit the heterogeneity of initiatives, the heterogeneity of ideas, and likewise, by institutionalization, will paralyze contacts. It is not a question here of whether one or the other concept group will gain formal support, but that it give rise to a good, concretely prepared plan both of the enterprise and of the self-government. Then the union will be obliged to join in with all of its power authority.

It seems to me that every premature encroachment of the union upon a movement with all of its mass and energy, while that movement is still in the discussion stage, merely paralyzes the whole range of tasks and limits many initiatives. Our movement is already severely institutionalized. It has certain formal obligations, likewise with regard to the authorities, and it would certainly be a drag on the self-government movement if it blended into the trade union movement.

On the other hand, as regards the assertion that some fear that self-government will take the edge off the sharpness of the union--this is obvious. We aim intentionally to take the edge off the union. If we pull the country out of its tragic economic situation, if we ensure the just distribution of the national income, then the trade unions lose their impetus and begin to be occupied with the control of

daily life in its fine points, and with the violations of the rights of workers. Most likely, we are all aware of this and aim toward it. Yes, the introduction of good economic reform has as its goal dulling the sharpness of this movement and liquidating the resounding and drastic problems we now face.

Grzegorz Palka
Deputy chairman, ZR, Lodz:

Ladies and gentlemen, the strategy of union operation was discussed recently by us within the region. We arrived at two very similar strategies, namely: the organization of self-government and the simultaneous organization of public supervision over reform, integrating with it--which must be done even now--this is, however, [only] a concept. It assumes that we will not have a conflict which will completely alter our situation. Consequently, if the market situation allows us, let us say, a period of 3 or 4 months of peaceful operation, it is a viable concept. On the other hand, there is another possibility, when the dissatisfaction of people caused by the situation becomes so great that we are not in possession of the traditional forms of protest. At that time, there will not yet be self-governments to take over these functions and we would have a very threatening period, when there would not yet be self-government and the union, in accordance with this traditional concept, with which the majority of people agree, does not undertake tasks in the economic sphere.

We must find a concept for such a damaging situation, if it does occur. At the meeting of our board, the idea of the accelerated introduction of self-government was brought up. We named it the concept of the working strike and this engendered much controversy. This consists of continuing production and distribution under the supervision of strike committees.

It would be an accelerated form of the introduction of self-government, which, under normal conditions would emerge over 3 or 4 months--unfortunately, this is what we must assume. It cannot be done any faster. However, this concept of introducing self-government in an accelerated manner carries new threats. One of the most menacing is sabotage by the authorities in order to introduce social discontent. In such a case, it seems to me that we must threaten a general strike if the authorities wanted to take destructive action. In any event, it seems to me that we should anticipate such a fail-safe scenario, since it may be necessary. It may be necessary even in August. There may be a situation in which we would strike about food in accordance with the resolution that we have undertaken, and the government would not have this food, and then the question would arise, what next? Even after 2 days of striking, the issue of "what next?" would arise. There would still not be food because the government would not have any to give out. Continuing the strike would be senseless, because this would threaten us with starvation, while abandoning the strike would mean the defeat of the union in this action. This is an example in which the development of the situation will simply make it necessary for us to act in another way. For this reason, I propose that a fail-safe concept should be worked out technically and an answer should be found to the question of how we are to save ourselves in this situation, after 2 days of striking, when the government does not give anything out because it does not have it. This is a potential scenario which may be anticipated. It seems to me that there is still the danger of another scenario, namely that the transitional period for setting self-government in motion will last a very long time, during which the government may undertake an attempt to exhort concrete solutions. Of course, we can block them, we can protest, but if we do not have the right tool for applying

pressure on the government, then after this series of short-term conflicts we will have to approve the government solutions because we will not have a viable alternative to these solutions. While it is true that people are very resentful of these solutions, nonetheless we now have no alternatives. And as I say, if we do not have a tool, at least in the form of the fail-safe, rapid introduction of self-government, then it may be that in the course of this transitional period of 2 or 3 months the government will impose unpopular solutions on us and they will, on the whole, pass, because there will be no alternative.

This is the second scenario, which shows that our concept here is not so self-evident if we have no leverage. This would be the needed tool. There is still, of course, the scenario in which we will not be in general in a position to control this protest. This is the worst scenario, that is, the scenario of bloody conflict and pacification of the union. This is also possible and it additionally imposes on us the obligation of anticipating a breakdown situation, because such is the unfortunate reality. Moreover, I see the necessity of organizing society, even now, to oversee reform, since we have been away a long time and this affects the current situation. I believe that, unfortunately, the union must already take on the obligation of consolidating these social initiatives now. This includes the self-governments and the Polish Economic Society [PTE]. We should organize society to oversee reform, because the transitional period will last a long time before the self-governments begin to operate. I would propose that there be a technical meeting on this matter during the first days of August during which someone from the KKP would be entrusted with the function of supervising reform and with organizing and consolidating these social initiatives. Moreover, with regard to the question of Net proposals, I have a different view. It is splendid that the Net has worked out these drafts, but I believe that the union, grounded in its statutory structures, should affirm its position on these matters.

I believe that in the case of the Net we have the classic example of an informal structure becoming formalized and having the need to establish concrete, formal relationships. I have nothing against the Net and its operational procedure. On the other hand, I am against the formalization of this informal structure, and against entrusting to it the formulation of the official position of the union.

Beyond this, I would like to say that certain obsessions presented here by the Net are a fiction. For example, in Lodz the self-government was worked out from the beginning by the ZR, and the Net statute is, in large part, a rehashing of the earlier elaboration. What is most important is that the plants leading the Net do not have, for example, a self-government in general, and self-government in general is being organized in the Lodz region outside of the Net structure. I am also in favor, however, of these self-governments organizing themselves into regional structures first, and this seems to me to be the most realistic.

Miroslaw Krupinski
Chairman, ZR, Olsztyn

On the basis of my experiences, I find that the model of the Net is not taken everywhere as representative. This model of the Net may be a point of departure, but with regard to the whole cross-section, it is a model which is not representative for our national economy. In order for it to be a representative model, it would have to include a certain cross-section, from large plants to small plants, through specific plants of various types. Otherwise, we must count on the lack of interest

by the work force of those plants which do not fit into these economic categories and on the susceptibility of these same work forces to argue in the manner described recently by Jaruzelski, for example, in which he stated that those enterprises wish to take possession as their own property of plants which are the property of society and which have been paid for by the entire society. The more worthy of belief this model is, the more universally will it be able to be accepted. The sooner we undertake all of these tasks to set these things in order, the more it will be publicly acceptable.

Meanwhile today, when we are not in a position to disseminate this model, the government is beginning to create pseudo-self-governments--a director, the POP [Basic Party Organization] and representatives of the old KSR. Such self-governments are established in rural socialized units with positive success. What do we have to lose? Of course, this model will not last, because it will not be accepted publicly, but foremost because we will lose the ardor of people to establish these self-governments if the first model becomes compromised, and secondly because during the period of the operation of such self-governments in accordance with a universalized formula, decisions may be undertaken which will affect all further action. Example: at this time in agriculture there are unions being proposed, and whether they are agricultural and horticultural, in order for such unions to come into being, the directorate and self-governments must be in agreement. Self-governments formed in this manner undersign such agreements and in this way create a policy of irreversible facts, or in any event, a policy in which the facts are difficult to reverse.

For this reason, having made an understanding with the author, I have taken the liberty of adding point nine to this proposition, which is being rewritten. This point warns against the establishment of this type of self-government.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would still like to say a few words concerning the strategy of the union. It has been very broadly and thoroughly discussed. Pardon me for bringing this subject up once again. In order for this strategy to be effective, we must summarize the realities, that is, the strategy of the opponent. From the very beginning the government, with full awareness, created a situation which may be described as a chronic volatile state. This began with the 600 agreement which, I emphasize, were--with full awareness--concluded in a certain specific way, because by separately undertaking these agreements which contained promises which were not completely fulfilled, it was possible to maintain this volatile state, since it was enough, as experience has shown, to withdraw one word, one sentence from the promise in order to place that group of people to whom it referred in a state of readiness. It was, as has been said numerous times, the old principle of "divide and rule." On the other hand, this universally volatile state was maintained by guaranteeing impunity to the people who had been stigmatized by society. This was not done at all to defend these people totally, because these people are also an inconvenience to the government over the long term, but leaving them in these positions maintained that state of dissatisfaction which could be aggravated were they transferred to a higher position. And again it becomes possible in a completely primitive manner, by awaiting primitive reactions from us, to bring about a situation in which volatile states would begin to occur. These actions were effective; we have had examples, both on a large and a small scale.

On the other hand, we have likewise had examples showing that it is possible to resist these actions and I value very highly, for example, what was done and continues to be done in Radom. I participated in the Radom events in May and there,

despite clear, vulgar provocation aimed at Radom, when the attempt was made to provoke them by force to make them jump, they managed to resist this. Now the situation is inflammatory for the second time, and once again the background is a conflict in Radom. The government may bring about a situation in which Radom becomes and will be the next center of conflict. My proposal, which I have already initially had approved by our Radom representative, is that we should not resort to violence, to all-out revolt, but we should play diplomatically. I propose that Radom should at this time approach all of the regions with a request to print the same publications in runs of, let us say, 1,000 or 2,000 copies. We will achieve two goals: first, what has been confiscated will, in practice, be returned; and second, it will be backed up by a whole distribution activity, for the publication "Radom 76" was intended primarily not for Radom, but for the rest of the country. At the same time, I do not believe that the confiscation of materials in the way it was done in Radom could be carried out in all regions of the country, because this would be more than the provocation of society--it would be an open attack, and the government would probably not allow itself this. Similarly, if the confiscation of this type of material does occur in other regions, I advise a strategy taken from the ground up, that is, these materials should be immediately printed more widely in the other regions in smaller runs.

With regard to our strategic formula, it is probably no revelation, but I think it should be summarized. Hence: first the distribution of powers is determined here, among us, together with the employment of hired personnel at the level of the KKP. Let us not give this ants' work over to workers, but principally to social aktivs in the KKP. We ought to create a staff of employees, as in the regions, and these should be not only administrative employees but ideational employees as well, for whom specific tasks will be set up. The procedure and the time-limit for implementing these tasks will be detrmined, and the employees will have to keep this in confidence. The aktiv who has a specific matter to settle will not agitate among other aktivs who have no time for this, but he will set specific tasks for particular workers, and on this basis he will undertake decisions which he will report on to the KKP forum. We will rid ourselves of these onerous discussions and the interference of everyone into each issue. Secondly, we should preserve ironclad logic in the implementation of the tasks which we undertake, under the conditions that we undertake them in a deliberate manner, i.e., our move should not be the result of the fact that we have had the spurs dug into us, but that we whould think things through.

Thus far, when we have undertaken a task we were prepared only to succeed and when we were defeated, we began to improvise. The union strategy should not depend on this. When we undertake a task we must allow tactically that something unexpected in one way or another may arise at a given moment. When we wish to pressure our opponents in some way we must be prepared for the fact that, after a certain amount of resistance, either they will comply with our wishes, or comply in part, or they will not concede anything: We must be prepared for each of these variants. We must have a formula in readiness for several moves forward. In this way, we will avoid the sort of surprise we received after 27 March and the one we received recently in Bydgoszcz. Next, our tasks should be characterized by the universal comprehension of our actions, i.e., everything should be logical and should be announced not only to union members, but should be made known more broadly, outside the union, because, despite appearances, we need the support of people outside the union, even such people as were stifled in an unsympathetic manner, shall we say, as was the case formerly in grassroots movements in the PZPR. We must seek allies, ladies and gentlemen.

At this moment we are finding them. In our own area we see that we have allies in representative organs. We have won over the municipal national council and the provincial national council, and it is evident, in any kind of controversy in our area, that they are our allies. It means something if the representative organ, which is a formally recognized organ, holds the same position as we do ourselves. It immediately dispels the conflict inherent in these actions in spite of the fact that they are sometimes totally radical. In the fact of the coming elections, we should follow the same line of reasoning and secure ourselves a place in municipal and provincial national councils and in the Sejm.

Here we must decide a certain statutory problem, that is, is a Sejm deputy who is a member of the union, for example, eliminated from fulfilling his function in the union, or not. Of course, opinions will probably vary because the Sejm is an authority and union authority is likewise an authority. There may be a collision of interests, but if we do not clear this up soon through a statute, we will lose one of our most important opportunities. I believe that the more people we have in the Sejm the better, and also the higher the caliber of these aktivs, the better. In conjunction with this we should not eliminate our aktivs from participation in representative organs.

In sum, we have three formulas for a political party; all three solutions, however, are droll. The first, my own formula, is in substance completely impossible; the second is entering the PZPR in a broad front, which is most impossible; or entering some other party, e.g., the SD [Democratic Party], which numbers 150,000 members and could number 10,150,000 members and would not have to be registered. Of course, these three possibilities meanwhile exhaust the package of eventualities and, practically speaking, we hardly have them at all. And now with regard to the little likelihood of the type of move in which we would create a party for ourselves, I believe that we should develop the proper approach among our partners to our logical actions. If we manage to do this, we will, first of all, have permanent partners among our moderate interlocutors for various kinds of actions; second, despite this first defeat, we can continue to inspire this kind of understanding and cooperation, for example, among the party masses. Their actions issuing from the rank-and-file were clearly evident; this behavioral logic may be stirred up even there. Of course, this is so under the condition that we will not be at the service of logical behavior and will not insist on their acceptance and, on the other hand, that we will not make sketches of them hanging from the gallows, because this is a completely primitive move which is aimless.

If we succeed in weighing our behavior, I believe that we will very quickly succeed in bringing around to our side people who are neutral and people who could be our potential enemies.

Ladies and gentlemen, the socioeconomic tasks undertaken must be prepared in all aspects, and I emphasize, prepared in all aspects, in order to avoid a situation in which pointless counterarguments of the type of Maruzelski's recent statement on the subject of self-governments, find minimal circulation among society. At the same time I believe that we should widely expose the economic, social and even political shortcomings which make up the whole picture of our current state. It seems to be that it would be very advisable to centralize the campaign to record the manifestations of economic sabotage--and that is what I would call it. In our area, at least, there is the fairly universal waste of food. Lard is being designated for fodder; grain which has become parched in silos is similarly designated.

And now, while we have individual cases of such waste to deal with, we are able to arouse the greatest amount of social indignation. If we were to introduce a central registry of the entire mess, it may turn out that from this will be born some sort of system which will become known.

It is a system which, as was stated by Andrzej Gwiazda several months ago, may hint at the treachery of the situation, for if individual actions create some sort of whole, then we will already to able to determine who is at the helm, and if we succeed in deciphering this system of tripping us up in this difficult situation, then we will have both the moral possibility of applying pressure and the active possibility of acting against this system.

Jerzy Stepien
Deputy Chairman, ZR, Kielce:

We ought to give some thought to where the centers of future conflicts to which we may be provoked can be found. It is possible to carry on so that a conflict is not brought about at the earliest opportunity. The union policy in the matter of self-government was such that the union spoke of self-government the whole time, nonetheless in practice things were different. In the first program, near the end of August, there was a very wise sentence about establishing workers councils [rady pracownicze unless otherwise noted]. This was later torpedoed. Somehow, in a practically imperceptible way, the draft prepared by the Gdansk Region which discussed the establishing of workers councils was passed. I believe that there was a concrete idea in these two documents, an idea which originated in the union, and it should be developed.

In the course of these 36 years there have been two periods in which attempts were made to build authentic and well-thought-out self-government. The attempt following 1956 was the less interesting initiative of the two. On the other hand, really authentic self-government was born in February, 1945, when the decree concerning the plant council (not to be confused with the plant council of an industrial branch trade union [swiazek branzowy]) came into force. It was 3 months before the end of the war, and certain political forces in this country were already thinking of trying to organize social and economic life by means of such a form. In general we did not have such traditions before the war, which does not mean that there were no such solutions in Europe.

In Czechoslovakia there have been workers councils since 1920. Austria has also had such councils. It was the way out of the crisis that followed the first and second world wars. Leftist politicians saw the possibility of controlling the economic situations through workers councils. At this time it seems to me that we ought to bind ourselves to the 1945 decree without any danger, because this will dismiss the accusation against us that we do not want socialism. If someone here tried to build socialism, it was before 1948. After that, things in general had little in common with socialism. Binding ourselves to this tradition gives us a strategic trump card. I say this because there is something very important contained in the 1945 decree. We can virtually build self-governments on the basis of that system now, without waiting for a resolution concerning the work force council [rada zalogi]. The decree discusses the most important thing linked both with the problem of elections to national councils and with the concept of Jacek Kuron in which he spoke of social initiatives clubs and the like, in which truly democratic elections are anticipated, because elections have five specific qualities.

What we are doing in Solidarity is good in a trade union. Really democratic elections are something else again and can lead to creating a representative body in which various types of contradictory trends may be reflected. Only a proportional system, that is, voting on ballots, makes possible the creation of such representation.

If we learned in workers councils to vote on ballots, we would then train the whole of society, which knows little about voting machines. We would train them to vote in a completely democratic manner and to demand a system of voting on ballots in elections for people's councils [rady narodowe unless otherwise noted]. I think that the state authorities would go for this. After all, voting on ballots was used after the war. Such attempts arose, among other places, in the Lodz center. The electoral law there says that if the work force agrees or demands, voting for workers councils should be done using a system of proportional elections, on ballots. This trend should be continued. There would be a new quality in our discussions of self-government, and, on the other hand, there would be an initial step taken toward the creation of representative structures, at least at the basic level, i.e., of gmina councils and provincial councils, and, at the same time, it would prepare us for parliamentary elections.

I propose that we make use of all the trains of thought found in the Lodz, Gdansk, or even the Kielce papers, the latter of which I represent. Such elections for the workers council were conducted among the work force of the Iskra plants. I believe that the union Solidarity should firm up this matter. We should not leave it up to the Net. It has fulfilled and will continue to fulfill a very positive role based on the implementation of certain concepts. But let us remember that this will not be properly accepted by the union members in general, and thereby by society, if these self-government ideas are not supported by the authority of Solidarity.

I have this fundamental complaint about all of these drafts of social enterprises, i.e., that they do not make use of the system of workers councils from 1945 and thus deprive us, as the union, of the chance to avoid a future conflict in elections for people's councils. I believe that this matter must be properly considered in all of these drafts.

Neither the government draft of the law on self-government nor this social draft, in general, abrogates the validity of the 1945 decree. This is the best proof of the fact that both those who worked on the former and those who worked on the latter did not make proper use of the mechanism which is therein contained.

Szymon Jakubowicz
Expert, OPS-Z, KKP, Warsaw

It has worked out very well that the KKP is discussing matters of self-government today. There are no longer individual workers councils, it is a great social movement. This means that the initial hesitation and doubts that we observed at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year have been overcome and are all the more overcome the more authority applies pressure not to organize workers councils [rady pracownicze]. When the authorities were pressuring for their creation, the work force held back. Now it is the opposite and I believe it is very important for the KKP to finally take a stand on this matter.

I think that the problem can be divided into two parts: a strategic part and a tactical part. This means, it can be divided into the general position of the union in matters of workers self-government [samorzad pracowniczy unless otherwise noted], and those problems which the union faces today. The problem of workers self-government and the quarrel which is ensuing, a very difficult battle which will continue to go on, is a problem of jurisdiction, as well as the even more serious problem of who is to have the authority in an enterprise. There is the problem of who is to appoint and dismiss the director of the enterprise. It would seem that this is a simple matter, but underlying this problem in reality is the essence not only of authority in the enterprise, but also the essence of economic reform. If the minister appoints the director, maintaining his authority over the enterprise in this way, then its independence remains a fiction. If this function of appointing, dismissing and determining the responsibilities of the director to the work force via the workers council is assumed by the work force, then the autonomy of the enterprise can be guaranteed. I venture to say that the struggle for self-government will be a struggle primarily over this point. All other attacks we see today, namely the attacks on the Net and on the position of Solidarity, that it negates common national property, that it wants to assume proprietorship of enterprises and that it promotes group property are, I believe, a smokescreen over the basic problem. In discussions, after all, it comes out openly. We should be aware of this problem. Thus, if we speak of the struggle for economic reform, in my opinion the best instrument of struggle for the union is the struggle for authentic self-government, since authentic self-government at once defines the character of this reform.

Here I must bring to your attention a certain element which exists in the government draft of the law. Namely, it is stated in the law that if the minister recognizes that it is possible to transfer this authority to a specific enterprise which he has selected, this may be done. What does this mean? Although it appears to be speaking of ideological principles, what the law is discussing is the person who will have the authority to transfer this right to make decisions, i.e., whether the director is to be appointed by the minister or by the work force of the enterprise. Apparently there is a serious contradiction in the position of authority. We should not content ourselves with the 1956 solution of the problem, or the 1947 solution of the problem because these solutions, although at the time very progressive, do not fit the current situation. Let us cite the example of the 1956 law in which it is stated that the workers council manages the enterprise. At the same time, this law states that on the question of a basic problem had by the director, the council and the work force have only the right to express their opinion. At that time it was not possible to achieve any other status, but this is unacceptable for us today. The situation is the same with the 1947 decree. The problem of organizing elections is an important problem, but in this situation, and with regard to the question of authority, it is a secondary problem. This is also why it is important to appeal to the workers self-government, while determining its authority in accordance with our times.

With regard to tactics, the problem lies in the fact that today a fundamental element of union tactics is to overstrain such a law which will be set up according to the aspirations of workers, which will contain points defining both the authenticity of self-government and, in great part, the very essence of economic reform. Unfortunately, we are no longer able to talk with the government today. The government does not wish to speak with us. It has transmitted these matters to the Sejm and our only recourse now is to put pressure on the Sejm. There are various ways

to apply such pressure. Some are already being used, including the organization of meetings in regions for the purpose of transmitting and exerting pressure to encourage deputies to represent the public viewpoint in the problem of the law. I do not believe that it is necessary for us to work out our own draft of the law.

At this time we have available two drafts which lie now with the Sejm. One of these is the draft of the government's economic initiative. There is also the Net draft which, admittedly, has not acquired such an attribute, but it is possible to refer to it. Today not only is there such a need but there is also no time to start gathering materials and working out our own draft. On Tuesday, that is, in 2 days, we must sit down at the table with the representatives of the intercommission team of deputies for the purpose of opposing these drafts of government laws which are already in the Sejm. Preparing our own draft of the law is neither possible nor necessary.

At this time of position is relatively clear. What's more, all centers associated with Solidarity have a common position on this issue. That is, on this basic issue of which I spoke and which defines the essence of workers self-government and the range of economic reform. I have not come in contact with even one concrete statute of workers self-government which was worked out with the participation of Solidarity (except for some small enterprises where the KSR are still hanging around), where this demand and this issue has not been presented in a clear and explicit manner. I am convinced that there is not even any need for our convincing each other.

For example, this issue: the draft of the government law states that workers councils are to organize in all enterprises on the basis of the law until 31 December. We must oppose the issue put in such a way.

The issue of self-government is an issue of the sovereign will of the work force. It has the right to call together the self-government whenever it feels the need, and not "until 31 December" according to administrative order. And second: perhaps the law should contain maximum rights for workers self-government, but the work force should have the right to choose such rights as, in a given moment, suit it best. I cite this as one of the characteristic questions. There are opinions which have been worked out in various centers, including the OPS-Z by Krakow workers associated with Solidarity, by the Mazowsze Region and others--all of these may be reduced to one common denominator; it is possible today to sit down at the table, discuss and oppose the resolution of the government law.

Similarly, I am not of the opinion that we should now embark on working out our own draft for economic reform. We are neither prepared for this, nor is it necessary. The union should advocate a social movement in the name of economic reform primarily through workers self-government [samorzady pracownicze] and workers councils, which will become the most important element of social support for economic reform.

The Net issue. It seems to me that the Net has done very great work and this is worthy of recognition by the KKP. There is likewise the potential support in the Sejm of all of these principles which are found in the Net draft. This, of course, does not mean that it should be a matter of prestige, i.e., it will be either this draft or none. Besides, the organizers of the Net do not pose issues in this way. At the last meeting of the Net in Gdansk, on 8 July, it was stated that the Sejm is convening likewise to consider the Net plan. The problem does not lie in which draft will be resolved, but in what will be in this draft, what its principles will

be and, in my conviction, this is how this issue should be treated. On the other hand, if it is a question of the issue of supporting the self-government and organizational solutions on this issue, the union cannot back out of this so that it itself would be the whole social base of this movement, all the more so given today's concrete situation.

Regional and interregional understandings are being organized in all, or in many regions. These understandings, alongside the Net, create a better possibility for coordinating efforts. Such coordination is very much needed during this phase of the struggle for self-government. Recapitulating, in my conviction, there exists a common position and there exist centers which are engaged in these matters. It is the job of the KKP to determine the general platform and to summon these people and centers to the Sejm discussions for the purpose of working out a proper law.

Andrzej Gwiazda:

Colleagues: Lobbying is a very important thing in such meetings. And so during the break I found out that there is resistance to self-government in plant commissions as well. The commissions of these plants are suspicious of this because it lacks support. In my former statement I did not consider this phenomenon. If it exists, I believe that the KKP should pass a resolution obliging plant commissions as well as regional boards to impart every kind of assistance to groups initiating the self-government movement and working within this movement. I believe that this is absolutely essential.

On the other hand, I continue to support the need for a formally detached relationship. This is to the advantage of both union tasks and self-government tasks. I have a marginally different view of the issue of self-government and economic reform from that of my colleague, the previous speaker. I believe that these are things which are absolutely inseparably linked. In principle, apart from the psychic sphere, i.e., a person working in a self-governing plant feels better, I also believe that in the economic sphere self-government fulfills the role of universally disseiminating economic reform.

Here we must be aware of our powers, since in many addresses, in many speeches our good intentions and our goals are mixed up with our powers. Thus we must tell ourselves that as the union, the movement--disregard the name Solidarity--in any event has certain powers. These powers are executive possibilities. As yet, we do not have executive possibilities either in the matter of reform or in the matter of self-governments. On the other hand, what can we do as a union?

We can certainly create the facts worked on the psyche of society. And, ladies and gentlemen, these are then not fantasies, but concrete facts. In other words, our union can resolve to support such and such a system of choosing workers self-government in plants and, it seems to me, that we can resolve such a plan right here and now.

I personally am very much in favor of the system which was proposed by the 1945 decree, i.e., the system containing the proposal of democratic, proportional elections on ballots.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are attempts being made in small plants to create self-government from a key group: one person from the party, one from the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], one from Solidarity and one from the directorate. Here our union,

whether it will intensify or reduce its formal involvement in issues of self-government, must nonetheless enter our commission. And it seems to me that this is a matter which lies directly within the competence of the union, that is, that we can impose an electoral law on the self-government body. The kind of electoral law this will be preordains likewise the directions of this self-government in the future and the method of its operation. On the other hand, we must realize that if we adopt operational regulations, there will be instructions, there will be certain guidelines. However, we do not have the authority, nor will the self-government have the authority, to enforce these regulations. This will be a plan over which we will have to struggle and which must be introduced either by a revolutionary method or by resolution.

Let us return to economic matters, for in the end the purpose of self-government is to assume economic authority in the enterprise (time will tell whether this will succeed in whole or in part). For the present, the prevailing position in our country is that the work force assumes total authority in the enterprise, at least the legislative authority. On the other hand, opinions are divided with regard to executive authority, as to whether we may permit an appointed director, whether we may dismiss him or whether we should choose him competitively. These are matters of lesser importance. In any event, the authority of the self-government will be decisive and we must now realize that this self-government will be neither an advisory body nor an obstructive body as it was in the first version conceived by society (that the self-government would be an organ for blocking directorial decisions which were unfavorable to the work force). At this time, society and the union have conceived a positive idea of authority, i.e., not that of blocking bad orders, but that of dispersing good orders. Here we go absolutely nowhere without the economy. At least 50 percent of our colleagues certainly realize that the current operation of an enterprise is based on paranoia, on contrived indexes, on contrived allocations and uncertain investments. In order for the self-government to really govern, it must attain freedom. In order to have freedom of operation, it must, at least to a certain extent, have the freedom to decide about the financial matters of the enterprise, that is, it must have access to decisionmaking concerning the issuance and assumption of bank credits and monetary outlays and to accounting with the bank.

I believe that this issue is universally overlooked because it is a very thorny one. In an imposed system of making financial outlays such as we have now, the self-government will be suffocated for it again will simply not have executive authority.

When we speak of self-government, and when we build structures, let us remember that at this time it acquires its executive authority illegally because of success in getting the authorities to agree to change several directors for the price of calm. The future concept must enable the tasks of the self-government to be legal, regardless of how this legality is attained, whether aided by a general strike, whether with the help of pressure on deputies or based on such a principle as the deputies themselves will understand.

The union cannot cut itself off from investigating the structure of the economy as such. I believe that the KK is certainly not a competent body for this. Unfortunately, good intentions here are not enough. Calculations are necessary here, and experts are needed. It seems to me, as I emphasized earlier, that our union will be able to express a definite opinion when there is simultaneously presented both a draft of the operation of the enterprise and the powers of the self-government, composed by us and adapted to this model. If we do not take these things

into consideration, they will continue to be views which can be shattered with one order of the minister of finance. We should realize that in introducing self-government we are hanging not on great laws but on one signature of the minister.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk
Chairman, ZR, Wroclaw:

Ladies and gentlemen: There are three issues. I will begin from Andrzej Celinski's statements. I think that he has made an egregious blunder. It is not the union which emerges weakened from every clash with authority, but the authority of the union, the KKP, which emerges weakened after every conflict. At least, this was the case after the recent Warsaw agreement. I would like to say that our press, which calls itself self-governing and independent, has thus far not written about the personnel conflicts of which Andrzej Celinski spoke. It's too bad.

The second matter, which surprised me here very much is one which Lech Walesa talked about for 2 days. I also think that he talks a lot but does too little. He should appoint people right away with whom he would like to work. And we, as the KKP, would confirm these people for him, by the same token increasing their authority--and the matter will be taken care of, and one need not talk so much.

Next a matter spoken of by Jacek Kuron. Fundamentally I agree that this is a self-limiting or self-controlling revolution. Agreed. On the other hand, I believe that we as union members, and I emphasize union members, should not speak of whether we will assume authority or when we will do it. As union members we should rather consider how to prepare society for these elections and how to become the guarantor that these elections will be free and democratic. And this is all that we should say on this subject. I think that here Jacek placed too little emphasis on the role of elections to the people's councils. I think that the union should have become involved in this yesterday and not today, and that it should have worked out a tactic just for these elections. And here I make an appeal to my colleagues that in the regions we should take under consideration the subject of how the union is to fall into line with regard to the elections to people's councils.

Now I turn to the issue of self-government, and consequently to the tactics of the union for, doubtless, the next few months. Ladies and gentlemen, it is necessary to reflect upon two matters, on two roads, i.e., should the union continue to be the echelon which controls and expresses an opinion about what the government is doing and what it has done until this time, in this way engaging its authority. (Everyone has said that the government is trying, that perhaps these drafts are open to discussion, but that they will reach no one if the union does not accept this).

Or is the union to take a new road?--and here I am for this new road. We must come out with our own initiatives. I think that the union can afford to come forth with such initiatives now. And the Net program is, for the first time, just such an initiative. And here again a fundamental matter: It seems to me that in speaking the whole time of self-government, we have made an error. This issue cannot be separated from the law concerning the enterprise. The next mistake we make in speaking of *self-government--neither* the union nor the Net will name the self-government bodies. We, as the union, must appeal to the plant commissions to interest every person, whether he is in the union Solidarity or outside the union, in familiarizing himself with these two drafts. As the union we must invest our

authority in this, writing and speaking in such a way that it will reach everyone. We are already doing this in Wroclaw; many regions are certainly doing it. I even have a handbill which shows how we did this. I believe that the KKP should recognize the Net because, ladies and gentlemen, they are union members. We are pickling here like sauerkraut in this barrel, with our problems. There is no one to solve this--and suddenly people take up the initiative for which we have all been waiting! They help us in this task, they place before us a completed draft which, while not perfected, is important as a basis for discussion.

The KKP should resolve that the Net is a branch of the union and, in conjunction with this, that the OPS-Z is at its disposal. I remind you that the center cannot be a separate body, that it must be a service center working in the name of our needs. I think that the draft which we have given in to be printed will be very incomplete, as we have learned in our discussion, and it seems to me that we should now appoint a group to supplement it with the recommendations made in this discussion.

Jan Rulewski
Member, KKP Presidium
chairman, ZR, Bydgoszcz

I have the impression that it is 1917 and I am at the rallies in Moscow and Petersburg at which Lenin called out to the working and soldiers' councils. And we are taking over the authority. We are implementing the slogans for which the population has waited. However, it is 64 years later, but before this we did have a way station--the year 1956 (...) and here authentic workers ccuncils [rady robotnicze] were created, I must tell you, not only as a result of an autopsy, but from what I have heard from various people who set up these workers councils [rady robotnicze] and who persevered until... from 12 to 18 months. They said that they were authentic--there were not even any party members there.

They said that they had very great powers: they could dismiss the director, appoint, grant pensions, awards, whatever they wished. These self-governments from 1956 fell. It was not because Moscow prohibited them or because Gomulka sent in police forces. Not one person was beaten for defending the idea of self-governments in 1956 or 1958, but despite everything the self-governments fell. They fell as a consequence of the natural traits of working people, said one worker [robotnik]. For the worker is that sort of person who does not push ahead. The worker is the person doomed to work, and his honesty is found in the market, where his work is properly valued in the form of the value of goods produced by him. For this reason workers' protests are not unusually based on pseudosocial, rose-colored, or red ideas, but almost always on social inequality. Along the way we also have Yugoslavia--an example of a self-managing economy. I spoke with several Yugoslavs: One says that it is true that in the past 20 years from time to time they have attempted to set up self-management, but that he has no closer understanding of the situation, of what is going on. The economic successes of Yugoslavia, if we consider the fact that they are greater than Poland's, are based on political and economic independence. This made it possible for Yugoslavia to let 2 million people go to work in the West during a particular period. It was also the decisive factor placing it in a position today to absorb them under favorable conditions, and not the fact that some sort of self-management exists, which is, after all, indispensable under Yugoslavian conditions, i.e., under the conditions of the existence of seven republics with differing cultures, differing economic standards and differing customs and religious influences, making centralized management impossible.

I believe that the addresses of colleagues Celinski and Kuron threaten the interests of the union, since, I please observe, the union had very onerous goals to fulfill, including the restoration of a certain self-government, not sovereignty but economic self-government, and in its wake, political self-government by means of representative institutions such as the Sejm and the people's councils. Today Jacek [Kuron] shies away from the word Sejm--frankly, he is afraid; it censures our actions. And so, whence are the fundamental principles of our sovereignty to flow? They cannot be implemented in the enterprise; on the other hand, they must be proposed by the highest echelons of representative authority. Whether it exists now or not is unimportant--it can exist! For the realities are, my dear Jacek [Kuron], that it is not true that the Russians will enter the country or that they will do what they did in Budapest, i.e., close some ports, blockade some highways.

I am opposed to self-government for today, when the union is on the road between one way station and another. I am in favor of not creating it because we are not yet ready for it, because we have not yet razed other structures which will patronize this self-government. For this reason as well, we are faced with the dilemma of how to defend shipyards or mines so that coal will not be sent abroad at a low price when, unfortunately, it will have to go. We are resigned to economic realities which are, unfortunately, more despotic than the ways of discussing democracy. I probably have evidence of this from the electoral campaign--the economic self-government of state enterprises will deliberate in this way. Except that in the unions we can allow this sort of thing, for the past has shown that 15 people from a shipyard are in a position to create a program for the whole of Poland, while in the economy this does not work, for what will be needed will be the efforts of all working people, the overcoming of all pathologies in the plant, on the street and on the tram. If we entrust economic matters to various economic larks or mass meetings, then, unfortunately, we will have a state of anarchy. Besides, it is already apparent--powerful plants autonomously get themselves pork, fatback, cigarettes with no concern for others.

And now I return to the social line, or rather, the social conflict. The union has not achieved its goals and is already creating new structures. I spoke with the Net as chairman of the working group for matters of economic reform. Together we recognized that at the present stage, in the fact of unconcretized plans for economic reform, we are in agreement that founding committees of self-government should be created. Meanwhile, today I learn that something else is being created--KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers] or KIR, it is the same thing, there is even a strange concurrence of these concepts. KIR begins with a K. And in the face of this, the simple worker, whose consciousness, I emphasize, reaches for understanding, whether he belongs to Walesa or not, will be given over now to analyze this entire complex situation. There are trade unions which, in their electoral campaigns typified the best people, in my conviction, to whom all sorts of hopes are entrusted--and now something parallel is being created. We are even coerced and obliged to create self-government based on workers, but for the most part experts will take the lead, because the economy is a thing for experts, unfortunately. And there the indolence of workers will be more noticeable than at union meetings (where it is also noticeable, one way being the fact that we are not able to get a quorum). Consequently, there will be a conflict in the lap of the union itself. The self-government, in undertaking difficult decisions concerning the liquidation, for example, of production of airplanes on the basis of economic premises will have to fire several thousand people in the name of the union. And this will be the economic reality, which is not always tied in with social theory--social thought travels a different course.

There is the matter of economic reform. We want to creat these self-governments for today, but we do not know the makeup of economic reform. Gierek's crime is not that he built several villas for himself, the leader of a wealthy state should also be wealthy. His crime is the impoverishment of the entire cadre, which also penetrated the trade union. And please do not take this as a personal remark, but those who ought to decide union strategy--the advisers--decide the least. Please observe that the advisers have remained silent since the time that they were disparaged in the union. Thus we do not have those alternatives.

Several dozen versions of economic reform have reached me. All of them lead to one common denominator--self-government. The most interesting of them is that of Dr Balcerowicz, but for the fact that it places the issue of self-government sixth on the list. First place is given over to political conditions and conditions of economic self-government. Then he recognized a change in Sejm and people's council powers as the point of departure--these are the decisive factors in economic reform. Meanwhile we are bent on introducing reform, self-government. It was not you, colleagues of the Net, who prompted us, you merely wish to prod us into choosing a different form of self-government. TRYBUNA LUDU prompted self-government when it initiated a discussion with the union one day through anonymous arguments. It is an attempt to push the union out to the margin of public life and to highlight a new group--a self-governing group which would quarrel both with the trade unions and with the directorship, with the party exercising patronage over all of this, as an arbitrator, a mediator. Therefore, I do not think that this road was clear and well-defined for today. Without specifying an economic model, we cannot rush into decisions which will sanction a given economic model. Even if we assume that self-government is that suitable solution for an economic model or a compromise solution (I think that this is partly taken from western democracy and partly from eastern ideology, and it is known that mixtures are always the worst because they are explosive). But let us assume that the new self-government is the appropriate solution, even though the most important point here is the issue of choosing the director. This issue is tenth on the list for me, the most important issue being the matter of machinery and the economic model; the issue of which executors we choose and the basis on which they will be chosen is a secondary one.

If we take the Net model, in which it is proposed, e.g., that there should be a plebiscite for the director, as one version has it, then it will turn out that in a clothing factory where many women work, a dynamic director will never be accepted. Most likely a handsome man who kisses hands will be chosen. If we assume that self-government is that social mechanism which will regulate the economy, then this is an issue of some importance. But how are we in general to arrive at a normal economy? None of the economic plans which my advisers and others offer me answer this question. What will the economy be in 2, in 5 years? There are visions, meanwhile no one knows how we are to get from today to the model for tomorrow. What are we to do? How should we set up the queues for plants which are waiting for materials they are lacking? Which plants should be brought to a standstill? For this reason, I believe that the union, by pointing out the directions of economic reform, should force not the demonstration of a model of reform, but the demonstration of directions. And the union is prepared for this, because it is organized radially, through plant commissions, locally through the MKZ to the KKP at the highest level. Consequently, it has counters to the government and the party at every level of its existence, and this attests to the strength of the union. If we adopt the assumption that it should be a rank-and-file, self-government movement, then it will be strong only in the plant. On the other hand, will it be powerful in foreign trade?

Now I come to Celinski's statement, which is for me only a group of reflections and not a series of questions about the union's program. The doubts which filter through this hall, and moreover in plant commissions, circles and the MKZ concern the union's program and, in point of fact, the essence of the union. We are not a union. As I see it we are an oppositional sociopolitical movement. There are however, other statements which cause members to withdraw from us and arouse doubts in the rank-and-file. Here I have in mind the statements of colleague Walesa who, when we, aktivs, express the conviction that this is a socioprofessional movement, or an oppositional socioprofessional movement without any sort of aspirations to become a political party, since we do not envision the ideological reconstruction of society and we do not wish to assume the authority, then unfortunately, certain prominent figures in our union life offer completely different interpretations: that we are concerned with buying underwear and shoes and with rationing cards. And this creates confusion. The question arises: Should we also strike over censorship? It is easy for us to strike over money, we do not have to be persuaded to do this, here the petitioners stand at the door. But as for censorship, should we strike, we don't know, nor do we know who we are. And for this reason let us first define and create a strategic, perhaps a problematical program of tasks and then everyone will be aware of what they have to do.

Andrzej Sobieraj
Chairman, ZR, Radom:

I support my colleague from Lodz--[Grzegorz] Palka. Those who preceded me did not take up the subject, but the issue is very important. He asserted that every issue, whether the self-government issue or another issue, can collapse in such a situation as the country finds itself today. We must give this idea some thought. Society is hungry, a women's hunger march has been organized in Lodz. Society is embittered, and the government may hit upon an idea which will be seized upon, and then they will settle up with us for not having suggested the idea. I spoke with Kalinowski, who gave me cigarettes from May, from April and I know very well from the tobacco plant in Radom, that cigarettes are not warehoused, that they go directly to market. Then something is behind the fact that they are, nonetheless, kept somewhere in storage. In the same way, there may be a shortage of other articles and conflicts may arise as a result of this.

There is the fear, spoken of at length by J. Rulewski, that this situation may hamper the establishment of self-government. However, I am in favor of the establishment of self-government, perhaps not so much self-government as commissions which will prepare the coming into being of self-government. We must approach the people with proposals for the creation of self-government, but through discussion. Here I bear a grudge against the Net, a grudge which Janek [Rulewski] did not bring up. There is much discussion about large plants, but there is little or nothing said about small plants. And the small plants some to us and say: What role does the Net see for us, will the large plants not come to dominate us later? There should be some sort of meeting held with plants of small and intermediate size in order to lessen their fears.

Still another matter: It is felt in our region that the government side has something else in mind. I know that in many plants there is a certain form for establishment of self-governments by the directorate. The directorship tries its hardest to suggest to plants the model of which Gwiazda spoke, unless I am mistaken; one union member, one representative from the industrial branch trade unions, a third

from the POP and the like. Is there not sometimes here some sort of ploy by the government side, through the directorships, which can make those unaware believe in their system, their method and their self-government structure?

For this reason, I once again appeal to the Net to issue some sort of concrete letter which discusses the role of small, large and intermediate enterprises and which presents the self-government draft.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki
Deputy chairman, ZR, Lodz

I would like to bring up several subjects, but first I will discuss a particular subject so that it will not muddy up what I will say later--the question of the powers that the Net would like to acquire from the union. For first we heard that the Net needs no umbrella and then we heard that it demands the right to act in the name of the union. This, together with the pertinent recommendation of A. Gwiazda that self-government aktivs should receive special protection, begins to have particular importance. At the same time, I would like to ask Mr Milewski, since his name is still linked with one issue, namely, within the framework of the Net there is a distribution program of the so-called Polish Labor Party [PPP]. [as published] This is the so-called "secret bomb" which is to explode at a certain moment, and this program speaks of the fact that the PPP will build itself up on the basis of the Net. At this time, I would like to move on to the speech of Mr Jacek Kuron--if we are jumping into something, it is with open rather than closed eyes. I would like an answer to the question I am posing at this time.

And now I would like to move on to a problem we are facing at this moment, all the more so since Janek [Rulewski] sowed confusion rather than creating something constructive. We are in a difficult enough situation and perhaps we are out of breath over certain things. It is known that there is tension on the market; it is known that sooner or later we will all find ourselves under the enormous pressure of the situation. We felt it 2 weeks earlier, yesterday it hit Bujak, and when we return home it will begin to hit each of us hard.

This tension is associated with the lack of a guarantee of cards, with the reduction in food norms and with the expected price increases. It will create pressure on the union in the directions of some sort of action. If the union is not in a position to propose some alternative, it will be difficult to resist and this will force the union into protest actions. Not without reason do we plan a demonstration in Lodz; it was, at the same time, a certain way of opening the safety valve--we have gained 2 weeks in this way. We made the decision about the protest action at a time when we were receiving seven announcements a day of the spontaneous outburst of a strike in one, a second, a third plant. We also gain something else--the dramatic effort of provincial authorities to try to do something about this situation. We gain these two things at this time. Kutno as well, as far as I know, also gained these two things.

And now to move on to the program.

The problem lies in the fact that first--and here I agree with Janek [Rulewski]--we must answer two questions: Do we accept the assumption that the government

desires above all to dupe Solidarity, or does it primarily wish to lead the economy out of the situation it is now in and that it is inclined to play fair with Solidarity?

If we adopt the assumption that the government wants, above all, to extricate this economy from its current situation, then we must quickly decide under what circumstances we are inclined to negotiate with this government, what we want to get in return and for what.

I will begin with our cards, and we have many. There is the food problem--this is the first problem.

Question: Who is to tell society in a trustworthy manner that there is a food shortage, if there really is a shortage. This is the first card. The second card, likewise important, is the question of prices. Several governments in this country have already taken their turn at prices. It is probably the most important trump card that the union has in its hand. If we assume that we are to cooperate with the government to pull the economy through, then we must play these two cards. If so, then the question--for what? It would be nonsense to manipulate prices only for the sake of compensation. Not to mention the fact that until this time we have not really had an idea of how we should be compensated. For if the compensation is 100 percent for all, then it is really a joke. The price movement and the compensation movement are nothing but the official confirmation of the inflationary spiral and what's more--the thrusting of this inflationary spiral upward. If it is deficient, then someone must gain and someone must lose by it. And here we have the question--who? According to all of the ideas I know about, there are three possible directions of approach. The union, on the other hand, does not have a concept establishing which course of action it approves, and it appears that when someone goes to negotiate with the government on various questions--price compensations, family benefits, maternity benefits--each group goes out to the negotiations with a different concept of social policy.

These things must finally be put in order. Personally I am in favor of compensation based on income and nothing else. It should be based on the amount of income in order to compensate as much as possible; in order to raise the income and not the wages, the income of those who are most poorly paid. Of course, then we must realize who our opposition is in such a case. They include those who work hard in our country. And we have the argument that they work the hardest and must pay for it, and it was not their fault. Cooperation takes for granted an unequivocal statement--we now find ourselves in shit, regardless of who it was that pushed us in. But this is the first question--compensation. I believe that we sold prices for compensation, it would be too little. The second question is reform.

This gives us a good added bargaining card, because in this instance we are in a position to tell society: "Give the dog a hug, but in the name of what, in the name of some sort of prospect, in the name of the prospect that in a year, in so many months there will be an improvement in this field." We can have the chance for some kind of improvement. Fine, but it is not only that there will be reform, but that there will be public supervision over this reform and that our union will participate in this public supervision with its right of veto. In other words, generally it is not worth our becoming involved in the problem. Finally, the third issue, which must be settled in the reform--and here I do not agree with you, Janek [Rulewski]--is the self-governments.

Ladies and gentlemen, by chance I am an economist by virtue of my training, thus I am able to examine the various systems. For me, the managerial system in certain of its elements and perhaps in toto is generally better than the self-government system. But we must ask ourselves the question, is it better in Poland? This is the first basic question. Self-government in Poland is the only opportunity for us to attain directorial appointments on the basis of qualifications and not on the basis of political loyalty. And this is what we must come to terms with. In short--I am in favor of the self-government system because it is the only chance we have to keep incompetent political aktivs or persons who are politically loyal from muddying up to the directorial cadre. And in this regard, our concerns must be stated.

The next issue--you say, Janek [Rulewski], that for you the most important issue is the market. And again you are right, only it must be the market with obedient directors appointed from above. You will not have this during your lifetime, for when he finds out that his position does not depend on what is going on in the enterprise, but on whether he is obedient to superior authority, you will not have this market for all the People's Republic of China [not for all the tea in China]. We must also be aware of this. Finally, the third question.

I believe that the Net initiative should, of course, be supported and that we should be grateful to these people for the fact that they wanted to put so much effort and so much inclination into this. It is true that at this time there should be an immediate campaign to propagate materials entitled: "How to Set up Self-government." What's more, the resistance that exists in enterprises needs to be broken down, i.e., the resistance to taking on the responsibility for running the enterprise. It is no accident that a great leading plant of the Net in Lodz, the Marchlewski Works, as yet has no self-government. There are others which have it. And we must realize this. Furthermore, if we want to have self-government, we must know what sort of distribution of materials and training programs are absolutely necessary and urgent. Enough for now.

Jerzy Milewski:

I can repeat that which was approved at the Net meetings. Thus, the Net recommends that the union work out a uniform position concerning the issue of the country's socioeconomic reform...

Jerzy Kropiwnicki:

In concrete terms. I became informed and then, over 2 days, had in hand materials concerning the establishment of the PPP on the basis of the Net in large plants. As it was told to me, these materials were received directly from a certain Milewski, who is a functionary of the Net, and they were signed by him. Secondly, I was informed that the establishment of the PPP is a bomb which the Net will be preparing in a short time. This opinion is derived from one of the aktivs leading Net plants. I would like an answer to these two questions.

Jerzy Milewski:

First: The material referring to the PPP was written by me as an authorial piece and should not be associated with the Net. Second: You ought to read the Net

communiques in which the Net position is precisely outlined and the private opinions of aktivs are defined. The latter represent another issue and they should not be quoted. With regard to the material, I will give it to you right now and you will have it for keeps and not only for 2 days. Please read it from beginning to end. Better yet, begin from the end, and then the matter will be clear. And as far as my personal opinion is concerned, i.e., an opinion which has nothing to do with the Net, it is clear to me that there is no sense in our burying our heads in the sand and pretending that there is no political vacuum in Poland. On the other hand, the issue of when we should begin to fill this void is another matter.

Karil Modzelewski
Member, ZR Presidium, Wroclaw:

Ladies and gentlemen: Janek Rulewski presented the issues in a very basic way and in a way which does not allow us to overlook at least certain features of his address. Above all he said that there is no sense in our involving ourselves--at least that is how I understood it--at this time either with reform or with economic self-government because these problems cannot be solved until more basic problems are solved. According to Janek [Rulewski], the problem of total national and state sovereignty is such a problem.

I must say that there is surely no one in this hall who does not regard full national and state sovereignty as his own personal ideal. However, the safe way to divide up a bearskin is to do it when he is no longer alive. Talk about ideals--always noble--if it is to have any practical meaning, must be done in such a way as to show others how the ideal is to be attained. Otherwise there is only the reiteration of the ideal and the reiteration of the slogan which, in any case, is not a program.

Ladies and gentlemen, Z. Bujak's metaphor, repeated here by Jacek [Kuron], of the trade union of sailors who are on a sinking ship, needs to be supplemented. If the ship sinks, the sailors generally do not bother with a trade union. We are on a ship which has an effective trade union; meanwhile, the captain is paralyzed and unable to speak. (...) Hence the curious situation in which the trade union of sailors must occupy themselves with saving the ship. It seems to me that there is no escape from this situation and, in light of this, we must undertake this project. This is an about-face in the policy of our union and that is why I can understand Janek's [Rulewski] unease.

Until now we have resolutely spoken otherwise, until the Net checked this. There is something to be preserved from this earlier position, and we must tell ourselves exactly what this is. Until now we have said: we are not taking on any joint responsibility for pulling the country out of the crisis, because that is the duty of the government and of the state. We are in a supervisory position and things have reached the situation in which those people who praised us to the skies may now stone us for sitting with our hands folded while the ship was sinking and the larder was already flooded.

We cannot maintain the attitude in which we refuse to accept political responsibility for urging a program. I repeat, urging a program, not managing it. Urging a program for getting us out of the crisis, the only exit for this being, in my conviction, self-government. Not only by means of the economic reform associated

with this, but by means of the self-government. On the other hand, if we also assumed responsibility for direct management, beyond the extraordinary situation of which our Lodz colleagues rightly spoke, we would be departing from a principle we were formerly right to hold. A dramatic situation may ensue forcing us to the active strike spoken about. But except for this situation, we may not assume the responsibility for management, likewise for self-government management, because we have structured ourselves as a sociopolitical oppositional movement which arose as a trade union and must retain this character for our own trustworthiness as well. We may not lose ourselves in one or the other aspect, in the sociopolitical movement or in the union movement.

Thus, we cannot be a union movement which is, at the same time, an administrator in some way, whether this is in a plant, or on a nationwide scale. And for this reason, both the creation of the self-government and its operation must be independent of our union. The self-government must be independent from Solidarity. This must be stressed because it is not always clear, even in our documents. And Solidarity must be independent of the self-government, among other reasons, because if the self-government system arises, if we succeed in gaining the system we want, it could bypass the dangers which it did not bypass in Yugoslavia.

These social dangers represent the only rational argument advanced by the official propaganda against the self-government solutions proposed by the Net. This argument is based on the fact that these are solutions leading to the occurrence of new social injustices, that plants with sound investments, which have modern machinery, which have the power to penetrate the market or, finding themselves in a monopolistic situation, will be able to use this advantage to attain the particular goals of their work force. Weaker plants, on the other hand, and weaker regions economically speaking will be crushed by this. Despite all of the plusses of the self-management system in Yugoslavia, this is, in fact, what has happened there.

Unlike Yugoslavia, we have the opportunity to bring the self-government system into being under conditions of the existence of an authentic, powerful trade movement, such as Solidarity is. And Solidarity is in a position, through institutional solutions themselves, through the self-government concept and through the distribution of the national income, to advocate such principles as allow for the mitigation of the consequences of the self-government system which we consider to be negative. For this reason, I believe that we cannot overlook this issue and we cannot do without a special kind of resolution in this KK.

Vicarious conflicts are often flung upon us, and perhaps some sort of vicarious conflicts will now be flung upon us, or perhaps we will become entangled unintentionally in a conflict solely on the basis of market supply. We must know how to show the nation that the issue of the market supply catastrophe, of the hunger catastrophe, of the shortage of medicines, cigarettes, soap, laundry detergent, of everything, of the shortage of raw materials and the impossibility of working are issues of the functioning of the system. And without self-government reform, we will not clear up this issue. Only when we manage to link these two issues in the social consciousness will we have a strong initial position for battle. That is the first matter. The second: Our trump cards have already been discussed. I agree with the remarks of Colonek Kropiwnicki and I agree that our strongest defense lies in the fact that we are indispensable authorities in some way. If this is so, the way in which we are indispensable authorities is in the attainment of public

assent to social "nonresistance" to drastic price increases. The increase in prices is indispensable for the liquidation of inflation, but for our part, we should not consent to an increase only for the purpose of the liquidation of the inflationary curve, because the liquidation of the inflationary curve itself will not lead us out of the crisis. To the extent that it occurs while the old economic and administrative system is being maintained, the source of the crisis will become fixed and our chances for pulling out of the crisis will be wasted. And we should tell this to society.

It is agreed that there should be a schedule for reform tasks, that public supervision of reform should be secured and that the self-government system should be accepted. For this reason I believe that a resolution with regard to this issue is essential, although there have already been numerous KKP declarations on many issues, and these declarations have very often replaced action on our part. For example, protest actions. Thus, in this case, I believe that such a resolution is essential because people will no longer stand for the fact that there is no flour or butter, that there are no cigarettes, that there is nothing, that there are no medicines and no soap. The eruption of social conflict may threaten us with a conflict which will be played out outside of the authority, Solidarity structure, i.e., such a conflict, the course of which will be bloody and the results of which will be tragic, known.

Hence I believe that we cannot delay. Putting it off until the congress would be disadvantageous even now, although we certainly cannot afford a fundamental, well-thought-out and well-developed program--more time is needed for that. What is necessary is at least a call to society issued by the KKP more or less signaling our position.

It is also indispensable that in this struggle it should also be explained to the people that the food catastrophe and the supply catastrophe are not a post-August phenomenon, but they are, above all, a crisis issue engendered by the functioning of the system before August. It must also be explained that the way out of this catastrophe is reform and the self-government system. And for this we need a voice, a voice of which we have deen deprived.

Please take heed of the fact that the sabotaging of the agreement concerning access to mass media has been intensified in recent weeks. At least, such has been the case in our region where matters of market supply and self-government are concerned. All announcements of regional authorities have been blocked at local radio and television stations. The situation is similar elsewhere, for we are dealing with a campaign which endeavors to perplex by means of a very old method.

I do not know where Janek Rulewski got the idea that the idea of self-government is a Bolshevik idea. (...) I would like to remind you that the propaganda arguments which have been advanced against the Net draft are those same arguments which were in operation against Yugoslavia during the attacks on Tito. Anarchosyndicalism, group ownership of property and the like. This must be unmasked, it must be shown that this is not true, it must be shown that "nomenklatura" is the concern here. This is how things really are: If an enterprise is not to be managed by means of orders and distribution lists, but by economic means, then the appointment and dismissal of the director by superior authorities is unnecessary in general for the management of the enterprise by a central council. On the other hand, it is

necessary only for the purpose of preserving "nomenklatura," or the privilege of the central local party apparatus to appoint its own people to these positions. In reality, this is incompatible with the requirements of expert direction, and only the self-government can break this down--this must be told to the people.

We must have somewhere from which to say this, we must demand every available means of access to the mass media with regard to the issue of the food crisis and threatening famine. This we must do according to the principles which were signed by the government on 30 January. This issue should not be referred to in a general way, so that the people may be made aware of what is going on, what the issue is about which we are demanding to be heard on the radio and on television. Right now we are not being threatened with the sort of attack that took place in Bydgoszcz. Today, tomorrow, maybe the day after tomorrow, yes. On the other hand, we are in a situation which, who knows, may be more menacing. The fortunes of the country hang in the balance, as do the fortunes of the union, and because of this we must consider how we can repair and revitalize our decisionmaking system. But this must be done now; we cannot wait for the congress.

The issue of the Warsaw understanding and an evaluation of this understanding has surfaced here. I believe that the document itself was not the best. It was only one of the weaker documents which have been signed. Its results, on the other hand, have been considerably superior to the document itself. I recall that it brought about the full registration, under better conditions than those vaguely announced, of individual farmers, the release of political prisoners (this concession was recently withdrawn) and a whole series of promising things which, unfortunately, were held up because of the stalemate of the negotiations. We had several months' calm to set up our electoral law. We had not had this for a long time, and it happened not as a result of the understanding, but as a result of the fact that the course of this conflict changed the structure of forces on the public arena. For besides us there were also other forces operative, there were horizontal structures, the dissent within the party and the like. This was before the congress.

Please keep in mind that things will be different after the congress. Cards were given out, which considerably reduces the possibility of our hoping to count on some sort of alliance with the party rank-and-file. Meanwhile, at that time it functioned quite vigorously, and even during the period of the Central Committee plenums we found ourselves in a fairly good situation as the union. At the same time, this understanding cost us a great deal. It was a shock to the union and I spoke of this at the last KKP meeting I attended, that is, when I tendered my resignation. From this perspective, I would like to say that we incurred this cost because the decisionmaking system within the union was not formulated beforehand. This exploded during the Warsaw agreement talks. The harm lies in the fact that the union did not have, and moreover continues not to have, any mandate endowed by the body which would be permanently capable of decisionmaking, and these decisions must somehow be made. It is a pure fiction that Walesa should personally make all of the huge mass of decisions. It is always a group of people who does this. But if decisions are not undertaken by a group which has the union mandate and which has been authorized to do this, for we do not have such a group, then there will always be problems both with trust and with trustworthiness.

For this reason, it seems to me that at this time the union must close its ranks somewhat and change this situation in which there is no one to undertake current

decisions in a fully legal manner. Hence the recommendation that the body spoken above be elected, i.e., a body to work permanently in Gdansk until the time of the congress. The congress will decide the further makeup of things. I would like to ask you one question: Do you agree that this type of appeal to society should be made at this meeting of the KKP? If so, then I do not think it is possible to work it out earlier than tomorrow, or this evening. Is the group on motions to do this? In a word, I am waiting for instruction on this issue from you, ladies and gentlemen, as a member of the groups on motions as well.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz
Member, KKP Presidium
Press spokesman, KKP
Member, ZR Presidium, Warsaw

My task is easier for many of you have already expressed much of what I intended to say. I will point out two things. I think that Jacek [Kuron] is entirely correct. At this time it is not appropriate to discuss the very fundamental matter of the Sejm. But there is one matter about which discussion should be initiated, for the situation, in sum, is that the Sejm no longer is the rubber stamp it used to be. Various things have changed in it, and, for that reason, we cannot and do not abandon the idea of bringing pressure to bear on the delegates. But pressures will be unsuccessful so long as we are unclear about how to make the delegates responsible for their actions. Briefly speaking, what the mechanism would be for the recall of delegates.

In our legal system, and practically speaking, to my knowledge, a delegate cannot be recalled. It would be as necessary to begin a discussion of the way in which delegates can be recalled as it is unnecessary to discuss the election of delegates or the electoral law. That would be a certain pressure that we could bring to bear upon the delegates. As far as the general situation of the country is concerned, I think that, as I have already stated, the authority in the party was washed away after the last congress. Formerly, it was the center. There was that Central Committee, including the secretaries of voivodship committees, and the tip of the pyramid was the Politburo. Now what is clearly visible is that the Central Committee contains a multitude of strangers to each other, who came together completely by coincidence. It contains very few secretaries of voivodship committees, so that I will say that authority has drained out of the Central Committee and will fundamentally come to concentrate itself in the individuals who remain from before, namely, the big four.

In this situation, the role of the government is likely to begin to grow, and what kind of effect can all this tend to have? This kind: that certainly, as Jacek [Kuron] has correctly stated, the authorities will continue to have no public, no listeners. But it will be easier for them to shape certain policies. They will be able to react more swiftly and, thereby, can more easily catch us in a situation where the union has been too slow or too late in informing us about some move by the authorities.

The union has always tended to wait until the last minute and only react to some move on the part of the authorities at 5 minutes to 12, as it were. Now the union can no longer permit itself to operate in that fashion. The union cannot react 5 minutes before 12 o'clock, especially when faced with the possibility of swift

action by the authorities, and an even shorter time for possible reaction. Therefore, the union truly needs the executive board spoken of here by both Lech Walesa and Karol Modzelewski. We must choose a body which, unlike the presidium which met from time to time, will operate in an up-to-the-minute way and can plan and, finally, carry out a course of action.

Bogdan Lis
Member, ZR Presidium, Gdansk:

Ladies and gentlemen, I assumed that the activities thus far of the union in the matter of self-government were correct. Last year, when the authorities were attempting to establish self-governments, the union had no sort of understanding of self-government, was not prepared for their formation and, thus, blocked them. At the present time, when we have such understanding, and the authorities know that we do, they, in turn, are blocking self-government. In conjunction with this, I believe we ought to continue to maintain our present policy and really strongly push for the formation of these self-governments now. What Jacek Kuron said and what I think we all agree about is our obligation to apply all the means of pressure at our disposal toward the establishment of self-government.

Here we must clearly express to ourselves the tactics that would be involved in that thrust. If it were something by way of an active strike--such as Lodz proposed--then we must realize the kinds of consequences that that can entail. If we decide on an active strike, then we must work out that far-reaching tactic. We know that a strike of that sort is a certain type of taking power. If it is very dragged out by the action of the government, we must consider that the activity of the union will be suspended. Finally, a state of emergency may even be established. Given that situation, if altercations should arise, I think that, while continuing to apply all sorts of pressures, we ought to attempt, nevertheless, to arrive at an understanding with the authorities about that subject. For coming to an understanding, I would propose not only those forms which have been used thus far--negotiations--but I think, for example, that we could invite to the next meeting of the KKP the chairman of the Sejm Commission that is involved with questions of the socioeconomic reform, questions of self-government, and the like. And not only the chairman, but also the deputies in the commission. We have not tried this sort of thing thus far. I do not suppose that this would have some decisive significance, but we should try to take advantage of the possibility.

In the tactics of the struggle for self-government, I think that we ought to work out for ourselves a more concrete policy. Till now each region has written about these self-governments as it is able and as it wishes. I think that this ought to be corrected. Our propaganda along these lines must be targeted more accurately and all the regions ought to be obliged to publish articles among which some should be written with a view to preparing society for the struggle for self-government. If self-government is to be authentic, it must involve the possibility of efforts directed toward leading our enterprises and our economy in general out of the crisis. It will probably happen, therefore, that in many plants workers will have to be let go. And it will be the self-government that is letting these people go, or the director will be doing so on the recommendation of the self-government.

In the instance that Solidarity supports the idea of self-government, we, as a union, will not be able to raise a protest. In that light, I think that before

self-governments are introduced, before self-governments become a fact, a system of guaranteed unemployment compensation must be developed, so that we do not later stand before an accomplished fact that people are out of work and there are no guaranteed unemployment benefits. These matters should be the subject of separate negotiations involving dislocations, but I associate them with self-government since in those instances, the union will not be able to oppose self-governments, and it is a matter which, for one thing, is a strictly union matter. Further more, it would be a good idea to define clearly who would bear responsibility in the event of the bankruptcy of an enterprise: the director or the self-government?

Krzysztof Szeglowski
Deputy chairman, ZR Slupsk:

The first thing that is obvious to me is some sort of impression and concern that the self-governments will, in a certain way, come to dominate the trade unions. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that it is very good that they will dominate. At last, someone from among us will remove the weight of matters for which we are responsible at the present time. The self-governments will be a body empowered to settle a complete range of matters with which we must occupy ourselves now. It follows that I would not agree with Mr Rulewski's having relegated the matter of selection of directors to the sixth place on his list. I think the matter should be one of the first in view of the fact that it is intended for self-government to work or cooperate with the director and not to quarrel, haggle and discuss incessantly with him. Their work, therefore, will lay itself out according to their selection and establishment of him. One thing we can agree upon for sure, ladies and gentlemen, as the first order of business is the immediate calling up of founding committees. Aside from that, I think that we wish to proceed too far for, as one of the previous speakers noted, we cannot thrust upon a plant the idea that by the end of the year, 31 December, they have to select their self-governments. We must allow a certain amount of give, the possibility for internal actions in the plant which is setting up self-government for itself, which would establish it at such a tempo and time as would be most appropriate for itself. I would envision here, then, more the establishment of principles than the final settlement of matters.

There is no way here to avoid the mention of a matter which is most painful for us, a matter which affects many things for us, the matter of access to the mass media. And here in the name of many members of the region I must express the complaint that the matter is being shunted aside constantly, that the matter should be confronted more directly. This immediately brings to mind what colleague Lis said. The expression of a sort of "coming to an understanding with the authorities" does not mean anything to the unionists any more. In this case we must change our terminology at times. There is not anything to "come to an understanding" about. What emerges from this coming to terms? It came home to us that we must settle some things. We are so powerful a movement, we represent so large a group of people, that we have the right to make demands from some people who have jurisdiction and often receive for it unlimited salaries to settle these matters for us.

I have been charged by my Regional Board with the presentation of still another issue which troubles us in a certain way. Ladies and gentlemen, the LOT matter. We do not want to impinge on the independence and self-government of the KZL [LOT Plant Committee]. We must realize that we may be facing a confrontation provoked more than once by our authorities, as happened in 1970 and 1976. Who knows if

this conflict will not explode around us, as one of the previous speakers has said. If it explodes behind us or beside us, ladies and gentlemen, I do not want to make dire prophecies here, it will mean the beginning of the end for us. It would be good to consider whether we should provoke such a conflict ourselves if there is no other solution possible and warning sounds come from all the administrations. In this way we would not wait for the authorities to make a provocation and we would, at the same time, score victories in self-governments, access to the mass media, the institution of economic reforms, the censorship law, and so forth, and of course the catastrophic food situation which touches us at the present time.

Voices were raised here on the subject of the Net. Example: the Net is a piece of good work. Without overloading the KKP or any of the regions, we can, from time to time, call up certain bodies for the settlement of some very serious issues. Such a body should be dissolved at the conclusion of its tasks. We ought not create permanent, artificial structures since they do not strengthen our union.

Krystyna Sobierajska
Deputy Chairman of the Voivodship Unit, Lower Silesia Region in Legnica:

All of us here probably agree that the self-governments ought to and must come into being.

On the other hand, we should come to a clear realization of the role of our union in the question of creating self-governments, since we agree that we are dealing with two separate issues--self-government and the trade union. I believe that the trade union has an enormous role to play at the moment that the self-governments are created, i.e., our input in the matter of a concept of economic reform and the way this reform should be introduced. Our task in this regard will be to establish support for the founding committees of workers self-governments. Consequently, the union is helping to set up founding committees. When these committees gain autonomy, they themselves will take over the task of creating self-governments and of lending them a specific style and character of operation.

The way I understand it, this is how the issue should shape up: We are anxious, in all likelihood, for a law on self-government. We may doubt that this law is really indispensable, but if we recognize that it is needed, then our task is to urge the passage of such a law as would be to our satisfaction. Thus, we must find some sort of pressure tactics. One of the fundamental pressure tactics, it seems to me--this is nothing original since it makes use of certain, already existing concepts--is the creation of workers councils [rady pracownicze] in a form which anticipates the law, and the creation and assumption of the appropriate functions by these workers councils. Thus, self-governments should be created so that their operation would create a situation which would make the new law applicable to already existing forms. A condition for the success of the work of the self-governments is the taking of quick action in this regard, as well as action which is qualitatively good. Until now this quality has somehow not been mentioned, but I believe that it is not a trifling matter. We must undertake such tasks as would have the effect of the conscious acceptance of cadres for self-government.

One of the earlier speakers expressed doubts about the fate of small plants. I think that we must assembly a group of experts not only on the national level or in large regions, but likewise in smaller centers. These experts would undertake

to carry out consciousness-raising/training activities on the subjects of reform and the functioning of self-governments among work forces. Likewise publications are essential, but beyond this, the spoken word, the word of the expert addressed directly to work forces, must have the effect of bringing around the work forces, for we will not create these self-governments by force.

It turns out that, for the most part, these are matters for aktivs and not for union members themselves who still do not know very much about why this bargaining is going on and what purpose it serves. For this reason, I think that in every region and every smaller center a group of experts should be called together who would know how to conduct consciousness-raising activities among work forces. First, large factories should be selected where founding committees would have already carried out such activities. Next, these large plants would assist in the creation of founding committees in smaller factories. I think that this is the only possible method.

Hence, Mr Kuron's idea of Self-Government Initiatives Clubs [KIS-Klub Inicjatyw Samorzadowych] is also interesting. In such a club, the views of those people who would be the initiators of an issue within the environment would be weighed--their views on the subjects of reform and the role of workers self-governments.

I am in favor of Mr Modzelewski's proposal on the issue of an appeal concerning these very problems constructed in such a way as Mr Modzelewski suggested.

Zbigniew Bujak
Member, KKP Presidium
Chairman, ZR, Warsaw:

Ladies and gentlemen, I consider discussion within the KKP to be a form of opinion formation within the union. These opinions do not have to be presented in the shape of a resolution, a communique or a KKP announcement. I treat this exchange of models and opinions as the molding of opinion which will later serve as the KKP opinion if I see that it is a majority opinion. And this is why I am in favor of frank, general discussion which enables us to reach such a broad KKP position. For this reason, I would like to call your attention to several points.

First, I believe that we must have a very high opinion of our party-governmental authorities in order to make the judgment that they are intentionally causing disorganization. I think that in order to disorganize, one must be very well organized. It must be pointed out that the Bydgoszcz conflict ultimately shattered the executive machinery of authority. It broke down the provincial party structure, which has since that time ceased to be an arm of the Central Committee. It demonstrated conclusively that the MO [Citizens' Militia] is not dependable. Likewise, it substantially excluded at least a large part of the SB [Security Service] from decisionmaking. The SB is now, to a great extent, independent and autonomous. In other words, we cannot say that the market or other matters have purposely been disorganized.

On this basis, I would like to say a few words concerning the functioning of the union and the functioning of the KKP so that we may become aware of what we are capable, of what the KKP in general gives this country and what it cannot give.

I think that we are really in a position in our meeting here to state what people expect of us and thus what they expect of the union concerning particular issues which arise. They expect a great deal. Before this time our country did not have such possibilities, and now it does.

But we also have something else. Thanks to the very broad possibilities of the union, we are in a position to determine the directions tasks must take in order to solve these problems. And so we have determined that the entire problem of economic reform can be overcome by means of the creation of self-governments.

In this way we have determined that we will accomplish the whole reform of social life by means of democratic elections to people's councils. As yet this has not entered our discussions, but it will arise soon enough--this is evident--and we may say that such a program is taking shape for us. We can determine which tasks should be undertaken toward reforming the food market. At least, in a short time we will be in a position to determine this.

We are in a position to determine what ought to be done to liquidate housing problems. Tasks should at least move in this direction. Likewise we know what ought to be done for the attainment of a greater degree of self-government in the country. At this time that is determined by the union.

On the other hand, we must be totally aware of the fact that at this moment our possibilities are absolutely disappearing. This is all that we were are in a position to do and build.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, I do not believe in the idea that we do not have access to the mass media because the authorities will not give it to us. We do not have access primarily because we do not have the machinery which would enable us to take it. And that is clear to me at this time. If, up to now, we have not had a full measure of law and order in this country, it is likewise because until now we have not developed the machinery to implement even those adjustments which fell into this same subject, which are far-reaching adjustments, in the working group. But here we must clearly tell ourselves that we still do not have the executive machinery. Of course, this machinery is being created, but it is being created very slowly. Just as self-government is being set up too slowly, the machinery for bringing about law and order in our country is very slow to be created. It is the machinery of building an independent cooperative for solving housing problems. The issue of people's councils of their financial independence and their independent management in their own locale, is at a standstill. And now this machinery will be set in motion. It will be set in motion very slowly and here the entire initiative of the Workers Initiatives Club [KIS--Klub Inicjatyw Spolecznych], which I likewise support wholeheartedly, will aim in this direction, to create this machinery and to set it in motion.

We must still be aware of one thing, that the tendency toward the union's having to do everything, toward its having to solve particular social problems from beginning to end has nothing in common with social democracy, no matter how great the intraunion democracy. It is nothing more than the reflection of the whole process of the centralization and the monopolization of all tasks by the party during the last 30 or 30 years. At this moment, even if particular initiatives, such as the Net initiative, are born, I am vehemently opposed to the concentration

of all of these initiatives around the union. Let them stand beside the union. Let them operate independently. The Net may come out with 10 drafts, of which will preeminently suit us and then we can support these, lending them great scope and power. Eight drafts may arise, as, e.g., the calling together of a political party, drafts which we do not support and which thus have less of a chance. And this method of cooperation between the union and newly created social organizations must be adopted.

I would like to move on to the general relationship of the union with self-government. Obviousky, self-government, as it is being created, will be our opponent. This is something everyone very much fears. I do not envision any other possibility here. It will sit at the opposite side of the table during discussion of the working out of a program for the enterprise, of the developmental program or construction, or the continued operation of the enterprise. Self-government will take the side representing the interests of the enterprise, i.e., until this time, the interests of the directorship. The trade union will sit on the other side as the representative of the workers' interests. And just as here the whole union is trying to work out a common position in the confrontation with the authorities, so later it will have to work out its position in confrontation with the self-government.

Of course, the issue of proclaiming a strike will then be much more difficult because both groups of representatives will have been chosen by the workers. And here we will have a struggle of programs. Attempts will be made to solve conflicts through referendums, through gaining the support of the work force by one or the other program. This will demand a great deal of activism from both sides. In my opinion, this will help in the formation of both organizations and it will foster the democratization of public life in the country.

KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] did not approach the Municipal Office to register--it merely arose. The union did not fight to be registered first, it first arose. The workers self-governments [samorzady pracownicze] likewise are not coming forth about a proper resolution, they are first coming into being. I think that this procedure, this manner of functioning should be preserved.

Bronislaw Sliwinski
ZR in Koszalin, chairman, Szczecinek Unit:

I would like to return briefly to the general situation of the country as presented by Celinski and Kuron. That introduction gave us a good picture and in principle probably made everyone aware that outside the union a vacuum has developed, and I believe the Union is now considering the direction in which to strike out and about what to occupy itself with concretely on a larger scale.

From many comments, one can gain the impression that plant self-government constitutes some kind of marvelous panacea for the resolution of all problems. But I have a single question: What happens if it does not work out that way?

I am firmly opposed to the notion that self-government itself alone should preoccupy the entire union. We may lose ourselves again in the void. I believe we must undertake certain grassroots efforts about these self-governments, even more so wherever plans are already in a more advanced state.

Nothing hinders us, however, from undertaking such efforts from that other side, the political side, from the top. If, for example, some measure is rammed through the Sejm, a measure not to the liking of the work force, then bluntly, with our aid, the work forces will not implement it. Such a measure will remain moribund. And the work forces will be able to do as they wish.

There was also talk about territorial self-governments. Here the matter is entirely different. I would like briefly to say something about political action. Probably not everyone considers the ultimate significance of what, in general, our union represents in our legal system. Constitutionally it is: "a social organization of working people." What kinds of possibilities for purely political activity does the constitution give? That constitution which exists gives us many possibilities indeed. Including associating ourselves with elections for territorial self-governments. We ought to carry out such things. Meanwhile, we take roundabout ways to attain the same goals that might be reached by direct action. Action about which I have spoken.

Now, the very question of elections which was raised here. In accordance with the constitution, it is the duty of our organization to take part in something of this sort. Therefore, I make the following motion: that a commission come into being in the KKP, one that might be called, let us say, political or politicosocial, which would occupy itself with these problems. At least for the purpose of making people aware about the kinds of possibilities for action that exist.

Jan Waszkiewicz
Member, ZR Presidium, Wroclaw:

I missed some elements in the economic analysis of our country. One such element was mentioned here by colleague Palka from Lodz. I want to point out that we are not the first example in history of a self-limiting revolution.

Indeed, the majority of revolutions had a first phase which was self-limiting, after which came a second, bloody phase, usually occasioned by an outbreak of hunger. They say the Bastille was stormed because of a rumor that it contained large stores of grain.

Ladies and gentlemen, the foregoing renders an idea of the drama of our present situation. Either the union has the foresight and capacity to control the situation which can develop at any moment, or not. Incidents of hunger, let us say, for the time being of a mild character, exist in the entire country. This is a very serious matter, and here the union must prepare itself, if only for the sake of stocking up a reserve, for direct actions such as: taking responsibility for control of food supplies, and especially getting under control the situation of that food going to waste. That is unavoidable as no one will forgive us if we do not do it. It is one of the elements which are partially included in yesterday's resolution concerned with our response to the food crisis, but it is worth stressing as it is of utmost importance for the union, for the union line of action with respect to what will happen in our country.

A second element from the morning's analysis. I believe that what happened at the PZPR Congress is worth noting from a certain point of view. It is the next step in the regionalization of our country. If our authorities begin to consolidate,

this will begin from the voivodship level. I know this from Wroclaw in my contacts with party officials "at the levels," who have come out against all sorts of ideas of the central administration, but were as delighted as children when they had succeeded in pushing their provincial secretary up to the Politburo.

In addition to fortifying the executive authority of our union at the central level, we must be prepared in the regions for more effective action because it is there that the first, more or less coordinated, actions of authority take place. Yet another element speaks in favor of decentralization. I do not believe that those who were not selected for central authorities will readily submit themselves to all kinds of decisions. This will strengthen these decentralization tendencies in the party, and, consequently, in the whole apparatus of authority. I turn your attention to this element because it may be of essence to the manner of functioning of the union within the near future.

The self-government issues. Much has been said here about "nomenklatura," about the rights of directors. I would like to bring one more thing to your attention. The establishment of self-governments in production plants is an immediate dismissal notice from work for several hundred thousand people who sit in the associations and in general in the central economic apparatus of our country. The plants of the Unitra association wish to refuse obedience to this association and, in this way, to send the whole association out under the blue skies. To a great extent, this will reflect upon the conflict over the self-governments, for there will be several hundred thousand people personally interested in repressing the newly arising self-governments.

There is, at the same time, a second element in this issue. For example, in Wroclaw the selection of directors in several plants was made. One of the motives for this action was the fact that in these central offices there is a mass of people who, in the face of a reduction in the number of employees, wish to assume directorial positions within plants. The plants, in defense of this, executed and will execute the choices of directors and will make decisions concerning self-governments. It seems to me that the situation is such that the self-governments are arising and will continue to arise whether we like it or not. There is only the question, will this movement run its course in a manner that is controlled by us to some degree?

(...)This same thing is important from the viewpoint of union strategy. If we do not take up this slogan, then someone else will profit by it in opposition to and at the same time to spite our union.

Colleague Rulewski has also expressed his unease over the question of who will be the aktivs. At the plant I work in, which is a relatively atypical concern, self-government was established and what happened? It did not weaken the union as far as the cadre was concerned, but twice as many people began to be intent upon acting and quick to act. I also think that going in for this idea will not weaken the union, but it will strengthen the social movement by new hundreds of thousands of people who, at this time, are not active. It seems to me that what is needed here is a massive propaganda and informational campaign conducted by the union, with the self-governments themselves, after such union assistance, establishing themselves at their own expense, taking upon themselves the responsibility for employee work forces. This will, of course, give rise to certain tensions and inequities.

And here the union must be prepared. Of course, not in the sense that it will be ready to repress the self-governments, but that when all of these negative consequences appear, it will be prepared to undertake some kind of position to help organize the rank and file or to help settle conflicts within plants and the like.

Thus, these things must be explained to people, so as not to keep them in the dark about it. Self-government should not be represented as a panacea, but merely as that thing which offers them an opportunity, that light at the end of the long tunnel that is this crisis.

What I have said here is in accordance with the position of the board of our region and was worked out in consultation with the factories of the region.

Andrzej Wielowieyski
Expert, OPS-Z of the KKP, Warsaw:

I will briefly discuss three issues. One concerns Janek Rulewski. What Rulewski said at the beginning of his address stressed that he feels some uncertainty about what the union is, that a sense of vision is lacking, that we do not know why we exist--whether we are struggling over shoes, or wages or ration cards--that many people feel this way and that this is not good. The KKP must have a clear vision and I think that most of us do have a sense of who we are and what we are to do.

The issue here is crystal clear, and Rulewski's attack on Walesa is senseless because we are, of course, a trade union. We are a trade union of a very special type because in a communist country governed by communists such a union does not and cannot exist on principles other than ours. This means on the basis of the principles of territorial activism, interindustrial branch activism, or universal activism, which represents substantial social power. The power to penetrate and the power to defend. We are representatives of all workers [pracownik] and their families, and consequently we are the opponents of authority in the area of the entire social policy.

For this reason, some accuse us of being a political movement because we quarrel with the authorities about this and that, we bellow out something and undoubtedly take the issue out beyond the factory. We are summoned to this task as the representative of the people, as the union concerned with the statute in which this is written, and that is what is expected of us. This fits in with the concept of our type of trade union. In order for us to exist we must ensure for ourselves those legal and systemic guarantees which will enable us to act. They must likewise ensure freedom of information and rules of law and order and the development of political and systemic forms, above all the self-government and people's councils, that is, taken from the rank and file and not, as Rulewski envisioned on the basis of his own emotions and desires, from the top. The vision that we are a special union with far-reaching tasks is something which the KKP simply must represent in an unequivocal and strong way in order to defeat the arguments accusing us of some sort of dual authority, for while it is not a policy in the sense of a struggle for authority, they are all political and social issues which enter into the sphere of the issues of defending the interests of the people. This correlates with our tasks and this vision should be presented at the congress and should lead to program recommendations.

I propose that we come to the realization that the following situation is possible: that on this ship, which is perhaps not yet sinking but which has been rocked by a heavy storm, it may become necessary for us to help steer it on its course. The situation may arise that today's helmsmen will let go of the wheel or they will weaken and they will no longer be able to manage it.

But if it came to the need for creating forms of public rescue, for creating some sort of economic structures, some sort of councils, or for bringing someone into the government, but, perhaps there is someone here not suited. In any event, this ought not to be directly Solidarity's task because then we would lose the function of being that direct defender and supervisor over workers' issues and issues related to the people, were it to take responsibility for political and economic decisionmaking. Let us differentiate these tasks of the union as a movement of social control for revindication.

Now to the matter of self-government. It seems to me that today we ought to make an unequivocal resolution or announcement which will afford the people total clarity, which will support work forces and the Net and which will be an appropriate point of departure for negotiations on government proposals in this area.

At the same time, let us not be overly enthusiastic. Let us treat the matter with cold determination and perseverance, because we must do it. Let us, on the other hand, be aware that it will be difficult, thankless and, the way I see it, in the initial period, not at all pretty or effective. There will be many failures not only in small factories, which are the least prepared for this, but likewise in many large ones. Above all a fundamental fact is that this will be difficult because from the viewpoint of informational logic and economic issues, the creation of self-governments ought to be the effect, the result of certain attempts to reform and to transform the enterprise, and not its beginning. The self-government created by us under conditions of centralization, bureaucracy and inoperative economic mechanisms, will struggle against very tough issues and it will alienate people because it will have to bear the burder of these defeats.

At the same time we are aware that there is no other way out, that the self-government movements must be developed by us, supported as much as possible, aggressively.

Let us only be aware that we are in an unfavorable reform situation. The thing should not run its course in this way. For this reason, let us not delude ourselves; we must do this and we must support it. Plant commissions ought to support the self-government ideas and expand them. On the other hand, let us take care to see that other moves and other forms are enacted fairly quickly, for only then will self-government be able to be set in motion. I am not at all certain that people are all that anxious to read what we write on 1 or 1 1/2 pages about the general situation because we, ladies and gentlemen, will make no revelations. And I fear the depreciation and the devaluation of this type of announcement. There is such a propensity toward declarative graphomania. What we want in this most important matter of the moment should be expressed. Everybody knows this. I mean, on the issue of self-government. On the issue of trade unions, something has been published and the struggle will ensue. On the other hand, I am afraid of depreciation, which does not mean that those organs through which we are able to express ourselves and form public opinion and exert pressure on it should not have some sort of clear and precise doctrine, but this has nothing to do with our writing or not writing 1 1/2 pages.

The issue of clubs. I repeat what I said several days ago at a conference of the Mazowsze Regional Board, when we were considering the problem of the creation of those clubs spoken of by Jacek Kuron. We need this type of initiative. The union needs some sort of life, meetings, revitalization of ideas and the stimulation and formation of its people. I am personally in favor of such initiatives. At the same time, I caution against them. I believe that this type of initiative ought to be concentrated in those forms which are the most universal and which, in my opinion, are the most effective, i.e., in workers' universities. We should have our own joint initiatives, meeting places, and planes of meetings and confrontations. These should be things which strengthen the union.

On the other hand, such an initiative taken basically by one environment has something to offer and can revitalize, but it can also be a somewhat enervating element. I would call for people from various milieus, of various political beliefs, believers and nonbelievers to meet in our workers' universities, to create program councils and to offer inducement for such initiatives in such a way as to strengthen the union--this is my opinion.

Lech Walesa:

Now it's my turn. As you have noticed, today I did not even try to take the floor. For the first time I sense that I am at the KKP. This is also why I used a democratic method of making the decision that everything which has been said here today must appear in toto, together with the names of those persons who said these things, in our publications. Here, for the first time, the KK is the KK. Let the factories see that there is such a commission and that it speaks of important matters. We will stand on our heads to see that everything that is being said today appears in our union papers. And everything we decide here must be implemented. If we work all of this out, then we will finally be something like an organization.

Mieczyslaw Gil:

The union--particularly on the national level, first of all, should not bring about a situation in which large masses of unionists are exempt from thinking. The fact that a real KK has finally gathered and is beginning work does not solve everything. I am afraid that the decisions falling upon the KKP will free our rank and file from the need to think. And when this happens, a schema similar to that which developed and exists in the party will be created. It seems to me that we are beginning to be slowly transformed into an apparatus, and some aktivs are beginning to be like apparatchiks. This is why I asked here, what is the position of the union? Is it that position worked out here by us, at the KKP, or is it the position of the broad masses down below. I believe that most often it is the position of the KKP.

We must introduce a stimulus for awakening the activism of unionists. One of these could be Jacek Kuron's proposal. It is also essential that we poll all the various opinions concerning the activities of the union. We must have an informational mechanism for finding out what our unionists think on a given issue. Most likely we will learn here that we are in favor of self-government, but if we took a pool to learn how many unionists in factories are in favor of self-government, the results would probably be 50/50.

The next concrete matter: the organization of KKP work. It is unthinkable that we should sit here for 3 days in KKP deliberations, while unionists are waiting to hear of our decisions, and as yet we have not worked out this position. I think that we must change our style of working. We ought to be familiarized in advance with the various alternative solutions of matters which arise so that we can make decisions at a subsequent meeting. A union like the autoworkers union in the United States which has its headquarters in Chicago and has built for itself a large building in Washington right near the White House where experts sit, reacting to every twitch of the American government, publishing opinions immediately when something may threaten the union. This American union numbers less than a million members. We number 10 million. As swiftly as possible, we must create a strong administrative apparatus for the union, a strong apparatus of experts who will be paid well for the analyses we will require of them. And we as union aktivs who are in close contact with working forces will merely indicate to them the directions of work. Otherwise we will lose our bearings, and although everything is falling apart in this country, the government still controls the means of information and of disseminating propaganda, and it will get the jump on us in all matters. I am not surprised by J. Rulewski's statement.

If, at this time, the five Reagan advisers with whom I had the opportunity to speak during my visit to the United States came here, they would tell us: No self-governments; we are creating such a principle, we are weighing what we have and a strong executive authority is in control. We must create self-governments, but we must create them after having prepared a broad circle of members of our union. In Krakow we began to create Workers Cooperatives [SR]. In accordance with the statute. Because we must undertake certain initiatives. And we should also think about this in a concrete way. I would like for us to organize seminars for the members of the KKP at which all will speak on the basis of a rich literature and of program discussions. But unlike the deliberations of the KKP, which must be devoted to concrete union matters, they should lead to the solution of a concrete problem.

Aleksander Karczewski
Deputy chairman, ZR, Kutno:

"Do the authorities not wish to function, or can they not?"--such was Kuron's question. He asserted that an administrative breakdown has occurred. I think that there is a big difference between dealing with a paper tiger and dealing with a real tiger which incites conflict. Proof of the fact that both phenomena may occur simultaneously is, for example, the decision of the POLDROB Association which refused to overfulfill the production plans for the Kutno factories, or rather, torpedoed an attempt to produce the surplus amount of food. On the issue of the need for the union to be self-limiting, of which Kuron also spoke, I believe that there is a lack of rational arguments because we do not know what the reaction of our neighbor will be. And here Kuron's statement that time is on our side is an argument which is difficult to understand. It reminds me of the words of Moczulski, but where is Moczulski now? Colleague Palka proposed the idea of an active strike. In my opinion, this is an idea of civil war in a short time. I, on the other hand, think that social discontent caused by hunger is something which can be won. We ought to inform the union as a whole that reform and self-government according to the social concepts of them are an opportunity to end the famine. To this we must add the struggle over the public nature of public life, over open access to public documents. The achievement of this will increase the opportunity

to introduce social concepts into life. But the question remains, will this social concept bring about the intended effect, i.e., a stepped-up and changed production structure. If this does not happen, then it will mean the defeat of the country and of the union. At 5:00 pm there was to have been a protest march in Kutno. This march made society aware that economic reform according to our concepts is our chance.

Jan Strzelecki
Expert, OPS-Z of the KKP, Warsaw:

The word "seminar" used by Mr Gil brings home something very important. That is, the creation of opportunities for thinking that are detached from the current situation and that are free from the pressure of the necessity of preparing resolutions. The congress is before us and that is a situation of life-and-death importance. The congress will summarize what we think about the country, about Solidarity, about the situation following the incredible outburst of hope a year ago, and following the experiences of the past 12 months which served to somehow define these hopes. Today it is not only the country which is in a much worse situation than it was a year ago. I think we are all the more mature for it, although we no longer have such fiery hopes and that clear vision of the future--an unfinished vision--with which we emerged following the strikes.

It is apparent that our partner is decidedly weaker, that our partner does not know how to behave in this situation. This phenomenon may make many of us happy, nonetheless since we do not reach out for authority, but we only aspire, through constant pressure, to somehow program this authority, we cannot aspire to its toppling rapidly. Then we will all be buried under the same rubble. I propose that we should continue discussion on those scenarios which have been outlined here: it is very interesting that colleague Rulewski, who has his own very nice scenario, acknowledged someone in his address, whom I consider to be decidedly a radical, as some sort of compromiser. Rulewski said that Kuron practically wishes to help the authorities. It is evident here how widely our views differ, nonetheless it is worthwhile to state this difference. It is important for us to see among ourselves not only material for future moral-political unity, but also that type of activity which, through this great accord which joins us, is at the same time characterized by the skill to formulate differences, by democratic tolerance and the skill to prepare decisions.

The issues which have been broached in these introductory scenarios will be a very important part of this congress and a very important calling card for us all, as well as our word in the face of public opinion. Opinion awaits what we have to say, but it will not applaud everything we say. Opinion waits for our word to be maximally responsible and maximally relevant. In light of this, let us prepare ourselves for this issue as calmly as possible and in a way that is most responsible and holds the greatest wisdom.

Bronislaw Geremek
Expert, OPS-Z of the KKP, Warsaw:

It has become fashionable to lash out at Rulewski, thus I will permit myself to uphold one important purpose of his speech. Namely, it is the problem of the state.

We must tell ourselves that every step of the way, our union, in its normal activity, will be confronted with how society's sovereignty, the expression of which is the establishment of Solidarity, will change the balance of power in the state. And we cannot forget about this, because it has very practical consequences. The establishment of Solidarity means that a policy of the carrying out of facts is not always enough for us. We likewise are facing the problem of changes in the legal situation; we demand changes in institutions. The issue of workers self-government [samorzad pracownicy] also is of consequence in this area. If we only confronted the task of workers self-government as the single element in need of reform, it would mean that we would also be exposing the Polish economy to the danger of deepening anarchy. But we treat the issue of workers self-government as an element, an instrument of pressure upon the state so that total economic reform may be accomplished, so that state institutions may be changed, and so that the central apparatus of economic management may be changed. For without such change, without a change in the forms and principles of operation of the central apparatus, and thus the state apparatus, it could turn against us. And we must be aware that this is now that fundamental plane of confrontation because the issue touches the state, and the issue touches authority, and those people who have become accustomed to being the proprietors of authority feel directly threatened. The issue of self-government is indicative of the fact that in the wake of our efforts is a change in state institutions. By saying that we do not wish to assume authority, that we are not a political party, we make demands regarding the public life of the state and state institutions. And consequently, we demand changes in legal documents. In all of those documents which do not permit society to act sovereignly. And at this time we have a force, which is the union, which will be able to force a change in the legal situation. A second remark concerning the situation of the union. The congress must show that the union has a program for the country and that the outcome of the congress will be to exhibit a program for saving the country. During this period a special role falls to the KK. This is so because we are taking up the issue of the congress in a situation of the threat of daily confrontation. In a situation of the threat of social tensions from day to day. And we cannot appeal to women not to make hunger marches. We can only consider how to create a climate in which such trust will be possible on credit. The KK has the task of directing the union. Here I would like to support the idea offered by Mr Gil that it is a matter of "initiating tasks." It is the initiation of tasks of the regional factory organizations from below. Today's very enriching KKP meeting must make out a balance for this--the item of union tasks.

Michal Orlicz
Deputy chairman, ZR, Jelenia Gora:

At the beginning we spoke of self-government, and I wanted to speak about it, among other things. They are threatening us with shifting workers soon. They may even surprise us this way during the course of our congress. One can suppose that the authorities are indeed waiting for our congress to make sudden shifts in the plants in order to drive the last nail into our movement. In Jelenia Gora, we arranged to engage two scholars and let them work on the matter. They drew up two documents for us, or in effect three, since this third is an addendum to the first two. The first document is the strategy for changes in employment with respect to our voivodship. The second is the strategy for changes in employment with respect to industrial enterprises. Both are concerned with the position the

union ought to have regarding necessary shifts of workers and the attitude that workers' self-government [samorzad pracownicy] should take toward the same subject if self-government already exists in the plant. They are also concerned with the way in which these two organizations ought to cooperate. Further--they are concerned with determining what authority should belong to the governor, to the provincial board and to the director of the plant. And, what is most important, these documents spell out who, in principle, is to be considered unemployed.

Somehow the KKP sidestepped these issues. That seems very odd to us. Thus, I propose the following: given that the KKP has a great deal of work, let it authorize the ZR in Jelenia Gora to work out a position, to be approved at the next meeting of the KKP and then to be presented to the government. To demonstrate that my words are not groundless, I will read who is to be considered unemployed. It is very interesting.

In the event that a plant lets an employee go and does not offer him a new job, he is paid compensation for 6 months. Such a worker is considered to be looking for work. He retains his rights and employee benefits: his work continuity and vacations, and he is required to present himself once a week at the employment office for the purpose of ascertaining the possibility of further employment. In the event that after 6 months there are no bona fide offers, the given person is considered to be unemployed. The consequences of this to the person are the following: the loss of his rights and employee benefits, the obligation of presenting himself once a week to the employment office, the securing of compensation for the unemployed person and the necessity of his cooperating with the institution that handles the temporary hiring of workers. All of these matters are contained in the above-mentioned documents. The amount of compensation for the unemployed person is also open to suggestion. We have the following initial proposals: from 7 to 12 months, 90 percent of his wages, 13-18 months, 80 percent, beyond 18 months, 60 percent. These are, of course, subject to adjustment. In each of these periods, the compensation may not be less than the social minimum. There are likewise penalties anticipated for nonadherence to this by plants. And so, if you give the ZR in Jelenia Gora the authority, we will employ scholars to work out the appropriate documents for the next KKP meeting.

And now I have several more remarks. I am a worker [robotnik], a "robol" in the popular jargon. I see that many intelligent experts speak here, many intelligent people who are worth listening to. But I cannot agree with the question of my colleague concerning the position we held coming to the KK. Was this determined in consultation with union members? If I do not have the right to make decisions here, and to exercise this mandate by voting, then it is better for me to lay it down. Mr Walesa will take it. He will go to work in the shipyard and we will disperse and the issue will be closed.

And now: how are we to make contact with the union? We cannot make contact by means of Polish Radio and TV, since it is known that we passed over this matter and did not return to it. But we do have one means of the mass media. Our means of the mass media is the union press on which we must keep tight reins. Among other things, we must prevail upon the union press to publish union positions and consultation among members by means of articles and letters to the editor of the union press. But how are we to print this? In an official printshop? I move that we publish the complete texts of everything that can be printed. We are not making use of our union press if Czestochowa prints its bulletins 200 km outside

of town and must have them censored. If I printed the Jelenia Gora bulletin, placing the printshop in a strike situation at every turn, then what kind of work do I get? I see that there are many presses being sent to this country. And again the delegates at the KKP hastily votes to curtail discussion on the subject of printing presses.

Elzbiera Potrykus
Expert, Koszalin:

I am in favor of making broad appeals to society, but I am opposed to an appeal that goes out unsubstantiated. This only makes sense if we give society some sort of reliable perspective for extricating itself from the current tragic situation and a way to avoid conflict or, in the event of conflict, a way for it to extricate itself from the situation as gently as possible. If this is to be only the case with our next appeal, an announcement, then to my way of thinking, it will only be a provocation of society and will increase our authority in no way, but will have the opposite effect. At the end of this discussion we have no concrete solutions for society in the event that a conflict arises. It seems that only colleague Palka has offered several proposals of possible solutions, although I do not know whether they are the best solutions. I continue to believe, as probably does most of society, that Solidarity represents our final hope. And with regard to the Ninth [PZPR] Congress, most people did not believe in its significance for the country. But let us not allow a situation in which people will begin to evaluate Solidarity in the same manner. Professor Geremek stated here that we have a program for saving the country. If there is such a program, then I wish that we could see it as soon as possible. But if we issue any more appeals concerning the creation of something else or any more calls which do not have concrete substantiation in a program of action, then let us rather give concrete thought to our purpose in sending out such an appeal.

Ryszard Kalinowski
Deputy chairman, KKP, Chairman, MKZ, Elblag:

The meeting of today's KK has really been quite productive. We can only wish that in the future deliberations of the KKP, this same type of discussion would take place. As a result of today's discussion, we see that there are controversial issues. One is the union and its program, and the second is the workers self-governments [samorzady pracownicze]. In accordance with the recommendations of J. Rulewski and M. Gil I believe that today we should not make any resolutions, and we should continue our discussion during the next deliberations of the KKP.

Antoni Kopaczewski
Chairman, KKW, chairman, ZR, Rzeszow:

I am in agreement with L. Walesa that today's meeting has been constructive. I believe, however, that it was a mistake to introduce so many subjects. We are already tired. Thus, in the future, please present two or three subjects and discuss these subjects seriously, and not cursorily. And so, we are speaking here of the essence of the union, of the situation within the union, someone makes a comment about printing presses, and the whole thing turns into a general hodge-podge. The self-government issue is basic to the situation both in the country and in the union. Many speeches were contradictory. One basic contradiction,

even among the group of experts, is the statement that the party is weakening alongside the assertion that we do not want authority. If the party is weakening and we are in favor of this, then it is in order to weaken it so that we may assume authority.

And if we believe that we do not want authority, then there is no state in which weak authority is desirable. I understand that in perspective things can happen as they did in Italy, that the government and the parties are changing and there is prosperity in the country. To what does this attest? To the fact that the administration and the provisions of management there are good and in sum it does not matter who stands at the head, the economy continues to function efficiently. The political situation in this country is unusually threatening. There was one error in the address of Z. Bujak. That there is nothing for authority to stand on. I do not agree with this. For we must not underestimate our neighbors. (...) Perhaps there are several variants of the ways to shatter our union movement. And each variant, of course, has its advantage. It was asserted here that time is on our side. It seems to me that this was once true, but for some time now this statement is less and less true. One of these variants is the attempt to wear out society. And it should be known that society is not at all a monolith. If we take a close look at Solidarity itself, maybe 20 percent of its people are ready to brave anything. Let us assume that there are 40 percent who will have to be pushed and the rest will behave passively. (...) We are living in the corresponding geopolitical system and we must consider this matter in this way.

It also seems to me that it is the best time to inform society about particular people in the apparatus. And this issue should be presented clearly in the propaganda, that these are not sacred cows and this is not the Queen of England whom we do not have the right to criticize. And the press should do this.

We must view the issue of self-government in conjunction with other problems. Economic reform must be our first priority, wages the next and self-government, the third. If we do not preserve this order, we will wear ourselves out and it will all come to nothing. There must be an order to tasks in the sphere of wages itself. Order must exist in economic activity, otherwise we will lose the issue. And we have examples in our union of our having recommended options in the payment of dues and today we have a mess in this area. I was in Silesia and the accountants themselves are setting up a meeting to work out some sort of working style or some kind of work methods.

Let us take a look at our press. It is a poor press. Why? JEDNOSC [Unity] during the initial period went like hotcakes and today this is no longer so. What is the reason for this? We must work on the reader's psychology. If we offer him long, difficult articles, he will not read them. We also need a little sensationalism.

Ladies and gentlemen, take cognizance of the fact that our union is not at all that strong. Let us pay attention to what our plant commissions are doing. I was down among the rank and file and know that they are acting according to the old way of thinking--desks, telephones and papers scattered everywhere. I went among the work forces and asked if there had been a meeting? No, they answered. I went over to the plant commission and asked how the work force appraised the situation. The plant commission had no answer. It is difficult to go to the people, to find the time, to devote oneself to explaining to these people in a straightforward and

practical way just where matters stand. I think that many of you would be lost if I were to send you out to the work force, the people. There people want things to be concrete, and it is ever more difficult to answer concretely, especially given the current climate in the country. It is also necessary to set up mechanisms for a certain kind of discipline for people who are working in this union. People do not take the elections seriously; they do not bother to look over carefully those whom they will be choosing. But these are not emptyheaded people. Based on our achievements and experiences until now, they will ask us the fundamental question: "You were supposed to settle thus and so many points, how many of them have you seen through?" The work forces will ask us the question: "It's fine for you to throw around the slogan of self-government, but will you see that through to its conclusion?" After all, this involves such a convergence of economic and political factors, and of timing. Cadres, do we have the cadres for it? Cadres have been 30-odd years in preparation, but they are not prepared to run enterprises because they have been deprived of the possibility of risktaking and showing personal initiative. Decisions were always made at the top, and they were merely the relay stations for transmitting these decisions. Hence, here too is a risky situation, for in the world there are schools to train managers of industrial enterprises. How, fundamentally, will one compete with them? Just because Franek is handsome, or someone else was glib? These are extremely difficult matters. Are we strongly enough equipped to convey to the rank and file that they must be willing to take risks? Will they be willing to take risks in the present political climate? Even experts differ in their views, their differences arising from their awareness of the horrendous responsibility involved. An expert can boldly take risks protected by the guarantee of the KK. Then he can really spread his wings. These are truly difficult matters. Everyone is afraid, and we are afraid. What happens if self-government does not work out? We cannot delude ourselves. The union has to accept full responsibility for such a state of affairs. We have to get that into our heads. Let us think now about how this works out in practice. Self-government is accepted in a plant. Let us take, for example, the Rzeszow WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant]. It is the aircraft industry. If we are to do anything intelligent, even with self-government, then we will have to coordinate all the plants from that ministry. That takes a lot of time. Do we have the time? We are so rushed in the present situation that we will make mistakes and then what? Say we have to combine these plants. Calling in experts for help will only be a beginning. A group of people competent to make comprehensive plans for the aircraft industry is needed. There were two such teams in Warsaw, but they were disbanded. Now, we have to call a team together. And I, for example, in talking with a plant director, ask him: "Is there a real possibility that this aircraft plant would take a risk upon itself, secure foreign credit and materials and be capable of going into full production and really beginning to prosper?" He answers: "Sure, I would take the risk, but what worries me most is whether the work force would be willing to take the risk."

8536
CSO: 2600/325

MILITARY OFFICERS COMMENT ON REFORM MOVEMENT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 5 Jul 81 p 3

[Interview with Major Marek Jakubowski, secretary of the party committee of the military unit by Stanislaw Dymek: "Concerns and Hopes" date and place not given]

[Text] The building and facilities of an Air Force Regiment are beautifully located amidst old, broad trees. My conversation with the secretary of the unit party committee is accompanied by incessant rustle of firs outside open office window. In the hall there is a growing noise of young voices--the time of next duty briefing is coming.

It will be necessary to discuss matters related to flying, informs the secretary, weather conditions are good.

Major Marek Jakubowski has only recently become the first secretary of the Party Committee and has not yet been able to get fully into the swing of party work. But he understands very well that a PZPR activist must live the life of his group and must know their problems thus, he talks about his unit life and the deterioration of living conditions.

People complain but they work and do their duty. And they cannot imagine that it could be any other way....

I ask what has been happening and what are the results of informational and election meetings of the basic party organizations. These meetings took place in May and brought significant changes of office holders; in a few basic party organizations young men were elected as first secretaries, men known for their energy and daring statements.

For instance, a man like Lieut Henryk Torun, a graduate engineer, says the secretary. A frank and sincere lad, he has been with use for only 3 years and succeeded in being generally appreciated for his professionalism in servicing the equipment and active social life. His election as first secretary of the first squadron is symbolic of the change of generations. His predecessor was one of the oldest and most senior technicians, Warrant Officer Zygmunt Jaslon....

The briefing, which I mentioned before, was short and thanks to this, a few minutes later, I had an opportunity to talk to several other officers. It was a completely free exchange of views on the subject of the current situation in our country and in our party, as the 9th Congress is coming. At a certain moment,

the conversation became so heated, it was taking place in the office of the regimental deputy commander for political affairs, Cpt Jerzy Kazmirski, that they almost completely forgot my presence. From reporter's point of view, this was a most desirable situation and I filled my notebook quickly. I am copying from my notes and asking those who were there to excuse minor errors, should there be any. The subject: the informational-electoral campaign, the 9th Congress, general situation in the country and the living conditions of the cadre.

Capt Jerzy Kazmirski regimental deputy commander for political affairs): We are living in a heated period before the Congress convenes and, of course, nobody can be indifferent to what is going on in the Party and in the whole country. This applies also to us, soldiers and members of the cadre. There are many things about which we are concerned; for instance, loosening of party discipline and non-conformance to the by-laws. Perhaps, we notice this least in the army. We have tried to conduct meetings and the regimental conference in accordance with the directives of the temporary electoral rules and the requirements of party democracy but it is known how it is at other places.

Lt Henryk Torun (first secretary of the basic party unit in an air squadron): I am not surprised at our comrades in civilian organizations, not everybody can handle democracy and, besides, there is lack of information, lack of data and one does not know what's what.

Maj Jerzy Grewinski (manager of the garrison club): People quarrel about electoral procedures, how and who to elect and, in this commotion, the most important things are lost sight of....

Cpt Kazmirski: Yes, but intra-party democracy is what we lacked until now, now everybody wants to have his say and demands to be heard. Before, the situation was that there was a leader and the mass of members was in the background, now the masses are in the forefront. I am not thinking about various clubs or structures which want to compete with the party, I am talking about the fact that at long last the voice of comrades from the basic party organizations is being heard and that it matters very much.

Cpt Franciszek Sznitko (senior instructor in the political section): The same can be seen in the army, in our unit. There is a completely different atmosphere today, people talk more freely and more to the point. And when we are talking about renewal in the army, some people do not like this word, it applies first of all to party matters and ideological and moral aspects.

Cpt Krystian Szadkowski, M. D. (senior unit physician): In all this commotion of events and issues, in which we are daily involved we forget it is ordinary people who make up the party, the comrade privates. Are we not overly concerned with the happenings at the top? I am a fairly old party member, I am 34 years old and I have carried a party card since I was 16, but I have never seen such frustration and such divisions. I expect that the Congress will restore party unity and its authority in the society. Common sense must win, there is no need to discuss endlessly the errors of previous leadership when we need a plan of action and definite directions for the future. If we have been thrown in the deep water, we must swim to the shore as fast as we can.

Cpt Kazmirski: I am analyzing the motives of human actions and deeds. I mean opportunism, the efforts to get personal profit at any price, in what caused so much harm to the country and the party. I think we are dealing with a great moral crisis and this is harder to endure than other manifestations of evil and breakdown. This violent flareup of social protest against the life style of some luminaries is just a normal reaction. And, the former first secretary of the party really had great respect in the country. And, it crumbled so fast. That is the way it goes when the words are not backed up by deeds, when they do not correspond to facts. Somebody at the top is guilty but it is the whole party that suffers.

Maj Grewinski: The Army has faithfully served the nation and the party, and it still behaves with dignity, but it has also suffered because of this collapse of authority and values and, if our children are thrown out of kindergartens, if they are trying to take away our living quarters under the pretext that we have it so good, which is obviously rubbish, this unfortunately is also the result of this collapse. It will be very difficult to repair this damage.

Cpt Szadkowski: We have accepted too easily some obvious nonsense, e.g. we have accepted cult of incompetence, such as a minister or another big shot's evaluation of various economic culture or social areas, while knowing that he knew well, only one thing if that. If I, a physician, were to evaluate a pilot's work, I would be laughed out. But in the past things like that happened. The whole society is responsible....

Cpt Kazmirski: I would not blame the whole society.

Cpt Szadkowski: Just a moment!

Capt Kazmirski: I think that principally we have neglected the field of education. Every kind of education. Sure, example plays an important role, every stupidity wreaks havoc, but the society could not have lost its mind overnight, this was a slow process. We have not shown the best models to our youth, our propaganda has been slow and crude, they neglected the teaching of history in schools. But the republics are as good as the education of their youth. Despite all this, our people are good and really patient. Look at the lines in front of the stores, look at the clam with which people accept the current supply situation.

Capt Szadkowski: People are patient and partially disoriented and, unfortunately, the press contributes to this disorientation. We have a representative of the press here but this remark does not apply to the military publications. The point is that first the errors are magnified, personal sensations are sought out and then they write about economic problems in a manner that causes people to lose their heads. As if the end of the world were coming tomorrow. The point is that people should be shown some prospects for the future, some solutions to the situation we are in. (The undersigned agrees with this fully).

Maj Grewinski: I would like to analyze the causes of anti-Soviet manifestations. I do not know whether people stop to think how serious this matter and how grave the damage could be. Possibly, the reason is that the Polish-Soviet relationship used to be presented in too naive a manner, omitting "inconvenient" aspects and, today, our adversaries take advantage of this by making "sensational" discoveries while there is no proper counter-action....

Cpt Szadkowski: I have another rock to throw into the garden of our guest or rather his colleagues' from the civilian press. Anti-Sovietism, even in its vestigial form, under the current circumstances amounts to total irresponsibility and provocation. No doubt, this is also the result of errors in education, inability to sell internationalism and inability to show the benefits of Soviet-Polish cooperation. For the same reason, some youngsters, including college students, are sporting the "EA" signs, i.e. "anti-socialist element." What the youth organizations do? What the parents say? Can everything be explained by stupidity?

Maj Grewinski: Many party members have no concept of ideological combat and do not even know the basics of Marxism. Hence, every political crisis affects attitudes. I am observing at close range the training at one of the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. What level of education can you expect when the instructor knows little more than the student? Couldn't the genuine scholars and lecturers be used?

Cpt Szadkowski: Again about the army matters, because this is what is on my mind. If they say that we have it so good, then why do so few young people choose the military profession? Perhaps, once upon the time we had decent pay, but today? What we get is just average and sometime less than that. We did not know how to take advantage of one thing, namely that the army has always come to the rescue; this taught people to take it easy and to seek help even when it was not really necessary. What did we get in return? What are we getting today? How much of this is plain ingratitude?

Capt Kazmirski: There is a lot to be done in the army to build up the authority of the commander, adherence to regulations and moral code. Sometimes people's work and efforts are overlooked. It is said that a soldier has to look like one. But I think that a soldier ought to be a good soldier first and foremost. Also, a lot could be said about bureaucracy and unnecessary reporting requirements but this probably does not interest our guest. We were supposed to talk about party matters and we are talking about everything.

The undersigned believes that there are no separate party and duty matters. Especially in the army. The concern about common matters is a common concern. And also, common are the hopes for an improvement of the situation.

8801
CSO: 2600/291

'TANJUG' REPORTS ON TETOVO SAWP PRESIDIUM SESSION

LD152312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Text] Tetovo, 15 Oct (Tanjug)--The Presidium of the municipal conference of the SAWP of Tetovo today held an enlarged session to discuss the report on the implementation of tasks connected with the political and security situation in this multinational municipality. In his introductory report, President of the conference Hidzet Ramadani, observed that the enemy in the Tetovo Municipality had been for some time continuously working from the positions of greater-Albania nationalism and irredentism, especially in the educational field. He pointed out that individual educational workers, who were sentenced for participating in the hostile demonstrations in Tetovo in 1968, succeeded in reentering the educational process.

Various nationalist attacks, ranging from irredentist slogans and texts, distribution of hostile leaflets, desacration or removal of Comrade Tito's pictures, misuse of Albanian flags and symbols and the wearing of white caps, took place in the Kiril Pejcinovic gymnasium, the secondary medical school, Zitkovica, Golemma Recica, Dolno Palciste, Semsovo and Kamenjane as well as in individual cultural-artistic and sports associations and other environments which were denounced as hotbeds of hostile activity and where ideopolitical differentiation is under way.

The report and the discussion positively assessed the present activity and measures undertaken to prevent hostile activities in the Tetovo Municipality--about which several concrete details were presented. The increased and constant ideopolitical activity in the Tetovo Municipality (there were over 500 meetings of the working people and citizens) greatly narrowed the room for hostile activity, so that it was assessed that the political and security situation in the Tetovo Municipality was characterized by signs of considerable improvement.

The session pointed out the need for furhter deepening of the ideopolitical differentiation, especially in the environments which have been denounced as hotbeds of hostile activity in the spring months, and for continuing the ideopolitical activity in all environments in this municipality.

At today's enlarged session, the municipal conference of the socialist alliance in Tetov adopted the Presidium's proposal to expel: Daut Ibraimi and Nadire Ljutvilu from the conference membership for their activity from the positions of greater-Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

CSO: 2800/46

BRIEFS

KICEVO MEETING--The Committee of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Macedonia in Kicevo held a meeting last night at which it assessed that the measures taken against the recent phenomena of nationalism and irredentism in the municipality were timely and successful. The hotbeds of hostile activity have been uncovered. Ideoeducational measures were taken against 18 people in the educational field, while judicial measures were taken against 25 citizens who made verbal attacks from positions of nationalism and irredentism. [Excerpt] [LD030138 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 2 Oct 81]

CSO: 2800/46

END

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9 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1939

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9 November 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1939

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR Use of Soviet Transport Aircraft Detailed
(W. Kopenhagen; VOLKSARMEE, No 39, 1981) 1

ALBANIA

Carcani Addresses Youth Meeting in Tirana
(Tirana Domestic Service, 16 Oct 81) 3

Leaders at Metallurgical Combine Inaugurations
(Tirana Domestic Service, 22 Oct 81) 5

Briefs
Lleshi Greets Somali Counterpart 6

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'Objective' Treatment of Prussian History Emphasized
(Various sources, various dates) 7

'Marxist-Leninist Evaluation', by Helmut Meier
'All-German View of History' Rejected,
by Karl-Heinz Dubrowsky

Martin Luther's Merits, Limitations Assessed
(Various sources, various dates) 14

Ideological Perspective, by Heinz Kathe
Comprehensive View of Luther, by Manfred Bogisch
Revolutionary Effects, by Adolf Laube

Critical Approach to German Philosophical Legacy Urged
(Various sources, various dates) 22

West German Commentary
SED Scholar's Discussion, by Karl-Heinz Hahn

ROMANIA

Need for Increased Attention to Labor Safety in Schools
(Constantin Staiculescu; TRIBUNA SCOLII, 19 Sep 81) 27

YUGOSLAVIA

Social Inequities Sketched in Youth Periodical
(Branko Vuksan; MLADOST, 14 Sep 81) 30

Briefs
Party Expulsions in Petrinja 34
Priest Sentenced 34
Imam Sentenced in Bijeljina 34
Kosovo Delegate Defends Demonstrators 34
'Fascist' Incidents at Schools 35

GDR USE OF SOVIET TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT DETAILED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 39, 1981 (signed to press 21 Sep 81) p 8

[Article by Lt Col W. Kopenhagen: "Big 'Anna'—With Three Engines in Two Nacelles"]

[Text] Soviet, Polish and Czech pilots are in the habit of calling Antonov aircraft "Anushkas." The communications pilots of the People's Army for their part call the An-2, which has been in service for more than 20 years, just plain "Anna." Our transport pilots have now transferred this nickname to the An-26, which has replaced the reliable Il-14. VOLKSARMEE asked an An-26 crew which flew the piston-engine Ilyushin for many years what the differences between the two aircraft are. This is what they said: Major Karl-Heinz Kreller, 39, chief pilot, performance rating I, 3900 hours of flying time, calls the An-26 a new-generation transport plane with modern navigation equipment. Thanks to its loading and unloading technology, it can be loaded and unloaded more easily in half the time and is operational in bad weather by night and day.

Captain Werner Bauke, 39, co-pilot, performance rating I, some 100 hours of flying time on the An-2 and 4100 hours on the Il-14, makes mention of the more comprehensive special electrical, radio and radiometering equipment as well as the hydraulic equipment such as the hatch which can be lowered even in flight and moved under the fuselage. This feature makes it possible to drive trucks directly underneath the tail of the An-26 for loading or unloading purposes.

Captain Peter Goetze, 40, navigator, performance rating I, 4500 hours of flying time, says it is a good thing that navigational computations can now be executed more accurately, more easily and more quickly than with the slide rule as heretofore. He now has radar equipment at his disposal (which he did not have on the Il-14) and the pilots can use the second screen in the cockpit. Navigation has thus become quicker and more accurate. Under the circumstances, it is now possible to have parachutists or materials drop at the exact spot previously determined.

Since there is no radio operator any longer, the co-pilot and the navigator divide that job up between them. Cadet senior grade Rolf-Dieter Goldmann, 41, technician, 5500 hours of flying time, says that the new "Anna" requires less maintenance but that there are greater responsibilities both for him and the rest of the crew. There are more things to look out for, he says, and overall a new technical mode of operation on the part of the crew has developed.

First lieutenant Manfred Giza, 27, chief of maintenance for the flight, who has been with the transport command since 1977, looks at it from the maintenance point of view. "We, too, have more of a responsibility now," he says. "Cooperation must be closer between crews servicing the engine/air-frame and the special electric and radio equipment. Every specialist must now be better acquainted with the other specialized equipment than before. But maintenance has actually become easier because of the turboprop engines. To cite an example: On the Il-14, each cylinder had to be cleaned separately with benzine. The An-26 no longer has an oil vent on the engine. Let me exaggerate a bit and say we could service the aircraft wearing white overalls. There is another difference: There is more equipment on the An-26. Among other things, she has 24 bins which can be installed in short order in two rows three high in the freight compartment."

Historical and Technical Details

The An-26 is a further development of the An-24 passenger plane which was placed in service by AEROFLOT in 1961 under the designation of An-24B. In the mid-sixties, the higher-performance An-24W gave way to the An-24RW, which was equipped with an extra engine in the right nacelle. This helped expand usage of the aircraft on airstrips in very hot and high altitude climates. For freight use, the Antonov collective in Kiev developed the An-24T and An-24RT —the immediate forerunners of the An-26— both of which were equipped with hatches on the underside of the fuselage. The An-26, first presented at the Paris Air Show in 1969, was outfitted with an entirely new tail assembly. 1.54 m above the ground, between the two tail stabilizer fins, there is a tail hatch measuring 3.4 m by 2.4 m, which operates as a driveup ramp. Over this ramp, GAZ-69, UAZ-469 or field pieces can roll into the cargo bay on each side of which there are folding seats that can accomodate 39 infantrymen or 30 parachutists. With the aid of a built-in crane, objects up to a bulk weight of 1.5 tons each can be lfited aboard the aircraft. The An-26 has a normal payload of 4.5 tons; its maximum payload is 5.5 tons. A conveyor belt or winch transports the cargo to the mooring point. The individual items can be distributed on the conveyor in such a way that they can automatically be dropped by parachute at predetermined intervals in the landing area. The power of the An-26 corresponds to that of the An-24T and consists of two turboprop engines Al-24T and a turbo-jet engine RU 19-300 in the right nacelle. It is turned on to assist in takeoffs with maximum payloads so as to assure the climb to the cruising altitude as well as in landing and in both landing and taking off from limited space. It also serves as a means of starting the main engines, for example in the absence of auxiliary power sources on advanced airfields. In contrast to the low-wing Il-14, the An-26 is an all-metal high-wing aircraft with trapezoidal wings and a standard tail assembly. The fuselage is constructed according to the semi-monocoque method and the nose landing gear is equipped with double tires. The An-26 is used by the commercial airlines of several countries. In the USSR, in Cuba, in Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia it is also being used by the air force.

9478
CSO: 2300/30

CARCANI ADDRESSES YOUTH MEETING IN TIRANA

AU162035 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Summary] A meeting of youths from Tirana, Durres and Kruje districts was held today in Tirana within the framework of the 40th AWP anniversary. The meeting was also attended by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Pilo Peristeri, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member; AWP Central Committee Secretary Prokop Murra; Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee, and others. The meeting was opened by Lumturi Rexha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania. A number of young people then addressed the meeting on the achievements of their respective organizations in various production sectors, promising that they would always remain loyal to the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and ready to implement all tasks.

The meeting was also addressed by Comrade Adil Carcani and Pilo Peristeri.

"Comrade Adil Carcani outlined the great victories achieved by our people in the country's socialist construction, the great role played in achieving these victories by the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the AWP under Comrade Enver Hoxha's leadership. Our party, he said, was born 40 years ago in stormy times, fought stormily after a tooth for tooth and eye for eye against the imperialist and revisionist enemies."

"Our heroic youth, Adil Carcani went on to say, Has always been and continues to be loyal to the party. It has never questioned the party's word." The youth wrote our people's history with its blood during the national liberation struggle and is now contributing to the country's socialist construction with its efforts, writing new pages of glory and heroism on all fronts and in all sectors: in industry, agriculture, education, culture and the arts. The party and Comrade Enver highly appreciate our heroic youth and have always shown and will continue to show great concern for it, because our youth is the country's future and will take on the baton of the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

"We have a magnificent youth, Comrade Adil Carcani continued, educated by the party with a sound morality and a spirit of selflessness and sacrifice in the interest of the lofty ideals of the party and of the people. Like all the people, youths, too, are dutybound to imbue themselves profoundly with the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings, learning and raising their vocational and professional standards, being militarily prepared and always ready to answer the party's call."

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his pleasure and that of all other comrades present at having attended this meeting of young people.

Pilo Peristeri's speech was also heard with considerable interest. He spoke about the time when the party was formed and Comrade Enver Hoxha's revolutionary activity.

Lumturi Rexha closed the meeting by promising that the youth will always be loyal to the party and always ready to answer its call.

CSO: 2100/17

LEADERS AT METALLURGICAL COMBINE INAUGURATIONS

AU221516 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Summary] A meeting was organized at the Elbasan 'Steel of the Party' Metallurgical Combine on the occasion of the inauguration of three new projects: new plant No 12; new coke battery No 2 and new blast furnace No 2. Taking part in the meeting were workers of the metallurgical combine and inhabitants of Elbasan City. Also taking part were Hekuran Isai, Politburo member and AWP Central Committee secretary; Pali Miska, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the council of ministers; Llambi Gegrifti, candidate Politburo member; Piro Kondi, first secretary of Elbasan district AWP committee and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by the first secretary of the AWP committee of the 'Steel of the Party' metallurgical combine. Comrade Pali Miska, Politburo member and deputy chairman of the council of ministers, spoke at the meeting. He greeted the meeting on behalf of the AWP Central Committee, the council of ministers and Enver Hoxha personally. Pali Miska stated that the new projects were a result of all the people's work and creative ideas. "They are at the same time an expression of the correctness of the party's policy in building socialism relying on its own forces." Pali Miska stated that many difficulties had to be overcome to achieve these high results. Many talented workers contribute to this metallurgical combine, not only by their work but also by their example.

"Pali Miska then spoke about the achievements of the combine's workers in fulfilling their duties, for the revolutionary spirit which they characterize, and urged that these achievements be even further advanced and that the revolutionary spirit be kept alive to successfully fulfill this 5-year plan's tasks which are even greater.

A telegram was sent to the AWP Central Committee. After cutting the inauguration ribbon, the state and party leaders visited the new objects. The state and party leaders also took part in the inauguration of the new museum of the combine.

CSO: 2100/17

BRIEFS

LLESHI GREETS SOMALI COUNTERPART--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the presidium of the people's assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following message to Mohamed Siad Barre, president of the Somali Democratic Republic On the occsion of your national holiday, in the name of the Albanian people, the presidium of the people's assembly and personally, I convey greetings and best wishes for the progress and prosperity of the Somali people. [Text] [AU201641 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 20 Oct 81]

CSO: 2100/17

'OBJECTIVE' TREATMENT OF PRUSSIAN HISTORY EMPHASIZED

'Marxist-Leninist Evaluation'

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 36, 6 Sep 81 p 8

['History/Current Events' feature article by Helmut Meier: "Monuments and Reflections: Prussia in Our History." For a discussion of Dr Ingrid Mittenzwei's Frederick II biography (cited in footnote 2) see translation published under the heading, "Prussian History to Be Accepted as Part of GDR 'Heritage,'" in JPRS 76749, 3 Nov 80, No 1823 of this series, pp 16-34. For further references to items of related information by Mittenzwei and others see translations published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "'Progressive' Aspects of Prussian History Illustrated," 78923, 8 Sep 81, No 1916, pp 40-48; "Academicians Analyze Significance of Prussian History, Culture," 78947, 10 Sep 81, No 1917, pp 17-31; "Historians Analyze Need for GDR National, Prussian History," 79094, 29 Sep 81, No 1922, pp 2-10; "'Progressive,' 'Reactionary' Conceptions of Prussia Contrasted," 79118, 2 Oct 81, No 1923, pp 6-12]

[Text] Visitors to Berlin by the thousands are day after day taking a stroll through German history, as it were, while walking down Unter den Linden. From Marx-Engels Square to Brandenburg Gate, centuries have left their traces. Commissioned by diverse social forces, those structures bear their marks. The most important artists built the buildings and monuments along that street. Unter den Linden impressively manifests the contradictory course of our people's history. Berlin was a rising commonwealth, residence of the Prussian kings who represented one of the most reactionary national entities in history as well as the power center of aggressive German imperialism, and hence the breeding ground of crimes against peace and humanity. At the same time it was the site of heroic battles by the progressive class forces and a center of science and culture. Not until the triumph of socialism did it become the capital of a peace-loving state. An encounter with history thus always again evokes the question about the position of our society on the various periods and forces of history. A most compelling question concerns the place and evaluation of Prussian history in our conception of history.

Fateful Effects

As no one can choose his own history because it is past and irrevocable, we have to work out a scientifically sound standpoint, objectively and critically, and based on historical materialism. That includes Prussian history which, like the

history of other territories, is a component of German history. Because Prussia became the largest and politically most influential German territorial state we have cause to come to grips with its history most thoroughly, without neglecting the history of other German states. Because in that state a most reactionary and militant government system prevailed for centuries, fateful effects on the course and results of German history emanated from Prussia. The Prussian militarist Junker state formed the backbone for reactionary forces in other parts of Germany as well and appeared repeatedly as the head of the counterrevolution. That Germany was nationally unified under Prussian leadership lent a most reactionary and rapacious character to German imperialism, so that Prussianism, domestically and abroad, became the embodiment of political reaction and extreme aggressiveness. For that reason it always was the aim of the progressive and revolutionary forces of the German people to destroy that bastion of reaction. In particular, it is among the honorable pages of the revolutionary German workers movement to have conducted an uncompromising and sacrificial struggle against reactionary Prussianism. This tradition of struggle was established by Marx and Engels, carried on by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring, and found worthy successors in the KPD struggle against German imperialism and militarism and in the antifascist struggle. Its culmination came with the destruction of Prussian Junkerdom on the soil of today's GDR. Thereby reactionary Prussianism was deprived, for once and for all, of its power bases and of any influence on the history of our people.

Pioneers

Prussian history, however, is not solely defined by the reactionary rulers' policy. As in all formations of states throughout history, an incessant struggle between progressive and reactionary forces also took place in the history of Prussia, due to universally valid historic inevitabilities. Even though the progressive class forces could achieve no penetrating changes for a long time and had to suffer defeats, important influences on German history emanated from their efforts which are worthy of our appreciation. As pioneers for a order of social justice, which has been brought to realization in the socialist GDR, high tribute is paid to them as an important element in the GDR's historic traditions. In that sense we pay tribute to the struggle by Brandenburg townspeople against encroachements by the Junkers and princes, to the peasants' tenacious struggle against feudal burdens, to the work of such important scientists and artists as Leibniz, Wolff, Thomasius, Schlueter, Klopstock, Gleim, Schinkel, Schadow and Rauch, to the achievements of the Prussian reformers, to the heroic workers and middle-class struggle in the 1848-49 revolution, and to the traditions of struggle by the revolutionary German social democracy in the Prussian territories. All these forces and their operations are evidence that social reaction found in Prussia itself its fiercest enemies. Not even the most ruthless and sophisticated government system could suppress the desire for progressive change.

Socialist society confronts those reactionary forces implacably, demarcating itself rigorously from them. In contrast it identifies with all those forces that have a share in making social progress prevail. Those forces a visitor will find in the capital, in the form of monuments of Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Bluecher, Baron von Stein, and the Humboldt brothers. Also Schinkel's New Guard, turned into a memorial site for the victims of fascism and militarism, reminds of those forces.

The fact that Berlin was the residence of the Prussian kings is brought home by many representative buildings which once served as the city palaces of the royal family: the Palais Unter den Linden, the Opera Cafe, Humboldt University and the building next to the Kommode. This way the observer is time and again faced with the question as to what our position is on the ruling class in Prussia and its representatives. Not by coincidence an answer to the question often concentrates on Frederick II, who constitutes a model figure of those forces, as it were. Bourgeois historiography has placed a halo around him for centuries and attached the sobriquet "the Great" to him. To generations he has been presented as a symbolic figure for purported "Prussian virtues" and "historic greatness."

Conqueror

Indubitably, he had a weighty influence on the history of Prussia and of the German people. Primarily, however, that was an ominous influence. As the ruler of the Prussian state Frederick II consistently championed the interests of the Prussian Junker class. Thus he protected the privileges of the aristocracy and repressed any protest by the peasantry against feudal oppression with the force of arms. His wars also lay in the interest of his class comrades. No sooner had he come to the throne than he destroyed the illusions he had fostered as a crown prince, that he would break away from militarism and despotism, and started an undeclared war of conquest. For a whole decade he exhausted the meager material and human resources of his subjects in order to secure for Prussia the rank of a big power by the conquest of Silesia. Following the Prussian Junkers' drive toward conquest, he became the initiator of the first partition of Poland, which most heavily encumbered the German-Polish relationship. He did not care about the destiny of the emerging German nation, he only cared about his dynastic power positions. That he had a most condescending attitude toward German literature and art was attested to by the complaints from Lessing, Klopstock and Gleim.

Thus it is certain Frederick is a typical representative of Prussianism and belongs among the proponents of the reactionary class line in German history. As such he deserves no place value in the historic traditions of the socialist state which are marked by the aspirations and movements of progressive forces. And still he is part of our history and cannot be deleted from it because his work is a historic reality. That is why we must deal with him critically and understand him in every way and all-inclusively in terms of his times.

An overall assessment of Federick II of Prussia must primarily describe him as a personality that placed his work at the service of preserving reactionary power relations. Yet we must not ignore all the positive that evolved and lasted during his reign and on his suggestion. In this we follow the example of Marx, Engels and Mehring. Franz Mehring, for example, wrote in his famous "Lessing Legend": "It goes without saying that scientific historiography has as little use for anti-Prussian mythologies as for pro-Prussian ones. Finding in Frederick the source of all that was evil is the opposite pole of the mistaken notion that makes his person the source for everything that was good."* Such an approach

*Franz Mehring, "Die Lessing-Legende," Th. Hoehle, H. Koch, and J. Schleifstein, eds., "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Essays), Vol 9, Berlin, 1963, p 67.

makes possible both presenting unmistakably the basic reactionary character of Frederick's policy and objectively stating those measures and results of his activity which, though contrary to his own intentions, have had long-term positive effects in history. These contradictions in the life and work of Frederick II are explained by the fact that he "in a revolutionary era absorbed the ideas of new, rising classes in France seeking power, so as to use them for the stabilization of the feudal society--which only few contemporaries of his saw and understood,"* as Ingrid Mittenzwei has cogently observed. To improve his state's functioning capacity he used means which actually did not fully conform with the socioeconomic foundations of the feudal order. During his lifetime that did not lead to serious conflicts because the bourgeois forces in Prussia were then still too weak and undeveloped to stage antifeudal operations on their own.

Thus Frederick shrank from any consistent abilition of serfdom, to be sure, but he eased the peasants' conditions on the royal demesne. Thereby he meant to enhance the peasants' tax-paying ability through encouraging their interests in production increases. Indirectly, however, he upset thereby a basic relationship of the feudal order. Also, he drained and diked the great marshes of the Oderbruch and of Rhin-Luch to enhance his state's economic capacity, but the colonists whose settlements benefited thereby received certain privileges, such as being largely freed from feudal burdens. Thereby they strengthened the bourgeois element in Prussia over the long run. A similar effect had his admitting emigrants from Bohemia, Poland, Saxony, Wuerttemberg, Mecklenburg and Switzerland, whom he assured of an unrestricted exercise of their religion. Bourgeois historiography to this day makes that appear an expression of Frederick's "tolerance." Actually Frederick gave preference to the loyalty to the Prussian crown over that to a religious faith, but what he mainly cared for were economic considerations. For his land, impoverished by war, he gained willing hands, inventive brains and potent tax-payers. In fact, the evolving bourgeoisie gained numerical and economic growth from it.

Similar effects came from the codification of the Prussian Law, that set certain barriers to feudal lawlessness and fostered an intelligible legal situation indispensable for bourgeois economic undertakings. And finally one should not forget the patronage Frederick bestowed on certain arts which, among other things, gave Knobelsdorff and Gontard the opportunity to let their creative imagination range, the outcome of which made for such a wonderful ensemble of structures as Sanssouci.

Statues

Anyone who steps up to the imposing equestrian statue of Frederick II Unter den Linden, which is among the most important artistic achievements of Christian Daniel Rauch, must be aware that he is looking at one of the truly shining personalities of our history. He is face to face with one of the most pronounced representatives of reactionary Prussianism, whose policy had ominous consequences for German history. He must also consider that in spite of his main effect there were also some measures that had results quite different from what the king had intended. That also is part of the personality image of that man.

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*Ingrid Mittenzwei, "Friedrich II. von Preussen. Eine Biographie." Berlin, 1979, p 206.

Incidentally, Rauch himself suggested, perhaps unintentionally, the divided character of Frederick by his monument, wich had no doubt be designed to serve the glorification of the monarch. Its front and side panels show Frederick's military officers and civil servants, but his contemporaries in the fields of culture and science were crowded together on the back panel, ingenuously under the horse's tail. Thereby the monument accurately reflects the rank Frederick attributed to those forces.

Thus the Marxist-Leninist evaluation of Prussian history, as of any other historical subject, proceeds according to the principle which Comrade Erich Honecker formulated as "perceiving history in its objective, concrete pattern of development, in its overall dialectic."* By applying that principle we get a comprehensive picture of events and personalities which, along with the decisive contours, also, in a more discriminating manner, records contrasting aspects.

'All-German View of History' Rejected

Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME in German 1 Sep 81 p 3

['World Peace/A Look Into History' feature article by Karl-Heinz Dubrowsky: "We See Even Prussian History as It Was--A Chapter of History and the Two German States' Approach to It"]

[Text] FRG President Carstens likes to grant television interviews, including interviews on historical problems. When he was asked by a reporter, for example, how he felt about the GDR's dealing with Prussian history, Carstens responded that the GDR, by "reviving Prussian history" was making a contribution "to an all-German view of history."

The allegation of a "revival of Prussian history" in our republic is nothing but a feint in their own increased efforts to exploit Prussia for their own reactionary ends. A "Prussia Wave" has been inundating the FRG citizens for quite some time. At this very moment, a big Prussia Show is being mounted in West Berlin, aided by Bonn government authorities.

What is this fuss all about?

A progressive West Berlin journalist answered that question most succinctly when he wrote: "In view of increasing problems imperialism has in legitimizing its domestic rule, of the citizens being increasingly bad tempered about their state, and of the "dropping-out" of parts of the youth, the Prussia discussion amounts to some pertinent capitalist crisis management, to resorting to a raison d'etat and to governmental functions enforcing discipline and order as found in the Prussian class state. Monopoly bosses and entrepreneurs have long been clamoring for "Prussian virtues" such as self-restraint, thrift, discipline, unselfishness, doing one's duty, serving, obeying and a sense of sacrifice--for the working people, of course, and not by that token for the monopoly bosses."

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*Cf. Erich Honecker, "Our Times Call for Commitment to Progress, Reason and Humanity," "Martin Luther and Our Age--Establishment of the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR, Berlin, 13 June 1980." n.p., n.d., p 12.

Classic Authors as Models

We, however, need not "revive" Prussian history. Our understanding of Prussian matters relies on the understanding the founders of Marxism and the leading representatives of the revolutionary German workers movement had about that. Thus the GDR historians could look it up in Marx, Engels and Mehring (and also in Lenin) when they started to explore still more extensively the history of Prussia, that is to say, especially its progressive sides.

This was a differentiated image of Prussia given to us by the classic authors and by Franz Mehring because they always kept in mind the dialectic of the two class lines in Prussian history, the dialectic between reaction and progress.

Like them we are implacably opposed to reactionary Prussianism which has played so ominous a role in German history with its rapacious policy against the outside, that led to the catastrophe of two world wars, and with its anti-democratism within, as shown most massively in the suppression of the revolutionary workers movement.

Marx, Engels and Mehring, on the other hand, did not ignore the progressive tendencies and aspirations in Prussian history. We too pay tribute to the work of Prussian reformers like Stein and Scharnhorst, and we carry on the line of tradition of the bourgeois democrats and fighters on the barricades of 1848, or of the struggle by August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg against Prusso-German militarism. Why should we then have to make revisions on the revolutionary German workers movement's image of Prussia which, after 1945, was enriched by Marxist-Leninist historiography, or even should--as also alleged by bourgeois history ideologists--want to get to a "new image of Prussia"?

Rejecting such a question also means rejecting the allegation that the GDR was making a contribution to an "all-German view of history."

One White Elephant Remained

As one may recall especially in the days around 13 August, the Bonn Bundeswehr did not succeed back in 1961 in entering the GDR capital through the Brandenburg Gate with drums and pipes playing. The Hallstein Doctrine, practiced under the co-responsibility of the incumbent FRG President, which made the Bonn government sever relations with any state that would recognize the GDR, has also failed.

For their designs at "keeping the German question open" the politicians on the Rhine had only one white elephant left: the doctrine of the "unity of the German culture nation" of 1971. It is being propagated by the very people who in 1949 split up the "unified German culture nation" to preserve their rule at least in a part of Germany. The whole anachronism of that slogan becomes apparent as soon as one considers that an independent socialist German nation has evolved in the GDR and a socialist German national culture has developed.

The "all-German view of history" also is derived from the Bonn doctrine. But what can we possibly have historically in common as long as in the GDR--to stay with the example of Prussia--the progressive traditions of Prussian history are preserved and fostered, while the FRG conserves the reactionary image of Prussia?

Comrade Kurt Hager asserted before the social scientists in December 1980 in Berlin: "The thesis of a common history of the Germans, expounded in the FRG, is untenable in every sense in view of the irrevocable events of the last three decades. It is a cloak for revanchism. Nor can that thesis erase the fact that the two German states also have a diametrically opposed relationship with the past. There is no 'open German question' in that respect either."

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MARTIN LUTHER'S MERITS, LIMITATIONS ASSESSED

Ideological Perspective

Halle FREIHEIT in German 4 Sep 81 p 12

['Topical Themes' feature article by Dr Heinz Kathe: "Martin Luther--The Leading Ideologue of the Reformation: His Work as Pioneer for Significant Upheavals Belongs to the Revolutionary Traditions of German History"]

> [Text] In conformity with our world image, we perceive history in its objective, concrete pattern of development, in its overall dialectic. To regard it as the history of class struggles in no way entails a narrowing, but rather a real insight into the course of things. The socialist GDR, the first workers' and farmers' state on German soil, is the legitimate successor to the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the other democratic forces against capitalism and war, of the revolutionary campaigns of the peasantry, the artisans, the clerics, the intellectuals and artists, members of the middle classes, in short all who have helped bring about social advance.
>
> (Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman, GDR State Council, at the constituent meeting of the GDR Martin Luther Committee).

Luther belongs among the great personalities of German history of world rank. His historic distinction lies in having sparked the reformation, the initial phase and, at once, the element that had a continuing hold on the early bourgeois revolution. In paying pribute to Martin Luther as a pioneer of the early bourgeois revolution between 1517 and 1526, we include his work among the revolutionary traditions of German history.

In gaining European dimensions, the reformation bestowed European rank, and eventually world rank, on Luther's work. On 13 June 1980, at the constituent meeting of the GDR Martin Luther Committee, Erich Honecker declared: "Luther put his stamp on the dominant ideas of the 16th century to a major degree. Indeed one can say that his influence on the course of history is still unmistakable today, on the threshold of the 21st century."

Luther's work is most closely tied to the start of a new world historic era, the era of decaying feudalism and of the development of mercantilist capitalism and the first bourgeois revolutions causing the gradual rise of the bourgeoisie. Luther's attacks were directed against the Papacy, the well organized international power instrument of feudalism and the largest landowner in Germany.

An Attack on the Feudal Papacy

With its institutions, dogmas and ceremonies, the Church deeply encroached upon public life and helped the existing order to prevail, for instance through its practice of the confessional-box. Church and society were so much entwined that the struggle against the feudal powers, if it was to be successful, had to start with an attack against the Church, which traditionally held sway over the spirit and thinking of men.

The importance of the 95 Theses against the abuse of indulgence, which Luther posted on 31 October 1517 in the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg, lay in that their author placed in doubt the Church authority in matters of faith. He rebelled against the usurped decision authority of the Church and, thus, against its manner of leading people. That made the Papacy see in Luther not just a critic but a heretic to be persecuted pitilessly. All these persecutions only had the result of further propelling the Wittenberg professor along the road he had taken. Luther grew into the leading ideologue of the Reformation.

Of the greatest importance here was his realization that not through indulgence, requiems, pilgrimages and endowments to the Church could man stand steadfast before his God, but only through his personal belief in the Gospel. Through his doctrine on justification solely by his belief, Luther subjected the Church to a devastating critique, while upholding an individual's ability and right to pass judgment on his own. He scored its costly parasitical priestly hierarchy, the large number of holidays, its ostentatiousness, the high rating of monastic life and of the asceticism that belonged to it. Such views made ready for the new, the "cheap," church of the bourgeoisie.

The Reformer's Historic Limits

That Luther held teaching, work and occupation in high esteem and provided the theological rationale for an attack on the enormous ecclesiastic property holdings and Germany's exploitation by the Papacy reflected requirements of early capitalist development in other countries as well. For that reason the Reformation as initiated by Luther rapidly became a European phenomenon. It had started in Germany because there the social antagonisms were intensified by the opposition between economic progress, especially in mining, and political backwardness (territorial fragmentation, extended serfdom and so forth). The country had become the main object of exploitation for the Roman-Catholic Church. In the phase of the anti-Rome movement (1517-1521), Luther was called by contemporaries a "father of the fatherland." Almost all classes and strata stood behind him.

The Peasants' War, however, was fiercely rejected by Luther. In an appeal seething with hatred in 1525, he turned against the "murderous and thieving peasant bands."

That stand reveals his historic limitations. He essentially confined himself to the struggle against intellectual feudalism. The people's revolt he rejected--consistent with his own class--from his moderate bourgeois point of view. His stand against the rebellious peasants and his siding with the princes did not prevent him, however, from defending as long as he lived the moderate bourgeois Reformation against any re-Catholization attempts. Luther did not betray the peasants when he justified the use of force against the rebellious peasants because he never would have agreed to their more extended demands for social revolution.

Up to the time of his death the Wittenberg reformer held on to his alignment with the princes while he strenuously sought to reinforce and spread his doctrine. For that purpose he finished his Bible translation in 1534, the Bible becoming the most frequently edited book of the 16th century. By founding schools he initiated a general rise in the educational level. Even in 1524 he had published a tract, "To the Councilmen of All Towns in German Lands, to Establish and Maintain Christian Schools." The institutions and setups for higher education established by his fellow-combatant Philipp Melanchthon, and the textbooks he wrote, maintained their exemplary validity down to the 18th century.

Strong Impulses for the Birth of Nations

Even though the Protestant princes took control of their territorial churches and Luther did not touch the foundations of princely power, but kept to the view of the divine right and appointment behind princely authority, he did not mince his words in their presence. He spared them no admonitions and warnings. Historically more important was that the spread of the Reformation in the form of Lutherism and, what must be remembered, in the form of Calvinism in Europe strongly encouraged the birth of nations for many peoples and the formation of national languages. On the German early bourgeois revolution were based the subsequent victorious bourgeois revolutions in the northern Netherlands, England, North America and France.

Long-range Effects on Intellectual Life

The Reformation also paved the way for intellectual development carried farther by the bourgeoisie. This long-range effect ranges all the way to the age of Enlightenment and classical German philosophy and literature. The states the Reformation had given rise to--the Protestant part of Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, England and other countries--made a crucial contribution to political and economic development and to striving for mundane education of practical use. Protestant universities like Wittenberg, Jena and Halle radiated at the spiritual life of the entire continent.

Comprehensive View of Luther

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 18-19 Oct 80 p 7

['Our Times' feature article by Dr Manfred Bogisch: "Today We See the Whole Luther--Reminiscence About a Remark by Dieckmann Concerning Our Relationship to a Historic Personality"]

[Text] According to the Fifth LDPD Congress proceedings of 1953 there was a stir in the auditorium when Johannes Dieckmann pronounced the name of Martin Luther and asked the liberal democrats to "gain strength for our course" from his work.

Various reasons explain that wonderment. Many in our party found that reformer suspect in terms of socialist construction, in particular because he had surrendered the revolutionary peasants to the princes' sword of vengence. What, in comparison with that, had his challenge to the Pope been worth, or his steadfastness in faith, many thought. Others again had heard about the thesis discussed for some time in bourgeois historiography, that the German people's road to fascism had begun with Luther: without territorial Evangelical churches no subjects to principalities, without subjects of this coinage no Prussia, without such Prussianism no fascist movement. That was as unreasonable as the notion found occasionally that around Luther intellectual resistance could crystallize against socialism in the GDR and provide a feeding ground for political opposition.

Dieckmann's remark grew out of two considerations of principle. He thought it urgent to get started also in the LDPD with the discussion of progressive traditions which happened to have moved early in 1953 Martin Luther, within the SED, onto a focal point of critical consideration. The People's Chamber President pointed to German history also because the necessary formation of a national consciousness (the main subject with which the fifth party congress dealt) inevitably brought up the question about German patriotism in socialism. Where were there any roots for a patriotic attitude to be found if not also in the Reformation, which Dieckmann perceived, not last, as a revolt against excessive alienation killing everything national. Parallels with what was then going on were obvious: the FRG was in the process of surrendering itself to U.S. and West European interests in the form of the European Coal and Steel Community and the EDC.

This already clears the matter up: the establishment of the GDR Martin Luther Committee is nothing sensational and certainly does not initiate a revision of our view of history. Neither does Frederick the Great replace Marx, nor does Martin Luther replace Thomas Muentzer. Speaking metaphorically, it is not a matter of discovering heretofore wholly unknown continents, and all the less is it a matter, for reasons of tactics perhaps, of placing in view repressed sections and aspects of German history, for different tactical considerations.

In the GDR the socialist German nation has evolved. This fact also brings up new aspects of our national history. It refers to questions that hitherto had not arisen. Answers will and must be given, which might possibly also cause surprise because something unknown moved into the light always causes amazement, sometimes even skepticism, but mainly also new questions.

Today we see the whole Luther. The discussion Johannes Dieckmann referred to in 1953, however, mainly dealt with the reformer's relationship with the peasants in general, and with Muentzer in particular. Also consider this: we are concerned with Luther as a historic personality, not with a judgment from one side or another (be it Evangelical or Catholic), nor with rewriting a judgment of past eras for our own use. All we can be concerned with is to bring Martin Luther close enough to see how he developed within the class conflicts of his time. Familiarity with his time has been and remains the prerequisite for exploring and presenting his work and his effect on his time. As little as we have started dealing with Luther today, we surely will not be finished with it in November 1983 either.

Revolutionary Effects

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 14 No 40, 1981 (signed to press 28 Sep 81) pp 28-29

['Biographies in World History' feature article by Prof Dr Adolf Laube: "Martin Luther--Theology With Revolutionary Effects"]

[Text] My headline may be irritating to some people, to those who are wont to see in Martin Luther a man of the church only, a man of faith who gave people immediate access to a benevolent God; or to those who put an exclusive emphasis on the faith experience and on Luther's being above all time, Luther solely for grace, for faith, removed from any social determinants, his social effects, at best, being secondary. It may also irritate those who know of Luther's role in the Peasants' War and take that for the sole criterion in judging him: Luther as the butcher of peasants, enemy of Muentzer and server of princes, rather a figure of the counterrevolution, that is, than of the revolution.

Neither image of Luther is without reason. First and foremost, Luther was a theologist who labored for a new conception of God. In the Peasants' War he sharply opposed the rebels and Muentzer. Yet neither aspect per se is enough to do justice to Luther's historic society-transforming achievement. That achievement cannot be understood unless one understands the social crisis situation of his time and, in particular, the role of the Papacy in that society.

In the early 16th century, broad strata of the German people had come loose. Four great conspiracies under the sign of Bundschuh [symbol of the German Peasants' Confederation] in 1493, 1502, 1513 and 1517, the "Poor Conrad" uprising in Wuerttemberg in 1514, a wave of municipal insurrections of 1509 to 1514, social struggles and uprisings by the miners in vast areas of early capitalist ore mining, and a number of other movements and manifestations of opposition to prevailing conditions were symptoms of a penetrating crisis that had engulfed all society. It had been caused not only by the intensification of the main class conflict in feudalism between the feudal lords and the peasants, but mainly also by the new contradictions in connection with the spread of early capitalism.

Yet social circumstances in the beginning transition period from feudalism to capitalism were so complicated under the conditions of the deep territorial fragmentation of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" that the movements in the early 16th century remained confined regionally and locally, and remained more or less confined to certain groups socially, so that they lacked a common leadership and unifying goal. A unifying effect that would integrate the various oppositional trends could only come from an initiative directed against that institution that stood in the center of all criticism. And that, under those conditions, was the Papacy.

Rome as the Power Center

The Roman-Catholic Church had become an important power in Europe in the Middle Ages. It was not only the biggest feudal landowner in the empire, which engaged most unscrupulously in the exploitation of the peasants, it not only exercised

worldly power in the territories and principalities, which made bishops and abbots exercise governmental authority, the pope did not only confirm the emperor and interfere with the empire's policy, the church and Rome not only sucked the empire financially dry--above and beyond everything the church was the central spiritual power. It was in charge of the relations between man and God.

God was the central point of reference in the life of people in all classes and strata. A life without God was conceivable neither for the emperor nor for peasants and plebeians. Yet the church alone handled the relations between men and God. It determined the concept of God, its doctrines were compulsory and universally valid. Anyone who differed in his thoughts from what the church permitted was persecuted as a heretic and could be banned from society, could even be killed. And it was this ideological monopoly the church used to stabilize the prevailing feudal society. Therefore no way toward social change could by-pass the church, or rather, any attempt at fundamental social change under those conditions had to start with the church. "For existing social conditions to be touched, the halo had to be stripped off from them" (Friedrich Engels). If it was to be proven that existing conditions as sanctioned by the church contradicted the true will of God, the social order lost its legitimacy.

For centuries there had been anticurial, indeed early reformation, propensities. Yet for one thing, the church was solidly embedded in more than thousand years of tradition and could not be shaken by a criticism of its external, wordly character or of its internal abuses. And then again, social conditions had not yet matured for an anticurial initiative to become the platform for a subversive revolutionary movement. The overall social crisis in the empire under the conditions of the beginning transition from feudalism to capitalism in the early 16th century created the bases for a reformation theology to become the crucial revolutionary impulse, which it indeed had to become provided this theology succeeded in upsetting the dogmatic principles of the church. In accomplishing just that, transforming social effects emanated from Luther which were totally different from the earlier ones of Wiclif in England and even of Hus and the revolutionary Hussite movement in Bohemia.

95 Theses

Martin Luther was born on 10 November 1483 as the son of a small mining entrepreneur, whose family was still closely connected with the peasantry, in Eisleben. When he in 1517 came out with his famous 95 theses against the church abuse of indulgence, he was an Augustinian friar and district vicar in charge of eleven monasteries and professor of biblical literature at Wittenberg University. What mattered to Luther, however, was not only the externals appearing most repugnant to him, such as the indulgences, the cult about relics, the pilgrimage business and all the ostentatiousness of the church. Ultimately it was this matter of the concept of God and the relations between man and God. In the prevailing scholastic Occamistic conception, God was a strict world judge of pure caprice who always again had to be placated by good works. That was a God Luther could not reconcile himself with; that God tormented him.

In that he fared no different than many of his contemporaries. The mood of general crisis spread deep uncertainty about how that God could be pleased. Wavering between hope for eternal salvation and panic dread of divine judgment and infernal punishment made the thirst for ecclesiastic grace grow as much as the belief in witches and demons, the addiction to miracles and astrology. The idolization of saints and the cult of relics came to an unprecedented climax, processions and pilgrimages, religious endowments and fraternities increased by leaps and bounds. With it, many prophesies announced the approaching end of the world. Albrecht Duerer, for example, depicted the imminent terror of the last judgment in his famous "Apocalypse."

Martin Luther found the way out from these straits in the Bible: God is the loving father, and the just lives in accordance with his belief. Thereby Luther found a fundamentally new relationship between man and God: Man is justified before God through his faith only. No need for good works or for a priestly hierarchy to give man access to God. Thereby he placed the institution of the church itself in doubt. No papal decrees and council decisions can bind man. The Bible is the sole authority: "For this is the whole script that the Christians' and Christendom's cause must be judged solely by God, none of it ever having been justified by men on earth." And the institution of the church was explicitly called a human work by Luther, which could have no power over the Christians.

"Let us awake, dear Germans, and fear God more than men, lest we share the fate of all poor souls that so pitifully are being lost by the shameful devilish regimen of the Romans. As such devilish regimen is not only public thievery, deceit and tyranny of the hellish gate, but also corrupts Christendom in body and soul, we are in duty bound to exert all diligence toward averting such wretchedness and destruction of Christendom. As we rightly hang the thieves and decapitate robbers, why should we let go free the Roman greed, being the biggest thief and robber."

Direction and Goal

Luther's theology and his attack on the Roman church satisfied an urgent social need. They gave a direction and goal to the general will for change. And this was not only a matter of reforming the church but a more or less far-reaching change of society, in view of the position of the church as the international center of feudalism--as Friedrich Engels defined the papacy. Moreover, Martin Luther also addressed burning economic and social problems and sought biblically justified ways for solving these problems and, doing so, articulated ideas that could serve both further bourgeois development and the needs of the broad popular masses.

Luther's theological ideas and his ideas that were socially conditioned directly and entered into the social conflicts offered the various social forces, from the princes to the peasants and plebeians, leverage for legitimizing their own interests. That, on the one hand, was a basic prerequisite for the initially integrating function of the Lutheran doctrines, for gathering diverse, even oppositional, class forces in the broad revolutionary movement with which the German early bourgeois revolution began. On the other hand, it also explains the later legitimization of diverse, even oppositional, aspirations and interests by reference to Luther. This also provides a key for understanding why the reception of Luther throughout all subsequent history has been so uneven.

Fostering the Traditions

In getting set for honoring Martin Luther in the GDR on the occasion of his 500th birthday in 1983, we honor Luther in his whole greatness and his time and class-conditioned limitations. "Among the progressive traditions which we are fostering and furthering belongs the work and legacy of all those who have contributed to the progress and development of world culture, regardless of their social and class origin," as Erich Honecker put it in his speech at the constituent meeting of the GDR Martin Luther Committee. In that sense the 10th SED Congress also underscored the vast range of our fostering our tradition with reference to our tributes in recent years and months to Lessing, Herder, Beethoven, Kleist, Semper, Schinkel, Becher, Brecht, Eisler, Busch and the upcoming tributes to Luther, Bach, Haendel, Schiller and Goethe.

We honor Martin Luther as the initiator of the Reformation with which the early bourgeois revolution began. We honor his cultural and creative lingustic achievements. We value his socio-ethical and economic ideas. We do not forget that Martin Luther is one of the Germans who attained to the highest prestige in the world. In Martin Luther we honor, as Erich Honecker emphasized, one "of the precursors of those upheavals which ushered in the collapse of feudalism and the emergence of the bourgeois revolutions in the German states and Europe."

5885
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CRITICAL APPROACH TO GERMAN PHILOSOPHICAL LEGACY URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 128, 1 Sep 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "Against the Taboo on Nietzsche in the GDR--Essay by Director of Goethe and Schiller Archives, Weimar." A translation of the East German scholar's article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn, director of the Goethe and Schiller Archives, Weimar, has come out against the taboo on Friedrich Nietzsche in the GDR. It was understandable, the noted scholar stated in an essay published by the Erfurt SED paper DAS VOLK (26 Aug 81), "that in a literary society like ours, where the ideas of social progress and humanism rate as the highest values, no space is given to a literature that spreads ideological positions such as are found in Friedrich Nietzsche's work." Yet it also was not proper "to pass it over in silence only." In this context Prof Hahn argued for a critical intellectual confrontation with Nietzsche's ideological positions.

Along with it, he pointed out that after his mental illness Friedrich Nietzsche spent the last 5 years of his life in the charge of his sister in Weimar, where nothing reminded us of his work. In view of Friedrich Nietzsche having been one of the most influential thinkers and writers of the German language in the late 19th century, the director of the Goethe and Schiller Archives brought up the question again that is often asked in Weimar, whether it was proper "not to commemorate him especially" in Weimar.

SED Scholar's Discussion

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 26 Aug 81 p 6

['Cultural Policy' feature article by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn, SED member: "The Inheritor Inherits Also Useless Stuff--On Disputing Ideological Positions Whose Seductive and Dangerous Powers Continue Daily to Manifest Themselves"]

> [Text] Comrade Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn, director of the Goethe and Schiller Archives in Weimar, has expressed himself repeatedly in most recent days on the topic of our "legacy" in our paper.

His contribution today turns to that part of the national, artistic and intellectual legacy of our people that did not contribute to the progress of its society and still is of little use to us. Even so, perhaps because of it, it may require a critical confrontation all the more.

"He who wants to cope with the tasks of the present and make his way through the future securely needs the knowledge and experience of the past and must experience its cultural values." This statement from the rostrum of the 10th SED Congress has induced us for some time to publish now and then contributions from specialists particularly concerned with our preserving and extending our legacy. Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Hahn of Weimar thus explained in this paper some time ago how productive it can be for anyone to deal with our legacy ever-present in many forms. Today's contribution of his, written at a time when ideological struggles are escalating in the world, addresses that legacy which is not included in our people's progressive traditions and may well for that very reason require to be taken issue with critically.

Not everything that happens in our lives is permanently fixed in our memory. Facts, experiences and events which we think have significantly influenced our personal development are inevitably being recalled, however, may they be fine memories or bad experiences which, willy-nilly, keep cropping up. The same is true of history.

If, for example, in March 1898 a few sturdy gentlemen of so-called higher society planted a pine at the foot of the Kickelhahn near Ilmenau in honor of the 100th birthday of Emperor William I and attached a commemorative plaque to it, that has been absolutely forgotten today. Of those who were there, and who might remember, not one any longer is alive. The plaque has deteriorated and fallen down, and no one can any longer find the "emperor's pine."

Memories That Fade Incessantly

It was different when the same gentlemen--civil servants, manufacturers, lawyers, physicians, all members of the so-called Gabelbach Community--set markers for their community poets Victor von Scheffel and Rudolf Baumbach at crossroads still popular parts of hiking trails, which induce younger contemporaries and young hikers to inquire who precisely is being honored here, and why. Who is there left today who might know anything of that Gabelbach Community, half hiking club, half exclusive men's club, imperial and German-national in any case, and otherwise devoted to the joys of feasting and to amateur versifying. Count Bismarck was among the patrons and the Grand Dukes of Weimar as well, of course. A peculiar community statute, saturated with romantic embellishments of purported ancient German usage, sets down the office of the chairman and the community poet. Victor von Scheffel, author of numerous student songs, the verse narrative of the "Trumpeter of Saeckingen," and other things, and Rudolf Baumbach, known as the author of the song "High on the Yellow Wagon," whose house in Meiningen serves to this day as

an ethnological museum, both held that office. Is it worth burdening one's memory with such reminiscences, one may ask. Certainly not. For there were many such social circles of equal insignificance. Gradually the last memory of them will fade. It takes its time but proceeds incessantly.

Different again and yet similar it is when one discovers at Stuetzerbach in the Thuringian forest, that outpost of the former duchy of Weimar, a sign marked "Zum Schlossberg" [To Castle Mountain]. No castle is in evidence here at all. Some steel structures mark the summit, and otherwise there are only benches from which visitors at the spa may enjoy the beautiful view. Who is there left to remember that circa 250 years ago there was indeed a castle here, which however did not outlast its builder. His name was August, he was the duke of Weimar, and he was known as a complicated gentleman given to building castles wherever he pleased. Castle Belvedere in Weimar was included as much as the rococo castle in Dornburg. He squeezed Weimar into a belt of fortifications, slapped his privy councilors, engaged in intensive correspondence with the pious in his land, the pietists, sold soldiers and had to take it that his princely nephew on the Prussian throne, Frederick II, singled him out as a despicable example of a petty princeling.

Much From Former Times Remains Uninteresting to Historiography

There often were such Ernst Augusts. Almost every village in which today a former mansion or castle reminds of past splendor can come up with reminiscences of similar despots, and anecdotes about them sometimes still make the round. Can such memories simply be passed over in silence, in the hope that the veil of oblivion will not fail to have its effect? I think they can. Much from former times remains uninteresting to historiography and is gradually forgotten. That is true of those imperials and their Gabelbach Community and of the many Ernst Augusts, whose peculiarities finally will no longer be of interest to anyone and who in the memory of future generations will at best appear here and there as examples of what things were like in past ages.

But what about authors of the past whose works were printed in many editions and can still be found in many homes, and to whom sometimes also monuments and memorial plaques refer? Quite some older contemporaries are likely to recall a story which was part of mandatory reading still in the 1920's and 1930's. It tells of two brothers, pupils at an officer's training-school, who get mixed up in all sorts of embarrassements. Its title was "Das edle Blut" [Noble Blood] and its author, Ernst von Wildenbruch, illegitimate offspring of Prince Louis Ferdinand von Hohenzollern, who fell in battle at Saalfeld in 1806 in the campaign against Napoleon. Wildenbruch, poet of the Hohenzollern Dynasty, had special preference for Weimar, where he spent the last years of his life. Admirers set up a monument of him which until a few years ago stood in the Poseck Garden in Weimar, had to be removed temporarily when the garden was refurbished, and then was forgotten to be put back. Hardly anyone has missed it. Who, after all, would remember that poet, and which young person could still connect any clear ideas with that monument?

Wildenbruch, Freytag and Marlitt Uncritically Reflected and Glorified Their Time

There is a house in Siebleben near Gotha which reminds us that about hundred years ago one of the most productive story tellers of that time, Gustav Freytag, lived there, whose work hardly anyone remembers any longer. In Arnstadt, a memorial plaque

reminds us of the author Eugenie John, who wrote under the name Marlitt, and whose skillfully wrought and suspenseful novels were read with preference by the petty bourgeoisie and middle class.

Wildenbruch, Freytag and Marlitt were authors who thoroughly understood their craft. Their novels, dramas and poems excel through their appropriate language and well balanced form. They were acclaimed by their contemporaries, yet today they are by and large forgotten. This probably mainly because in their writings they exclusively--even if in different ways--reflected the spirit of that Prussian-aristocratic-bourgeois atmosphere which marked the German Empire toward the end of the 19th century, glorifying it uncritically, indeed apologetically. And also because they essentially refused--at least in their writings--to reflect the basic social contradiction of their age, the approaching social revolution and the struggle by the revolutionary workers movement against the vehemently spreading authorities and champions of imperialism. Thereby they removed themselves, as it were, from the process of history, sold themselves to the order of the day, and so initiated their being forgotten in the not too distant future themselves.

Becher Called Him a "Torso"

It was altogether different with another author of that time. Realizing--as he thought--that the real world defied human understanding, a "culture had been initiated" which he "dared call tragic, having for its most important mark that the place of science as the highest goal was taken by wisdom which, undeceived by the seductive treatises of the sciences, rigidly turns to the total picture of the world and in it seeks to comprehend, through sympathetic love, suffering as its own pain." "Let us imagine," so it continues, "a growing generation with such a fearlessness of view, with this heroic thrust into the immense, imagine the bold step of such dragon killers, the proud daring which turns its back to the feeble doctrines of that optimism (of science), so as to live resolutely in what is whole and full."

This text--much though it may suit the vocabulary of fascism--does not come from the last war years, nor is it anywhere close to the lyrical poetry of the FRG whose verse gets lost with "laughter in the cave, of eternal night." No, that text was printed as long ago as in 1871, at a time when the natural sciences were about to open up new spaces to mankind. Its author was Friedrich Nietzsche, mentally ill in 1889, who spent the last 5 years of his life under the care of his sister in Weimar. Nothing there reminds of his work, and conversely--except for his undisputed enthusiasm for Lessing and Goethe--Weimar never played a role in his life and work. Even so the question often comes up whether it would not be appropriate to commemorate him in particular in Weimar.

No doubt, Friedrich Nietzsche was among the most influential thinkers and writers in German in the late 19th century. Strange contradictions mark his work. In one and the same breath he pays homage to Lessing's and Goethe's world of ideas and argues against the "theoretical optimism" that takes for granted the "faith in the intelligibility of the nature of things," and that man's knowledge and search for understanding is the highest gift. The cultural disintegration of bourgeois society is cogently and sharply criticized, while there is expressed an acknowledgement of the dread of the "barbaric slave morality that has learned to regard its own

existence as an error," mocking any efforts on behalf of humanism and the self-liberation of the workers class by the words, "the good brute wants his rights; what paradisical prospects!"

"Christiany, democracy, socialism," as J. R. Becher wrote, "is the trinity which Nietzsche regarded as the great mortal enemy, the decisive ideological opponent to the outbreak of barbarism." In a manner of incantation, at times in a strikingly pregnant and brilliant language, sentences are pronounced, theoretical positions are attacked, and are confronted with reflections voluntaristic and mythological in character. As a labyrinth of sociocritical, anti-humanistic and bombastically pronounced principles for a "tragic world-outlook," holding up suffering as the preordained form of human existence, the whole thing emerges as a confusing and at times narcotizing sequence of ideas which prevents rational, reasonable, justifiable decisions and instead releases psychologically uncontrollable instincts. "A destroyer of any objective thought in terms of stable values and a boundless consumer of all convictions," this is how J. R. Becher described the "Torso Nietzsche." Accurately speaking, Nietzsche radically negates the question about the possibility of human self-determination and the control over nature, ignoring all traditional scientific insights and philosophical cognition.

Baffled Imperialism Sets the Ground for That "Tragic World-Outlook"

Such ideas certainly are not liable to be forgotten in our present days. On the contrary, the more hopeless the crisis of imperialist society becomes, the more widely pessimism and despair will spread and set the stage of Nietzsche's "tragic world-outlook" and the dubious pathetic heroism derived from it. Almost every day thoughts of this sort are encountered in the theoretical, poetry and journalistic texts from imperialistic publishing houses and journals, and in dismay one recalls that we have had all that once before, in the time after World War I. The consequences, fascism and rapacious imperialist war, are all too well remembered.

A legacy this too, but one that is more like the poisoned apple the evil stepmother hands to the hated princess in the fairy tale, who then eats it unsuspectingly and almost suffers death. Understandable it is that in a literary society like ours, where the ideas of social progress and humanism rate as the highest values, no space is given to a literature that spreads idoelogical positions such as are found in Friedrich Nietzsche's work. Yet it is not proper to pass it over in silence only. Ideological steadfastness and the capacity to judge scientifically, coupled with resolute party-mindedness on behalf of socialism, are needed. They form an indispensable prerequisite for taking issue with ideological positions which still manifest every day how seductive and dangerous they are.

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NEED FOR INCREASED ATTENTION TO LABOR SAFETY IN SCHOOLS

Bucharest TRIBUNA SCOLII in Romanian 19 Sep 81 p 8

[Article by Prof. Constantin Staiculescu, deputy chairman of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture]

[Text] Health care and labor safety are special issues in the programs worked out for the multilateral growth of our country. These issues are periodically examined by the party and state leadership. For instance, at its session last May, the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP discussed the report on the status of labor safety in 1980 and assessed that the measures outlined in this area resulted in increased responsibility and greater concern for continuous improvement of working conditions, prevention and reduction of accidents, better utilization of our state's appropriations for labor safety.

Moreover, the Political Executive Committee assessed that the number of accidents still is great and allotted the economic ministries, the Ministry of Labor, and the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions additional important tasks of upgrading the activity in this field. Special emphasis was placed on matters of strengthening order and discipline at every place of work, overall amplification of preventive supervisory projects, upgrading of training and propaganda in the area of labor safety, enhancement of the responsibility of the organizers and leaders of work processes, higher quality in labor safety instruction in all the forms of vocational training: qualification classes, schools, lyceums, and higher education institutes.

In light of these tasks, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, with the aid of the Ministry of Labor and with the participation of economic ministries, took steps to improve labor safety activities, specifying the specialized textbooks for the tuition involved. Many educational facilities have been provided with labor safety offices that contain the required equipment (projectors, films, slides, material on the national and departmental standards, collections of regulatory acts, leaflets, and so forth.

Based on the decision of the Conference of the Union of Trade Unions held last March, the great majority of trade union committees, of trade union groups in schools responsibly involved themselves in upgrading the labor safety activity. They conducted intensive political-organizational work focused on knowledge and implementation of labor safety regulations, specifically of characteristic job standards, by teaching

personnel, the technical-administrative staff and students. The trade union organizations, through public inspectors, work to continuously enhance strictness in implementing labor safety regulations in shops, laboratories, boarding schools, cafeterias, for the wise utilization of the labor safety funds, maintenance of a permanent contact with trade unions in the enterprises where the students' practical training is conducted.

In addition to the emphasis on the positive aspects reported at the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture held in Septemebr this year, there was criticism of the shortcomings that are still found in the area of labor safety activity. For instance, in some vocational lyceums and schools, teaching of knowledge on labor safety and hygiene is not conducted properly, verification along the line and at examinations in terms of assimilations of labor safety instruction is not a concern of all teachers in the specialized disciplines, and this results in many students not paying the necessary attention to knowledge and implementation of labor safety regulations. The training in this area often is formal, much too general, without connections to the specific matters of the jobs.

Although measures to upgrade the practical training of students have been taken in recent years, serious shortcomings are still found, as for instance: electrically powered equipment, installations and apparatus without protection by grounding; power or distribution boards without warning signals, with unmarked circuits, uncalibrated fuses, fuses without insulating mat; improper storage of chemicals and other inflammable materials; the considerable wear of some facilities transferred from manufacturing units, that do not ensure safety in the work process; lack of specialized technical assistance and supervision for students during practical work in the shops.

Furthermore, it was assessed that not all trade unions in school units pay enough attention to organizing educational projects for the purpose of acquaintance with labor safety regulations, increase in the involvement of the persons who were legally assigned duties in this area. The trade union groups do not discuss and do not propose steps to punish those who violate discipline standards and labor safety regulations.

In line with the instructions given by Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, at the Congress of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, the Executive Bureau of the Union of Trade Unions in Education, Science and Culture will participate in inspections conducted by the Ministry of Education and Instruction on the manner in which the training is provided and how labor safety knowledge is assimilated by students, how this knowledge is used during practical production work and in evolving the graduation design.

Special attention will be paid to ensuring the mass character of the contest for the various trades in vocational lyceums and schools, an opportunity for verifying knowledge in the job involved and also knowledge regarding labor safety and technique.

Guidance and support will be given to education trade unions for their taking firmer action aimed at: acquaintance of all teaching and technical-administrative personnel with labor safety questions and the legal duties assigned to them in this field;

assimilation and following of standards in terms of labor safety technique and hygiene; enhancement of public supervision and greater strictness in relation to implementation of labor safety standards in shops, laboratories, hostels, and cafeterias; sensible use of appropriations for labor safety; permanent contact with trade unions in enterprises where student practical production work is conducted.

During this period, on a countrywide scale, many students are involved in gathering the harvest. It is the duty of all the teaching staff throughout the unfolding of this patriotic work, as it is in all the activities involving students at school and extramurally (sports events, cultural and artistic activities, trips, and so forth) to ensure, in close cooperation with all educational personnel, the safety of the lives of children in this country.

Proceeding from the lofty role of the school, as the chief factor of education and molding the new man, of training the work force, the cadres, the trade unions organs and organizations, under the guidance of party organizations, must focus on mobilizing all workers in precollege education to make intensive and qualitative efforts which will result in harmoniously blending theoretical training and practical training, fostering in students devotion to the job of their choice, spirit of order and discipline and responsibility for the duties assigned in the production process. These are the guidelines outlined by Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, in his speech at the opening of the 1981/1982 academic year at the big popular rally in Craiova, a valuable theoretical and practical guide for all the servants of the school, a fervent call to devoted and passionate work for the firm implementation of the decisions of the 12th RCP Congress.

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SOCIAL INEQUITIES SKETCHED IN YOUTH PERIODICAL

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 81 p 6

[Article by Branko Vuksan: "My Friends"]

[Text] Slobodan

My friend Slobodan works in one of the Belgrade worker (or perhaps people's) universities, where his concern is cultural programs. Activity in this area has not been up to the potential, and Slobodan, with the blessing and support of staff members (the director or administrator particularly) made a real effort. He wanted to introduce quite a few innovations in the organization of culture. He shaped ideas, went all over the city trying to find people, and took care so that everything would be as inexpensive as possible. The first year he was only moderately successful, as one can well understand. Everything was paid for out of the funds realized in the "university's" other activities, which are mostly educational activities, from dancing classes to courses in tailoring. In making preparations for the coming year my friend, at the director's request, drew up a maximum program and made maximum cost estimates in order to obtain money from the SIZ [self-managing community of interest] for culture. Everything passed through the SIZ with the greatest ease, and associated labor swallowed the programs offered without a word. However, the program was not carried out on anything like the scale imagined, nor did Slobodan receive support from other staff members and the director. Sizable amounts of money were not used, but they did not go unspent. They were swallowed up by the entire staff through the profit-sharing arrangement. Slobodan protested, but the director told him not to be naive: The funds could not be carried over to the next year, and the report would state that they were spent for the intended purpose.

My friend was unable to accept this manipulation and on his own initiative presented a report of his own in the meeting of the SIZ for culture. In that report he proposed that the "university" return the unspent funds to associated labor. The delegate of the "university" disputed Slobodan's right to attend the meeting, and the other users of services concurred. The worker delegates were not to be fooled, and they demanded a precise report and return of the funds.

Jasna

My friend Jasna works as a translator in a large construction firm which is striving (and succeeding of late) to obtain as many contracts as possible abroad. Thus on one occasion a delegation came from some country to conclude a contract. During the several days of negotiations they took the delegation around to various places of interest. My friend was indispensable as an interpreter. It seems that the guests got the idea that her job included satisfying any desire the guests might have. One evening after dinner one of the guests, we assume a bit under the influence, wanted Jasna to go to his room with him. She flatly refused. The guest, a bit confused, looked at Jasna's boss, who found himself in the uncomfortable position of a man who has not fulfilled a promise. Realizing what was going on, Jasna left the scene.

I hear from her now and again, and she says that she no longer accompanies the delegations.

Zoran

My friend Zoran holds a professional political position in the opstina LCY committee of an opstina in Belgrade. His job consists of monitoring, writing and classifying reports and material on certain subjects in the work of the opstina committee. His duties also included preparing and writing speeches by various committee officials. From the beginning he noticed that all these many reports and speeches were written in a language that was extremely impoverished and vague to the point of meaninglessness. Unable to do that kind of work, he tried to make his writing fresher and devoid of empty phrases. This was noticed by an official responsible for a report which Zoran had written. He called him in and told him that "everything he had written could be stated more easily." Zoran countered by saying that copying and reworking previous reports led nowhere. The official did not have time to discuss the matter and decided that the writing should conform to the previous pattern. Zoran simply copied a report from a few years back, making slight changes, and the official was satisfied and said: "You see that you can and know how when you want to." Zoran told him what he had done, and the official took offense and sent him to the committee secretary. Having heard Zoran's explanation, uttering the well-known "I understand how you feel, but...," the secretary told him an elaborate tale about how it was once thought that professional political officials, which in a way are like technocrats in the political field, held a power which formally they did not have, and that now those same professional political officials have no right to make statements or complain lest it be said that they want something they are not entitled to. Zoran noticed that the lifeless language he was combating was advantageous to careerists, since they find the greatest safety in empty rhetoric. The secretary went on to assure him that he understood how he felt, but then, dispensing with the false cordiality, he told him: "That is not your concern."

My friend intended to quit the job, but where was he to find a new one in Belgrade? He stayed on to rescue the language from the political (il)literates.

Vera

My friend Vera works in the library of one of the schools at the university. When she started working there, she noticed that the other librarians almost always came to work late, left early, and often were absent for several hours at a time during working hours. And when they were present, they spent their time in endless storytelling and idleness. At the beginning Vera put up with this style of "work," not wanting to be hasty in judging her colleagues. Since this style was by no means a passing thing, she made it evident in conversations that what they were doing was wrong. They laughed, supposing that she was joking. One fellow worker told her that professors do what they like, and no one asks any questions, so why should they be so foolish as to break their backs? She told him that this did not justify their own idleness, and he said: "Young lady, you are meddling in affairs which don't concern you. Live and let live."

My friend was unable to leave it at that, and she raised the issue of shortcomings in operation of the library at a party meeting. A few days later she was called in by the disciplinary commission on the charge that she had issued books to students without marking the due date.

Marko

My friend Marko works as an economist in a specialized staff service at one of our large banks. His boss is out of place in this service, since his training was in an altogether different field and he does not understand the nature of the work at all. He has committed several errors which were a good illustration that he is over his head. Everyone knows this, but keeps quiet. When Marko noted this as well, they told him it was better not to make problems, since the boss was a close relative of another (higher) boss and probably would remain here only until the big boss thrust him into some better position. The supervisor continued to commit errors. In a meeting of the work community which Marko did not attend one of the boss' errors happened to be attributed to Marko, and disciplinary proceedings were instituted. The rest were silent. But two of my friend's young colleagues did point out that the error was not Marko's, since he had not worked on that case at all. The supervisor went red in the face and concluded that Marko was organizing the young people and rebelling against him, which he could not tolerate. The other people were silent. The supervisor instituted proceedings against the three "rebels." In the meeting of the commission they calmly pointed out the true state of affairs, supporting what they said with arguments.

The commission penalized them with a verbal admonition for having undermined the prestige of an immediate supervisor. At just about that same time the immediate supervisor went on sick leave, waiting for some other job to be found for him.

Ivana

My friend Ivana works as an electrical engineer in a scientific institution of a large and prestigious work organization in Zagreb. Her fellow workers did not greet her with open arms because she was the first person of the female sex in

their institution. Her presence interfered with conversations on "male topics." Not only that, but the "young lady" allowed herself to comment that there was much more talk than work. "Revenge" came in the form of refusal of all assistance. The technicians (draftsmen) refused to do their part of the job on her designs. She complained to the boss, but that did not essentially correct the situation.

The brotherhood of engineers was not overenergetic in self-management, and they "arranged" for Ivana to be their delegate in the supreme self-managing body. After a time Ivana, who is by nature a bit withdrawn and quiet, managed to put through the idea of variable working hours for those who found such a system convenient. Since her fellow engineers had been debating this issue with one another, they were surprised to hear that their colleague had succeeded in establishing that right even though they had not discussed it with her at all. Ivana now writes me that the situation is better, but that there is still quite a bit that should be done.

Slavko

My friend Slavko is a mechanical engineer working in a large factory in the heart of the Morava Valley. The salaries are not good at all, but people get along somehow. Slavko likes his job and quickly became involved and familiar with the problems of his factory. Thus a certain time passed, and a worker caucus was convened. They were deciding on distribution of money which they had unexpectedly received from a debtor. A calculation showed that the money should be used to pay off a certain debt. The accounts receivable and accounts payable were barely in balance. But the workers' council came forth with a proposal that the money be shared out through personal incomes. Everyone was in favor of that. My friend stood up and said that it was stupid to divide up money when it should be used to pay off a debt. There was an uproar against Slavko, and people said that the money for the debt could be obtained from other resources, but no one knew what those other resources were. Then they made excuses for Slavko, saying that he was still young and did not understand things. The proposal was adopted to divide up the money. With one vote against.

P.S. Does anyone else have friends like these?

7045
CSO: 2800/27

BRIEFS

PARTY EXPULSIONS IN PETRINJA--Immediately following this summer's measures taken on behalf of social protection of self-management in the "Braca Hanzek" educational center [in Petrinja, Croatia], it was reported that party-political accountability will be established for several LC members who, consciously or unconsciously, impeded the cleaning up of problems in regard to relations at the center. They paralyzed action by the sociopolitical community, imposed themselves in the basic LC organization and thereby made it impossible for the positive sociopolitical process to eliminate the problems in operation of this secondary school institution which has almost 100 staff members and nearly 1,300 students. The comrades council of the committee of the Petrinja Opstina LC Conference established the political accountability of eight teachers and imposed party measures at the last two meetings of the committee. Professors Bozo Judas, Adam Pavlovic, Milja Popovic and Jadranka Cacic were expelled from the LC. A final warning was given to Professor Mirjana Vucenovic, and warnings were given to Professor Slavko Vujnovic and to Dragica Jekic, graduate engineer. The measures were taken unanimously following discussions at which the above teachers were present. Numerous weaknesses have been noted in the basic LC organization. Among other things, the committee accepted the judgment that the penalized comrades had even tried to liquidate the center and had persistently written false public reports, publishing them even in VJESNIK. [Text] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 81 p 10]

PRIEST SENTENCED--On 22 October the criminal council of the Mostar District Court after a 2-day discussion, sentenced Jozo Zovko (40) from the village of Uzarici near Listica and parish priest in the village of Medjugorje in Citluk Opcina, to 3 1/2 years in prison, for hostile propaganda which was fully proved in the course of the discussions. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 81 p 8]

IMAM SENTENCED IN BIJELJINA--The opstina magistrates court in Bijeljina sentenced Zejnil Colic, imam from Janje, to 60 days in prison for violating Article 2, Points 5 and 7 of the Law on Public Peace and Order, by denigrating state organs and official persons who were carrying out their duties, as well as discrediting the patriotic and national feelings of citizens who live in the SFRY. [Excerpt] [Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 8 Oct 81 p 20]

KOSOVO DELEGATE DEFENDS DEMONSTRATORS--At the last meeting of the Kosovo Assembly Vahide Dusku, delegate in the Council of Associated Labor, tried to defend a number of participants in the hostile and counterrevolutionary demonstrations, by

saying that they were not to blame, that they had been too harshly sentenced, because it was a question of young people who had been misled and who had risen up against social injustices. Vahide Dusku repeated, without hesitation, some of the hostile concepts on which irredentist forces had started to develop their black ideas. After her comments, the assembly delegates distanced themselves from such discussion, aware of the truth that this [discussion] showed a lack of understanding and was perhaps even hostile. All the progressive people of Kosovo justifiably ask in whose name she was speaking and how it is possible that among the Kosovo Provincial Assembly delegates there are those who think almost the same as the leaders of the hostile demonstrations. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 2 Oct 81 p 4]

'FASCIST' INCIDENTS AT SCHOOLS--Last week the section for education, science, culture, and physical education of the Federal SAWPY Conference organized a discussion with editors of pedagogic publications throughout the country. Those in SAWP wanted to reach an agreement on how pedagogic publications can give more space to developing and strengthening Yugoslav socialist patriotism and community, and to realizing the goals of Marxist education. Most of these editors were obviously surprised that they had been invited to such a discussion on such a [federal] level. They said that their publications were [in many cases] outside the educational system, that they were in very difficult economic situations, etc. But in fact those who rarely attended meetings, who were "outside the system," who had not even elementary information about what is happening in another republic or province--these editors had to give vent to their dissatisfaction. They asked: What is happening in some local communities, in some school in a particular local community when a poor director is persistently reelected every 4 years? What factors are stronger than we or our school or our influence, when direct hostile, even fascist, action has appeared in some 15 school centers in Yugoslavia? Have we been so politically and professionally irresponsible or opportunistic, or have we so neglected socialist patriotism that a large number of students in a center commemorating the revolution could sign their full names under the words, "Long Live Ante Pavelic"? Why cannot the true and only possible method of Marxist critical evaluation be found between the two extremes (either praise of or attack on the author) in reviewing textbooks? These and other questions the editors had not written about in their papers, nor had they been clearly discussed in public for a long time. That which is happening throughout the country in the field of education following the well-known Kosovo events, indicates something else: schools and teachers cannot place themselves to one side in the general social will. [Excerpts] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 81 p 4]

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END

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12 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1940

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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12 November 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1940

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Serb Chauvinists' Ban Works on Albanian History in Kosovo
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 26 Sep 81) 1

ALBANIA

Shortcomings in Post-Graduate Technical Training
(Kico Negovani; ZERI I POPULLIT, 8 Oct 81) 2

Shortcomings of Novel Discussed in Writers Union Plenum
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 26 Sep 81) 3

BULGARIA

Military Use of 'Columbia' Space Shuttle Examined
(Ivan Portalski; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 9, 1981) 6

Briefs
Lukanov to Moscow 9
Zarev Return From Moscow 9
Atanasov Activities 9
Todorov in Pernik 9
International Women's Seminar 9
Conference on Patent Information 10
International Wasteless Technologies Conference 10
International Theoretical Conference 10
Soviet Delegation Meets Balev 10
Zhivkov Awards Spanish Poet 10
Talks Held With Austrian Trade Unions 11
CEMA Mechanical Engineering Session Begins 11
Todorov Receives GDR Sindermann 11
Economic Cooperation With Austria 12
Zhivkov Supports Non-Nuclear Zone 12
Malta Culture Minister Received 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Significance of Czech Underground Magazine Explained
(Ota Filip; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 13 Oct 81) ... 13

Briefs
Gas Masks Stressed in Union Training 16

POLAND

Soviets Blame Solidarity for Polish Coal Shortage
(B. Rachkov; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, Oct 81) 17

ROMANIA

Teodor Marinescu Addresses UN Disarmament Committee
(AGERPRES, 22 Oct 81) 21

'Provincial Mentality' of Literary Critic Deplored
(M. Costea; SCINTEIA, 14 Oct 81) 23

French Socialist Leader Meets Dascalescu
(Bucharest Domestic Service, 24 Oct 81) 24

Briefs
Verdet Receives U.S. Ambassador 25
Spanish, Swiss, Nigerian Envoys 25
Ceausescu Receives DPRK Journalist 25
Ceausescu Receives Iraqi Ambassador 25
Allegation of Swindle in Brasov Plant 26

YUGOSLAVIA

Macedonian Orthodox Church Elects New Head
(Pande Kolemisevski; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 22 Aug 81) 27

Western Comment on Proposed Defense Law
(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 23 Oct 81) 32

'SERB CHAUVINISTS' BAN WORKS ON ALBANIAN HISTORY IN KOSOVO

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by ZERI I POPULLIT correspondent: "Achievements and Problems of Our Novel of Recent Years"]

[Excerpts] This week there was a plenum of the Union of Writers and Artists which analyzed the achievements and problems of our novel since the fourth plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party in 1973 and, especially, during the past 4-5 years.

When we speak about our novel, and, especially, about the treatment of national historical subjects, it was stressed in the plenum, we are also thinking about the Albanian novels which are being written in Kosovo as well as those by Albanian authors in Macedonia and Montenegro. At the joint meeting which was held last November in Tirana, in which novelists and critics from Kosovo participated, it was stressed that such writers as H. Sulejmani, N. Rrahmani, R. Kelmendi, M. Isaku and others have created works with progressive and democratic content, because of love for their place of birth and friendship among peoples. After the tragic events in Kosovo the great Serb anti-Albanian chauvinists and their tools have been speaking about a certain "historic romanticism" in the fields of culture, education and art, seeking to take attention away from Albanian history and, especially, to prohibit in Kosovo, through a police-like arbitrariness, the treatment of themes from national history. The treatment of historic themes by writers, both here and in Kosovo, has always been based on positions of historic realism and of undeniable truth and chauvinistic or irredentist elements have always been foreign to it.

CSO: 2100/12

SHORTCOMINGS IN POST-GRADUATE TECHNICAL TRAINING

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Docent Kico Negovani, from the State Committee for Science and Technology: "Post university Training and Specialization—An Important Duty"]

[Excerpts] At a time when tens of thousands of highly-trained specialists work in various sectors of the economy, when our schools of higher education graduate 2,500 cadres in about 85 different fields each year, when demands are increasing and there are new tasks in the field of science, it has become essential that the post-university training and specialization of cadres be placed on more sound bases. In accordance with the duties set forth in the 8th plenum of the Central Committee of the party and the other guidelines of the party on the post-university training and specialization of higher cadres, the entire training process has been based on scientific research and study in three directions: on the system of the organization of short-term post-university training courses, with separation from work, courses which are organized and directed by the ministries; on the system of short-term post-university specialization, with separation from work, organized and directed by the schools of higher education; and, on the system of scientific training on two levels, which include scientific studies for defending dissertations.

However, some ministries have been very slow in organizing post-university training courses. Some of these courses do not respond to the urgent needs of production and the selection of the students is not done properly. For example, the ministries of agriculture, energy and construction are behind schedule with their training courses. The ministries of industry and mines and of agriculture have sent students who do not meet the established criteria and who were not accepted. There have been cases where courses have begun without their schedules being approved by the ministries and teaching cadres have not been properly evaluated. In some cases, there is no supervision and the courses are given formally and the students are unprepared. This was the case with the training course in the precision instruments plant in Korce, organized by the Ministry of Industry and Mines.

Considering the work done up to now and the duties assigned, it is clear that university departments or scientific sectors, deans' offices or directorates of scientific and design institutes and rectors' offices should make greater efforts to carry out this important activity, to place it on such organizational and methodical bases that it will become a component part of our educational system.

CSO: 2100/21

SHORTCOMINGS OF NOVEL DISCUSSED IN WRITERS UNION PLENUM

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by ZERI I POPULLIT correspondent: "Achievements and Problems of Our Novel of Recent Years"]

[Excerpts] This week there was a plenum of the Union of Writers and Artists which analyzed the achievements and problems of our novel since the fourth plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party in 1973 and, especially, during the past 4-5 years.

Despite the achievements, our socialist reality raises many more problems than those which have been treated in our novels and the political, social and moral aspects of some issues of the day have not been treated as they should be. There are shortcomings in the treatment of the class struggle and of defense, in the treatment of moral issues, etc. The characters are pallid; they are not doers and thinkers. The reader knows from the very beginning where the author is going, etc. A number of novels which treat current themes, it was stressed in the plenum, have a relatively low artistic level. They are characterized by descriptivism and absence of the most obvious generalizations and, sometimes, a shallowness in the treatment of life. In certain works, we see a schematic treatment, a defect which is related to a shallow disclosure of conflicts. For example, the novel "Nen harqet e zjarrta" [Under the Burning Arches] by S. Kellici, has a schematic construction and the struggle of the class enemies is not believable. The novel "Taifun ne bregdet" [Typhoon on the Seacoast] gives an inaccurate picture of political situations.

In order to overcome these defects, it was stressed in the plenum, the writers must have a deeper knowledge of modern man with his broad political, social and moral interests. Also, defects in the present-day novel are connected with negligence in publication activities and shortcomings in the field of criticism.

The plenum discussed matters related to a more thorough knowledge of the anti-fascist national liberation war and of the history of the Albanian people and the interpretation of these subjects in the light of modern reality. In the period after the 4th plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party in 1973, novels were published which extol moments of heroism and of the strengthening of the class consciousness in the struggle. The novel of S. Drini "Midis dy koheve" [Between Two Periods] portrays the participation in the struggle of men

of the people, of intellectuals arising from the people, and the conflict with the traitorous clergy.

Despite the achievements, the plenum stressed, there are still shortcomings in the novels dealing with the war, shortcomings related to a superficial attitude toward the facts, a pallid portrayal of some characters, defects in composition, etc.

History has attracted our writers for two main reasons: to gain a better knowledge, through the language of art, of the key moments of our history and to make them relevant to current events. Our novelists have given their attention to various periods of history but the events related to the Albanian League of Prizren and our National Rebirth, in general, have had an important place in their writings. In the novels inspired by this period the struggle of the people against neighboring chauvinists and occupiers is portrayed. Some of the defects which the plenum pointed out in this area are: prolixity, lack of careful selection, shallow interpretation of facts, dry and unemotional narration.

When we speak about our novel, and, especially, about the treatment of national historical subjects, it was stressed in the plenum, we are also thinking about the Albanian novels which are being written in Kosovo as well as those by Albanian authors in Macedonia and Montenegro. At the joint meeting which was held last November in Tirana, in which novelists and critics from Kosovo participated, it was stressed that such writers as H. Sulejmani, N. Rrahmani, R. Kelmendi, M. Isaku and others have created works with progressive and democratic content, because of love for their place of birth and friendship among peoples. After the tragic events in Kosovo the great Serb anti-Albanian chauvinists and their tools have been speaking about a certain "historic romanticism" in the fields of culture, education and art, seeking to take attention away from Albanian history and, especially, to prohibit in Kosovo, through police-like arbitrariness, the treatment of themes from national history. The treatment of historic themes by writers, both here and in Kosovo, has always been based on positions of historic realism and of undeniable truth and chauvinistic or irredentist elements have always been foreign to it.

An important duty and an acute one, the plenum stressed, is the dignified presentation of socialist reality in its various phases, with more concentration on our days. This requires an intensive, day-by-day knowledge of life, which necessitates the raising of the Communist awareness of the writers and the organization of work on the part of the Union and its branches. This obligation is closely connected with the broad culture which the novelist must acquire through a deep knowledge of the materials of the party and the work of Comrade Enver. Now, the participants said, we have works of Comrade Enver such as "Kur lindi Partia" [When the Party Was Born], "Me Stalinin" [With Stalin], "Hrushovianet" [The Khruehchevites], "Shenime per Kinen" [Reflections on China] which, because of their mastery of the presentation of historic facts and real persons, their depth of interpretation, and their expressive language, are a valuable assistance to our writers. The further development of the novel requires a better knowledge of our tradition and of the tradition of the progressive and revolutionary novel in the world.

The plenum stressed that critical works and studies must do more to put the novel on the right road, to thrash out problems and to open up horizons. Often, general articles with little concrete analysis, with an insufficient knowledge of the creativity and theory of the novel, are published. The "N. Frasheri" publishing house, the plenum said, has done a good job in selecting and publishing novels. But it is necessary to improve the quality of the novels and to edit the works better. This requires better cooperation between the Union of Writers and Artists and the publishing house.

CSO: 2100/20

MILITARY USE OF 'COLUMBIA' SPACE SHUTTLE EXAMINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 9, 1981 pp 32-33

[Article by Ivan Portalski: "War and Space"]

[Text] In Answer to a Reader's Suggestions

In a letter to the editors Damyan Barsalov, Civil Defense chief of staff at "Republika" [Republic] NPK [Scientific Production Combine] in Svoge, suggested that we tell on the pages of the magazine about the possibilities which the experiment conducted by the United States with the so-called "Shuttle" creates for military purposes. We are publishing the article, "War and Space," written by our contributor from the Department of GO-OZNNS [Civil Defense-Organization for the Protection of the Population and the National Economy] at "Kl. Okhridski" Sofia University, in which an answer is given to the question that he raised.

In its endeavor to obtain military superiority over the Soviet Union at any price President Reagan's administration is using every possibility regardless of its financial cost or "inhumanity beyond the bounds of morality." After the medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the atomic submarines of the "Trident" class and the neutron bomb the turn of the space "Shuttle" has come. After the successful launching of the first ship in the "Shuttle" program--the "Columbia," the Western press wrote a great deal more about the military possibilities of the ship than about its peaceful use. Even the two astronauts Young and Crippen made a number of statements about the benefit the Pentagon could derive from the shuttle.

What are the military possibilities of the "Shuttle"?

First and foremost, they must be sought in the large payload which the "Shuttle" can lift into orbit around the earth. The "Columbia" has a 28-ton payload, while subsequent shuttles which will be launched in 1983 and 1985 respectively--the "Discovery" and "Atlantis"--will have still greater capabilities in this regard (at least 30 tons). Since the shuttle descends for a landing like an airplane on a complex semiorbital ballistic trajectory, it can carry out a direct air raid over enemy territory. The nuclear warhead of the basic American intercontinential ballistic missile, the "Minuteman-3," consists of three 170-kiloton charges and weighs

100 kilograms together with the homing systems of the individual charges. The nuclear warhead of the ballistic missile, launched by the "Poseidon" atomic submarine and carrying 10 40-kiloton charges, weights the same. Therefore, viewed theoretically, a shuttle can make either 700-800 nuclear strikes, each with a yield of 170 kilotons, or about 2500 40-kiloton strikes. (The calculations allow for the weight of around several hundred kilograms of devices for the launching and initial guidance of the nuclear warheads. For a similar direct air raid by the shuttle the calculations are for nuclear warheads for ballistic missiles rather than air bombs since nuclear ammunition, guided to the target, will move on ballistic trajectories. This being the case, air bombs would burn up while still in the high atmosphere layers.) The calculations that we have made show that even one shuttle alone can cause a veritable rain of nuclear warheads over enemy territory.

In fact, almost all the nuclear warheads for ballistic missiles that the United States now possesses (about 9000) can be launched in a nuclear space attack by three or four shuttles. (The remaining, approximately 2000 items of stratetic nuclear ammunition of the United States are air bombs for "B-52" aircraft.) Moreover, a nuclear strike from space can be made in just a few minutes whereas a similar strike between the continents of Europe and America requires at least 20 minutes. All these facts make "the first strike from space" by several shuttles extremely attractive for imperialism.

But it has a great shortcoming, too, which completely lessens its value as a strategic operation by itself: it is not accurate enough! But making the first strike, which must wipe out the enemy's nuclear forces, requires extreme accuracy. If complex systems to guide the nuclear warheads and computers to monitor their trajectories are mounted on the shuttle, the accuracy of the strike can be significantly improved. But a large part of the payload will be taken away thereby and one shuttle will be able to make no more than a few dozen nuclear strikes, which can have no great strategic significance. Moreover, the first strike with improved accuracy from space will be many times more expensive than an intercontinental first strike or a strike with "Pershing-2" missiles from sites in Western Europe.

More reliance is placed on the shuttle as an effective antimissile weapon. It is assumed that if a device generating a powerful laser beam is mounted on the shuttle, the enemy's ballistic missiles can be intercepted in space and destroyed at long range by laser. From the viewpoint of physics this is possible in principle. In space there is no atmosphere to reduce the thermal effect of the laser beam or to scatter it. But this antimissile technology is effective only if the enemy's ballistic missiles are launched from a single site and the shuttle intercepts them over enemy territory when they are still flying in a "flock." Against hundreds of ballistic missiles launched from many sites, even several shuttles are powerless. And the shuttle, when it becomes a military target, is not at all invulnerable either. One satellite "docking" automatically with it suffices to change the direction of its flight or explode it. Such "docking" operations with cosmic bodies have already been successfully performed many times by the USSR.

For now, American experiments on the destruction of ballistic missiles in flight by a laser beam have ended in failure. The reason, perhaps, lies in the fact that the missiles were "fired on" by laser from aircraft in dense layers of the atmosphere.

In the next few years the anticipated experiments will be conducted in space: a laser-equipped shuttle will intercept "Poseidon" ballistic missles. In the event of a successful outcome, space antimissile technology may be adopted in service at just about the beginning of the next decade. It should be borne in mind that the Soviet Union is also very advanced in the area of laser physics. According to some Western specialists it is even ahead of the United States. Consequently, the laser weapon will by no means remain the monopoly possession of American imperialism if it decides to produce it in order to secure strategic superiority.

At the present moment and in the near future the Pentagon's shuttle will be used solely for the cheaper orbiting of heavy earth satellites. In the next one or two years alone the launching of 12 large spy satellites of the X-11 type is expected. In the more distant future a great range of "psychological warfare" is foreseen. Heavy satellites, orbited by shuttle, will rebroadcast specially prepared programs of American television stations for the population of the socialist countries. There will even be special long broadcasts in the language of the particular country as well as educational programs in English. The aim is "to immerse the socialist states in Anglo-Saxon culture." In fact, this is tantamount to brazen ideological sabotage through the use of new technical means. According to CIA specialists, up till now Voice of America, Freedom and Free Europe broadcasts have not had the expected success because "radio broadcasts do not have a powerful effect on the human senses." Television programs, which are perceived not only aurally but also visually, are a different matter. Broadcasting such a program requires a heavy satellite in low orbit. Such a satellite would gradually enter the dense layers of the atmosphere and burn up after making just a few rounds of the earth. It is anticipated that the heavy satellite will be "pulled up" in higher orbit by shuttle after every few complete rounds and thus be kept constantly in the necessary low orbit. It is perhaps in the area of ideological sabotage that the shuttle will find greatest application because direct aggressive actions out of space are not very effective in a nuclear age.

The new aggressive preparations of American imperialism in space necessitate a careful analysis of their consequences for the civil defense system so as to devise the necessary measures of counteraction in good time. In our opinion there must, first and foremost, be measures to improve the moral, political and psychological training of personnel under the new conditions. Service personnel of the Civil Defense formations and the population must become aware that the American shuttle does not give the United States strategic superiority, but is a new evidence of the policy of stepping up the military preparations of imperialism. And this, accordingly, necessitates intensifying and raising the effectiveness and quality of civil defense training.

6474
CSO: 2200/17

BRIEFS

LUKANOV TO MOSCOW--Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent representative of Bulgaria to CEMA, left for Moscow yesterday where he will attend the 101st session of the CEMA Executive Committee. Comrade Lukanov was seen off at Sofia Airport by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade and by other officials. [Text] [AU181740 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Oct 81 p 2]

ZAREV RETURN FROM MOSCOW--Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, returned from Moscow yesterday. He participated in the work of a scientific-technical conference entitled "New Wasteless Technological Methods in Processing Fruit and Vegetables" which was held in the town of Krasnodar. [Text] [AU181740 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Oct 81 p 2]

ATANASOV ACTIVITIES--Comrade Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, received a working group of the Cuban Communist Party, headed by Comrade Rodobaldo Diaz, deputy chief of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Internal Education Department. The working group from Cuba was briefed on the BCP's experience in ideological-educational work pertaining to implementing the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress. The meeting was attended by Comrade Todor Gancehv, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, and by Anais (Callado), counselor at the Cuban Embassy in Sofia. [Text] [AU181740 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Oct 81 p 2]

TODOROV IN PERNIK--A conference between the Pernik Okrug Party Committee Bureau and the okrug propagandists in connection with opening the new party school year has been held in Pernik. "Stanko Todorov attended the conference and spoke about the great and responsible task facing the propagandists as set by the 12th BCP Congress." [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Oct 81]

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S SEMINAR--Sofia, 15 Oct (BTA)--An international seminar on the theme "the role of women in the development of the industrial branches using traditionally women's labour" opened here today on the initiative of the UNIDO [United Nations Industrial Development Organization] and the Bulgarian Government. The seminar is aimed at making its participants familiar with the socio-economic conditions for active participation of women in the industrial process in Bulgaria. Representatives of 16 developing countries from Asia, Africa and Latin America, of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Organization attended the seminar. [Sofia BTA in English 1355 GMT 15 Oct 81]

CONFERENCE ON PATENT INFORMATION--Sofia, 15 Oct (BTA)--The second session of the Council for International Patent Information of the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance ended here today with the signing of a 1981-1985 cooperation protocol. At the session were reviewed the possibilities for further improvement of the system of collecting, processing and storing patent information and for shortening its path to the customers. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 15 Oct 81]

INTERNATIONAL WASTELESS TECHNOLOGIES CONFERENCE--Sofia, 13 Oct (BTA)--As from today until 16 October Sofia is to host the CEMA member-countries conference on lesser-waste and wasteless technologies in production. In the five sections specialists of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria are to discuss more than 160 papers on the efficient utilization of raw and other materials, energy and fuels in the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical, cellulose and paper industry, the food industry and agriculture. [AU181736 Sofia BTA in English 1346 GMT 12 Oct 81]

INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL CONFERENCE--"Druzhba" Resort, 13 Oct (BTA)--An international sitting of heads of research and development departments with the central committees of the communist and workers' parties of Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the FRG, France, Hungary and Switzerland, began here today. The fruit of the cooperation and joint work of the research and development departments are the already published books "The Unity of the Working Class and the Ideological Struggle" and "Social Policy of the Communist and Worker's Parties in the Socialist Society." Successful work goes on developing the problems "real socialism and criticism of its critics" and "work of the communist and worker's parties of the socialist countries for developing the workers' social activity." In 4 days the participants in the Varna sitting will be discussing the activity of the fraternal research departments on the development of topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory and the parties' history and will outline measures for further expanding of reciprocal cooperation. [Text] [AU181736 Sofia BTA in English 1317 GMT 13 Oct 81]

SOVIET DELEGATION MEETS BALEV--Milko Balev has received the delegation of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office which is visiting the country in connection with the days devoted to LITERATURNAYA GAZETTA in Bulgaria. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and Todor Zhivkov personally, he conveyed greetings to the delegation. Milko Balev also acquainted the guests with the problems which the BCP is resolving in the socioeconomic and cultural sphere, as well as in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. [AU181736 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 81]

ZHIVKOV AWARDS SPANISH POET--Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council conferred here the international Botev's prize to the Spanish poet (Rafael Alberti). (Rafael Alberti) is awarded this high distinction for his revolutionary poetry and political journalism. "In the frightful and glorious years of the epic struggle of the Spanish people you were unconditionally and wholeheartedly on their side, with them. Your verse is incorporated with your life, with your public and political activity, with your struggle, as Botev's used to be," stressed Mr Todor Zhivkov in his speech at the ceremony. Expressing his gratitude for the award which carries the name of one of Bulgaria's greatest

poets and revolutionaries, Mr (Rafael Alberti) said: "I afford myself the pleasure of thanking on behalf of the Spanish people who love poetry very much and who today, after the long and dark years of Franco's dictatorship are fighting staunchly for a new democracy. [Text] [AU231542 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 23 Oct 81]

TALKS HELD WITH AUSTRIAN TRADE UNIONS--A delegation of the Austrian Trade Unions Federation has visited Bulgaria. The delegation was received by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council. During the talks between delegations of the two trade unions, information was exchanged on their activities and readiness was expressed to expand and intensify cooperation. A plan on development of relations for the 1982-83 period was adopted. The two delegations expressed concern about growing international tension and stressed the necessity of devoting efforts to preserve peace and the need to begin disarmament negotiations. [Text] [AU232045 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 23 Oct 81]

CEMA MECHANICAL ENGINEERING SESSION BEGINS--Varna, 16 Oct (BTA)--The 85th jubilee sitting of the CEMA Standing Committee on Mechanical Engineering began today. It is attended by delegations of Bulgaria, the GDR, Vietnam, Cuba, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and of Yugoslavia. In his speech Mr Yordan Tenov, deputy minister of mechanical engineering and electronics, emphasized that over the 25 years which have passed since the setting up of the Standing Committee, Bulgaria's mechanical engineering output has gone up more than 50-fold. From 2.5 percent in 1956 its proportion in Bulgaria's industrial output has reached more than 30 percent. The Bulgarian mechanical engineering is a big manufacturer and exporter of a number of modern machinery and equipment--electric and I.C.E. trucks, electric hoists, machine tools, industrial manipulators and robots, automated storage farms, ships, high-yielding lines and equipment for the food industry, computer equipment and communication means. Today Bulgaria is the world's third and Europe's first in the production and export of electric and I.C.E. trucks. This is the result of the CEMA specialization and the fruitful cooperation with the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. At the sitting the floor was also taken by Mr Tibor Kurtha, chairman of the Standing Committee, first deputy minister of metallrugy and heavy mechanical engineering of Czechoslovakia. He reviewed the 25-year long activity of the committee, and outlined its contribution to building up a modern mechanical engineering industry in the fraternal socialist states. During the 85th sitting to last 5 days matters of the preparations for a techno-scientific cooperation agreement in mechanical engineering will be discussed. [Text] [AU161819 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 16 Oct 81]

TODOROV RECEIVES GDR SINDERMANN--On 21 October Comrade Stanko Todorov met Horst Sindermann, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber and SED Central Committee Politburo member. During the cordial and friendly talk they briefed each other on the tasks solved by the two countries while putting into effect the two parties' decisions. They especially dwelt on the role of the parliaments. While exchanging opinions on the international situation, they paid special attention to Bulgaria's proposal on convening a meeting in Sofia of Balkan states' leaders, at which the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone is to be discussed. [Text] [AU211705 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Oct 81]

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH AUSTRIA--The 12th session of the Joint Bulgarian-Austrian Commission for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation has ended in Sofia. The protocol signed by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and Josef Staribacher, Austrian minister of trade, crafts and industry, provides for further development in implementing concrete projects in the spheres of metallurgy, chemistry, tourism, machine-building, transportation and in certain other spheres of mutual interest. [Text] [AU161840 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 16 Oct 81]

ZHIVKOV SUPPORTS NON-NUCLEAR ZONE--Sofia, 20 Oct (TANJUG)--Bulgarian Communist Party General Secretary and Bulgarian State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has again supported the idea on turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and proposed that a meeting of the heads of the Balkan states devoted to this question be held next year. Zhivkov stated the above speaking at the celebration of "1,300 years of the founding of the Bulgarian state." He also repeated the well-known stands on Bulgaria's readiness to sign with its neighbours "bilateral agreements, including a code on good neighbour relations and the renunciation of territorial claims." However, glorifying "1,300 years of the Bulgarian state," Zhivkov cited Amony "the great ideologues and leaders of the Bulgarian national democratic revolution" also the great figures of the national history of the Macedonian nation Goce Delcev and Jane Sandanski. Zhivkov did so despite having criticized earlier in his those [as received] "Who Appropriate the Merits and History of Others." [Text] [LD201928 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 20 Oct 81]

MALTA CULTURE MINISTER RECEIVED--Sofia, 21 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria, received Mrs Agatha Barbara, minister of culture, leabour and social welfare of the Republic of Malta. They discussed the further activation of bilateral relations. [Text] [AU212008 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 21 Oct 81]

CSO: 2200/20

SIGNIFICANCE OF CZECH UNDERGROUND MAGAZINE EXPLAINED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 13 Oct 81 p 7

[Article by Ota Filip: "There Is Still Hope for Self-Liberation--Pavel Tigrid's Magazine SVEDECTVI Penetrates the Iron Curtain"]

[Text] His magazine is 25 years old and he has been in exile for 40 years: In 1939 the Czech Pavel Tigrid escaped Hitler from Prague, went to England and worked there on the BBC's Czech broadcasts. Returning to Prague in 1945, he edited the magazine OBZORY (Horizons), becoming during the next 3 years, until the communist coup of February 1948, a target of pro-Moscow propaganda. By March, 1948 Tigrid was fleeing again. In Munich he became one of the cofounders of Radio Free Europe; he was its first Czech director. In the balmy weather of a beautiful spring day in New York in 1956, Tigrid had an idea which would change his life and which would become a factor in influencing thought in his homeland. Pavel Tigrid decided to produce a Czech magazine for exiles. To begin with, he only had a name for it: it was to be called SVEDECTVI (Testimony).

Time, the political climate and prognosis appeared to augur well for SVEDECTVI. In Moscow, Khrushchev had taken Stalin off his pedestal in 1956; in the West there was talk of a thaw in the East. "Coexistence" was in the air, decorated by the Soviets with the hopeful sounding adjective "peaceful." But just as the first issue of SVEDECTVI was about to appear in 1956, fate dealt a cruel blow to its editor and to his concept of gradualism, i.e., the gradual transmission of news to the citizens of Czechoslovakia. Soviet tanks crushed Budapest, and in Warsaw the comrades barely succeeded in controlling the rebellious Poles. Tigrid's hopes for self-liberating forces, by which he understood not only the members of the opposition, but also the reform-minded and disappointed Marxists within the tottering communist parties, appeared doomed to failure during the chilly fall of 1956.

Homeland and Exile

SVEDECTVI printed a great number of letters from emigrants who were outraged at Tigrid's gradualism and his theory of support for self-liberating forces and who denounced the editor for aiding the communists' deceptive maneuvering with peaceful coexistence. The aging politicans in exile could visualize only one solution: a war between East and West. Already in its second issue published in Paris, the exile magazine SVEDECTVI was in danger of becoming a stage for waging a further limited war among emigrants which, playing to an empty house, would result only in the bitterness and insurmountable enmity which plague any ghetto of exiles.

Pavel Tigrid recognized this danger; he started to print contributions by renowned exiled Czech authors and translated writings by Milovan Djilas, Marek Hlasko, Mrozek's satires, Boris Pasternak and Andrey Sinyavski, who at that time was writing in Moscow under the pseudonym Abram Tertz. SVEDECTVI disavowed some of the Czechoslovak legends of the 1918-1948 period and paid detailed and critical attention to the first Czech literary works which at the end of the 1950's started to break their ideological chains.

In the double issue 3-4, Pavel Tigrid still belabored this question: do the people back home understand us, the emigrants? What do they expect from us? While the exile can provide many answers to this question, few of them are generally satisfying. But already in the next issue Tigrid's question received an answer from Prague--the first contribution to the Paris exile magazine from the homeland. A certain XY called desparately for contacts with the West, for news and exchanges of ideas. Subsequent issues of the magazine, which had been smuggled into Czechoslovakia since 1956, provided the anonymous author with the desired news about the Harich case in the GDR, about workers' councils in Yugoslavia and about the crisis between Moscow and Peking.

Pavel Tigrid's great breakthrough occurred in issue No 14 in 1961. That was when SVEDECTVI published the first major analytical article by an anonymous author in Brno. The "man from Brno" described the crisis into which the Czechoslovak communist party was sinking; he analyzed the country's economic and intellectual situation, and through his contribution attracted other authors who subsequently wrote for SVEDECTVI regularly from Prague. With this issue SVEDECTVI reached a milestone; it started a dialogue among the homeland's intellectuals, the West and the emigrants which until then had failed due to numerous misunderstandings.

In issue No 20 (1963) Pavel Tigrid published his excellently written fictitious interview with critical voices and thinkers from Czechoslovakia. All those who 5 years later would become leading figures of the "Prague spring" were his conversational partners: Ladislav Mnacko, Jan Trefulka, Vladimir Blazek, Milan Kundera, Eduard Goldstuecker, Karel Kosik and others. In 1965 Raymond Aaron wrote his article about the end of the ideology; it led to many exciting and fruitful discussions in Czechoslovakia. A party functionary from Ostrava wrote for SVEDECTVI an article about antisemitism in a socialist country. In Prague a group of young intellectuals wrote for SVEDECTVI under the pseudonym "Sirius" the best series of contributions to date, consisting of reports, commentaries, and satire from an absurd world in which an obsolete ideology fights for its survival but still musters the strength to jail a few anonymous contributors to an exile magazine. Jans Benes, a member of the "Sirius" group, was sentenced to 3 years in jail; Pavel Tigrid, in absentia, to 14 years at hard labor. Since the middle of the 1960's SVEDECTVI and its editor have been haunting the comrades in Prague. The apparatchiks have realized and understood that for them SVEDECTVI constitutes an opponent with whom neither they nor their propagandists can come to grips. SVEDECTVI was promptly designated as a center of enemy propaganda, and its editor is considered an agent of Western imperialism.

Today, in the 25th year of its existence, SVEDECTVI has nearly 5,000 paying readers throughout the world. A few hundred copies of each issue are smuggled into Czechoslovakia where they are read, passed on and copied. SVEDECTVI leans neither to the right nor to the left. Since the beginning, its editor observes one firm rule: we print anything that makes sense.

Young People Ask To Be Heard

In today's situation, unlike during the post-1956 thaw and even more unlike during the 1960's, SVEDECTVI again faces certain difficulties. Within the sanitized party there are no would-be reformers left; only apparatchiks who conform entirely to real socialism. There is no prospect of any self-liberating movements inside Czechoslovakia. Some of the exile magazine's contributors are jailed in Prague, awaiting their trials; others no longer dare to write for SVEDECTVI using their real names; many have fallen silent. However, during the past two years some mostly young people are heard from in SVEDECTVI who see in this magazine a great hope for the future--an opportunity to publish in the free West, which would open to them a gate to the wide world and at the same time to the reader inside Czechoslovakia. To be published in SVEDECTVI means to the young writer from the literary and semi-underground an honor and a reward.

A few days ago Pavel Tigrid wrote to me: "I have tried in SVEDECTVI to interpret for our readers in Czechoslovakia the Western European developments of the last 25 years. Between 1956 and 1968 I also counted upon the reform communists as one of the many forces which might be able to loosen Eastern stagnation and to make things move again. They were unable to do so and have thereby proven that there is no way of reforming the Soviet system; it is impossible to either improve or humanize communism. However, what we are today seeing in Poland is convinding proof that within the so-called peoples' democracies there are indeed self-liberating forces. In Czechoslovakia they are still silent. That is why SVEDECTVI considers it important to further stimulate the necessary dialogue between the Czechoslovak citizen and the West and to impart self-confidence to our people."

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CSO: 8020/151

BRIEFS

GAS MASKS STRESSED IN UNION TRAINING--The military training was conducted by the labor union near the town of Stupava in four age categories: Category A, women 18-30 years old, B, over 30 years; Category A men 18-36, category B, over 36 years. Individual disciplines were: patrol competition, firing small caliber weapons, grenade throwing, overcoming a water obstacle course on a rope, and overcoming a "contaminated area" carrying an injured person. All participants were required to have gas masks or face disqualification. The claimed purpose was not so much to win the competition as to participate. [Summary] [Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 16 Oct 81 p 8]

CSO: 2400/45

SOVIETS BLAME SOLIDARITY FOR POLISH COAL SHORTAGE

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 42, Oct 81 p 20

/Article by commentator B. Rachkov: "The Coal Industry of the Polish People's Republic"/

/Text/ The Polish press has been writing with greater and greater alarm about the deteriorating situation in the coal industry of the country. According to the data of the Polish Main Statistical Administration, during January-August 1981 the mining of hard coal in Poland as compared with the same period last year declined by 21.4 percent. This is nearly 40 million tons a year. Great harm is thereby being done to the national fuel and power supply, in which coal accounts for about 80 percent. The export revenues of Poland, which are 15-16 percent dependent on coal, are suffering serious losses.

Meanwhile up to the middle of last year the coal industry was one of the most dynamic sectors of the Polish economy. Poland has abundant deposits of hard coal. Its proven and considered reserves are calculated by Polish specialists at 60 billion tons, while the potential reserves are calculated at approximately 135 billion tons, which exceeds by approximately 600- to 700-fold the average annual coal production in the country.

During the years of popular power in the Polish People's Republic about 20 new large mines have been built. Bourgeois Poland was able to mine in 1938 only 31 million tons of hard coal. Socialist Poland in 1960 was already producing 104 million tons of it, in 1970--140 million tons and in 1979--201 million tons. The development of a new large deposit of hard coal in the Lublin region was begun.

People's Poland was transformed into a major supplier of hard coal on the foreign market. In the middle of the past decade the annual exports of Polish coal to more than 30 states of Europe and Asia exceeded 40 million tons, the exports to capitalist countries amounted to 25-26 million tons. The Polish People's Republic held fourth place in the world in coal production and second place in its export.

The rapid growth of the coal industry, as well as the depletion of the most accessible and developed coal deposits and the complication of the conditions of its mining placed on the agenda for the Polish People's Republic a number of important tasks on the accelerated retooling of the sector and the modernization of the means of transporting coal. The tasks of training new mining personnel and of improving housing, social and personal conditions for the miners and their families also became urgent.

The accomplishment of these and other tasks, however, was greatly complicated by the stepping up of the activity of the extremist forces in the Solidarity trade union association. At first the bosses of the new trade union association pretended that they were willing to elaborate constructively with government organs practical measures on the efficient development of the coal industry, the organization of production and the improvement of the working and living conditions of the miners. However, for each constructive proposal of the authorities the extremists of Solidarity advanced a large number of their own demands, while worrying only about gaining for themselves cheap popularity among the miners and refusing at the same time to take any part in the accomplishment of the vital tasks of the sector. As the main means of "bringing pressure to bear on the administration" they chose the provocation of strikes and various "acts of disobedience." The miners who wished to continue to work honestly were subjected to genuine persecution, they were not admitted to the stope, electric power was cut off to the mines, the system for feeding air to the longwall was put out of action.

The subversive actions of the leaders of the trade union association, having caused the disorganization of production and the decline of labor discipline, immediately brought about a decline of coal production. The introduction of shorter working hours in the mines without advanced preparation adversely affected it. Moreover, while seeking to achieve this, the leadership of Solidarity promised the government its assistance in simultaneously increasing labor productivity and thereby offsetting the decline of coal production. In practice the leaders of Solidarity did practically nothing to fulfill this promise. Their very promise now looks like an insiduous move aimed at the undermining of one of the foundations of the socialist economy of Poland.

Today, as the Polish press reports, even the level of production of hard coal, which was considered the minimum permissible level given the present economic difficulties of the country, is also falling 4-5 million tons short of being met. Such a shortfall, according to the estimates of Polish economists, entails the need to further reduce the output of rolled metal products by 600,000 tons, motor vehicles and buses by nearly 35,000, refrigerators by 100,000 and washing machines by 60,000. The production of railroad cars, sea-going ships, as well as cement, which in turn will reduce housing construction, is decreasing.

"Behind all this," the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU elaborates, "looms the dismissal of 150,000 workers." Thus, the demagogic concern of the bosses of Solidarity about the interests of the Polish working class in practice is turning into unemployment for it.

The sharp decline in the exports of coal have restricted significantly the opportunities of the country for making purchases abroad of vitally important goods, including goods for meeting the demands of the population. As the foreign trade statistics of the Polish People's Republic attest, the deliveries of hard coal from Poland this year will be at the level of 16 million tons as against 41 million tons in 1979. As a result of the decrease of the foreign currency receipts, which has been caused by this, the country will receive this year imported goods worth more than 30 billion rubles less than in 1979. Assemblies and parts, which are greatly needed by various sectors of industry, will also not be purchased. The foreign debt of the Polish People's Republic is increasing.

The coal shortage is arousing serious anxiety in Poland due to the approaching winter. The press reports that the existing stocks of coal at heat and electric power stations are critically low and rigorous steps to restrict their use are required into order to provide a normal supply of heat if only to apartment houses, schools, hospitals and vitally important national economic facilities.

The Solidarity leaders, in attempting in some way to disguise their responsibility for the disastrous decline of deliveries of hard coal to the country, have turned to undisguised forgery. One of the Solidarity leaders declared from the rostrum of a Gdansk gathering that Poland is being deprived of a significant portion of the coal it needs, by increasing its exports to the Soviet Union; even data, according to which the plan of exports of Polish coal to the USSR has been exceeded this year as compared with last year by 27 percent, were cited.

However, the real facts attest otherwise. Already in 1980 instead of the 9.5 million tons of coal called for by contract, Poland delivered 6.2 million tons to the Soviet Union. For 1981, at the request of the Polish side, the contractual obligations of Poland were reduced to 5.5 million tons, but from month to month even this condition is not being met. On its part the USSR is meeting punctually all the obligations on the exportation to Poland of a considerable amount of petroleum, petroleum products, natural gas and electric power.

The Solidarity leaders think highly of the fact that several months ago they appealed to the workers, including the miners, to work on eight free Saturdays until the end of the year. However, this "patriotic gesture" turned into another example of the demagogy and adventurism of the newly appeared trade union leaders. To say nothing of the fact that all the Saturdays of the year would not offset the enormous damage which more than 120 strikes, which were provoked by extremists, have done, the mining of coal on days off, as the Polish press reports, due to the lack of the proper organization of production and labor decreases to one-third as compared with ordinary workdays. Work itself on Saturdays is specified by a number of requirements and conditions, which contradict the principles of the socialist state, including the demand that the output obtained on such Saturdays should be distributed only at the discretion of the leaders of Solidarity, bypassing the state organs of supply. At the same time the leadership of the trade union association continues to hinder the implementation of state measures on the recovery of the coal industry.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, which was held in July 1981, specified the increase of coal production as one of the main practical tasks in the economic policy of the party. In this connection the government has prepared a specific program which provides for practical measures on the increase of coal production in 1982 to at least 175 million tons, the saving of energy resources in the country in the amount of 2.5 million tons of conventional fuel, the allocation of additional assets for exports, the efficient consumption of coal during the coming winter, as well as the further improvement of the social and living conditions of the miners.

And what of it? Extremists from Solidarity are purposely organizing the sabotage of the most important government program. The aspiration to hinder the efforts of the national authorities to revive the coal industry is easily divined in the tactics of sabotage.

The blocking by Solidarity of the new initiatives of the government of the Polish People's Republic, the Polish economic weekly ZYCZE GOSPODARCZE writes, "is merely an example of the method being used extensively by some trade union figures in the economic field. It is the method of the continuous repudiation of a large portion of the changes proposed by the administration and of the simultaneous heaping upon it of the responsibility for the fact that the situation in the economy is not improving. By this method they want to bring the government, and with it all the people, to its knees."

The heads of the trade union association have also made the coal industry one of the main targets of their subversive activity because it is a question of the most important economic region of the country--Silesia--where a significant portion of the Polish working class is concentrated. Moreover, the leaders of Solidarity are deliberately linking the struggle over the question of coal, which affects the vital interests of every Polish family and every person, with all their reforms on the reorganization of the management of the economy, which have as a goal the dismantling of socialism in the Polish People's Republic.

In exposing the trade union adventurists, the weekly ZECZYWISTOSC, the publications of which are distinguished by a thorough understanding of the present problems of the country, is appealing to the workers of Poland to say absolutely "No" to strikes, provocations, gambles and anarchy. Now is the right time, the weekly emphasizes, to mobilize all the forces which the state has in order to curb both undisguised and creeping counterrevolution.

7807
CSO: 1825/9

TEODOR MARINESCU ADDRESSES UN DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE

AU222041 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 22 Oct 81

[Text] United Nations, 22 Oct (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor within the Political and Security Committee of the UN General Assembly, the Romanian permanent representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Teodor Marinescu, presented the principled consistent stand of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the imperatives of immediately passing to effective disarmament negotiations, of nuclear disarmament first of all if there is a real wish to defend peace, to see stability and confidence prevail worldwide. In the light of this constant stand--the speaker said--Romania believes there is no more urgent task for the United Nations than taking most vigorous action in view of implementing disarmament, of eliminating for good the policy of force and threat of force.

The international community is rightly disappointed by the sterility of the negotiations conducted in recent years in point of disarmament, that resulted in the adoption of resolutions, reports and recommendations--the Romanian representative went on, noting that at the same time the arms race, far from slowing down, was given fresh, strong impetus.

Then he presented Romania's considerations in relation to the actions to be taken for ensuring success to the special session. First, the states, the heavily armed ones in the first place, should take no measures on the line of increasing arming or in other fields apt to further worsen the international situation. Second, the decision-making and negotiating bodies within the UN system--the Geneva Disarmament Committee first of all, incumbent on which is, among other things, the working out of a global disarmament programme, and the Disarmament Commission should intensify proceedings in view of reaching tangible results and substantive reports to be examined and endoresed by the special session [as received]. Third, the Preparatory Committee of the special session, that adopted the provisional agenda and discussed most of the organizational problems, should focus attention on substantive problems at the next session.

Next the speaker referred extensively to Romania's conception on the absolute priority of nuclear disarmament. The dangers generated by the nuclear weapons--the Romanian representative said--are even greater today, given the development in quantity and quality of arsenals and the emergence of strategic theories that tend to accredit the unconceivable idea that a limited nuclear war is possible to be fought.

Then criticised was the activity of the Geneva Disarmament Committee. Its failure to initiate concrete negotiations for banning the production of nuclear weapons, for reducing the existing stockpiles down to their complete elimination as well as for banning the nuclear tests, the lack of results in the negotiations for singling out guarantees for the states that have no atomic weapons are not only reasons of dissatisfaction but also of growing concern, the speaker said. Romania considers that the true test of the activity carried out by the Disarmament Committee will be the ways of scoring concrete results in the nuclear field.

Showing Romania to view as grounded and just the proposal tabled by the Soviet Union according to which the first to use nuclear weapon should be declared criminals, the Romanian ambassador stressed that alongside the absolute priority attached to nuclear disarmament, Romania also supports the adoption of measures aiming at the banning of the chemical, radiological as well as of other types of mass destruction weapons and systems of weapons.

Pointing out that the volume reached by the military spending is an unbearable burden for all the peoples, a major obstacle to the economic and social progress, the speaker insisted on the importance of adopting, at the present session, an agreement of freezing the military spending at the level of 1981, and referred to the working document tabled together by the delegations of Romania and Sweden, on the principles that should govern the reduction of the military budgets. The Romanian delegation reasserts its conviction--the Romanian ambassador said--that the adoption of these principles under the form of a declaration of the second UN special session on disarmament, would be an important contribution made by the United Nations to the halting of this dangerous escalation of the military spending.

Next he presented Romania's stand on the problem of security and cooperation in Europe, the continent where the strongest conventional and nuclear arsenals have been accumulated, and laid stress on the importance of the General Assembly's declaring against the siting and development of fresh middle-range nuclear rockets in Europe, for the soonest initiation of concrete negotiations conducive to the elimination of these rockets, of all nuclear weapons in general from this geographical zone. The conclusion in positive results of the Madrid conference and first of all the adoption of a decision regarding the calling of a conference on strengthened confidence and disarmament in Europe would bear positive consequences on the entire political climate of the world.

Concluding his address the Romanian representative highlighted the role incumbent on the UN as concerns informing the public opinion of the development and results of the disarmament negotiations, in order to contribute to an ever more intense mobilization of the masses of people.

CSO: 2020/8

'PROVINCIAL MENTALITY' OF LITERARY CRITIC DEPLORED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by M. Costea: "A 'Provincial' Mentality"]

[Text] There are noble obsessions, with a high moral significance, and obsessions which conceal a disputable moral and intellectual condition. Usually the latter are carefully monitored and one keeps silent in regard to them. Virgil Podoaba (FAMILIA, [Oradea] No 9, 1981) thinks otherwise and does not hesitate to reveal "with sincerity" an obsession, which appears to be literary, showing himself to be intensely concerned with the matter of "vacant places" in the republic of letters! A well-equipped "chief of personnel," engaged in studying the matter of succession in the literary hierarchy, emerges from under the mantle of the reviewer. Praising the development of an esteemed contemporary writer of prose, this is what the reviewer writes: "Now, after the death of Marin Preda, he seems to be obliged to become more than a reference writer: a living benchmark" and, as a result, "the replacement of the great late writer [Preda] might be concealed in this writer."

Let us not even mention the verbal bouquet, which is offensive to any real writer who can have only contempt for such inopportune kowtowing. But let us look at the sad "provincial mentality" which continues to look at the republic of letters through administrative glasses, as well as the anachronism (and impropriety) of the idea that literary values "replace" each other. Who has taken the place of Tudor Vianu? Who has replaced Calinescu? Or Sadoveanu? These are questions which such an erroneous concept can give rise to and foster. Just as if literature were a street car; one person gets off and another takes his seat! Just like any restricted concept, the mentality of the vacant place" in the field of values is harmful in essence. It infringes upon the statute of values, it replaces true criteria for judgment and it can create confusions and disturbances in the literary climate where no real value can replace another.

CSO: 2700/47

FRENCH SOCIALIST LEADER MEETS DASCALESCU

AU242053 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 24 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, who is participating in the proceedings of the congress of the French Socialist Party [PSF], met with PSF first secretary Lionel Jospin. On this occasion, the guest extended warm friendly greetings and best wishes for Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The guest also extended warm greetings to PSF first secretary Lionel Jospin on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as wishes for full success to the congress proceeedings.

Expressing heartfelt gratitude for the friendly greetings and wishes conveyed, Comrade Lionel Jospin asked the guest to extend to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu cordial greetings, most heartfelt sentiments of regard and wishes for much health. The PSF first secretary recalled with particular satisfaction his recent visit to Romania and the meetings and fruitful talks with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the meeting, the sides briefed each other on the current concerns of the two parties and on certain international issues. They emphasized the joint desire to act to strengthen and expand relations between RCP and the PSF and to develop friendship and comprehensive cooperation between Romania and France, in accordance with the interests of the two peoples and to the benefit of the cause of national independence, peace and security in Europe and the world, international cooperation and social progress.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of warm friendship.

CSO: 2700/53

BRIEFS

VERDET RECEIVES U.S. AMBASSADOR--Bucharest, 22 Oct (AGERPRES)--On Thursday, 22 October, Ilie Verdet, Romanian prime minister, received David B. Funderburk, ambassador of the United States of America, on a formal presentation call. The talk conducted on the occasion passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU222032 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1914 GMT 22 Oct 81]

SPANISH, SWISS, NIGERIAN ENVOYS--Bucharest, 21 Oct (AGERPRES)--On Wednesday, 21 October, Ilie Verdet, Romanian prime minister, received successively Ambassadors Jose Maria Alverez de Sotomayer y Castro of Spain, Francis Pianca of the Swiss Confederation, Abdul Kadir Dafu a Gadau of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on formal presentation calls. The talks conducted on the occasion passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU212044 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 21 Oct 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES DPRK JOURNALIST -Bucharest, 19 Oct (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, received on 19 October (Chaehwjun Byond), editor-in-chief of MINJU CHOSON newspaper of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea now visiting Romania. The good relations of friendship and collaboration established between the two parties, countries and peoples were highlighted during the interview, the role being stressed the meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song played in the steady development and diversification of those relations. The conviction was also expressed that the Romanian-Korean relations would further develop on multiple planes for the benefit of both countries and peoples, in the interests of socialist construction in the two countries, of the cause of socialism throughout the world. The interview passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship. [Text] [AU192030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 19 Oct 81]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES IRAQI AMBASSADOR--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Diyab Muhammad al-Alqawi, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to Bucharest, at the latter's request. On this occasion the ambassador extended a message to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of Saddam Hysayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, as well as warmest wishes for personal health and happiness and wishes for the friendly Romanian people's propserity and progress. Thanking the ambasador, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in turn extended to the president of the Republic of Iraq warm greetings and wishes for health and success, as well as wishes for the friendly Iraqi people's prosperity and well-being. The sides had a talk which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU221743 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 22 Oct 81]

ALLEGATION OF SWINDLE IN BRASOV PLANT--At the end of July 1981 a swindle amounting to more than 5 million lei was uncovered in the "Steagul Rosu" factory in Brasov. The Romanian press has not said a word about this. Eight persons--Romanian party officials from Brasov--were involved and arrested. The affair was discovered a while back but on orders from the party it was hushed up. The swindle became known because of the fact that an identical scandal, closely connected with the one in Brasov, occurred in Yugoslavia. Here are the details: the "Steagul Rosu" truck factory in Brasov has a soccer team which is named after the factory and which, up to now, has been in Division B. For 2 years, the bonuses which were due the workers were used for buying better players, for bribing referees, journalists or reporters who would facilitate the advancement of the team into Division A. High functionaries of the enterprise manipulated and diverted these funds, with the aid of the Brasov officials and the economic section. For 2 years, more than 1,000 workers were robbed of the bonuses due to them. After the discovery of the affair in Yugoslavia--from which a player was transferred to Brasov in exchange for large sums of money--the Romanian authorities were forced to order an investigation and proceed to the arrests, when the facts had been hushed up by the party and the judicial organs in January 1981. In addition to its dubious aspect, the incident illustrates, as well as possible, the meaning of "amateur" sports--the only type of sports recognized in Romania. [Text] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 16 Oct 81 p 1]

CSO: 2700/59

MACEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH ELECTS NEW HEAD

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Aug 81 SABOTA supplement p 3

[Article by Pande Kolemisevski]

[Text] What were the results of the election of a new Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia? Who is His Grace Angelarij, and what tasks did he stress in his initial policy address?

On the second and third days of this week, the Macedonian Orthodox Church was alive with interest, not only among the clergy and believers, but also among the general public. The election of a new leader, the second since the Macedonian Orthodox Church renewed autocephaly in 1967, provoked, as widely expected, a high level of interest and agitation, primarily in church circles. That is certainly understandable when we realize that the leader, who bears the title Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia, represents the church's highest authority and bears great responsibility for the position, significance and role of the church, both within the scope of its activities and in relations with the social community.

Two other factors bring further interest. The first is the work of the recently deceased, first leader, Archbishop Dositej, whose contributions to restoring the autocephaly, renewing churches and monasteries, expanding and developing theological institutions of higher learning, as well as developing and preserving very good relations with the state, will doubtless form an important page in the history of the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

The second factor is uncertainty. According to the constitution of the Macedonia Orthodox Church, the archbishop is to be elected by secret ballot, and at least three active bishops must be in the "competition." And the uncertainty was truly great until the last moment.

The Candidates

According to church sources, which insist when contacted that they are not the most official, the three candidates on the ballot this time were Petar, Metropolitan of Prespansko and Bitola, Gavril, Metropolitan of the trans-Vardar region, and Angelarij, Metropolitan of the Debar and Kicevski region. In their biographies, all three have characteristics by which they might deserve to head the Church, but also certain elements that in particular circumstances might be regarded as limitations.

Some say that Petar, Metropolitan of Prespansko and Bitola, has been the "Wunderkind" in the recent history of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. As a boy in Bogomil (where his secular name was Cvetan Karevski) he became an affirmed church member very quickly and gained great sympathy among the priests and believers who knew him. He graduated from two faculties, of theology and of law (the present writer will refrain from writing on the second, since that fact cannot be checked with great certainty). He is about to defend his master's thesis at the Gregorian University in Rome. Here are two more, not completely verified contributions to the summary of his higher education: he knows several languages, and some time ago he translated the Bible into the Macedonian literary language. He is 35 years of age, of medium height and with a face that shows unusual intelligence. What he lacks is experience as a bishop. He was appointed metropolitan of Prespansko and Bitola, with his see in Bitola.

As Metropolitan of the trans-Vardar region and administrator of the Prespansko-Bitola see, Gavril is 70 years old. He completed the Philosophical Faculty in Belgrade, and studied theology in Skopje. He worked as a secondary school professor in Titov Veles, and many of his students regard him to be a rare authority on classical Russian and pre-war Yugoslav literatures. As a fine scholar of the Macedonian literary language, he is well known by many readers, particularly since that time when, under his secular name Djordji Milosevski, he worked as one of the editors of PROSVETNO DELO. He was also the first dean of the newly established theological school of Skopje. His experience as a bishop, however, is also rather brief, beginning in 1978.

Who is Angelarij?

The Metropolitan of Debar and Kicevski, now His Grace the Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia, Angelarij, was born in the village of Dolneni, Prilep region on 4 April 1911 into a priest's family, with the secular name of Cvetko Krstevski. In 1926, he entered the five-year theological seminary in Bitola, and completed it with excellent results. After the country's liberation, he attended the Philosophical Faculty in Skopje with a major in history. In 1932 he was first ordained as a deacon, and immediately thereafter, as a priest in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Bitola. Later he was the parish priest at the Garska parish and in a parish in Prilep. The biographical data that were distributed to reporters a few hours after his election show that during the war of national liberation, together with his family he was an active helper of the national liberation army and of the Macedonian partisan detachments. Immediately after liberation he became president of the Prilep clerical council, and a member of the initiative council for organizing the Macedonian Orthodox Church. For 6 years he was president of the republic clerical association, and for 3 years the parish priest in the first Macedonian church congregation in Melbourne.

He became a monk in 1972, after the death of his spouse. In 1975, he was elected by the Holy Synod of Bishops to be bishop of Pelagonski see, and in 1977, to be Metropolitan of the Debar-Kicevski see, with his seat in Ohrid. He has received many distinctions for his activities, including the highest priestly distinction of archpriest Stavrophorus. Among other distinctions the data stress his decoration by the President of the Republic, the order of brotherhood and unity of the second order, presented to him in 1959. It can be seen that Angelarij (the name of one of the students of Kiliment and Naum) has a rich biography and much experience in leading church affairs.

The liturgy at the installation: Metroplitians Petar, Kiril, Archbishop Angelarij, and Metropolitan Gavril (from left to right)

Uncertainty to the End

As we said earlier, the election of the new leader, held at the nine-century old church of Saint Sophia in Ohrid, was accompanied by a dramatic uncertainty. A further proof of this assertion is found in the picture of Angelarij, not hiding his emotion after the white monk's cap with the diamond cross was placed on his head, turning to the members of the elective Archbishop's Church and National Council who had just congratulated him on his election, and saying: "Dear brothers, I am truly moved, I don't know what to say to you, I ask you for a little time."

The new leader received a majority of votes on the very first ballot. In Ohrid one hears that the result was very close, with Metropolitan Petar of Prespansko and Bitola falling just six votes short. The voting was secret and no one was present who was not a member of the archbishop's electoral council. It should also be said that the three candidates were placed on the ballot after the required consultations both within the church and outside it.

The Tasks of the Leader

In the short speech which he gave right after the election and in his installation speech at the installation and oath ceremony in the church of St. Kilment, His Grace Angelarij, Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia, made special note of two tasks that he regards as the main ones before him. One of these is the future spiritual activity of the church, and the other is the continuation of cooperation and understanding between the church and the Macedonian socialist self-management society.

Stressing that he himself "would serve with a pure heart, clear conscience and an honest faith," Archbishop Angelarij stressed the need for progress and improvement in educational activity and expansion of the publishing of church materials. These improvements would enrich the believers' knowledge of their ancestors' faith. Next he stressed the need for preserving the church, national and cultural heritage that is related to the church, and the responsibility for building new houses of worship. In the latter he attributed special significance to completing the monumental cathedral in Skopje. His Grace Angelarij said: "As an archbishop of universal orthodoxy, my first priority will always and in every way be to strive to build warm relations with all sister orthodox churches. We will continue to cooperate with the Roman Catholic church and the protestant churches, with which we have had warm relations up until now. We will also preserve our friendly relations with other religious communities for the good of our peoples."

Archbishop Angelarij devoted a special part of his address to the activities of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in transoceanic and European countries. As we know, good results have been achieved in that area.

To conclude this part, he said that the Macedonian Orthodox Church has more than 500 churches and monasteries, of which the greater part have been built or restored since the liberation. It also has 240 priests. There are more than 30 church congregations abroad (in the United States, Canada and Australia), one monastery in Australian and one being built in New Jersey in the United States, one church congregation each in Malmo and Gothaborg, Sweden, and more than 20 priests.

Relations Between the Church and the State

The patron seat of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is Saint Kliment of Ohrid, a church that has the veneration that the Pec patriarchate has for the Serbian Orthodox Church.

From the throne of the Ohrid archbishops, Angelarij also expressed his hopes and striving for the realization of the high ideals of the Macedonian people for the flourishing and comprehensive progress of their fatherland, for peace among peoples and nationalities, for the preservation of brotherhood and unity among our peoples, and for peace in the world. In that regard, he touched on the question of relations between church and society in his opening policy statement.

In presenting the church's position on relations with society, Archbishop Angelarij asserted that so far there has been a great deal of understanding between the church and the socialist self-management society, particuarly in resolving vital church problems. He repeated this in a toast at the ceremonial luncheon that was arranged for members of the elective archbishop's church and national council, and for the honored guests of the event.

The good development of relations between the society and the church were also confirmed by the noteworthy congratulatory speech given by Professor Djordji Caca at the installation of the new church leader. Dr Caca is president of the Republic Commission for Relations with Religious Communities.

In devoting part of his congratulatory speech to the question of the recognition of the autocephaly of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, Djordji Caca asserted that this church, through its clergy and all orthodox believers, had shown its canonical and spiritual, national and political basis and the justification for its existence as an autocephalous church. He stressed that it is right to expect in the near future that that status will be formally recognized by other churches in Yugoslavia and throughout the world.

Here we would present some data that are more or less known to the readers. The Macedonian Orthodox Church was organized at the time of the historical tsardom of Samoilo. It lost its independent status in 1767, at the time when the Ottoman empire ruled Macedonia. In 1920, the Macedonian Orthodox Church was joined to its "sister" Serbian Orthodox Church; in 1958-1969 it recovered its independence. The autocephaly was restored on 17-18 July 1967, but so far it has not been recognized by several churches, including the Serbian church.

In ancient Ohrid, in that Macedonian and Slavic Jerusalem, as it has often been called by church people, one more act has been played out in the history of the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

His Grace Archbishop Angelarij

12131
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WESTERN COMMENT ON PROPOSED DEFENSE LAW

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 23 Oct 81 p 5

[The author discusses proposed legislation designed to reorganize Yugoslavia's defense structure.]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct--When Yugoslavia's dictator, Tito, died in May 1980 and the state and party presidium assumed leadership as two collectives, the question of Tito's successor as commander-in-chief of the armed forces was supposed to be settled. Officially the stereotyped answer was, "There is nothing to settle, his powers automatically shift to the state presidium." In December of last year, a terse, little-noted article in the party newspaper BORBA reported on a bill to define the powers of the state presidium in the event of war. This bill was submitted to the Yugoslav parliament a few days ago.

The information being published by the newspapers about the new bill is not clear. They indicate that one of the most important innovations would affect the "functional relationships between territorial defense and social self-protection, the role of the Federation of Communists and other social organizations, and the integration of both defense systems in the social order." (According to official figures the regular Yugoslav army numbers about 250,000 men while for territorial defense almost 2.5 million citizens have been recruited.)

It is assumed that the proposed law is designed above all to improve cooperation among all security organizations of the country, this means mainly "social self-protection." This refers to the standing injunction on the people, supported only by weak organizational structures, to be alert in the interest of "protecting the material and ideological values of Yugoslav society." The new law seems to have been composed with the objective of anchoring the defense network deep within the population. In this connection the experience recently gained from the unrest which has been growing since the spring among the Albanian population in the south Serbian autonomous province, Kosovo, may have played a role. It became clear there that local security organs are inclined primarily to see and defend the interests of "their" nation.

Uncertainty over the Consequences

In the article mentioned above it was also reported that the present "Federal Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order" was to be replaced by a new body. This council was formerly presided over by Tito's former close collaborator,

Croatia's grand old man, Vladimir Bakaric. It is unofficially said that this security council has already been dissolved, in any case Bakaric is no longer at its head.

Judging from newspaper commentaries of recent weeks on the impending amendment of the defense law which came into force in 1974, the standing order in effect up to the present time has continued to refer to President Tito and in the future the collective presidium will, in the event of war, grant special personal powers to whoever is chairman at the time.

Whether such a solution will strengthen the political clout of that president is a question to which observers do not yet know the answer. The only element which seems to be clear is that in the first instance the defense minister will receive full command authority from the president.

Collective Army Leadership

It is evident that a reorganization of the army leadership aimed at a so-called collective leadership, is also expected in the next few weeks in connection with the proposed amendment of the defense law. Here too, to be sure, it is not clear whether it is a matter of a purely technical coordination of the different defense systems or of a de facto reduction in the power of the defense minister or rather a more or less built-in control mechanism in the military sphere.

The second presumption is supported by the fact that the current defense minister, Nikola Ljubicic, who has been in office since 1967 cannot remain in his post longer than eight years under the legally imposed limitation on the time in office for members of the government. In May 1982, he, as well as the minister of the interior, Franje Herljevic, will have to leave office. It is possible that the "collective army leadership" which also heads the party organization within the army, will be expected to help prevent political deviations.

The draft of the new defense law is now supposed "to be discussed thoroughly" at all political levels. Its approval is planned for the coming spring.

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1941

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CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Role of Material Incentives in Ensuring Plan Fulfillment
(Mihal Ziu, Kico Ziso; RRUGA E PARTISE, Jun 81) 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Addresses World Congress of Women
(Gustav Husak; RUDE PRAVO, 9 Oct 81) 8

New VHJ Role Difficult To Implement
(Editorial; RUDE PRAVO, 2 Oct 81) 12

CSSR Treaties With Ethiopia, Yemen
(ZIVOT STRANY, 21 Sep 81) 15

Prague World Women's Congress Documents
(Editorial Report) 21

Education of Foreigners in CSSR Explained
(Jaroslav Vomacka; TRIBUNA, 9 Sep 81) 22

Thirty-five Years of CPCZ Land Reform Evaluated
(Bruno Hribek; ZIVOT STRANY, 21 Sep 81) 25

Jakes Outlines CPCZ Agricultural Policy
(Milos Jakes; NOVA MYSL, Sep 81) 31

Briefs
World Women's Congress Agenda 41

POLAND

Political Crisis, Solidarity Strategy Assessed
(Ignacio Ramonet; LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, Oct 81) 42

Changes in Teacher's Charter Proposed
(GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, various dates)..... 51

ZNP Social Commission Proposes Charter Changes, by Kazimierz Wojciechowski
ZNP Social Commission Proposals Continued, by Kazimierz Wojciechowski
Ministerial Draft of 1981 Teachers' Charter
Reaction of NSZZ Solidarity to Charter, by Bronislaw Sarzynski

ROMANIA

Treatment of Economic Issues by Radio, TV Reviewed
(PRESA NOASTRA, Sep 81)..... 99

Material on Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca Yearbook
(Radu-Dan Vlad; REVISTA DE ISTORIE, Aug 81)..... 106

YUGOSLAVIA

Controversies in Vojvodina Province Highlighted
(Peter Ignja; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 13, 20 Sep 81)..... 115

Brutal Policeman 'Undiscoverable'
Organ Recitals Better Avoided

Muhic Resumes Argument Over 'Democratic Centralism'
(Fuad Muhic; SVIJET, 14 Sep 81)..... 122

Contrasting Aspects of Tito Legacy Addressed
(START, 26 Sep 81, NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 4 Oct 81)..... 128

Interview With Biographer Dedijer, Vladimir Dedijer Interview
Disposition of Properties, by Aleksandar Tijanic

Duganova Interviewed on 'Kosovo Overpopulation' Remarks
(Vaska Duganova Interview; ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 29 Sep 81)..... 139

Vukmanovic Tempo Interviewed on National Questions
(Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo Interview; RAD, 16 Oct 81)..... 144

ROLE OF MATERIAL INCENTIVES IN ENSURING PLAN FULFILLMENT

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jun 81 pp 25-32

[Article by Mihal Ziu and Kico Ziso: "The Correct Utilization of Moral and Material Incentives--An Important Factor in the Fulfillment of the Plan Tasks"]

[Text] The correct utilization and combination of moral and material incentives, as a means for perfecting the management of the economy, play an important role in the process of activization of the factors for increasing social production. Their utilization in socialism is an objective necessity; their effectiveness, however, depends on the position they hold, the level of utilization and the relationship established between them. The establishment of correct relationships between them is, especially, a great principled matter with direct consequences not only for the development of productive forces, but also for the development of socialist relations in production and the education of workers in the virtues of communist morality.

The Albanian Workers Party has always followed a correct deeply revolutionary policy in the utilization of moral and material incentives, combining them in every stage of the revolution and of the building of socialism, in accordance with the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, for strengthening and continually developing our socialist system and for perfecting relationships in production and for maintaining them pure. In this process, the party has always taken into consideration the harmonization of interests and has been guided by the principle that relationships between moral and material incentives are continually improved by expanding the socialist revolution, giving an increasingly greater priority to moral incentives.

This reality is based on social property and on the entire complex of relationships born and built in this basis in our socialist society; while, the keeping and continual strengthening of the socialist nature of these relationships, along with the great development of productive forces and improvement of material and cultural well-being of the working masses and of their socialist awareness, makes it possible for the greater factors and ideals of socialism and communism to assume greater priority every day and to become more valuable in encouraging the people in productive and creative activities. It is precisely these reasons with deep political, ideological, economic and moral content which encourage our workers to place general interest above everything else and, within this framework, to satisfy their personal interest, too, and to carry out heroic acts and acts of self-sacrifice when they are needed to protect common property and interests of the people and of socialism; these are characteristics which cannot be found in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries, because, in these countries exploitation of man by man and material pro-

fits, as the only means of encouragement in work and production, are the basic characteristic of relationships in production.

Of course, this ever increasing priority of moral factors and of moral incentives do not exclude the position held and important role played by material interests and the correct utilization of material incentives which are synthesized in the basic principles of compensation of socialism, that is, "to each according to his work." However, in the practical execution of this principle, our party during the entire period of our socialist construction devoted a particular attention to its implementation on the revolutionary path in such a way that material interests and material incentives do not become a purpose in themselves and, even less, the only purpose of encouragement; they must not tarnish the moral factors and moral incentives and, even more so, they must not oppose them; finally, they must not create great differences in compensations; and there must never be a return to the creation of privileged strata and classes as it happened in the revisionist countries with the creation of the strata and classes of new bourgeoisie.

Harmonization of moral interest and of moral incentives, relying on the level of socialist awareness and on material interest, with material incentives and, on this basis, the harmonization of moral and material work with moral and material responsibility in work and the right to work with obligation in work—all have been and are at the foundation of the policy of our party in this field. The aim of such a policy is to increase production through the complete participation in work by all workers capable for work, through the improvement of yields and through the rational utilization of work means and projects. Apart from this purpose which expresses the general social interest and, through it, the achievement of personal interest, any other incentive or motive is harmful because it cultivates petit-bourgeois egoism, destroys ideological and political awareness and deteriorates the revolutionary concept about life and productive activity. And life shows that our system of encouragement has been and is correct and revolutionary. It has served the progress of the economy, the perfection of economic management and the class and revolutionary education of workers.

The combination of moral and material incentives and their correct use in accordance with the correct tasks of every stage of development and giving priority to moral incentives, without neglecting material incentives, are important conditions for strengthening the management of the economy in order to encourage workers so that they may use in the best way possible their material and monetary means for increasing production and improving its effectiveness and for widely developing socialist competitions, as one of the moving and mobilizing forces of creative energies of workers.

In our country, work has been liberated from oppression and exploitation. Everybody works for himself and for society. This new social content of work becomes a source of a great moral force since work is guaranteed to our workers and, on this basis, the satisfaction of their living conditions are also guaranteed in our country. Under these conditions work really becomes a matter of honor and glory. This reality makes it possible for moral incentives to assume more and more mobilizing values for the awakening and utilization of creative energies of the working masses.

Our socialist society honores the working people, all the people and, especially, those who distinguish themselves among the other participants of the collective and

shows particular respect to them. For this purpose, there are collective and individual forms of moral incentives such as pennants for distinguished individuals, brigades, units and sectors, honorary certificates for distinguished workers and brigades and other distinctions and decorations with various medals and orders.

In the present stage of the complete building of socialism in our country, objective and subjective conditions have been created for using moral incentives on a larger scale. Thanks to the work of the party, the awareness of the working masses has been elevated to a higher level and the new man has been strengthened and forged in the revolutionary concept. The revolutionary perfection of relationships in production created the conditions for strengthening socialist awareness. The expansion and reinforcement of productive forces increased social production and national revenues and, on this basis, the material situation improved and the people's cultural level was improved. All these things have tempered new moral virtues in our people and an unshakeable conviction in the line of the party, in socialism. Therefore, the unleashing of initiatives and revolutionary movements has become a habitual phenomenon which utilizes socialist competitions. The mass organizations, in response to these activities, are using many kinds of moral incentives which are better and better influencing the mobilization of workers in work. Workers, brigades, sectors and units that are outstanding for plan fulfillment are being popularized by the means of socialist competitions, in meetings and by many other forms.

However, the use of moral incentives does not respond everywhere and always to the rapid rates of our revolutionary development. Thus, in some cases, the use of these incentives suffers from a kind of monotony, from bureaucracy and a campaign aspect. A narrow conception of the role of moral incentives led in some cases to more reliance on formal aspects or to propagandizing positive examples and progressive experiences in a global manner. There also exists the erroneous idea that, allegedly, "big things" must be encouraged. Underestimation of moral incentives has led in some cases to the point that cadres, instead of dealing with the correct use of moral incentives, have discussed "who should deal with this? Is this the task of this or of that sector or of this or of that cadre?" and so forth. These negative manifestations are more apparent during operaional meetings dealing with the movement of transitory banners from one worker or from one brigade to another worker or brigade. Delays on the part of some ministries in the distribution of banners and honorary certificates to the most outstanding collectives in socialist competitions also tell about manifestations of underestimation. Thus, the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Agriculture and some other ministries have, in some cases, delivered the pennants and honorary certificates of the Central Commission for Socialist Competitions to some working collectives about 2 months late.

Until now proposals for granting large moral incentives by the enterprises and institutions have been made mainly on the occasion of anniversaries and jubilees. In fact, this is a routine practice. While, life shows that the use of moral incentives on a timely basis, on the spur of the moment, has a very great effect whenever workers do something which benefits society. Speaking on this subject, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that "when moral incentives are granted to those who distinguish themselves for having carried out a commendable work, undoubtedly, such a reasonable encouragement makes an impression; and we will see its consequences both in the increase of labor productivity and in the field of general and individual interest" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1969-1970, p 19). However, in practice, it often happens that, in regard to the granting of moral incentives, this factor is not taken

into consideration and, consequently, there are cases when proposals for the decoration of those who have carried out praiseworthy work is delayed for entire months. This nampers the development of socialist competitions and of revolutionary pride. Also, the badge "Distinguished in Socialist Competitions" is not being used as it should be; it is granted during campaigns and has been given to a limited number of workers, although there are thousands of working people who have achieved good results in production and who deserve to be honored with this kind of badge. Also, the "Certificate for Rationalizations," the granting of titles "Brigade of High Yields" and other insignias are not used as they should be. Such activities and others similar to them weaken the role of moral incentives in promoting production.

Production is also promoted by the knowledge, dissemination and extensive implementation of good experience. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that we must use every positive thing that is born, every good thing that people create and do to fulfill and overfulfill the plan tasks. Within the framework an increasing importance is given informing workers as soon as possible of the results of advanced workers not only in their brigades, units and enterprises, but also in other enterprises so that they will not be satisfied solely with their own positive achievements but will struggle to catch up with the most advanced workers at the national level. In this direction it is necessary to encourage the exchange of this experience through the forms of socialist competitions and through production propaganda.

Socialist society uses moral incentives besides material incentives; it will use them as long as the people are materially interested in their own work achievements, in objective conditions, as long as the development of productive forces has not yet reached the level needed to create abundance and to implement the communist principle "to each according to his needs."

As we stressed in the beginning in regard to dealing with material interests, our party has always implemented a correct policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles. It has always taken into consideration the relationship between the general interest and personal interest, giving priority to the general interest. In our country, personal interest has been achieved and is being achieved through the various forms of work compensation and through a number of services which the people receive free from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for example, in the fields of education and health, in some communal services and so forth which are basic material incentives for workers. However, along with their pay and the services given to them free, the workers of our country also implement their personal interest through some supplementary services which they receive; however, these services are very limited and are implemented only in established cases when they have satisfied the conditions which discipline their use.

Basic material incentives are implemented mainly through the wage system, a system built in harmony with the requirements of the objective economic law of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of work. The decision on compensation according to work, as a basic criterion for the distribution of products for personal consumption, is a very powerful material incentive for encouraging the development of production, increasing labor productivity and increasing socialist accumulation and material revenues of workers. Through the correct implementation of the requirements of this law, our party has insured a continuing improvement of the people's wellbeing, strengthened education of the masses in a socialist attitude toward work and social property and continually narrowed differences in the level of revenues and

in the standards of living between the various classes and groups of the population, preventing the creation of privileged strata and favoritism.

However, our system of wages, as the main form of practical implementation of material interest, although constructed since the beginning on healthy bases, needed and needs, time after time, to be re-examined, for a continuing perfection in harmony with the level of our economic development and with the perfection of socialist relationships in production. This was the purpose of the measures which the party has often taken in this field, including the recent measures for the better measurement of and compensation for work done not only according to the quantity of the given product, but also according to indicators of quality and of material expenditures for its implementation.

The continual perfection of the process of setting work norms plays a special role in the most correct implementation of the system of wages. Our party has always attached great importance to this process because, as measurements of work and of compensation, work norms play an important role in correctly implementing the socialist law of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of work. The better the norms implement the requirements of this law, the greater their persuasive effect in obtaining better results in production.

However, despite the great work carried out in the field of the perfection of work norming so as to work with norms everywhere, technically based norms, this problem still remains open because, in spite of improvements that have been made, still there are shortcomings and weaknesses. It is a fact that even today we do not work according to norms everywhere; also, the execution of technical work norms is not disseminated on the desired level. There also exist weaknesses in the calculation and establishment of technical norms, especially, in establishing work norms calcualted on the basis of a progressive and unified average at the branch level. In the practice of production, one can also see cases of where great technical norms have been greatly exceeded, indicating that such norms cannot be called technical and, therefore, they must be re-examined on the basis of analytical calculations of the time of every activity. Unification of norms for identical or similar processes and work centers, under current conditions, is a great reserve for increasing production and labor productivity. But, this requires that advanced experience in the field of work norming be studied and disseminated in an organized and directed manner by government and economic organs.

The correct use of material incentives for increasing production also requires strengthening of wage control. In the work practice of our enterprises this problem has been correctly solved in general so that the work volume is measured and payment for received products carried out in accordance with recorded documents. However, there are still cases showing that production reported is for payment not carried out in accordance with the records. Also, when there are verifications of payment for recorded production, and differences and found, the correction of payment is usually done in a global manner, with a single coefficient of correction for all workers or for all sectors. It is obvious that in these cases, regardless of the exactness of work norms, one important function of norms, that of the measurement of compensation, does not work properly. Consequently, their persuasive and regulating effect for increasing labor productivity is reduced, leaving room for the harmful trends of some people who seek to get compensation for unsatisfactory work to the detriment of the collective. Such unsatisfactory activities in work must not be treated simply as occasional shortcomings, but as manifestations of liberalism and of foreign ideological pressure. Therefore, along with increased educational work for improving the level of awareness, the perfection of internal record keeping of products in the enterprises and finding of suitable forms for control in accordance

with special concrete conditions of work are necessary requirements for insuring conformity of compensation which each worker deserves to receive in accordance with the exact amount of work he has done.

The measures recently taken by the party to link workers' wages with the level of the fulfillment of the production plan in quality, quantity, expenditures of raw materials and materials, fuel, electric energy and so forth increase workers' material interest in fulfilling the plan in all its indicators, increasing products and improving their quality and reducing expenditures, strengthening the system of savings by continually reducing production costs and increasing socialist accumulation.

These measures are another expression of the solicitude of the party in the field of the perfection of relationships in distribution; they are a further step in implementing the requirements of the law of distribution according to work in harmony with the stage reached in the economic and social development of the country, on the road to the complete building of our socialist society. They aim at paving the way for the increase of production, harmonized through workers's encouragement to use manpower and products more rationally and with pencil in hand, so as to assure a radical turn toward increasing the effectiveness of the material and financial means of the country and through the maintenance of high ratios in our economic development under the conditions of the fierce imperialist and revisionist encirclement and blockade, fully relying on our own forces.

Additional material incentives have been used and are being used in our economic practice. In contrast to the revisionist countries, where these incentives serve as means for enriching their enterprise managers and other privileged strata, in our country the quantity and level of utilization of these incentives are limited and used mainly in the form of collective stimuli. Special enterprise funds serve this purpose; their creation is conditioned by the fulfillment of some established tasks, such as the fulfillment of production plan and of the tasks to reduce costs and fulfill the enterprise net revenues. While, the incentive nature of this fund, on the basis of the provisions in force, is achieved through its use for granting awards to the very distinguished workers and for compensating inventors and rationalizers, for social and cultural expenditures in favor of collectives, for meeting expenditures for the activation of workers in amateur artistic groups and for granting immediate assistance to various workers in cases of misfortune and so forth.

However, in practice, along with the proper use of this fund in accordance with established criteria, one can see some shortcomings which weaken its incentive role. Thus, in some working collectives one can observe a kind of underevaluation of the collective incentive role of the special fund and of its proper use for social and cultural activities, for the organization of educational and recreational activities, for the creation of cultural centers and so forth. Also, the criteria of the use of special funds for the recompense of distinguished workers, innovators and rationalizers are not always correctly understood and implemented. In some enterprises, workers have been rewarded by sharing between themselves the total amount of special funds intended as compensation for workers without making proper distinction among vanguard workers. In some cases, awards have been granted on the basis of subjective and sentimental concepts. There are also cases when, because of lack of correct understanding and just for the sake of doing it, some leaders have hesitated to use special funds for compensating the most distinguished workers, especially, innovators and rationalizers.

The improvement of the creative and innovative thought of workers for the perfecting of technique and technology, the constructing of new machines and pieces of equipment, the introducing of scientific methods in production and so forth are giving a great stimulus to the development of production, the increase of labor productivity and the improvement of quality in all branches of our socialist economy. New elements and talents not only from the milieu of the working class and working masses, but also from the groups and collectives are enlisted in this activity; more and more every day; their work is honored and rewarded morally and materially.

It is fully understandable that innovators and rationalizers spend additional mental and physical energies in the creation of works, in achieving new innovations and rationalizations; moreover, these creations are realized mainly after they have fulfilled their tasks in production. Therefore, perhaps, we must see that the compensation for this additional creative work be regularly implemented just as it is in the other creativity fields of arts, culture and science by better combining the forms of moral encouragement with those of material encouragement. Here, there is another problem. It is known that, presently, material incentives for innovators and rationalizers are provided by a part of the enterprise special fund; this fund is created and used solely in established conditions. However, such dependence becomes an obstacle for the encouragement of innovations and rationalizations when the enterprise has not fulfilled its tasks in all its indicators. Therefore, perhaps, it would be appropriate that this part of the special fund be destined to encouraging innovators and rationalizers and be kept aside as a fund having its own purpose and be used in accordance with its nature, role and function in order to take care of the rewards for the authors of innovations and rationalizations.

The problems stressed in this article in regard to the perfection of the use of moral and material incentives, as levers influencing the increase of production, the improvement of productivity, reduction of costs and increase of socialist accumulation and the closer links of cadres and workers with economic and financial problems, are problems with a great ideological, political and ideological aspect, of course, without underevaluating the economic aspect, so as to better link the use of these incentives with the results of work and production.

9150
CSO: 2100/1

HUSAK ADDRESSES WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN

AU131313 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Chechoslovak President Gustav Husak at the 8 October Opening Session of the World Congress of Women in the Prague Palace of Culture--recorded]

[Text] Madam Chairman, delegates, dear friends, comrades, allow me, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, on behalf of our government and on my own behalf, we greet you most cordially and welcome you in the capital of socialist Czechoslovakia.

We are very happy that Prague has become the venue of such a significant event in the international progressive women's movement--the world's women's congress. You are going to discuss important issues, the position and life of women, their needs, prospects and objectives. The motto of the world congress of women--equality, national independence, peace--reflects the sincere aspirations of millions of women who make up more than half of all mankind. Endeavors for their implementation link people of various world outlooks, political affiliation, or religious beliefs, of different color of skin, and members of different social strata.

The struggle for a just position of woman in society is an inseparable part of the struggle for the liberation of man from exploitation, for freedom and independence of the peoples, for social progress. Today ot has become the affair of the widest sections of world public. Together with you we rejoice at all the successes and victories won on the road toward equality of women.

This year we entered the second half of the United Nations decade on women, which the United Nations proclaimed at its 30th United Nations General Assembly session. Czechoslovakia has warmly welcomed this initiative. This years which passed since the inauguration of this most necessary world-wide campaign show, however, that for the moment we cannot register a substantial improvement in the position of women on a world-wide scale. The position of women in many countries remains extremely difficult and in some of them it is even getting worse. The chairman of the session gave some concrete examples a little while ago. This is the result of the class nature of the capitalist system, based on the exploitation of human labor, the result of its constantly intensifying crisis which is accompanied by unemployment, inflation, rising living costs affecting above all the socially weaker families, women, children and young people.

We know that millions of women still live in poverty and lack of equality which are a concomitant factor of centuries of colonial subjugation and backwardness. But we also know that progress cannot be halted, that it is impossible to break the determination of women and of all who are fighting together for peace, social progress and equality. [Applause]

The fundamental problems obstructing true equality of women and the harmonious enhancement of their personality were solved only by the socialist system. Proof of this is the life of women in socialist Czechoslovakia. We consider the full application of their right to work as one of the key achievements. Equal participation in the labor process opens a road to them towards their full application in all other spheres of social life as well. In our country socialism crushed an ancient prejudice according to which only so-called women's jobs linked with a lower qualification and remuneration were open to women. One of the fundamental prerequisites of the equal position of women is their access to education, which has become a matter of course in our society.

The fact that more and more women take part in running localities and towns, districts, regions and the entire state has become a part of the life of our socialist society; women are holding responsible posts in the national economy. Our social program is creating good conditions to enable women too perform their loftiest and irreplaceable mission, that of mothers. In our society mothers and children are surrounded by immense attention and care. Their material security, cost-free medical care, an extensive education system as well as the network of preschool and extra-school facilities create conditions to enable the young generation to enter life well prepared so that it shoud grow into healthy, educated citizens of our socialist fatherland with firm ethical and character standards.

The equal position of women in our society is one of the universally acknowledged achievements of socialism. Women are a significant force in the dynamic development of our society. Their exemplary work morale, initiative and devotion with which they approach demanding social tasks are well known and the Czechoslovak union of women plays an important role in all this.

During your stay in Czechoslovakia you will have the opportunity to see for yourselves how our women live in our country today, what matters to them, their everyday joys and worries, the attention which the socialist state is devoting to their families.

Dear delegates, the endeavor to improve the position of women throughout the world, the achievement of their equality is today inseparably linked with the struggle of all progressive and peace-loving forces to make sure that the peoples on our planet live in lasting peace. Today there is no more important and pressing task than reducing and averting the threat of war, an end to the feverish arms race and disarmament. But imperialism is making increasingly overt efforts to thwart the policy of detente, to unleash a new round of the arms race, exert blackmail and intimidate the whole world by armed provocations and brutal threats. Such a policy worries all who give responsible thought to our future, the tomorrows of present and coming generations. All sensible people oppose it with growing determination and resolution.

Socialist Czechoslovakia is firmly in the ranks of those who are fighting to avert the threat of war, for the reinforcement of peace and the security of the peoples,

for disarmament. Without peace and in a complicated international situation we would find it hard to advance successfully in implementing the program of socialist development. Our longing for peace stems from our own historic experience. We live in the heart of Europe, in a region spared by virtually no war on this continent.

This is one of the reasons why a sincere voice has always resounded from our country longing for a world free of wars. It is thanks to the peace policy of the states of the socialist community and the joint struggle of all progressive, democratic and peaceful forces that it has been possible to avert another world war even though the peoples in a large number of countries, in various parts of the world have not been spared the horrors of war and suffering in their struggle for freedom and against imperialist aggression.

We do not want future generations to know such horrors, in this the interests and needs of our people are in full accordance with the interests and aspirations of the peoples the world over. [Applause]

Our country, our people fully support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union which provide a realistic way out of the present complicated international situation; they reflect the common interests of all peoples for the preservation of peace. Together with progressive mankind throughout the world we firmly oppose the dangerous militarist plans for the further feverish arms race, jeopardizing the existing strategic balance in the world. We add our repudiating voice to those who are demanding an end to the manufacture of new nuclear means including the neutron bomb and their deployment on the European continent.

An end to the feverish war preparations serve the interest of all peoples, as well as the elimination of international tension and reinforcing confidence between states. There is only one sensible way to achieve this objective--the road of negotiations, a dialogue, respecting the justified interests of the states concerned, the road of a peaceful solution of all disputes. Proof of this is the fourth decade of peace on the European continent as well as the outcome of endeavors initiated by the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation.

We were pleased to hear that agreement was reached on the inauguration of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. We are convinced that progress achieved in this major question would be a significant contribution on the road to peace and to avert the threat of war on our continent. We consider the peace movement as a most important factor in current developments; this movement--face to face with the escalating adventurist aggressive course of imperialist policy--has lately registered a powerful growth in many countries in Europe but also in other parts of the world. Many convincing examples to testify that women who frequently take their place in the front ranks, who come forward with new and inspriing initiatives, play a major role in this movement. We know that the peace movement in the capitalist countries has lately been the target of strong pressure and intimidation. I would like to take this opportunity in the name of the people of Czechoslovakia, to express our sympathy to all who consider peace as the most cherished possession of all mankind, as the fundamental condition of its existence and who are fighting for it actively. [Applause]

Our people with feelings of sincere solidarity are firmly at the side of the just struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress. They fully support efforts for the liquidation of all forms of national and racist oppression, for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and backwardness in the developing countries, for the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic foundation. We are convinced that the struggle for the inviolable right of the peoples to independent developments which has fundamentally changed the appearance of the world in the past decades is a process which cannot be halted. We highly appreciate the fact that in this historical struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, women are playing a major role. For many of them this participation represents their first step toward overcoming centuries-old positions of inequality. Women are taking an active part in solving questions related to the political, economic and social development of young states, in endeavors to eliminate illiteracy and raising the educational and cultural standards of the people.

We deeply respect that many of you who have gathered at this meeting are making a significant contribution to the struggle for national independence and social liberation. We are happy that Czechoslovakia as the host country of the congress can, in this way, express its solidarity with the national liberation movement. [Applause]

Esteemed delegates, allow me in conclusion to wish you the most pleasant stay in our country. We see the decision to hold the world congress of women in Prague as a manifestation of recognition and great trust in the Czechoslovak women's movement, its organization and our entire country. Once again we would like to express our firm solidarity and support to the progressive women's movement in the struggle for its noble aims. You can rest assured that the CSSR, our entire people are firmly by the side of your sturggle for equality, national independence and peace. [Applause]

I wish this world congress of women every success in its significant deliberations. I wish all of you wholeheartedly every success in your responsible work, I wish you personally and your families good health and happiness.

CSO: 2400/43

NEW VHJ ROLE DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "An Important Part of Management"]

[Text] The adoption of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy After 1980 represents, among other things, an important shift of responsibility--the enterprise ceased to be the fundamental part of the management--that role was assigned to the VHJ [economic production unit]. It would be fallacious to assume that this is no more than a formal change. As a matter of fact, it was made after mature and comprehensive deliberations on the basis of long experience; it corresponds with another innovation introduced by the Set of Measures which designates as the central plan the medium-range--or five-year--plan. Both changes denote an effort to introduce more advanced concepts in the national economic process, to use scientific and technological development as its pivotal axis, and to stop managing production on a day-to-day basis (as it used to be the case frequently in the past) but to offer it a space for its future development.

Jobs in the general directorate used to be regarded as lucrative executive positions involving no particular risks. Executives in many places would be only happy if that situation would continue and if they could go on acting as a kind of a trade post--dispatching orders from higher levels to the enterprises and forwarding the flood of reports from below to the ministry. However, those times are gone forever and now it is beginning to show whether the team of managers in general directorates is able to take actions other than adopting noncommittal attitudes and passing them on to other levels instead of coping with the problems. It is becoming evident who deserves a position on the basis of ability and experience, who is useful and needed in the basic part of the management, and who has only vegetated there contendedly until now.

New demands on management make it imperative for the managers of VHJ to articulate new concepts for the development of their enterprises according to social needs, to specify and differentiate their planned tasks on the basis of thorough knowledge of the opportunities open to their enterprises, and to control the fulfillment of their tasks. Naturally, the implementation of the enterprise plans may involve certain deviations from original intentions; the basic part of the management bears the responsibility that those problems be resolved in a way corresponding to the needs of our society. Although the summary assessment of the operations of the VHJ and its enterprises is now based on the five-year period, no enterprise

or VHJ should approach the implementation of its annual plan of operations under ghe blissful illusion that this year's shortfall may be made up next year or later.

The dynamism of our economic development before 1985 is planned so that the least demanding tasks are assigned for the current year (and a still lesser part of them was assigned for the first half of the year) so as to offer the enterprises the space and the time to get adjusted to the new regulations of management. Their tasks will be stepped up next year and thereafter. Thus, it is a poor testimony for many enterprises--and of course, for their superior VHJ--if already in the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan they are complaining about their excessively demanding tasks. This also points to the fact that thus far the role of the central part of management had been viewed much too casually, that the managers failed to overcome the old style of work, and that they are still not completely aware of their own responsibility toward their subordinate work teams as well as toward our entire society.

The fulfillment of this year's plan thus far has been uneven and there is a discrepancy between the resources and the needs, which underlines the fact that the decisionmaking process, which is the actual work of the management in the central sector, has not been adequately mastered. After all, individual managers there should be experienced enough to realize that along with a declining dynamism of the planned tasks the demands on the structure of the line of products increase and thus, at a lower production we must not only follow individual trends in the market much more attentively but also achieve steady output in production as concerns the line of goods; work forces and resources are wasted if the production of certain goods rises above actual needs; then the production of other lines of goods much in demand is reduced and encounters greater problems. It is small wonder that then the problems in supplier-consumer relations are aggravated rather than remedied.

The introduction of new regulations in management and planning is accompanied with many more changes than some economic managers would realize. When faced with problems, managers were used to the fact that until the last day of September they could request mitigation of the plan. That opportunity is still open, however, such requests are now measured according to stricter yardsticks, and only fluctuations in the plan caused by unforeseen circumstances may be considered; emphatically, there will be no absolution of this kind for subjective causes, especially for lapses in management and planning or in the organization of production and its poor fulfillment by managers of enterprises and VHJ. Some managers also demanded that the plan be modified due to subjective reasons or that its regulators be adjusted (for instance, the productivity indicator be reduced in relation to wages); this must be regarded as their gross deficiency incompatible with the challenges of the 16th CPCZ Congress and of the Main Directions for Economic and Social Development.

It is not easy to fulfill such a responsible role as the one assigned to VHJ; nevertheless, it is absolutely imperative to demand that general directorates meet such a standard of work. Their operations cannot be reduced to transferring accomplishments of one enterprise to another so as to make in the end the whole VHJ look good; on the contrary, it is necessary to focus on eliminating the weak spots so that every enterprise can earn due credit for the fulfillment of its

tasks. Naturally, this calls for well-planned programs and their painstaking fulfillment; interventions in operations must be applied to the least possible extent. Furthermore, this calls for more extensive, goal-oriented applications of scientific and technological advances in actual production, for more flexible and prompt introduction of new products or types of production, for planning and organization of the most efficient use of fixed production assets, for their goal-oriented modernization and for higher labor productivity.

With the rising importance and role of the VHJ, something more is expected from them, namely, that their managers not pontificate about what is to be done and how (especially by others), but that they submit for evaluation primarily specific results of their work, that they not only promise to fulfill individual tasks but above all, that they report their actual fulfillment, and that they become better acquainted with the overall situation of our economy and do not present plans which promise very minor output for considerable inputs. This is another of the unfortunate legacies of the past with which we must finish once and for all.

The program of operations in the central sectors of management requires profound thinking, for a diligent search for ways to resolve problems, for the fulfillment of the assigned tasks and for imaginative suggestions concerning improvement of efficiency and quality. However, managers who are clamoring that their problems be resolved elsewhere are not the right persons for their job. We must realize that our current difficulties are due partly to circumstances beyond our control and partly also to the fact that thus far our approaches to the solution of our problems have been inadequate. If the external economic conditions cannot be changed, then it is so much more necessary to focus on the solution of problems within our reach, rather than to wait for someone else to tackle their solution; we must try to deal with problems where they are most oppressive.

The Set of Measures provides good instructions concerning gradual improvement of management and planning as well as overall economic achievements. The Set of Measures alone cannot remedy the situation—that must be done by individuals determined to apply new methods of thought and action. Although many criteria of the above-mentioned Set of Measures are very difficult, we cannot mitigate them. To retreat in a single instance would mean to compromise the fundamental principles and to succumb to increasingly greater problems with no hope for a solution up to the standards of an advanced socialist society.

The VHJ must cherish their position as the central sector of management. It is an expression of the immense confidence in the abilities of the individuals working in that sector. It is up to them if they can fully prove their mettle. That is the challenging test of their responsibility before all of our society.

9004
CSO: 2400/24

CSSR TREATIES WITH ETHIOPIA, YEMEN

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, 21 Sep 81 pp 3-6

[Text of friendship treaty between CSSR and Ethiopia, signed 10 September 1981 in Addis Ababa, and of friendship treaty between CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, signed 14 September 1981 in Aden]

[Text] On 7-9 September 1981, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, Comrade Gustav Husak, made an official, friendly visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. He was invited by the leader of the Libyan revolution, Col Mu'ammar Qadhafi.

On 10 September 1981, a delegation of Czechoslovak party and state officials led by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, Comrade Gustav Husak, began an official friendly visit in Socialist Ethiopia. The visit was undertaken at the invitation of the Provisional Military Governing Council of Socialist Ethiopia, the Ethiopian government, and the Committee for Founding the Ethiopian Workers Party.

On 12-14 September 1981, a delegation of Czechoslovak party and state officials made an official, friendly visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, the presidium of the Supreme People's Council, and the government of the PDRY.

The following documents were signed at the conclusion of discussions in the countries which were visited: a Joint Czechoslovak-Libyan Declaration; a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and Socialist Ethiopia; a Czechoslovak-Ethiopian Joint Communique; a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and a Czechoslovak-Yemeni Joint Communique. (We are publishing here the text of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and Socialist Ethiopia and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.)

These visits have contributed to the further strengthening and deepening of relations between Czechoslovakia and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Socialist Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and to the strengthening of friendship among their people.

Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and Socialist Ethiopia

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Socialist Ethiopia, proceeding from traditional relations of close friendship, cooperation, and anti-imperialist solidarity between both countries, being convinced that the further strengthening of friendship and fortifying of mutual, comprehensive cooperation is in the interest of the peoples of both countries, recognizing that the unity of all revolutionary forces and the cooperation of socialistic and developing countries are important factors in strengthening the independence of countries which have freed themselves from foreign domination and exploitation, having resolved, moreover, to further contribute to the cause of international peace and security, the battle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations, against domination and oppression, and to contribute to the unity of forces struggling for social progress in the world, confirming anew their commitment to the principles and objectives of the UN Charter, proceeding from the Declaration Concerning Relations of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Socialist Ethiopia of 2 December 1978, attributing great significance to the further development and strengthening of their mutual relations, have decided to conclude this treaty, and have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The high parties to this treaty will, in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, further deepen their ties of mutual friendship and solidarity. They will develop comprehensive cooperation based upon respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, equality and noninterference in internal affairs.

Article 2

The high parties to this treaty will make every effort to expand and intensify mutually advantageous bilateral and multilateral economic, commercial, cultural, and scientific-technical cooperation on a long-range basis, with the objective of contributing to an increase in the welfare of the people of both countries.

Article 3

The high parties to this treaty will develop multifaceted cooperation and an exchange of experience in the areas of science, culture, education, health, literature, art, film, television, radio, publishing, physical education, sport, tourism, as well as in other fields, with the goal of a deeper understanding of the life, work and achievements of the people of both countries.

Article 4

The high parties to this treaty will also continue to strive for a thorough realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social structures, and for the expansion and deepening of the process of reducing tensions in international affairs, for the achievement of general and complete disarmament including nuclear arms and, with this objective in view, they will also pursue the resolution of all international disputes by peaceful means, while leaving inviolate the right of states, under the UN Charter, to individual and collective self-defense.

Article 5

The high parties to this treaty will also continue to support the struggle against the forces of imperialism and for the full liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations.

They will at all times demonstrate active solidarity with, and support the movement of nonaligned countries in this struggle, and all people struggling for freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress, for the right of peoples to make decisions concerning their natural resources and their utilization, and for the creation of a new international economic order based on equality and justice.

Article 6

The high parties to this treaty will also continue to contribute actively to the assurance, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, to the efforts to defend against the plans, conspiracies and attacks of the enemies of peace, the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction. They again confirm their belief in strict respect for the principles of inviolability of national boundaries and territorial integrity as the most important precondition for the maintenance of peace and security.

Article 7

The high parties to this treaty will consult each other concerning important international issues related to the interests of both countries and concerning questions of their mutual relations.

Article 8

The high parties to this treaty will resolve all issues which arise in the interpretation or implementation of this treaty through bilateral discussions and in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

Article 9

The high parties to this treaty declare that this treaty does not relate to commitments from international treaties by which they are bound.

Article 10

The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, signed in Addis Ababa on 11 December 1959 ceases to be binding on the day that this treaty becomes valid.

Article 11

This treaty will undergo ratification and become valid on the day of the exchange of ratification papers, which is to take place as soon as possible.

Article 12

This treaty will be in force for a period of 20 years from the date of ratification, and will always be extended automatically for an additional 5 years, unless one of the high parties to the treaty notifies the other high party to the treaty at least 12 months in advance of the expiration of the current period of his intention to terminate the validity of the treaty.

Issued in Addis Ababa on 13 September 1981 in two original versions, each of them in the Czech, Amharic, and English languages, with all texts having equal validity.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak
For Socialist Ethiopia: Mengistu Haile Mariam

Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the PDRY

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, valuing the importance of an expansion and deepening of ties of friendship and the multifaceted support of cooperation in accordance with the vital interests of the people of both countries, and in the interest of strengthening international peace and security, having resolved as well to contribute further to the strengthening of unity and cooperation of all the forces fighting for peace and national independence, for democracy and social progress, expressing their support for the struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neocolonialism, zionism and racism in all their forms and manifestations, confirming their commitment to the objectives and principles of the UN Charter, and especially the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs, according great importance to the cooperation of both countries toward the achievement of a permanent and just peace in the Middle East, emphasizing the significance of the strengthening and development of fruitful cooperation among both countries, have decided to conclude this treaty and have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The high parties to this treaty officially declare their intention to strengthen the firm friendship between both countries, to develop permanently mutual relations in the political area as well as multifaceted cooperation on the basis of equality, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs.

Article 2

The high parties to this treaty will further develop mutual cooperation with the objective of creating the condition for a strengthening and further deepening of the social and economic achievements in both countries and will respect the sovereignty of each of them over their natural resources.

Article 3

The high parties to this treaty will attempt to develop further bilaterally advantageous economic and scientific technical cooperation. They will develop this

cooperation in specific sectors of the national economy, while expanding mutual trade and consistently respecting the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 4

The high parties to this treaty will likewise support actively the mutual development of relations and an exchange of experiences in the fields of science and culture, education, health care, publishing, radio, television, cinematography, sport and tourism, as well as in other areas.

Article 5

The high parties to this treaty will likewise support the expansion of contacts among state organs and social organizations, and direct ties between cultural and scientific institutions, with the objective of understanding the life, work, experiences, and achievements of the peoples of both countries.

Article 6

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic respects the policy of nonalignment pursued by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which is an important contribution to the strengthening of international cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen respects the peaceful foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which is directed toward the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with all countries and peoples.

Article 7

The high parties to this treaty, in their foreign policies, will expend all possible effort to preserve international peace and security, to strengthen and develop the process of reducing tensions, to promote a ban on strategic weapons, to cease the arms race, and to achieve a general and complete agreement on disarmament. They will strive for a thorough implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with differing social structures, at the same time that they will contribute to the just struggle of peoples for freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress. They will likewise support the efforts of young, independent states which have just freed themselves from colonial dependence toward the democratization of the existing system of international economic relations, and the struggle for the full respect for the sovereignty of these states over their natural resources.

Article 8

The high parties to this treaty will continue in the active struggle against the aggressive policy of world imperialism and hegemonism, and for a definitive elimination of colonialism, zionism, and racism in all of their forms and manifestations.

Article 9

The high parties to this treaty will assist in all possible ways to a comprehensive resolution of the crisis in the Near East, and in the achievement of a just and

permanent peace in this area. Both sides will mutually consult and coordinate their positions in the interest of finding a comprehensive solution and implementing it.

Article 10

The high parties to this treaty will consult each other concerning all important international issues related directly to the interests of both sides. In the event that a situation should arise which threatens or disturbs world peace, both sides will get into immediate contact in order to coordinate their positions in the interest of eliminating the threat to, or disruption of peace.

Article 11

The high parties to this treaty officially declare that they will not enter into military or other alliances, nor will they participate in any group of countries, or in any military actions or measures directed against the other high party to this treaty.

Article 12

The high parties to this treaty declare that this treaty does not relate to their international rights and commitments, and is not directed against any third country. Both sides simultaneously pledge that they will not in the future negotiate any international documents that would be in conflict with this treaty.

Article 13

All issues which may arise in connection with the interpretations or the implementation of any provision at all of this treaty will be resolved in a spirit of friendship, mutual respect, and understanding by means of direct discussions between the high parties to this treaty.

Article 14

This treaty will undergo ratification and become valid on the day of the exchange of the ratification papers, which will take place as soon as possible in Prague.

Article 15

This treaty is to be in force for a period of 20 years, and its validity will be always extended automatically for an additional 5 years, unless one of the parties to the treaty abbrogates the treaty within 12 months of the end of a period of validity.

Issued in Aden on 14 September 1981 in two original versions, each in the Czech and Arabic languages, with both versions having the same validity.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak
For the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: Ali Nasir Muhammad

9276
CSO: 2400/33

PRAGUE WORLD WOMEN'S CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

[Editorial Report] AU151850 PRAGUE RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 14 October 1981 on pages 1 and 2 carries the texts of two documents published in connection with the world congress of women held in Prague on 8-13 October.

The 800-word "proclamation to the women of the world," signed "participants to the world congress of women in Prague," condemns the danger of nuclear war, the planned deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe and the exorbitant military expenditure while millions of people are suffering and dying of starvation, and calls for halting the practice of stockpiling weapons and for resolving contentious issues through negotiations and not by military means.

The 2,400-word "Declaration of the World Congress of Women" opens by stating that the congress represents women from all walks of life and of various persuasions from 132 countries, 234 national and 96 international organizations. It mentions--among other things--the current aggravated international situation and the arms race, which "could lead to an international confrontation." The declaration criticizes "irresponsible doctrines" about a "humane" nuclear bomb and about "limited nuclear war" as being "possible," "admissible," "inevitable" and "winnable," and entire world regions being declared as "vitally important" in the interest of expansionist ambitions.

The declaration goes on to say that creating new hotbeds of tension is a direct threat to peace throughout the world, and that the arms race uses up huge human and material resources, thus harming all mankind. It continues with an appeal to parliaments and governments to reject new armament programs and to ban nuclear weapons, including the neutron bomb, reduce military budgets and dissolve military blocs and alliances, dismantle military bases and withdraw troops from foreign territories, and immediately begin talks aimed at a total and universal disarmament.

The final part of the declaration lists eight demands of the participants in the congress, said to be necessary to bring about "genuine" equal rights for women.

"Peace is the most important prerequisite for achieving our goals," the declaration ends.

No further processing planned.

CSO: 2400/48

EDUCATION OF FOREIGNERS IN CSSR EXPLAINED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 36, 9 Sep 81 p 9

[Article by Jaroslav Vomacka, reponding to a "letter to the editor" in the column "Our Answer"]

> [Text] From a letter written by J.K., a reader from Benesov: "There are foreign students attending our schools. I would be interested to know what opportunities Czechoslovakia offers to them and what the conditions are for admission to schools...."

Studies by citizens from foreign countries at advanced schools and secondary vocational schools in the CSSR have a tradition of many years of standing. More than 5,000 foreign students from socialist, developing, and some capitalist countries are studying at present in our schools and scientific research institutes in both republics.

Those who are admitted to studies in Czechoslovakia are students, candidates, and postgraduate research workers. They are admitted on the basis of obligations which ensue from international agreements of our republic with other states, i.e., cultural agreements and executory plans attached to these agreements, from accords concerning scientific-technical assistance and cooperation, and so on.

Applicants for admission to studies in the CSSR must meet the same criteria as Czechoslovak citizens in terms of their previous education. They must also be fit for study in the selected field from the health point of view and be under the given age limit. Applicants who are up to 18 years of age and have completed elementary education are admitted to studies in secondary specialized schools, applicants up to 30 years old, whose level of education is equivalent to "maturita" examinations in our secondary schools, are admitted to advanced schools. Those who want to take preparatory courses in order to get a scientific degree must have completed college education, the required practical experience in the field, and be able to conduct independent scientific work. The upper age limit for admission to scientific preparatory work is 35 years.

Czechoslovak social norms and laws apply to foreigners attending schools in the CSSR. Foreign recipients of scholarships have the same rights and obligations as our students, including the right to be exempt from school fees, to receive health care, to use study rooms and libraries, sport and cultural facilities. They are subject to the same regulations concerning studies. They receive room and board in student dormitories and cafeterias.

Studies by citizens from European socialist countries in Czechoslovakia and vice versa are a significant component of socialist integration in the education of highly skilled cadres and an important element of Czechoslovak foreign policy in education. These studies are mostly reciprocal and are oriented in terms of their subject field in such a way that they would cover the most important areas of mutual bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the framework of the CEMA countries, and would provide first of all for the education of specialists in those fields which are reaching the state of the art in individual countries.

Our republic admits citizens from capitalist states to partial studies at advanced schools, postgraduate studies and postgraduate research. Mutual exchange of students and postgraduate students is based on reciprocity and arranged with those states with which Czechoslovakia has signed cultural agreements and executory plans.

By training national cadres for developing countries, our republic is fulfilling its obligations to these countries in the form of international assistance. All CEMA countries in which the appropriate conditions exist and which have the corresponding experience are paying greater attention to this preparatory training. For the time being, admissions to studies in the CSSR are in the nature of unilateral assistance. This means that the foreign students who are studying in our country are only those who have been granted a Czechoslovak Government (or other) scholarship on the basis of a proposal made by the competent organs in their own country.

In view of the fact that the interest by some developing countries in preparatory studies of students at our advanced schools exceeds the opportunities provided by the scholarship fund, consideration is given also to the possibility that students may be admitted to study at their own expense. This means that the expenses incurred by our republic in paying for the costs of preparatory education of a student would be reimbursed by the government of the country concerned.

The professional structure of the scholarships which are being offered is determined by taking in consideration the actual needs of the developing countries clearly predominant being technical fields, and also the fields of medicine, agriculture, economics, social sciences, natural sciences, and arts.

Upon their arrival in Czechoslovakia, all students from developing countries are assigned to basic classes of an advanced school or secondary vocational school, where they complete preparatory language courses and special preparatory courses for the given field of study. When they complete this preparation successfully, they continue studying at advanced schools or secondary vocational schools to which they have been admitted.

Ideological-educational work with foreign students is an inseparable part of the specialized preparatory study. The educational program is designed so that when the students return to their homeland, they can become carriers of friendship and understanding among nations, followers of the policy of peaceful coexistence and active fighters against the reactionary policy of imperialism and neocolonialism.

The CSR and SSR ministries of education are entrusted with organization of the study. The selection of, and the care for, foreign students from developing countries are handled by a joint advisory organ of both ministries. All important problems of the students concerning their study and other problems are dealt with in cooperation with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, social organisations, advanced schools, and other organs.

Foreign graduates of Czechoslovak advanced schools of the university type who express interest and demonstrate that they have the corresponding prerequisites are given the opportunity to take the rigorous examination within the framework of the university scholarship. However, they must take this examination within 6 months from the time they passed the final state examination. When graduates in medical fields have completed the prescribed practice in their homeland, they are authorized, in cooperation with the national ministries of health, to proceed with preparatory studies in the CSSR for the first certification examination.

Most of the foreign students who have graduated from Czechoslavak advanced schools find very good jobs in their professional field when they return to their homeland. Some of them hold responsible functions in the management and administrative apparatus, engage successfully in medical practice, teach at schools, and so on.

The continuous interest of the developing countries in the education of their national cadres at our advanced schools and secondary vocational schools is also a proof that there is a demand in the world for our graduates.

The care of our organs for foreign students still has its reserves, too. In the future, it will be necessary first of all to improve the work with the graduates after their return from Czechoslovakia to their homeland. The advanced schools are considering the possibility of publishing a bulletin in which these graduates would be kept informed about opportunities for increasing further their qualifications at our advanced schools and scientific research institutes, about life in Czechoslovakia, achievements in the process of building a developed socialist society, and so on. It is expected that the mailing of scientific and professional literature will be expanded, particularly to those countries from which more students had come to complete their studies at our schools.

5668
CSO: 2400/14

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF CPCZ LAND REFORM EVALUATED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, 21 Sep 81 pp 29-31

/Article by Bruno Hribek: "The Struggle for a Fundamental Transformation of the Village"/

/Text/ Thirty-five years ago, in the fall of 1946, the CPCZ initiated its campaign for the completion of land reform in our country. The struggle for the implementation of revolutionary changes in the village was started by raising the postulate of revising the land reform begun by the pre-Munich republic and proposing the adoption of six new laws concerning agriculture.

Following the liberation of our country by the Red Army the CPCZ was purposefully striving to use the coalition of workers and farmers, which proved so effective in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and fascism, as an effective tool to institute a people's democracy by transforming the national and domestic revolution into a socialist revolution.

In postwar Czechoslovakia favorable conditions existed for such transformation. Led by the communist party, the working class became the driving force of the revolutionary process and assumed positions of power in key organs to establish a people's democracy. The active support of the farmers gave the CPCZ the power and the means not only to postulate a just land reform but enabled it also to implement it.

In this respect, the communist party adhered faithfully to Lenin's teaching on solving the problem of transforming agriculture. The party was fully aware that the just distribution of land among farm laborers, small and medium-sized farmers was the prerequisite for continued strengthening and consolidation of the union between workers and farmers and a condition for the success of the socialist revolution. In addition, land was not only the basic means of production but also the farmers' basic means of subsistence.

The communist party's effort for the implementation of the land reform was an essential component of the overall revolutionary struggle of the working class with the bourgeoisie. In accordance with the progress of the revolution and its gradual transition from the national and democratic to the socialist phase, the communist party did not postulate general land reform at the very beginning of the revolutionary process. Domestic and external conditions favoring the revolutionary process made it possible to implement land reform gradually.

The party had strong positions of power in rural districts. Soon after liberation party organizations came into being in almost all larger villages. A considerable number of farmers joined the CPCZ. In March 1946, at the time of the Eighth CPCZ Congress, the party had far in excess of a million members. Of this number 12.8 percent were farmers, numbering about 130,000.

The communists were successful in including the postulate of land reform in the Kosice Government Program. In Chapter 9, the program called for the necessity of "...finally taking Czech and Slovak land out of the hands of foreign German and Hungarian nobility and of traitors of the nation and put it into the hands of Czechs and Slovaks working the land." In the Czech lands, the first stage of the land reform--the division and transfer of the expropriated land into the hands of farm laborers and small farmers--was completed essentially by the summer of 1946. In Slovakia, where conditions were different, the implementation of the land reform was more complicated.

Farmer commissions which were part of the national committees and were composed primarily of applicants for land allocation saw to the consistent implementation of land reform stipulations and played an exceedingly important role in the process. The CPCZ exercised a very strong influence over the activity of the farmer commissions. In this way the party gained a strong constituency favoring the implementation of revolutionary changes in the villages.

In this stage, 2,946,395 hectares of agricultural land were expropriated of which 1,651,016 hectares constituted arable land. Of this area 2,400,449 hectares were situated in the Czech lands and 545,946 hectares in Slovakia. Most of the arable land, 73.8 percent in the Czech lands and 66.7 percent in Slovakia, was allocated to farm laborers and small farmers. The first stage of the land reform markedly changed the social and economic structure of the village, especially in border regions.

The May 1946 victory of the communists in the elections to the UNS (Constitutional National Assembly) and the newly acquired positions of power of the working class enabled the communist party to press for the second land reform stage. Its scope, articulated at the Eighth CPCZ Congress, was outlined within the framework of the principal tasks of the new governmental reconstruction program and presented on 8 July by Prime Minister Klement Gottwald in the form of a proposal to the UNS.

The new government program set the principal tasks to be accomplished in agriculture in the form of a two-year plan. Agricultural production was to attain its prewar level by the end of 1948 and supply the major part of the increased food consumption from domestic sources. One of the principal stipulations of the government program called for the continued intensification of land reform. At issue were primarily the following tasks: 1) complete land expropriation primarily in the central regions of the country where many traitors and collaborators succeeded in escaping land redistribution with the help of the national socialists, the people's (clerical) party and the Slovak democratic party; 2) carry out a revision of the pre-Munich bourgeois land reform; 3) liquidate the truncated farms (large estates expropriated before Munich and reduced in size).

The communist party, its aktiv and small farmer commissions formulated these demands into detailed proposals. Then the Ministry of Agriculture articulated these proposals into six agricultural draft laws which were discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and at the September session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The laws proposed called for: 1) revising the bourgeois land reform law; 2) specifying economically and technically appropriate sizes of plots of land; 3) passing a hunting law; 4) recording the allocation of expropriated land and other agricultural assets in land registers and ensuring payment for the allocated assets; 5) implementing an agricultural production plan; 6) preventing land fragmentation by excessive division of agricultural properties in legal proceedings disposing of estates.

At the end of 1946, the CPCZ kraj committees and their agricultural commissions discussed the draft laws and the campaign to be launched to popularize them. In October, the Ministry of Agriculture mailed out pertinent information in the form of booklets to all local units of the United Associations of Czech and Slovak Farmers with the request for comments.

The six agricultural draft laws represented the short-term CPCZ strategic and tactical farm-policy objectives. They were directed against large landowners and owners of so-called truncated farms. At the time these proposals were not yet directed against so-called kulaks. They were designed to benefit primarily farm laborers and owners of small and medium-sized farms.

By far the greatest impact on intensifying the revolutionary process in rural areas was made by the law proposing a revision of the land reform carried out during the bourgeois republic. The draft proposal called for the consistent implementation of the so-called expropriation law of April 1919. Interpretation of this law in the spirit of a people's democracy would leave the original owners (large landowners) a maximum of 150 hectares of arable or 250 hectares of agricultural land. The draft proposal permitted reducing the size of large landed estates down to 50 hectares, especially where there were many applicants for land. Truncated farms were to be essentially totally divided into smaller plots. The principal objective of this land reform stage was primarily to right the injustices of the bourgeois land reform and liquidating the ownership of large landed estates. At the same time, more small farmers, natural allies of the working class in the socialist republic, were to be drawn into the revolutionary process.

The publication of the six draft laws concerning agriculture was well received by farm laborers, small and medium-sized farmers. In the winter of 1946 to 1947 this subject was the most important domestic discussion topic. At that time, party organs and organizations started a broadly-based campaign aimed at clarifying the stipulations of the proposed legislation, strengthening cooperation of CPCZ organizations with farmer committees and local units of the United Associations of Czechs and Slovak Farmers. Joint meetings were organized, conferences of farmer commissions and agricultural party workers were called which sent resolutions to the Ministry of Agriculture affirming their concurrence with the proposed laws.

Up to the middle of 1946 about 750,000 farmers participated in the discussions. In February, this CPCZ clarification campaign culminated in about 50 okreses in agricultural conferences attended by leading party officials.

While the six proposed agricultural laws met with sympathy by ordinary farmers, the village bourgeoisie rejected them openly. The Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie, supported by rightwing social democrats, came out against further revolutionary changes. Part of this effort was, among other actions, an open attempt at resurrecting the agrarian party, misusing the Unified Associations of Czech and Slovak Farmers to oppose the proposed legislation, intimidating medium-sized farmers and other attempts. In the beginning of 1947, for example, the national socialists assumed the leadership role in the so-called sugar beet growers movement which demagogically demanded that the state, a people's democracy, raise the price of sugar beets. The clerical party attempted to organize a "farmer's strike" by calling on farmers to refuse mandatory deliveries to the state.

A special role in the reactionary circles' plans to prevent the passage of the six proposed agricultural draft laws was assigned to the Agricultural Committee of the UNS where the communists were in a minority (11 out of 30 deputies). This committee's main objective was to prevent the passage of the law revising the land reform by amendments, purportedly to improve them, and by other obstructionary tactics. On 11 December 1946, at a meeting of this committee, the anticommunist bloc of noncommunist parties adopted a provocative resolution which called the procedure of the Ministry of Agriculture unconstitutional. In addition, the anticommunist bloc of deputies of the UNS Agricultural Committee decided to call the minister of agriculture to task for organizing the discussions on the six proposed laws.

The reactionary circles' opposition to the proposed agricultural laws was the first manifestation of general opposition of the bourgeoisie to implementing the governmental program of the National Front. This fact was made clear at the January 1947 session of the CPCZ Central Committee. At that occasion the Central Committee agreed on details of the strategy and tactics to be pursued by the party and the working class in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and the necessity was stressed of winning over the majority of our people to support CPCZ policy. To that end the slogan "Let us win the majority of the nation for our cause" was coined. The CPCZ Central Committee stressed at the same time that strong unity of the working class with the farmers is a prerequisite for fulfilling the guideline.

The January session of the CPCZ Central Committee adopted a resolution to raise CPCZ agricultural demands by broadening the scope of the six proposed agricultural laws. This approach was chosen as the most effective means for a renewed mobilization of farmers to defeat the reactionary circles. The January CPCZ Central Committee resolution outlining its agricultural program were broadened in scope. In drafting it, many proposals and suggestions were used made in discussions with farmers about the six proposed agricultural laws, initiatives brought out at public meetings of village party organizations and at conferences of party workers concerned with agriculture. At the same time, village organizations and CPCZ okres committees embarked on a broad-based campaign to induce farmers to join the CPCZ. The party and the working class also intensified their political activity and assistance by work brigades in villages especially in the endeavor to fulfill the two-year plan and promote the principles of the party's agricultural policy.

The public was informed about the CPCZ agricultural program on 4 April 1947 at the meeting of the okres committee of the Unified Association of Czech Farmers at Hradec Kralove. This important document then became known as the historical Hradec Program. It articulated comprehensively and in detail demands aimed at intensifying revolutionary changes to be carried out in villages, especially by completing the land reform which would contribute to the strengthening and consolidation of unity between workers and farmers. Most of the 17 demands were new and far exceeded the scope of the original six agricultural draft laws.

The key postulate of the Hradec Program was "solving the land ownership question once and for all," a solution which was clearly antagonistic to capitalist ideology. It called for the abolition of all land ownership exceeding 50 hectares and where land speculation was involved the limit was even lower. This proposal was very attractive to medium-sized farmers and sharpened thereby political differentiation in villages along class lines. The main thrust of the Hradec Program was: land belongs to those who work it.

Publicizing the Hradec Program was important in that it succeeded in radicalizing and mobilizing farmer committees. In this way, the farmer movement gained new momentum in its continued struggle with the agrarian bourgeoisie. Working farmers viewed the new CPCZ agricultural program very favorably and called for its accelerated implementation. This strengthened the party's influence in villages even more and broad masses of farmers were drawn into the struggle for the social and economic transformation of the village.

In the course of this truly monumental struggle, the communist party, supported actively by workers and farmers, succeeded gradually in pushing through the agricultural laws. On 1 April 1947 the UNS approved the first of the proposed laws dealing with assistance to farmers in implementing the agricultural production plan. On May 8, the law was passed on accelerated recording of the expropriated land in land registers. On 3 June, the parliament approved the law on dividing estates comprising agricultural enterprises and preventing the fragmentation of agricultural land.

The proposal to revise the land reform law from the time of the bourgeois republic met the fiercest opposition of reactionary circles. Even though the Ministry of Agriculture submitted the draft law for consideration by the interministerial committee as early as 24 September 1946 it was not placed on the agenda for action by the government until 20 June 1947. During these prolonged negotiations the original draft law was considerably weakened by the anticommunist bloc. In the meantime, on 5, 6 and 7 June 1947, reactionary agrarian circles held meetings at Nechanice in Hradec Okres, an open provocative affront to the CPCZ agricultural policy and the people's democracy.

On 1 July 1947, when the draft law on revising land reform was finally discussed by the Agricultural Committee of the UNS, deputies of the anticommunist bloc submitted no fewer than 42 amendments. But at the same time numerous delegations of farmers visited their parliamentary representatives each day urging accelerated approval of the draft law. In this way, on 11 July 1947, the law on revising the first land reform was passed. In difference to its original wording, the law was weakened by many amendments proposed by reactionary circles, specifically by the provision leaving owners of truncated farms 50 hectares of land. The law did not become operative and go into effect instantly. Then, in December 1947, the hunting law was passed. Reactionary circles continued to oppose passage of the law on land consolidation.

The final defeat of reactionary circles in February 1948 opened the road to the quick adoption of all agricultural laws called for in the Hradec Program and by the nationwide congress of farmer committees which met in late February. On 21 March 1948 the UNS approved the new land reform law, amended it and passed other laws which reactionary circles were able to block until February 1948. The amendment of the law on land reform actually restored its original wording submitted by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The passage of the revised land reform law created conditions for the consistent implementation of the second stage of the land reform whereby 943,271 hectares of land belonging to large landowners and the church were divided. Implementation of the new land reform law expropriating land holdings in excess of 50 hectares and allocating additional 253.483 hectares to farmers represented the third land reform stage and completed the land reform by the people's democracy.

Implementation of the land reform and the other demands raised by the farming community represented a great political success for the CPCZ. It convinced broad masses of the farming population that the policy pursued by the communists favored the true interests of the people. This fact brought about further consolidation of unity between workers and farmers which contributed decisively to unity between workers and farmers which contributed decisively to the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie in the political class struggle waged from 1945 until 1948. In the years when the foundations of socialism were being laid in our country, this tried and proven union became the guarantee of the socialist transformation of our villages and a pillar of the socialist system. As a result of these revolutionary changes, a new class of cooperative farmers came into being.

Over the 60 years of its existence the CPCZ has gained valuable experience in unifying working people with workers, farmers and other working people fighting jointly the bourgeoisie and building a socialist society.

Even today, when an advanced socialist society is being established in Czechoslovakia, the communist party draws on its wealth of experience gained in the struggle for the establishment and consolidation of unity between workers and farmers. Under the leadership of the CPCZ, our agriculture became the moving force behind the development of our entire national economy. The omnilateral development of socialist society is drawing workers, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia even closer together. The building of advanced socialism continues to bridge the differences between urban and rural life and intensifies the moral and political unity of our people.

8664
CSO: 2400/31

JAKES OUTLINES CPCZ AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, Sep 81 pp 10-19

[Article by Milos Jakes, presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "The Effort To Achieve Self-Sufficiency in Foodstuffs--A Common Task for Agriculturists and Employees of the Food Industry and Supply Sectors"]

[Text] A significant political event took place this year in our country--the 16th CPCZ Congress, which drew up and approved a program for the further building of a developed socialist society and for general elections to the representative assemblies. The Czechoslovak people have expressed their full support for the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the elections to the legislative organs and national committees. This is confirmed, among other things, not only by the unanimous election of candidates of the National Front as delegates, but also by the breadth of labor initiative. The people have understood that the principal content of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress is directed at concern for a happy, satisfied life, for their free development, for the further blossoming of our socialist homeland and the assurance of a peaceful existence. All of this, as it was once again emphasized, is necessarily connected with a strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with other countries of the socialist community.

Agriculture occupies an important position in fulfillment of the goals of the party program. This is the case not only because of its indispensable role in feeding the people, in providing deliveries of important raw materials for industry, and in helping to assure an increased standard of living, but also because it contributes to a large extent to overall political and economic stability and to social development. Agriculture is also an important factor in the creation and preservation of the daily, and especially the natural, environment. It is, therefore, no accident that the party considers agricultural development to be a task for the entire society.

If we evaluate the preceding three decades of our socialist construction, we see that in perhaps no other branch of the national economy have there been such profound revolutionary changes as in agriculture. The character of production, work and the overall way of village life has changed completely--so that there are now no significant differences between the city and the village. All of this clearly documents the advantages of a socialist order and the successes of the agricultural policy of our communist party. Under its leadership, and thanks to the immense dedication of hundreds of thousands of farmers, and with the assistance of the working class and the whole society, a fragmented, small-scale, private, unproductive agricultural system has been restructured as modern, socialist, large-scale agriculture.

Basically, a completely new asset and equipment base has been built up in agriculture. The results of scientific and technical progress, progressive types of production organization, and work of an industrial character, are all being applied to a greater extent in agriculture.

Thousands of capable managerial employees and experts, and hundreds of thousands of highly qualified employees have been trained. As a result, the volume of agricultural output has doubled over the past 30 years, the productivity of labor has increased more than 5 times, while the number of employees in agriculture has been reduced by 1.2 million, most of whom have shifted to work in industry. While in 1948 a single agricultural worker produced food for 5.5 people, even at the low level of consumption at that time, now a single worker provides food for more than 16 inhabitants, and at a high level of consumption, in terms of which we belong among the leading countries in the world.

The results which have been achieved are also evident from the fact that at present our republic belongs among the world leaders in average per hectare grain yields, particularly of barley and wheat. What our predecessors could only dream about has become a reality at the end of the seventies. As a specific example, the average per hectare yield of all grains in the CSSR has exceeded 4 tons per hectare. In 1980, 12 agricultural enterprises achieved an average per hectare yield in excess of 7 tons, and 155 enterprises had yields in excess of 6 tons. In the Dunajska Streda District, in which 43,000 hectares are sown in grain, an average of 6.07 tons was produced on every hectare. We are in third place worldwide in per capita sugar beet production, despite long-term stagnation in yields, and we are in fourth place worldwide in per capita production of barley. In per capital meat production, Czechoslovakia is ahead of such countries as the FRG, Austria, Great Britain, and other, even though part of this production depends on imports of concentrated feeds. The level of agricultural production in our republic places it among the most advanced agricultural countries, and the dynamic growth of its production places it ahead of many of them.

The performance of an agriculture based on mechanization, chemicalization, and the most modern scientific and technical findings, in conjunction with the development of the entire economy, has made possible not only a sharp increase in the per capita consumption of basic foods, but also the gradual introduction of a structure of food consumption which correspnds to the principles of rational nutrition. This has become evident in an increase in protein consumption, especially of animal proteins. In 1980, the consumption of meat products amounted to 85 kilograms of meat, 230 kilograms of milk, and 311 eggs per capita. However, from the viewpoint of increasing the overall quality of nutrition, the long-term stagnation in vegetable consumption represents an unfavorable phenomenon, with vegetable consumption being roughtly 25 percent below the recommended norm for rational nutrition. Per capita fruit consumption has, to be sure, increased insignificantly, thanks primarily, however, to increased imports of southern fruit, even though the amounts are still less than the recommended norms. International comparisons show that the CSSR belongs among the countries with the highest consumption of meat, milk and milk products, butter, fats, and sugar. The issue of nutrition has long ago lost for us the urgency of a problem of existence. Since the middle of the fifties, the development of food consumption has been characterized by structural changes and is approaching nutritionally reasonable levels. This shift in the structure of consumption is being realized in the direction of the production of sophisticated foods of

livestock origin (meat, milk and milk products, eggs), fruit and vegetables. Per capita sugar consumption has stablized. Grain consumption (in the form of flour) is declining in accordance with the rationalization of nutrition. The same is true of potato consumption. The greatest success is expressed by the fact that we have succeeded, even while providing a high level of nutrition, in basically eliminating the previous significant differentiation in food consumption for differing social strata of our population. In spite of low prices, foodstuffs amounted to 46.1 percent of overall retail trade turnover in 1980.

It is impossible, however, not to perceive that the assurance of this high level of consumption had an influence not only on the structure of agricultural production, but also influenced, especially in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the extent and composition of imports, particularly of feed, which required the expenditure of significant foreign currency resources for its purchase.

This, in conjunction with attempts to better utilize a basic production asset--agricultural land--is the reason that the 16th CPCZ Congress brought to the forefront with still greater emphasis the necessity for increasing the degree of self-sufficiency in those foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials for which we possess favorable climatic conditions. This served to confirm the validity, for an additional period ot time, of the policy approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress and elaborated by the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1979. The need for the consistent implementation of this policy is also confirmed by the fact that foodstuffs and certain basic agricultural raw materials are being misused as a means for political pressure and blackmail. This danger is especially pressing especially because the critical holder of supplies of this politico-strategic good is the United States of America, which continues to be the world's largest exporter of foodstuffs.

The nearly monopolistic position of the United States as the largest exporter of foodstuffs (as opposed to other raw materials) created, during the seventies, a feeling of power among the ruling circles of the United States and its ideologists such as they had never before possesses, with the exception of a short period following World War II, when the United States was the sole, monopolistic, holder of atomic weapons.

This led during the seventies in the United States to the formation of a new political doctrine concerning "Food Power." Its basis has often been formulated as follows: "Nutrition has become a factor in political power. At a time of chronic food shortages, the United States must decide who obtains what and under what political conditions." This is one of the reasons that the food problem focuses on itself the attention of all countries of the world, without regard to their social structure, and why even advanced capitalist countries, to the extent that they are not self-sufficient, are attempting to increase, or achieve, self-sufficiency.

A no less significant factor influencing our policy on self-sufficiency is the constant increase in prices on world markets. During the past 10 years (1970 to 1980) the price of wheat has risen 3.31 times, that of corn 2.33 times, of soybeans 2.53 times, of fodder cakes 2.9 times, of fish meal 2.56 times, etc. For our conditions, it is also important that within the generally rising trend of prices the prices of imported raw materials are growing at a more rapid pace than prices for food products. This means, among other things, that it is essential to better and more

efficiently utilize imported raw materials, to attempt to increase domestic production, and to increase the volume and quality of exported agricultural and food products, but also to form corresponding reserves so as to take better advantage of conjunctural price fluctuations on capitalist markets, as established by the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee on 21-22 March 1979.

Long-range projections of price developments on world markets indicate that we must count in the future on a continuing upward price trend. For this reason, in "Report on Party Activity and the Development of Society Since the 15th CPCZ Congress and Additional Party Tasks," delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, it was stated that "It will be more and more difficult and demanding of foreign currency reserves to import agricultural products and foodstuffs. Therefore we cannot assure a high level of food consumption by increasing imports, but above all through domestic production." (Report on the Activity and Development of Society and on Additional Party Tasks, Delivered by General Secretary Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress. Prague; Svoboda, 1981 p 22). This effort toward achieving self-sufficiency in grains and increasing overall self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is not an orientation toward closing the economy to international trade in agricultural products and raw materials, but toward the maximum utilization of domestic natural conditions and resources, while developing simultaneously various forms of cooperation within the framework of the CEMA countries toward the common resolution of the food and raw materials problem. From these positions it is necessary to move not only to a theoretical resolution of this problem but also to the practical administrative activity of party, state and managerial organs.

To fulfill the task of achieving self-sufficiency, it will be necessary to increase overall agricultural output by 10 percent during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, including the more rapid development of plant production than of livestock (the majority of plant production--about 80 percent--goes to the raising of livestock either directly, or in the form of industrially produced feeds). The focus of the development of plant production is being placed, in addition to further increases in grain production, primarily on an increase in the production of bulk fodder and high protein feed, areas where we so far have the most unused capacity. In livestock production, efforts are being focused above all on the development of cattle breeding because, given the limited sources of concentrated fodder and protein supplements, we will have to provide for the increased meat consumption demanded by the increase in population during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, as opposed to previous five-year plans, above all by increasing the production of cattle for slaughter, in view of the stagnation in the production of pork. And while in the Sixth Five-Year Plan cattle for slaughter accounted for only one-fifth of the overall increase in livestock for slaughter, this percentage is to increase to about 60 percent during the Seventh Five-Year Plan. These changes in the structure of meat production, in conjunction with a simultaneous increase in the consumption of milk and milk products, will make possible a further increase in the quality of food-consumption patterns.

The main directions of the resolution of agricultural tasks consist above all of additional intensification of production through the application of scientific findings, mechanization and chemicalization, and a deepening of concentration and specialization, a more thorough utilization of domestic resources, a more responsible fulfillment of responsibilities by a number of supplying sectors and services,

and a reduction of losses in the overall process of agricultural and food production, including the frugal utilization of the produced foodstuffs. The food industry, therefore, has been allotted no small assignment in the implementation of the policy of increasing self-sufficiency. This assignment pertains to the improved utilization of raw materials by placing a high value on them, but also by increasing quality, shelf life and by expanding the product mix in accordance with consumer requirements. Among other things, this also presupposes a much more creative and intensive degree of cooperation with agricultural enterprises, and the development of cooperative and integrative relationships.

Biological and technical services, as well as the scientific research base will also take a much more active role than previously in assuring agricultural and foodstuff production, including the full application of scientifically managed raising of livestock and plants, the biochemicalization of agricultural production, and the operation of the entire managerial sphere. These are the basic preconditions for the implementation of the requirements of the 16th CPCZ Congress for an additional increase in self-sufficiency in food.

Considering that during the Seventh Five-Year Plan a unit of increase in agricultural and foodstuff production will be assured with relatively fewer productive resources (with a flower overall area of agricultural land, less labor, lower increases in industrial fertilizers, roughly the same overall amount of investment capital as in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, significantly lower grain imports, etc.), it is clear that the overall strategic emphasis of our economic policy on increasing the efficiency and quality of all work and the shifting of the economy to an intensive growth path applies unambiguously and with great urgency to the food and agriculture branch as well. It requires that the greatest possible number of high-quality products of the desired mix be produced from every koruna expended on investment and wages, from every kilogram of fertilizer, from every unit of energy that is consumed, and from every hectare of agricultural land. To achieve these objectives, as well as to support the overall fulfillment of tasks, the implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System is also directed at the conditions of agriculture and of the food and agricultural complex, and its more intensive application is planned as of 1 January 1982. In addition to effective measures applied thoroughly at agricultural enterprises, particularly related to management of the stock of agricultural land and an increase in its fertility and rational utilization, it is necessary to support with still greater efficiency the production of those private farming plots, of small breeders and growers, steps which will make it possible not only to increase the level of domestic supplies, but also to enrich and make more varied the markets for, above all, meat, vegetables, and fruit.

The critical measure of the intensification of production must be a constantly increasing volume of domestic agricultural production per unit of agricultural land, in the required mix and of the required quality, and with the lowest possible social labor costs per unit of production. One of the basic ways to achieve this is through additional increases of per hectare yields and in the utility values of livestock on the basis of the development and broad based, comprehensive application of scientific and technical findings and progressive experiences.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to create the required space for the full and effective application of scientific and technical progress through the development of the

social division of labor in all of its forms, and of mutually beneficial cooperative and integrative relationships.

Issues of cooperation and specialization have recently been one of the most pressing problems of the agriculture of the socialist countries. K. Marx and F. Engels already devoted their attention to this, when they wrote in the volumes about the prospects for small peasant farmer management. V.I. Lenin provided these thoughts with a fully practical form in the works known as Lenin's Cooperative Plan.

What was typical of cooperation and production concentration during the first stage of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture from 1959-1960?

It was the carrying out of revolutionary changes, above all in the area of production relations without great changes in the forces of production. It was cooperation which took place through the forming of cooperatives from former private farmers. After the realization of socialist restructuring and as a consequence of the development of the forces of production, especially the technology that was being employed, matters led to an increase in the size of agricultural cooperative enterprises through mergers.

In the second half of the sixties we encounter a qualitatively new phenomenon in the concentration of agricultural production. Enterprises came about which, as opposed to the existing universal enterprises with a many-faceted production structure, were characterized by an already high degree of concentration and specialization in production, often limited to a single marketable product, or a single activity. These were enterprises engaged in the production of eggs, poultry, etc. These enterprises represent a new phase in the development of concentration, in that it was achieved on the basis of narrow specialization and interenterprise cooperation which was related to a significant entrance of science into production. At this stage it was already not a matter of acting on and applying only practical experiences and separate findings of individual scientific disciplines, but a mutually interrelated complex of disciplines which fundamentally changed the existing technology, organization, and management of production. In reaction to these new realities, the 14th CPCZ Congress stated in its final resolution that "socialist agriculture is entering into a new stage in its development. Additional immense development of the forces of production, and especially the efficiency application of mass production techniques and technologies requires a significant, committed concentration and specialization of plant and livestock production. The fundamental precondition for this is, primarily, the formation and intensification of cooperative relationships...." (14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Prague; Svoboda, 1971 p 575).

The significance attached to these issues by the CPCZ Central Committee is evident from a resolution of 1 June 1976, "Concerning the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interenterprise Cooperation and Agricultural and Industrial Integration." It is stated in this resolution that the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of broad cooperative and its conversion to a modern industrial basis are the main directions of the further development of socialist agriculture and a new stage in the practical realization of Lenin's cooperative plan under the conditions of developed socialism. At the same time, it emphasizes that the development of these processes must be considered as one of the most significant state and party tasks.

The overall course of concentration, specialization, and cooperation in the fifth and sixth five-year plans fully confirms the correctness of the basic line, as outlined in this area by the 16th CPCZ Congress. It has had a positive influence on the construction of a new, mass production base in agriculture, as well as on production and economic performance in other sectors.

For this reason the 16th CPCZ Congress also deliniated the task of continuing in the concentration and specialization of production within the existing agricultural enterprises, and of developing cooperative, within the framework of agriculture, between agriculture and the food industry and, in certain areas, also with commerce as an important path to the further growth and increased efficiency of agricultural output and the production of food.

However, in view of the much more difficult economic situation, a high level of managerial efficiency comes to the forefront much more forcefully than at the start of the development of this process, given the necessity for fully respecting the possibilities for an optimal resolution of the structure of production and of natural conditions. The pressing nature of this approach stems from an ever-worsening fuel and energy resources balance, especially in the case of motor fuels, the consumption of which will increase in disproportionate relationship to achieved effects during an additional increase in the concentration of production (for instance, a high degree of concentration in cattle raising increases production costs by several times, especially transportation costs).

The existing highly concentrated and specialized agricultural production also creates the conditions for a much closer link between it and the industry processing the agricultural raw materials. It enables the industry to participate directly in, and more efficiently influence, the required amounts and quality of the produced raw materials, as well as their delivery for processing.

The uneven progress of scientific research and of scientific and technical progress in individual branches of production, and the connection between the development rates of livestock and plant production create, however, differentiated conditions for qualitative changes in the concentration of production. It is no accident that the preconditions for concentration, based as they are on specialization, are formed much earlier for certain branches of livestock production, such as poultry or swine raising, where we are dealing with a relatively more simple reproduction process and method of production.

Even though development during the 10 years since the adoption of the basic document on the development of concentration and specialization has enriched our knowledge and experience, it is necessary to state that we are still at the beginning. Socialist production relationships are creating the necessary space for the development of a social division of labor which is, as V.I. Lenin emphasized, "basically endless, just as is technical evolution." (V.I. Lenin: "Works," vol 1, p 109). Therefore one of the major responsibilities of employees in science, research, and practice is to analyze systematically these processes and their problems, to approach suggestions sensitively and to implement in practice with greater consistency those which might positively influence further progress, in the technological, organizational or economic area. It is, however, necessary to keep in mind, that concentration and specialization are not ends in themselves but that they make

sense only if they lead to an increase in agricultural output and its efficiency. Therefore, the 16th CPCZ Congress also emphasized that it does not consider further mergers of agricultural enterprises as proper at the present time. The crucial path to follow remains the formation and improvement of specific interenterprise cooperative relationships which, especially in the area of agricultural technology, bring significant results. In addition to attention to increasing the operational reliability of mechanized assets and to the efficient utilization of heavy machinery, some success is also being achieved, through cooperative mergers, in improving the quality of the spare parts distribution and supply system for agricultural enterprises, with the cooperation of the organizations of STS [State Tractor Stations] and OZS [Agricultural Machinery Repair Shops]. Increasing concentration and intensifying specialization through interenterprise cooperation has not only production and economic advantages, but also socio-political ones. Scientific and technical progress implemented on this foundation also contributes to sharp changes in the lives of agricultural workers, to a convergence of agriculture and industry, of the city and country, not only in the realm of work conditions, but also the conditions of the rest of life as well.

The development of cooperation will create the possibility for speeding up the process of the industrialization of agricultural production and, thereby, the level of its socialization. By means of industrialization we are gradually replacing tiring, manual and unskilled work with skilled and machinery-oriented work, and removing the boundaries between physical and mental labor, between agricultural and industrial work.

The incorporation of all employees of cooperating enterprises into a uniformly managed production process is bringing forth qualitative changes in the material conditions of the labor process. A unification of labor conditions is coming about. The nature of work is changing. Work with machines and assembly lines objectively brings an organized manner and the necessity for maintaining technological discipline to the work process. This is one of the levels at which the cooperative farming class is merging with the working class.

Socialist industry and the working class are playing important roles in the transferral of agriculture to an industrial base. On the other hand, a dynamically and efficiently developing agriculture is an important factor in overall economic developing and the political stability of society. The unity of political interests of the working class and the cooperative farmer class is strengthened through this deepening connection. Moreover scientific and technical development is increasing the significance of qualified managerial staff, employees in science and in research, and of the educational system, and this is forming the basis for an ongoing strengthening of the alliance of both of the basic classes of our society with the socialist intelligentsia. The increasing extent of the socialization of labor is also leading to a gradual merging of the two existing forms of socialist ownership in agriculture. Both of these forms--state and cooperative--interact among themselves and adopt progressive elements of organization, management, compensation, etc. from each other, thereby speeding up the development of the forces of production. This process must be constantly monitored from the positions of socialist management principles in such a way as to fortify elements of popular ownership, accompanied by the consistent application of khozraschet and efficiency requirements.

The industrialization of agriculture, in conjunction with an intensifying division of labor, has reached the stage when the production of agricultural raw materials and foods is more and more dependent on the other branches of the national economy, particularly on the chemical industry, the agricultural equipment sector, the fuel and energy sector, etc. While deliveries from these other branches to agriculture represented only a fourth of agricultural production at the beginnings of its socialist restructuring, today they represent 70 percent of the total. This points to an expanding share of responsibility for a broad range of production sectors in the production of agricultural raw material and food.

Both analyses and practice have unambiguously demonstrated that the successful realization of the self-sufficiency program for foodstuff production is directly conditioned by the balance between, and quality of the intersectoral ties among, all the branches and sectors influencing agricultural production, by the technical sophistication and quality of the capital assets and services which are provided, and by their efficient utilization in the direct production of agricultural raw materials and foods.

This is the reason the 16th CPCZ Congress placed such great emphasis on the assignment and responsibility of the delivering branches for the fulfillment of the tasks of the food and agriculture industries.

The necessity for improving the planning and management system is just as pressing for agriculture as it is for the entire national economy. This must be based on measures aimed at introducing a high level of intensity into agricultural production, by way of supporting efforts toward the improved utilization of agricultural raw materials and toward reducing continuing high losses in production, but also in related processes. These measures must also play a significant role in overcoming differences in the performance of agricultural enterprises operating in comparable natural and economic conditions.

The focus of managerial and planning activity must be the assurance of the comprehensiveness and coordinated character of the plan. At the same time, there must be a simplification of this activity so that sufficient space may be given to agricultural enterprises for the development of initiatives directed at the overfulfillment of tasks related to the socially desirable product mix. This presupposes the active participation not only of every agricultural enterprise, but also of its labor collectives at the stage of plan formulation. The main content of management must be the introduction and the full practical utilization of the most recent scientific and technical findings, the experiences of the best employees, the preparation of professional and managerial staff and their effective placement. Management must also create pressure in the direction of increasing employee qualifications and, in accordance with this, in the direction of the proper implementation of material incentives according to the principle "to each according to the amount and quality of the work he has performed," both for individuals and for labor collectives and entire enterprises. With this in mind, measures are being prepared for the more efficient implementation of the principles of the khozraschet management technique in all agricultural enterprises.

Proposed alterations in the purchase prices of certain agricultural products will also help to assure that production is oriented in socially desirable directions. These alterations are directed particularly at the support of the further development of cattle breeding.

The implementation of these directives will require an active approach by managerial organs and party organizations, and will place great demands on the choice of staff and on work with people, who are the ones who pass the final judgment concerning the fulfillment of objectives. This is the basic condition for the achievement of the demanding objectives set for the food and agriculture industry by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

9276
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BRIEFS

WORLD WOMEN'S CONGRESS AGENDA--In only a few tens of hours the most significant event of the progressive international women's movement will be opened. On Thursday morning the Prague palace of culture will open its doors to the delegates and guests of the world women's congress. It will be attended by more than 1,000 representatives of women's, trade union, youth and other organizations, representatives of international and regional organizations, and representatives of the United Nations and its specialized institutions. On 14 October it will be followed by a 2-day session of the 8th congress of the international democratic women's federation. During the working part of the world women's congress two plenary sessions and a 3-day session of the six congress commissions will be held. They will focus on questions concerning the struggle for peace and disarmament, the position of women in the work process, women's social equality and the problem of family in different parts of the world. The delegates will also assess the results of their efforts in the struggle for national independence and the development and prospects of cooperation between national, regional and international women's organizations and United Nations' organizations. [Hana Labudova report: "The Voice of Peace Will Resound From Prague; Prior to the Opening of the World Women's Congress"] [Excerpt] [AU071455 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 81 pp 1.2]

CSO: 2400/48

POLITICAL CRISIS, SOLIDARITY STRATEGY ASSESSED

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Oct 81 pp 1, 3-4

[Article by special correspondent Ignacio Ramonet: "The Rise of an Opposition Power in Crisis-Troubled Poland"]

[Text] On the eve of the resumption of the Solidarity trade union federation's first congress, Stefan Olszowski, a member of the political bureau of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), suggested the formation of a "national front" uniting the party, the church and Solidarity. The prime minister, General Jaruselski, has himself mentioned creating a "coalition platform" gathering together "all those who are not against socialism."

These stands show how lively the debates are over necessary and difficult compromises in the face of the economy's dramatic deterioration at the approach of winter. In fact, recovery is inconceivable without the cooperation of the country's vital forces.

In this regard, the Solidarity congress will have highlighted the determination of the workingclass rank-and-file to carry its demands into the political arena from now on. Faced with the government's shortcomings, the trade union federation itself, supported by the church, is being irretrievably led to set itself up as an opposing political power. From this point of view, plans are taking shape in Solidarity's midst while a flowering of factions behind its apparent unity shows the existence of very diverse currents of thought.

Solidarity, as the "Polish people's assembly," has a strategy which consists for the moment of dealing carefully with the PZPR and, regarding itself, of seeking to exercise a certain amount of control over governmental power without aspiring to hold it all.

Thus, the Polish United Workers Party leadership's obsessive fear is being borne out: The Solidarity trade union federation is establishing itself more and more as a political opposition organization. And the military maneuvers on the Baltic coast, on the eastern borders, in Silesia, and on the Oder have hardly succeeded

at all in intimidating the delegates to the independent trade union federation's 1st congress. Quite the contrary. Beyond demands aimed at improving its working and living conditions, the Polish working class is now clearly insisting on profound changes of a political, economic, social and moral nature. It is hoping for the advent of law, the resurrection of right, and the resurgence of justice. In short, it is calling for a revolution.

Thirteen months after the signing of the Gdansk agreements on 31 August 1980, the balance of power in Poland is radically altered. Solidarity has acquired an extraordinary amount of power through the number of its members, the extend to which it is established, and the popularity of its actions, whereas the PZPR has nearly broken down: A third of its activitists have joined the independent trade union federation and a profound demoralization has overcome the entire party apparatus which is more isolated than ever. Moreover, the church as gone beyond its traditional discretion and has conspicuously allied itself with Solidarity while continuing to preach moderation. In circumstances like these, the government's warning shots and the PZPR leadership's admonitions do not impress the trade unionists at all, for nobody is any longer unaware that nowadays the government, the PZPR and the national assembly itself have lost all representativeness in practice. Therefore, only a single organized force remains to defend the regime's principles: The army, ideologically controlled by the Political Leadership Center which is itself organically linked to the Soviet Union.

There is little doubt about the loyalty of the military hierarchy as a whole to the regime; on the other hand, the attitude of the soldiers in the event of confrontation with the workers remains uncertain. This is especially the case since fresh conscripts have been drafted who in many instances participated in the August 1980 strikes and the vast majority of whom are members of or sympathizers with a Solidarity trade union (a workers' union, farmers' union or student union). Solidarity has up to now refrained from setting up soldiers' committees in order not to exasperate an already desperate government. But it goes without saying that the independent trade union federation is in a position to form them in most units. Such a possibility makes the government uneasy, and the remarks of the prime minister, Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski, in his speech to the PZPR's 9th Congress on 9 July 1981 betrayed that anxiety to some extent: "In the current difficult period," he said, "our armed forces have not changed. They have maintained their unity and obedience. The party has confidence in the army. That confidence commits our soldiers. I am convinced that they will not fail to satisfy expectations."

The rapid and unexpected sinking of the regime has compelled Solidarity to take more and more initiatives of a distinctly political nature irrelevant to the trade union area in a strict sense. There is no doubt that this move into politics is being done prematurely in the opinion of trade union leaders. But at the same time it is valuable element of stability for Poland, for, since the authorities have lost all credibility, real anarchy in the life of society might have been feared.

Solidarity currently embodies a "social movement of conscious citizens" as much as it does a trade union organization. It is struggling to solve all of society's problems, especially in the area of democratic practices. By calling for genuinely free elections at all levels, an end to the "Nomenklatura" [official table of organization], social control over mass media, and freedom for prisoners of

conscience, Solidarity is expressing demands of a political nature and is setting itself up as a real opposition power. However, it is not a party, and the trade union federation as such could not take over the political leadership of the Polish revolution.

Solidarity, which is quite a collection of political currents and families, does not have a well-defined overall ideology. It is a democratic movement which tries hard to fight against a system's "lies" (fighting against lies is fundamental) and whose political positions remain quite simple: Defense of human rights, civil liberties, democracy, and national independence. From this standpoint, as the philosopher Leszek Kolakowski would say, it is a "liberal conservative socialist" movement, a sort of politically mixed moral conscience on a national scale.

Its members, united as Poles and trade unionists, do not all have the same opinions on questions of a socio-political nature. Important ideological cleavages exist within the trade union federation; several factions oppose each other and advance their own solutions (political or strategic) for winning out in conflict with the government. Nowadays the country's fate depends to some extent on the greater or lesser amount of influence one or another of those tendencies has on the overall line.

The Impatience of the Rank and File

At the end of a year of trade union conflicts an initial conclusion emerges: The most radical faction, the one most opposed to the government in a head-on fashion and least inclined toward concessions, is that of the working-class rank and file--factory, shipyard and mine workers. Whenever it expresses itself directly (as in the speeches of delegates Sobieszek and Rulewski at the Gdansk Congress), it fiercely demands the following on an immediate basis: Relinquishment of the leading role entrusted to the party, free elections, an end to ideological constraints on the economy, strict social control over the militia and secret police, and independence with regard to the Soviet Union. This radicalism of the working class was only exacerbated during the course of the year, to the point that it now rejects Marxist and communist vocabulary and, in contradictory fashion, wishes for an extreme egalitarianism which would give way to a market economy sector, all mixed with patriotic and religious considerations. All of the clashes since August 1980 (particularly the Jelenia Gora, Beilesko Biala, Lodz, Bydgoszcz, Huta Warswawa, Olsztyn and Rzeszow affairs) show that Solidarity's leaders have had, sometimes with great difficulty, to put a brake on their rank and file and trim demands to fit what was in the circumstances reasonable for the government.

While that is the general characteristic of the rank and file, regional and national leadership, on the other hand, appear much less homogeneous and splits are readily perceptible on two levels, political and strategic.

In spite of fluctuations and normal regroupings in this period of great feverish activism, one can make out two large dominant currents in regard to politics: Social democracy and nationalism.

Within the former, there are two tracks proposed among advocates of self-management.

Mrs Jadwiga Staniszkis'ss line (she is a Warsaw sociologist and former member of the Solidarity national leadership group of experts), sometimes labelled leftist, champions the concept of a form of self-management strongly organized at the grass-roots level and disregarding intermediate economic levels. This faction normally expounds its arguments in NTO (the science, technology and education clubs' information bulletin), a publication of the Warsaw trade union federation. These arguments find support from the philosopher Wlozimierz Wypych. One of the principle merits of this faction's driving force is that she has unquestionably made workers throughout the country aware of the self-management issue.

The other self-management track is Jerzy Milerski's (he is a professor at the Gdansk Polytechnic School and member of the regional leadership). He originated what is called the "network," which is the periodic gathering of representatives from trade union branches of the country's largest enterprises to consider this self-mangement issue. At the beginning of July before the PZPR congress this "network" made public a "bill regarding self-managed enterprise." According to that document the running of factories would be turned over to a council of workers elected by the body of wage-earning employees. This council would appoint the directors (who would therefore not be designated any more by the party in accordance with the "Nomenklatura" principle) and the workers would set themselves up as managers of an enterprise which would of course remain the property of the nation.

By putting an end to the "Nomenklatura," this plan would weaken the PZPR which the plan would cut off from its careerist supporters. This road to self-management, which has been approved on a mass basis in factories, has become the entire trade union federation's line. Solidarity has adopted it as a basis for consideration for the establishment of a self-management system in Poland. According to Jerzy Milewski, power would pass into the hands of the workers as a result of this type of self-management. All of society could organize itself in self-management cells (tenant associations, consumer groups, etc.) and in that way have a share in control over power. Jerzy Milewski opposes any self-limitation of this process whatsoever. Self-limitation is, as is well known, an idea of the Social Self-defense Committee (KOR). Milewski wants the process to be "free, resolute, and unhesitating," According to him it would be the best answer to the regime's inability to organize the economy.

Jerzy Milewski is one of the leaders who has contributed the most towards orienting Solidarity in the direction of politics, previously considered a shameful area. He has himself just launched a new group, the Polish Labor Party[1], which is meant to be lending support to the self-management plan and the whole body of trade unionist policy.

Within the social-democratic family, the socialist current (by and large predominant in Solidarity) is also split into two factions: Secular and Catholic.

Among the secular elements the most influential by far is KOR[2], or, more specifically, KOR's "secular left." Its historical leaders, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, who have Marxist training and are former PZPR members, contributed directly towards creating the independent trade union federation. As experts close to the leadership, these two men defend a genuine socialist line with great political realism. It is in large part Jacek Kuron's tactical experience which has more than once made

it possible for the trade union federation to avoid being in a bad position vis-a-vis the government of finding itself outflanked by its rank and file. In spite of his usual moderation, Jacek Kuron has opposed Lech Walesa several times on questions of tactics (in particular at the time of the dramatic Bydgoszcz affair when KOR's entire "secular left" and its allies rose up against Walesa's radical moderation).

Certain influential personalities in the trade union federation are close to this current, in particular Karol Modzelewski (expelled from the PZPR at the same time as Jacek Kuron) whose political understanding and eloquence fascinate a agreat number of activists. In his opinion Solidarity is basically a working-class movement which must put its strategy for controlling power on a middle course between Leninist descipline and spontaneous improvisation. Andrezej Gwiazda's group (he is an engineer, member of the trade union federation's national leadership, and founder of the free trade unions of the Baltic in 1978), which is also allied with the "secular left," is more violently opposed to the arguments upheld by Lech Walesa's populist line. He defends the concept of Solidarity as a social movement which naturally has to go beyond the legal framework of the Gdansk agreements. In Adrzej Gwiazda's opinion, there is no economic crisis in Poland. That crisis is only a manifestation of the political crisis.

KOR's "secular left" (influential especially in Warsaw, in Great Poland and in Upper Silesia) is characterized by a sense of the conrete and by its capacity for resolving specific problems and organizing specific actions. Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik feel the the way of reaching a goal is as important as the goal itself. They therefore preach the ethics of means (which the end, whatever it may be, cannot justify) and criticize the cynicism which often characterizes political practices. They favor self-organization and oppose centralizing structures on every occasion. In spite of their character, their influence, and their sectoral popularity, the leaders of this "secular left" cannot hope to run the Solidarity trade union federation either directly or indirectly. As intellectuals they remain suspect in the eyes of a large part of the rank and file which also criticized them for their secularity and their past as PZPR activists.

A second KOR current, formed around GLOS [Voice] newspaper and show leader is Antoni Macierewicz, might be called "Christian socialist." It gathers together most of KOR's non-Marxist members who feel that there are no more classes, in the Marxist sense of the work, in Poland and that it is therefore mistaken to consider Solidarity merely as a working-class movement. This current attaches great importance to working out an economic program and it is in fact an economist from among its ranks, Stefan Kurowski, who is the author of the plan[3] most widely agreed upon within Solidarity for getting Poland out of its crisis state. Stefan Kurowski, considered to be one of the country's eminent economists, has also conceived a political plan: He is currently proposing regrouping all the factions within Solidarity with the exception of the "secular left" into a huge political grouping called "Independence and Democracy."

The group of Christian socialists also includes presitigious Catholic intellectuals such as, for example, Messrs T. Masuwiecki and B. Cywinski, who run the trade union federation's national weekly, SOLIDARNOSC [Solidiarity] (circulation: 500,000 copies), as well as Professor Geremek, one of the advisers who undoubtedly exercises

a significant influence on Lech Walesa. In general, these Catholic intellectuals feel that the trade union movement ought to stay within the framework of the Gdansk agreements. In order to get the country out of political and economic chaos, they are counting on a moderate agreement with the government which would permit them to set up a kind of national committee of public safety of which they would be the main elements.

Walesa's National Struggle

Lech Walesa himself is the embodiment of a populist current. His political ideas are fairly general and are confined to notions of liberty, democracy and national sovereignty. Shaped by religion and very much linked to the clergy, he has been strongly influenced by the former primate of Poland, Msgr Wyszynski, whose counsels of moderation he has always followed (particularly at the time of the Bydgoszcz affair lat March). He maintains special ties with the current primate, Msgr Glemp, and undoubtedly listens to the Supreme Pontiff's opinion. Walesa has undeniable charisma which he places in the service of a political plan with a unifying purpose. In this opinion Solidarity represents a moral force which is the expression of the Polish nation. The national character of the trade union federation overrides everything. Walesa is leading a national struggle against the disintegration and breaking up of Polish values. It is not by chance that this populist current which he embodies has assigned the trade union federation (whose name, Solidarity, attests to this unifying desire) the very symbols of "eternal" Poland: The national flag, crowned eagle, Catholic cross, and patriotic anthem.

Nationalists are active in the Young Poland movement which is very influential in the Gdansk region. In that region a number of them occupy responsible positions within the trade union federation's administrative machinery (at national and regional levels). The leaders of Young Poland, in particular Aleksander Hall, support Lech Walesa's line. Though they are nationalists, they stand up for a democratic and pluralist conception of society ("in which even the communist party," they say, "would have its place") and feel that returning the economy to the private sector on a general basis is not at all to be desired. They wish for genuine independence vis-a-vis the USSR but acknowledge that a non-communist Poland must keep up good relations with it; they would agree to a kind of "Finlandization" of their country. Young Poland is a fast-expanding movement which held its 1st congress 20-21 July 1981 in Gdynia in which some hundred delegates from all over Poland participated.[4] This fact in and of itself constitutes a significant event in the history of contemporary Poland for until the present time no unofficial party had been able to hold a congress with the knowledge of the authorities.

The Young Poland movement draws its inspiration in part from the political thinking of the essayist Lech Badkowski who, for his part, has just founded a club for political reflection in Gdansk, Constitution of 3 May[5], with the aim of bringing together politicians with different perspectives, inviting them to jointly turn their attention to the concrete problems which face the country. Clubs of this kind, not yet authorized, are starting to multiply. They now exist in Torun, Wroclaw and Krakow. In the near future they could give birth to new parties.

Badkowski, who advised Walesa at the time the Gdansk agreements were being negotiated, is highly regarded for his political shrewdness and for his constructive moderation. He feels that when the situation has stabilized Solidarity must get back to the

"right format" for a trade union and must see its position and powers diminish, especially with regard to its surrogate functions. In addition he considers it "neither normal nor healthy" that the church be responsible for playing a role as a protector of trade unions and political mediator. Finally, as long ago as last March he was one of the first to have publicly proposed an "historic compromise among all indispensable forces--namely, the communist party, Solidarity, the church, and political clubs--in order that Poland may be well governed"[6] as a possible solution to the impasse the country finds itself in . It is in fact Lech Badkowski to whom Lech Walesa entrusted the management of the big upcoming Solidarity weekly, ZAMOZARDNOSC (Self-management), which will come out in November with a run of 250,000 copies.

The ultranationalist current is represented by sympathizers of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN). Founded in 1979 by Robert Moczulski on the political foundations he expounded in his book "Revolution Without Revolution," the KPN is a curious political phenomenon since it is a grouping without a specific program and about which people know only its slogans of total and immediate national independence and breaking off with the Soviet Union. In spite of its lack of a program, an undeniable sympathy towards the KPN is slowly spreading over the country, especially in industrial regions like Silesia. Its being radically against the government is undeniably appealing, and the fact that the KPN's leaders are in prison fosters that sympathy. These extremists, called "counter-revolutionary elements" by the regime, call the PZPR in turn an "anti-national force," which in the eyes of Poles represents the worst of political abominations. It is KPN sympathizers who got the motion adopted at the Solidarity congress calling for free elections at all levels, thus making confrontation with the government inevitable before long since the next regional electios are supposed to take place next December. Within Solidarity KPN people control most of the committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience.

Confronting the Government

All these political components, organized into factions, make Solidarity a new type of trade union federation in which workers now also express citizen demands in an attempt to find a balance between notions of equality and freedom. The political debate in its midst is of a revolutionary spirit and aims at reconciling individual freedom, social freedom, and national freedom. In any case, analysis of these different factions shows that the accusation of antisocialism so often brought against some of these currents (in particular against KOR) is unfounded. None of the components (even a minority one) is proposing the restoration of capitalism. On the contrary, the great majority want to see a powerful socialist party reborn.

In the area of strategy, which is to say in regard to the forms which confrontation with the government ought to take, there are also differences of opinion within the independent trade union federation. Moreover, it is in that area that the opposition between "radicals" and "moderates" has all of its meaning. Apart from the rank and file, which, as has been observed, wants a confrontation with the government as soon as possible, "radicals" are mainly recruited from the KPN as well as Jerzy Milewski's and Andrzej Gwiazda's groups. All the other currents (KOR, social-Christians, Young Poland and populists) are usually "moderate" and in a realistic fashion seek a negotiated agreement with the regime.

It is interesting to note that the main program these adopted by the congress (self-management, ending the 'Nomenklatura" and free elections) were proposed by "radical" sectors (Milewski's group and KPN people, respectively), undoubtedly as a consequence of the offensive conducted by the government in July and August against the trade union dfederation's leadership. That leadership was then forced into becoming radical and just before the PZPR congress had to accept Milewski's self-management program arguments. However, it is well known that KOR, for example, is not completely won over by those arguments. In addition, the "secular left" thinks that it is also too soon to call for free elections. Free elections would deprive the PZPR of the legal basis of its power and from that point on references to its "leadership role" would have hardly any meaning. The USSR would see itself stripped of its institutional guarantees and no verbal guarantee could succeed in dissuading it from intervening. Therefore KOR feels that the national guarantees of the party's power must not be done away with, that that is the limitation on the Polish revolution. This is without a doubt an awkward limitation but beyond it lies only confrontation in KOR's opinion.

In the face of the government's lack of comprehension and its aggressiveness, the tactic of Solidarity's moderates has consisted of letting the radicals express themselve freely. In this way the government has been able to size up the deep-seated will for change existing in the country. But now it is the entire trade union federation which finds itself going down a road on which there turns out to be very little room for compromise.

At any rate, the system is deteriorating seriously as a result of the simultaneous existence of a powerful democratic organization and, on the other hand, administrative structures which are still totalitarian. It is necessary to quickly accomplish a restructuring and stabilization of the social and economic system (that is the whole political significance of Solidarity's self-management plan, since through self-management workers would exercise a democratic influence on the decisions determining economic and social policy on the national level--they would be integrated into a changing set of responsibilities which could perhaps reconcile the contradictory requirements of social reality and international reality). In the event this does not happen, the system's rapid deterioration could lead to worse. Now then, at the present time it is the PZPR, isolated and discredited, in whose interest it is to paint things as black as possible. It is now the PZPR which might be short on realism and let itself slip into adventurism by acts of provocation against Solidarity. For example, possible recourse to a state of emergency (on 2 occasions in September the government was on the point of proclaiming one) or authorizing the militarization of enterprises would provoke a radical response from Solidarity--a general strike.[7] The army and the working class would then find themselves face to face. To the discomfiture of all camps, a build-up of one-upmanship would risk leading Poland into inevitable disaster and tragedy.

PHOTO CAPTION

Posted on walls in al the large cities, widespread skepticism: "PIERWSZY EFEKT IX ZJAZDU PZPR: OBCIECIE RACJI ZYWNOSCIOWYCH!" [First result of the 9th PZPR Congress: Reduction of food rations by half!]

FOOTNOTES

1. Jerzy Milewski, "Polska Partia Pracy" [Polish Labor Party] followed by "Statut Tymczasowy polskiej partii pracy" [Provisional Statute of the Polish Labor Party], 32 pages, mimeographed, Gdansk, 1981.

2. KOR has ceased its activities as an autonomous organization since Solidarity was set up. Its members, mostly intellectuals, have blended into the trade union federation where they perform advisory functions in regional and national leadership bodies. KOR's formal dissolution does not lessen this current's prestige, influence or importance within Solidarity.

3. Stefan Kurowski, "Wyjsciez Kryzysu - Program Alternatywny" [Way Out of Crisis - Alternative Program], 8 pages, mimeographed, Warsaw, September 1981 (see page 4 article by Jean-Yves Potel).

4. "Ruch Mlodej Polski, Wobec Obecnych Problemow Kraju" [Movement of Young Poland Vis-a-Vis Current Problems of the Country], 16 pages, mimeographed, Gdansk, 1981.

5. This club puts out an information bulletin entitled "Wlazne Zdanie" [Own Opinion] (two issues have come out), available free of charge at the following address: Ulica Maracka 50/52, 80/833 Gdansk.

6. POLITYKA, 7 March 1981, Warsaw.

7. "La societe polonaise et l'etat d'urgence" [Polish Society and the State of Emergency], L'ALTERNATIVE, Issue 12, September-October 1981.

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CSO: 3100/65

CHANGES IN TEACHER'S CHARTER PROPOSED

ZNP Social Commission Proposes Charter Changes

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 4 Jan 81 pp 7, 11

[Article by Kazimierz Wojciechowski]

[Text] The educational milieu is completely convinced that changes are needed in the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher. Remarks, demands and concrete proposals were made concerning this issue during the last electoral campaign by ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] elements, as well as at the 13th National Congress of Delegates.

Opposing these demands, the Secretariat of the Main Board of ZNP-Education and Upbringing Employees, elected at that congress, appointed a working team of employees of the main board. This team, selected 25 October 1980, was to gather materials and develop an initial concept for changes in the charter. A month later, at a plenary meeting of the Main Board of ZNP-Education and Upbringing Employees, the Social Commission for Updating the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher was appointed. This commission included union activists and teachers as well as representatives of union sections.* Teofil Nowak, director of the ZNP ZG [Main Board] Legal and Social Affairs Department, chaired the commission. From the ZG ZNP Secretariat, Lilia Gorniak, ZG ZNP secretary, also participated.

The commission members, using the recommendations, proposals and demands collected from the field and the materials prepared by the employees of the main board,

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*The commission included the following colleagues: Tomasz Biecharczyk, Krosno; Kazimierz Hawro, Czestochowa; Jozef Kaminski, Lodz; Danuta Lukowska, Szczecin; Stefan Myszczynski, Bialystok; Danuta Pandowska, Slupsk; Wladyslaw Pluta, Chelm; Helena Slugocka, Gorzow; Aleksander Szymanski, Gdansk; Henryk Wojcik, Plock; Antoni Zeglen, Zielona Gora; Mieczyslaw Gorecki, Wroclaw; Wlodzimierz Letek, Katowice; Jan Pasieka, Lodz; Barbara Mirosz, Warsaw; Marian Kopec, Poznan. Also included were representatives of union sections: Janina Kupiecka, administrative employees; Mieczyslaw Marczuk, adult education; Gabriel Rzysko, liberal arts education; Jadwiga Sadowska, library science; Irena Dudzinska, preschool upbringing; Adam Romanowski, retirees.

proposed initial charter amendments during meetings 11-12 December and 18-19 December 1980. We are presenting here the first part of those proposals; the second part will be published in a subsequent issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI.

Initial Recommendations

The commission worked on amending only regulations relating to teachers and educators. In the opinion of the commission, problems affecting university teachers should be solved separately by a team representing this category of employees. The result should then be inserted into the general charter, or a separate Charter on the Rights and Duties of the University Teacher should be developed.

The commission likewise examined the proposal of representatives of the Administrative Employees' Section and Service Employees' Section, that the regulations of the charter, like the miners' charter, cover all employees in education and upbringing; i.e., teachers, educators and employees who are not teachers. This proposal, however, could not be considered, because it would require a completely new charter, whereas the commission had been instructed to propose amendments to the existing law. However, the commission maintained that for the category of education and upbringing employees who are not teachers, the ZNP Main Board should prepare either a separate charter or a collective labor contract as soon as possible.

In undertaking work to amend the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher, the commission endeavored:

--to eliminate obsolete regulations, to transfer parts of the regulations to other legal documents, to eliminate or change those regulations universally considered by teachers as detrimental and unjust, and hindering the fulfillment of professional tasks;

--to retain all regulations representing the permanent achievement of the teacher's profession;

--to introduce regulations to improve the status of the teaching profession, to bring into the profession worthy individuals and to create stimuli for increasing the quality of the teacher's profession and, consequently, for improving the level of education and upbringing in schools and education-upbringing institutions.

Proposals in Detail

Here we will not discuss the proposed changes of a formal, a stylistic or a routine nature. We will concentrate on the proposals for essential change and supplements.

The Directorial Cadre (arts 4-6 of the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher)

The commission proposes the establishment of the following principles:

--the appointment of teachers to directorial positions and their dismissal from these positions should be approved by the pedagogical council and by the appropriate union echelons;

--appointments to directorial positions should be made for an unlimited period of time (formerly this was 5 years); only exceptionally should they be for a limited period. The school director (the director of an education-upbringing institution) should feel secure in his position;

--candidates for directorial positions should have the appropriate professional and moral qualifications and directorial capabilities.

Pedagogical Supervision (arts 7-8)

Teachers appointed to work as pedagogical supervisors should:

--be given leave (without pay) from their previous places of work;

--retain their teacher's rights: their basic wages, their merit bonuses acquired for work achievements, special awards, honors issuing from the charter, the right to additional living space, retirement rights and preferences for teachers' children;

--retain their right to functional living quarters.

The most important task of pedagogical supervisory employees is to assist the employees of schools and educational administrative units to execute their teaching, upbringing, protective and directorial functions. The next task is to ensure proper working conditions. Their third most important duty is to conduct inspections and evaluations of the operation of schools and educational administrative units.

The duty of conducting at least 2 class hours should be abolished, since in practice the implementation of this duty is a burden for both sides; it is ineffective and a considerable part of this time is wasted.

The appointment of teachers to work in pedagogical supervision in a directorial position (the curator and the deputy, the inspector and the deputy, the gmina and municipal director of schools) requires the approval of the proper union echelons; the appointment to other positions, on the other hand, requires the opinion of these echelons. The gmina school director should have the title of gmina inspector of education and upbringing. This would likewise enable the separation of the function of school director from the position of gmina school director (they are now combined).

Teachers' Qualifications (arts 9-13)

The commission proposes that the nomenclature of article 10 of the charter be abandoned; i.e., the titles: certified teacher, certified educator, secondary school professor.

Wages (arts 15-31)

In this section of the charter, the commission proposes a series of essential changes and additions. Article 15, regarding raises from 1 May 1972 to 1 September 1976, is obsolete and should be deleted. The commission proposes automatic promotions for teachers every 2 years until retirement age. Previously the obligatory

promotion came every 4 years, with the last promotion after 24 years of service (since 1 October 1980 an additional promotion after 26 years of service has been introduced). In this same article the commission recommends that the average salary of a teacher not be lower than the average salary of engineering-technical employees in the national economy. Operational allowances for directors in schools and education-upbringing institutions are proposed at 40 to 50 percent of the basic wage, and for deputy directors, one-half the amount of the director's allowance.

According to the commission's proposals, a basic change should be made in the regulations concerning overtime hours. The regulation that only a teacher who effectively utilizes overtime hours beyond the obligatory number of full-time hours during the given week is eligible for remuneration, should be deleted. Overtime hours, according to the commission's proposals, may be granted to the teacher for additional remuneration only in special cases dictated by the necessity to implement a teaching program equal to a load of not more than one-fourth full-time employment. A greater number of hours may be assigned only with the teacher's approval, and the remuneration for any overtime exceeding one-fourth full-time employment should be 50 percent greater.

Apart from these proposed changes and additions, the charter should contain the principle that the amount of a teacher's basic salary should be contingent upon the level of his education, the number of years in teaching and--a new proposal--the results of the teacher's work. The charter should shorten the possible promotional periods for excellent teachers who achieve the best results in their work.

The Teaching Load (arts 32-35)

The contents of article 32 should be changed and transferred to the executory regulations, along with the elimination of the duty of substitute teaching for 2 hours weekly without pay.

In place of article 32, the charter should further reduce the weekly teaching load to the ultimate level of 18 hours in elementary and secondary schools, whereas in other institutions conducting education-upbringing activity, the load should be reduced in a manner corresponding to the reduction of the workload in the schools. In the regulation of the teacher's worktime according to executory regulations, remuneration for overtime hours on Sunday and holidays should be paid according to the labor code.

Awards (art 38)

Article 38 should be supplemented with the entry that a plant awards fund be created for teachers and university teachers and that anniversary awards be granted to these teachers.

The amount of the anniversary awards should be set in the following way: 50 percent of the monthly remuneration for 20 years of service, 100 percent of the monthly remuneration for 25 years of service, 150 percent of the monthly remuneration for 30 years of service and 200 percent of the monthly remuneration for 35 years of service.

In addition to the plant awards funds, the special awards fund should be continued. The latter, at the disposal of the minister of education and upbringing, would be granted for special educational and scholarly achievements in the given school year. The amount of the special award should equal at least 3 months' remuneration for the given teacher.

Distinctions and Service Titles (arts 39-41)

The commission proposes that the Gold Cross of Merit be awarded to those who have served as teachers for 20 years (eliminating the term "beyond reproach"). The executory regulations should specify cases in which a teacher does not have the right to merit this distinction (e.g., unobliterated disciplinary punishment). After 30 years of distinguished pedagogical service and sociopolitical activity, the teacher should receive the Cross of a Chevalier of the Polonia Restituta (class V). Moreover, the teacher decorated with the National Education Board [KEN] Medal or with the honorary title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" should receive a special award from the minister of education and upbringing.

Article 41 (concerning professional titles) should be deleted.

Social Fund (art 42)

The text of this article should be replaced with: "For teachers and other school employees a social fund is being created, amounting to 4 percent of the planned annual private fund of the salary of these employees. This fund is likewise supported by retirees and pensioners."

Other Special Teachers' Rights (arts 43-52)

The charter should guarantee the right to free housing for teachers employed within all villages and hamlets and within cities of up to 5,000 inhabitants; this proposal expands this right. At the same time the following regulation should be added to the charter: "That teachers employed within all villages and hamlets as well as within cities of up to 5,000 inhabitants be awarded a permanent supplement to their basic salary."

Further Proposed Changes

The right to occupy living quarters in school buildings and in buildings used by schools should belong not only to employees in active service and employed in schools, but also to retirees and pensioners. If a teacher does not take advantage of free housing, the office of the local state administration is obliged to pay a suitable equivalent.

A teacher using additional housing space should be released from the obligation of paying higher rent. Should a teacher be unable to receive additional living space, the teacher should receive an equivalent in the form of 50 percent additional pay for difficult working conditions.

Teachers employed in villages should be guaranteed the purchase of fuel according to the norm for the city population by the local organs of the state administration, and they should be guaranteed free delivery of fuel to their living quarters.

A teacher working in the village, in a hamlet or in a city of up to 5,000 inhabitants, as well as members of the immediate family, should be reimbursed for travel costs of doctor's visits.

The children of teachers are entitled to first priority in admittance to nurseries, preschools, boarding schools, dormitories, university houses and secondary schools, as well as to higher schools, if they pass the entrance exam. The existing regulation speaks only of priority in admittance to boarding schools, dormitories and university houses, as well as to higher schools, if their qualifications equal other children's.

A housekeeping allowance should be awarded to all teachers beginning work in schools, immediately after completing their studies. Formerly, the condition for the payment of this allowance was the new teacher's undertaking work beyond the permanent place of residence and changing the place of residence.

The right to reduced train fares for the teacher and spouse (continuing in retirement) should be expanded at PKS [Polish Motor Transport]. This concerns work travel.

In addition, the statements in this section concerning health protection should be moved to a separate chapter entitled "Health Protection for Teachers." This section should include regulations concerning the health fund, compulsory specialized medical examinations, professional illnesses, vacations and reduced workloads for health reasons. In the regulation of vacations taken to restore health, the division of the vacation period into a 3-month period should be abandoned (vacations should be granted for a period of 1 year).

Teacher's Day (art 53)

This article, stating that "on the day commemorating the creation of the National Education Board, 14 October, each year, Teacher's Day will be celebrated," should be supplemented with the statement that this is a day free from classes and that the interested ministries, in an understanding with the appropriate trade unions, determine the particular organizational character of the festivities. (TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE)

Kazimierz Wojciechowski

ZNP Social Commission Proposals Continued

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 11 Jan 81 pp 6, 7

[Article by Kazimierz Wojciechowski]

[Text] In the previous issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, we discussed the results of the work of the union's [ZNP] Social Commission for Updating the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher. We outlined the most important proposals for changes and additions encompassing charter articles 1 to 53. A continuation of these proposals follows.

Vacations (arts 54-63)

Article 54, paragraph 1 of the charter should be supplemented with this entry: "A teacher earns a vacation on the final day of classes. The right to his next

vacation comes with every first day of the next calendar year." This gives every teacher who has worked through the entire school year the right to a recreational vacation during summer vacations.

Moreover, the possibility of a teacher's being employed during summer vacations should be reduced from 15 days to 7 days, with regard to the execution of the activities listed in article 54, paragraph 2. The assignment of duty in schools to teachers during summer vacations should be eliminated. These turns of duty in most cases are a mere formality and quite frequently disrupt the teachers' rest.

The next, very important proposal follows. According to the former provisions of the charter, in schools and educational-upbringing institutions without a summer break (e.g., in preschools and children's homes), teachers and educators are entitled to a 6-week recreational vacation. This period should be extended to 48 working days. This demand has been voiced for many years by preschool teachers (before the war they were given a 2-month vacation) as well as by other employees of education-upbringing institutions.

The principle of 48 working days should likewise be applied in granting recreational vacations when a teacher cannot use the entitled vacation because of illness, obligatory professional self-improvement or the enhancement of qualifications in study programs for employees.

Service Responsibility (arts 64-78)

The commission proposes, with regard to regulatory penalties, that the provisions of articles 108-113 of the labor code be adopted in the following, partly changed, version: For lesser transgressions of service responsibilities (the violation of the prescribed order, work discipline or bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] regulations), the teacher is reprimanded.

A penalty may not be applied later than 2 weeks after the violation of employee obligations has been reported and later than 1 month after the admission of this violation. The penalty may be applied only after a hearing of the teacher. The penalty is meted out to the teacher by the school director, the authority who is the direct superior of the director and the deputy administer their penalties. The teacher receives this information in writing. A copy of the letter is filled with the teacher's personal records.

Within 3 days of being informed of the penalty, the teacher may present his objections. Whether these objections will be complied with or rejected is up to the school director in conjunction with the proper element of the trade unions. Failure to reject the objections within 14 days from the date of their submission is equivalent to compliance.

The penalty is considered canceled and mention of it is removed from the teacher's personal file. The letter informing the teacher of his penalty is removed from his personal records after 1 year of service beyond reproach.

Disciplinary Penalties. Penalties should be limited to four degrees: a reprimand, a reprimand with a warning, dismissal from a position and dismissal with a prohibition of returning to the teaching profession.

The meting out of a disciplinary penalty (a reprimand, a reprimand with a warning) should not bring financial consequences with the teacher being kept from the next salary level. The teacher's immediate family members suffer the consequences of such action. Moreover, the teacher punished this way is in principle bypassed for awards, distinctions, special bonuses and merit promotions.

There is a legitimate need to change the provisions of article 67, paragraph 2, establishing both echelons of the disciplinary commission at the provincial level (through the superintendent's office of education and upbringing). The proposals for changes move in the direction of maintaining the first echelon of the disciplinary commission at the superintendent's office of education and upbringing and placing the second, revocatory echelon in the office of the minister of education and upbringing.

Together with a draft of the amended regulations of the charter, executory regulations in this area should be developed and submitted for an opinion. In these regulations, the right of membership in opinion-rendering groups of disciplinary commissions is to be reserved exclusively for active teachers. Employees of the school administration should be excluded from the commission:

Disciplinary penalties should be obliterated following 2 years of irreproachable work after the validation of the decision.

Independently of the right of the appropriate minister to revise an extreme decision of the disciplinary commission, the main board of the appropriate trade union should have this same right.

Embarking on a work relationship (arts 79-86)

The regulation that discusses the procedure and conditions for granting tenure should be supplemented. If a place of work has not fulfilled its obligation to evaluate a teacher's work for 3 years, the teacher should be automatically granted tenure at that time. The teacher should be guaranteed tenure within the time appointed by the law, and his employment status should be resolved by the end of this period. We must also rule out the possibility of using contracts of orders, which previously operated outside the provisions of the charter.

Changes in an Employment Relationship (arts 87-91)

The regulation in article 88, paragraph 2 (concerning transfers without the teacher's consent) should likewise apply to transferring the teacher from one position to another within the framework of the same institution; for example, in a consolidated plant, the teacher's transfer from the position of teacher to the position of tutor or teacher of the practical science of a trade. This enables the teacher's proper interests to be safeguarded, particularly in a situation in which basic changes occur in workload, remuneration elements, vacation rights and the like.

In article 88, paragraph 2 the practice of transferring a teacher from office without his approval due to organizational changes in the institution, causing the total or partial liquidation of the school, should be retained. On the other hand, the regulation permitting the transfer of the teacher from office without his approval

to secure a teacher-specialist for the school should be eliminated. In practice this regulation was invoked for so-called punitive transfers. The proper cadre staff of the school, in accordance with its program needs, should be guaranteed by the proper distribution of graduates, the appropriate (i.e., in accordance with the needs of the school) direction of actively employed teachers into study and the like.

In article 88, it should be clearly specified that shifting a teacher within the framework of a consolidated gmina school is, in fact, transferring him. Consequently, this gives the teacher specific rights. On the other hand, the school authorities have the obligation to guarantee this teacher proper working conditions.

In article 88, paragraph 3, item 3, the following statement should be added: "...in the event of a transfer to an area which is recognized to be short of qualified cadre, he is likewise entitled to bank credit granted on the basis of separate regulations."

An addition to article 90, paragraph 1 should be introduced that the teacher is obliged to complete his obligatory workload by supplementing with hours served in the same school in a different position or by teaching subjects carrying a different number of hours, but only up to the number of hours comprised by the workload of the position for which hired.

Terminating a Work Relationship (arts 92-101)

In article 92 the following should be added that the text of paragraph 1 altered to read "a work relationship with a teacher is terminated on the basis of an understanding on both sides" (this form is borrowed from the labor code).

Article 92, paragraph 1, item 5 should be changed. The new entry should state that the termination of a work relationship with an appointed teacher occurs with the close of the school year if he has reached retirement age and if the period of employment gives him the right to a pension at his present age. If a teacher who has reached retirement age has not yet attained the right to a pension (because he has not worked enough years), the work relationship should not be terminated until he attains this right during a period not exceeding 5 years beyond retirement age.

In article 92, paragraph 1 an entry should be added for preventing the termination of a work relationship with a teacher until he can claim his retirement-pension benefits.

Article 92, paragraph 4, should be expanded in order to protect the teacher against the abuse of the employer's authority to direct a teacher to be investigated by the Commission for Disability and Employment Affairs. According to current regulations, failure to make an appointment for such an investigation on two occasions terminates the work relationship.

Article 94, paragraph 1 must be made more precise to indicate that in the event of organizational changes in the institution or its total liquidation, the employer has the obligation to guarantee the teacher employment in accordance with his qualifications. Moreover, decisions concerning the termination of the work relationship and awarding compensation should be made by the administrative organ at the provincial level with the approval of the provincial echelon of the trade union. This does not demean the authority of the plant council in this area.

Article 96 should be deleted from the charter as the least democratic form of terminating the work relationship. Moreover, dismissal from work according to this procedure is equivalent to prohibiting a teacher's subsequent employment in another school.

Article 97, paragraph 1, item 5, concerning the termination of the work relationship as a consequence of one's relinquishing one's job, should be deleted. In its place should be the regulation that cases of this sort be investigated by the disciplinary commission.

In article 98, paragraph 1, the words "at any time" should be deleted. In article 98, paragraph 3, the principle should be adopted that a work relationship with a teacher may not be terminated if his failure to be appointed was for reasons caused by the administration.

The entry in paragraphs 4-5 should read "a work relationship may be terminated without a blame of the teacher in the event that:

--a teacher admits guilt for a crime, the perpetration of which makes his continued employment in the given position impossible and the blame for this crime is self-evident, or guilt has been ascertained by a legal judgment in court;

--the forfeiture of the powers necessary for the execution of work in the present position is committed;

--there is a serious violation of basic employee obligations;

--a justified absence from work for reasons other than illness, a vacation or isolation due to a contagious disease continues uninterrupted for more than 3 months.

Severance Pay (art 102)

According to the charter, only a tenured teacher is entitled to severance pay. In the opinion of the commission, the teacher's authorization to receive the severance pay that is due should include all teachers regardless of the length of employment.

Pension Benefits (arts 103-105)

In article 105, paragraph 1, the amount of the pension or annuity adjustment should be increased from 10 percent to 20 percent, like the pay increases received by university teachers.

In addition, this section should be expanded in areas relating to the other rights of retirees and pensioners; e.g., their right to benefits from social, housing and health funds.

The amended charter should also ensure the right to free housing for all teacher retirees and pensioners who have worked in villages, hamlets and cities of up to 5,000 population, regardless of when they retired or were pensioned. Currently the charter affords this right only to retirees and pensioners who retired or were pensioned after 1 May 1972. This is one of the unfair and unjust provisions that should be changed.

Cooperation with the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] (art 10)

The title of this section should be changed, since we have other teacher's trade unions.

In paragraph 2, article 106, the following text should be introduced: "The principles of cooperation are determined by an understanding of the ministers supervising schools with the appropriate trade unions."

Article 106 should have the following changes:

--in the first section the words "and the productivity" should be deleted;

--in the second section the phrases "both during active service and likewise after the teacher has gone on pension or annuity should be added;

--in the third section the words "housing, health" should be added;

--in the fifth section the expression "the termination" should be deleted.

The text in article 106 should be supplemented with the following statement: "The violation of agreements concerning work relationships nullifies decisions. The violation of agreements in remaining matters authorizes the union to lodge protests, and ultimately to call a strike."

Transitional and Concluding Regulations (arts 107-125)

The most important change in this section should be the introduction of new provisions affording a teacher the right to appeal decisions of school authorities of the second echelon in the court of labor and social security, if he considers these decisions not in accordance with the law.

In the closing regulations a provision should oblige the Council of Ministers to issue executory regulations within a period of 6 months, and the appropriate ministers to issue executory regulations within a period of 3 months from the date of publication of the amended Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher.

The commission likewise proposes that a new chapter entitled "Service Record" be inserted, to contain the following statement: "The school authority will conduct a service record for each teacher, in which will be entered essential data concerning the teacher and his service. When the teacher gets his first job, he assembles the personal documents necessary for his employer to complete the service record. As he continues to work, he is obliged to assembly documents certifying changes that do not issue from orders of the authorities. The authorities keep multiple copies of documents with official records, while the documents themselves are returned to the owner. The teacher has the right to review the service record, to make copies and to file complaints. The minister of education and upbringing establishes the model for the service record as well as the detailed regulations with regard to completing the record keeping it."

We have presented the most important proposals for changes and additions that the commission feels should amend the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher.

The next stage is for the commission to develop the draft of the amended charter, giving it full meaning. Its structure and the titles of particular chapters will be changed according to the following order: (1) introductory provisions, (2) the teacher's tasks, (3) teachers appointed to fulfill directorial functions in the school, (4) teachers appointed to work in pedagogical supervision, (5) the teacher's qualifications, (6) the teacher's professional improvement, (7) the workload, (8) wages, (9) embarking on a work relationship, (10) changes in the work relationship, (11) terminating a work relationship, (12) supplementary employment, (13) vacations, (14) teacher's health protection, (15) awards, (16) distinctions and service titles, (17) Teacher's Day, (18) social rights and other special rights, (19) plant funds, (20) disciplinary penalties, (21) disciplinary action, (22) the suspension of active service, (23) severance pay, (24) teacher retirees, (15) service record, (26) cooperation with the Polish Teachers' Union, (27) transitional and concluding regulations.

The ZNP Main Board will make available to its members the complete text of the proposed amended Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher, in order to poll their opinions and hear their demands. Based on the broadest consultation possible, the main board will work out its definitive position and will present this to the State authorities.

The ZNP Main Board is counting on the most widespread participation possible among the general membership of the union in discussing the charter. This is an issue of extreme importance for every teacher--to make the amended law regulating the rights and duties of educators a document that meets with expectations.

Written by:
Kazimierz Wojciechowski

Ministerial Draft of 1981 Teachers' Charter

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 24 May 81 Insert, pp I-XVI

[Text] In accordance with the establishment of the 23d National Congress of ZNP delegates in education, we are printing the ministry's draft of the teacher's charter.

Recognizing the high social rank of the teacher's position and the profound role played by teaching and upbringing for the nation and the socialist state, the Sejm passes this law--the Teacher's Charter.

A Law Dated 1981
The Teacher's Charter
Draft

Section I

Introductory Provisions

Article 1

The following are subject to the law:

1) teachers, educators and other pedagogical employees of state schools and other educational and schooling institutions, upbringing institutions and guardianship-upbringing institutions created and operating on the basis of a law dated 15 July 1961, concerning the development of the system of education and upbringing (DZIENNIK USTAW no 32, item 160);

2) teachers and educators in health care institutions, health care-upbringing institutions and health care guardianship institutions;

3) teachers, educators and other pedagogical employees of correctional facilities, shelters for minors, family diagnositic-consultative centers and schools connected with penal institutions;

4) pedagogical employees of school and pedagogical libraries, methodology centers and institutions for educational-professional consultation;

5) teachers employed in schools and other educational and schooling institutions, upbringing institutions and guardianship-upbringing institutions conducted by cooperative unions and school organizations (institutions) carrying out statutory education-upbringing activity;

6) pedagogical employees employed in positions as teachers in centers for training cadres and centers for professional training;

7) teachers employed in organizational units of educational administration in an area established by the law.

Article 2

Whenever this law speaks of:

1) teachers without being more specific, this is to be understood as teachers, educators and other pedagogical employees appointed in the schools and institutions listed in article 1, items 1-6;

2) schools without being more specific, this is to be understood as schools and the other institutions listed in article 1, items 1-6;

3) organizational units of educational administration, this is to be understood:

a) with reference to schools subordinated to local organs of the state administration at the provincial level, as the school superintendents' offices for education and upbringing as well as the other departments of provincial offices conducting schools on the basis of separate regulations;

b) with reference to schools subordinated to local organs of the state administration at the basic level, as the departments of education and upbringing or of the gmina school directors;

c) with reference to schools not subordinated to local organs of the state administration, the appropriate minister or the organizational unit subject to and designated by him;

d) with reference to schools conducted by cooperative unions, social organizations (institutions) carrying out statutory education-upbringing activity, the main boards of these unions and social organizations (institutions) or their organizational units authorized by them;

4) the interested ministers without being more specific, this is to be understood as both the presidents (chairmen) of cooperative union central councils and of social organizations (institutions) carrying out statutory education-upbringing activity.

Section II

The Teacher's Role and Tasks

Chapter 1

The Teacher's Tasks

Article 3

1) A teacher of the Polish People's Republic should:

-educate youth in the spirit of socialist principles of social coexistence, love of the fatherland, peace and social justice, brotherhood with the working people of the whole world;

-instill love and respect for work, a sense of responsibility and social discipline;

-transmit basic knowledge and be concerned with the many-sided development of the pupil's personality;

-cooperate with other teachers in forming the proper atmosphere to foster the implementation of tasks, guided by considerations of the welfare of the school and the youth entrusted to him;

-develop an attitude of active coparticipate in the life of the country and the nation;

-enrich his own knowledge and skills, and in his behavior on the job and outside of work take care to see that his moral attitude as an educator is exemplary and that he is worthy of the teaching profession.

2) In order to fulfill the tasks specified in paragraph 1, the teacher is obliged:

-to implement, in a correct manner, the programs of teaching and upbringing, to achieve the best possible results in work, to perfect his methods of teaching and upbringing;

-to become familiar with all facets of his students, their personalities and interests, and to make use of the results of scientific studies for this task;

-to be concerned with the safety of the students entrusted to his care;

-to create conditions fostering the development of independent thought and learning among students as well as habits of independent work;

-to develop an active relationship of students to culture and the arts as well as their sensitivity to beauty;

-to work together with the social environment, scholarly associations, professional associations, the student academic movement and work plants, and primarily the parents or guardians of students;

-to support the self-government of students developing social activity and the skill to work in teams, to develop in them a sense of social responsibility;

-to abide by work discipline and the orders and guidelines of organizational units of the education administration and direct superiors.

3) The teacher's work is subject to evaluation, with the principles and procedure determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Chapter 2

Tasks of the Teacher Appointed to Fulfill Directorial Functions in the School

Article 4

1) The school is operated by the director, who is its representative to the world, the superior of all school employees and the guardian of the youth studying in the school.

2) The director operates the school according to regulations.

3) The school director chairs the pedagogical council.

4) The detailed duties of the directors and deputy directors of schools and of the teachers entrusted with other directorial functions in the school are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Article 5

1) School directors and deputy directors are appointed by the organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct control over the given school. They are selected from the actively employed teachers of the same or another school.

2) The particulars demanded of candidates for the positions of directors and deputy directors of schools, the procedure for appointing and dismissing them and the role of pedagogical councils in this area are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers, and with reference to schools of the arts, by the minister of culture and art in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing.

3) The organizational unit of the education administration authorized to appoint a teacher to fulfill the function of director or deputy director of a school may dismiss him at any time with 3 months' notice.

4) The regulations in paragraphs 1-3 similarly apply to teachers appointed to fulfill other directorial functions.

Chapter 2

Tasks of Teachers Exercising Pedagogical Supervision

Article 6

1) The exercise of pedagogical supervision is performed by teachers employed in the main (central) and local organizational units of the education administration in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications and by school directors and other teachers fulfilling directorial functions in school.

2) The detailed list of positions as well as the scope of the duties, rights and qualifications of the teachers discussed in paragraph 1, and the principles of exercising pedagogical supervision are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Article 7

1) The school superintendents and deputy school superintendents of education and upbringing are appointed and dismissed by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the appropriate governors (presidents).

2) Inspectors and deputy inspectors of education and upbringing and gmina directors (deputy directors) of schools are appointed and dismissed by the school superintendent of education and upbringing in an understanding with the appropriate head of the gmina, the town-gmina or the head (president) of a oblast or town.

3) The remaining teachers exercising pedagogical supervision are appointed and dismissed:

a) in main (central) organizational units of the education administration, by the appropriate minister;

b) in organizational units of the education administration at the provincial level, by the school superintendent of education and upbringing or by the director of the appropriate department of the provincial office;

c) in organizational units of the education administration at the basic level, by the inspector of education and upbringing or by the gmina director of schools.

4) The teachers discussed in paragraph 1-3 are appointed from actively appointed teachers. These teachers, except gmina directors (deputy directors) of schools, receive an unpaid leave during fulfillment of the functions discussed in paragraphs 1-3.

Section III

The Qualifications and Professional Improvement of Teachers

Chapter 1

Teachers' Qualifications

Article 8

The position of a teacher may be occupied by a person who possesses, as defined in the law:

1) the scholarly qualifications, pedagogical qualifications or the corresponding professional practical training;

2) the ideological and moral qualifications indispensable for the fulfillment of the teacher's functions;

and, moreover, who possesses the appropriate state of health indispensable for the fulfillment of a teacher's work.

Article 9

1. The position of a teacher may be occupied by a person who:

a) has completed studies in a school of higher education for teachers or

b) has completed studies in another higher school and possesses the pedagogical preparation gained during studies or in courses.

2) The position of a teacher in a preschool or another preschool institution, in a guardianship-upbringing institution or in an elementary school, and the position of a teacher of practical courses in trade schools may be occupied likewise by a person who has completed a secondary or a postsecondary institution for training teacher or a school of the arts at the second level.

Article 10

1) The minister of education and upbringing will define by decree the particular scholarly, professional, pedagogical and ideological-moral qualifications as well as the state of health required of candidates for teachers.

2) The minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers will determine:

a) the schools in which the positions of teachers may be occupied only by those persons with higher, master's level studies or parallel studies;

b) the detailed qualifications for the positions of school teachers and the principles for attaining the pedagogical qualifications for teaching in schools.

3) The minister of culture and art may determine the schools (other institutions of artistic training) in which the positions of teacher may be occupied by persons who have completed studies in an artistic school of the second level in an area corresponding to the subjects studied.

Article 11

In cases justified by a school's needs, the teacher may be a person who does not possess the qualifications specified in article 9 but has the credentials of many years of professional work applicable to the execution of the teacher's functions and possesses at least a secondary education.

Article 12

In matters concerning the qualifications of a teacher in the artistic disciplines, the corresponding regulations of the law concerning higher schools of the arts likewise apply.

Chapter 2

The Teacher's Self-improvement

Article 13

1) Teachers are obliged continually to deepen and update their scientific and didactic knowledge and constantly to improve their didactic and educative skills.

2) The particulars of the teacher's improvement are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the minister of science, higher education and technology, and for teachers of schools of the arts, by the minister of culture and art in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing.

Section IV

Wages and Teaching Load

Chapter 1

Wages

Article 14

1) The teacher's salary consists of the basic salary and bonuses.

2) The amount of the basic salary is contingent upon the teacher's education and pedagogical experience, and the bonuses are contingent upon the function executed, the working conditions and the work results.

Article 15

1) The teacher advances to a higher level of basic salary every 2 years. The waiting period for reaching the highest level may not exceed 30 years of pedagogical work.

2) The average basic compensation of a teacher may not be lower than the average basic compensation paid engineering-technical employees in the national economy.

Article 16

1) Those teachers appointed to fulfill directorial functions are entitled to an operational allowance.

2) Likewise those teachers ordered to fulfill directorial duties as substitutes are entitled to an operational allowance. In such cases, the right to an allowance begins the first day of the month following the first full month of the fulfillment of these obligations and ceases the first day of the month following the cessation of the fulfillment of these obligations.

Variant I

Article 17

1) Teachers are entitled to an allowance for unbroken service in a school, known as an allowance for full term of service, paid in monthly installments in the following amounts:

a) after 5 years of service--5 percent of the monthly basic salary,

b) after 10 years of service--10 percent of the monthly basic salary,

c) after 15 years of service--15 percent of the monthly basic salary.

2) For service of many years, teachers are entitled to anniversary awards in the following amounts:

a) for 20 years of service--75 percent of the monthly salary,

b) for 25 years of service--100 percent of the monthly salary,

c) for 30 years of service--150 percent of the monthly salary,

3) The appointed times and principles for introducing allowances for full terms of service and anniversary awards will be determined by the Council of Ministers by decree.

Note: In the observance of article 18?

Variant II

In article 17, paragraph 1, item 4 is introduced:

4) after 20 years of service--20 percent of the monthly basic pay

Note: This variant assumes the liquidation of article 18 (special allowances).

Article 18

Teachers possessing higher qualifications and achieving distinguished results in didactic-educative work may be awarded a special allowance.

Article 19

Teachers working under difficult conditions, either harmful to health or onerous, are entitled to a service allowance.

Article 20

1) In special cases dictated exclusively by the necessity to implement a teaching program, a teacher may be obliged to work for compensation in overtime hours, the number of which may not exceed one-third of his obligatory weekly course load. The assignment of an added number of hours to a teacher may occur only with his consent.

2) By an overtime hour is understood an hour of didactic or educative activities above and beyond the obligatory weekly load.

3) Compensation for overtime is likewise paid for a justified work absence.

4) A pregnant woman or a woman responsible for the care of a child under 3 years of age may not be employed overtime without her consent.

Article 21

The amount of the basic salary rate, allowances, compensation for overtime and extra activities, the principles of rank and promotion, the awarding of allowances added to a teacher's salary and the list of extra activities for which a teacher is entitled to additional compensation is determined by the Council of Ministers by decree.

Article 22

As specified by law and by the regulations based on article 21, the teacher's basic salary, all allowances, the compensation for overtime, additional compensation for other teaching activities, awards and any sort of monetary payment and material benefits are free from wage tax and from deductions for the retirement fund.

Article 23

When a teacher is first appointed, he assumes the right to a salary from the first day on the work relationship.

Article 24

1) A change in the amount of salary paid during service because of an appointment (promotion) or other reasons begins the first day of the nearest calendar month, if the appointment (either for promotion or for other reasons) did not begin on the first day of the given calendar month.

2) Should a change in the service location change the salary, the right to a salary corresponding to the new service location goes into effect the first day of the calendar month following the assumption of service duties in the new location, if the assumption of such duties did not begin on the first day of the given calendar month.

Article 25

The right to a salary ceases:

1) in the event of the teacher's death--the final day of the calendar month in which the death occurred,

2) in the event of the termination of the work relationship--the day the work relationship ceased.

Article 26

The teacher retains the right to a salary during a warranted absence, to the extent that the regulations of the law do not proclaim otherwise.

Article 27

A teacher is paid his salary monthly at the end of the working period.

Article 28

In matters concerning:

1) death payments,

2) salary deductions,

3) the expiration of claims concerning salary or other monetary benefits stipulated by law,

the appropriate universally binding regulations of labor legislation apply.

Chapter 2

Work Time

Article 29

1) The weekly obligatory workload of teaching (upbringing) activities for full-time teachers is established according to the following table.

Lp *	Type of school	Weekly number of the obligatory load of teaching [upbringing] activities from 1 Sept 1981	from 1 Sept 1982
1	Preschool, with the exception of teachers working with groups of 6-year old children	26	25
2	Preschool teachers and teachers in other preschool institutions working with 6-year olds	24	22
3	Special preschools and training schools	20	18
4	Elementary schools, except for special schools	22	18
5	Training schools	18	18
6	Special schools	20	18
7	Liberal arts secondary schools	20	18
8	Studies: preschool education, cultural-educational training and library science	15	15
9	Trade schools, special trade schools, craftsman's training in institutions for juveniles:		
	a) teachers of theoretical subjects	20	18
	b) teachers of practical science of a profession	24	22
10	Art schools and other institutions of artistic training:		
	a) teachers of artistic and liberal arts subjects	20	18
	b) teachers of practical science of the profession	24	22
11	Pedagogical technical studies:		
	a) teachers of theoretical subjects	15	15
	b) teachers of practical science of the profession	24	22
12	School dayrooms and semiboarding schools with the exception of special dayrooms	30	26

*(Liczba porzadkowa)/Numerical order?/

13	Boarding schools, dormitories, children's play-park, station dayrooms, school youth (permanent) shelters	36	30
	schooling-upbringing centers		28
14	Guardianship and upbringing institutions:		
	a) children's homes	30	26
	-children's vacation homes	28	26
	-teaching activities in these homes	11	10
	- guardianship-upbringing institutions for children	30	26
	b) special institutions, health-care/ educational institutions, institutions for the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, upbringing and special centers, correctional institutions, juvenile shelters, dayrooms of special schools, emergency shelters, family diagnostic-consultative centers	26	24
15	Educational-professional service bureaus, psychologists employed in educational-upbringing agencies	22	20
16	Young people's palaces, youth houses of culture, extraschool work centers, extraschool specializing institutions, interschool sports centers:		
	a) teachers conducting direct work with children and youth	22	18
	b) teachers-instructors in methodology offices	32	30
	c) teachers conducting other kinds of activities	36	32
17	Librarians in school and pedagogical libraries	30	30
18	The Central Institute for Pedagogical Artistic Training	30	30
19	School pedagogues	30	28
	including direct activities with students of a teaching-upbringing character	2-4	2-4
20	The Central Methodology Information Bureau for Education-Upbringing-pedagogical activities carried out directly with children	2-6	2-6
21	Centers for the training of cadres and centers for professional training	24	22

2) In addition to conducting didactic-upbringing activities for the number of hours specified in paragraph 1, the teacher is obliged:

a) within the framework of the basic salary to which he is entitled to perform services in conjunction with organizing the teaching-upbringing and guardianship process,

b) to conduct the extra activities assigned to him for pay, as discussed in article 21.

3) The implementation of the tasks outlined in paragraphs 1 and 2 may not exceed the weekly standard of worktime specified in universally binding labor legislation.

4) The teacher for whom the established plan of activities during certain periods of the school year has not exhausted the obligatory workload of teaching activities should teach for a correspondingly greater number of hours in other periods of the given school year. The work executed in accordance with the plan of activities so established is not performed in overtime.

5) For directors and deputy directors, as well as for teachers executing other directorial functions in school, the obligatory load of activities specified in paragraph 1 is reduced accordingly, depending on the size and type of school and its working conditions. The principles of dispensation and the education load discussed in the table are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers, and with reference to art schools, by the minister of culture and arts in an understanding with the minister of education and uprbringing.

6) The obligatory workload of teachers of schools not listed in paragraph 1, including teachers of correspondence schools and teachers teaching subjects with a varying hourly load, and the principles for calculating the number of hours of particular activities in correspondence education are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers and the minister of labor, wages and social affairs.

Article 30

1) The appropriate minister or the official authorized by him may reduce the workload of obligatory activities for a full-time teacher for a specified period or until his dismissal due to health, educational pursuits or self-improvement, the fulfillment of scholarly labors or work ordered by school authorities, or special working conditions in the teacher's school.

2) A reduced workload may not reduce salary or limit other rights of the teacher.

3) A teacher taking advantage of a reduced workload may not collect additional compensation for overload hours with the exclusion of the reduction discussed in article 29, paragraph 5.

Chapter 3

Night Work and Work on Off-Days

Article 31

1) The minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers will determine the schools, the position and the conditions under which the teacher may be obliged to implement a weekly obligatory workload of night teaching (upbringing) activities.

2) For night work, a teacher is entitled to a separate allowance specified in regulations on teachers' compensation.

3) A teacher is bound to a 5-day workweek.

4) In schools in session every day, the teacher has 2 successive days off at least once every 3 weeks; one day should be a Sunday.

5) For work on a holiday not falling on the weekly 2 day off, the teacher receives another day off from work; in special cases, instead of a day off, his compensation is doubled.

6) When needed by a school, the teacher may be obliged to execute other activities on days off from work. The teacher receives separate compensation for such work.

7) The minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers will determine the cases in the types of activities spoken in paragraph 6, the limits of the teacher's being encumbered by such activities and the principles of compensation for these activities.

Chapter 4

Additional Employment

Article 32

1) A teacher may undertake employment for pay beyond his obligatory activities, if it does not conflict with his duties and if he is granted prior permission by his employer in consultation with the school director.

2) The instances not requiring such permission are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the appropriate ministers.

Section V

Awards and Distinctions

Chapter 1

Awards

Article 33

1) A plant awards fund is created for teachers.

2) The Council of Ministers determines the particulars for the creation and the utilization of the fund discussed in paragraph 1.

Article 34

1) An additional awards fund is created for teachers for their teaching-upbringing achievements. The amount of this fund is determined by the Council of Ministers.

2) The minister of education and upbringing determines the principles of distribution of the fund as well as the principles of making the awards discussed in paragraph 1.

Chapter 2

Distinctions and Service Titles

Article 35

1) In addition to other distinctions and orders, the following may be conferred upon a teacher:

a) the honorary title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic";

b) "National Education Board Medal."

2) The title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" will be conferred upon teachers who have most merited the title for the particular excellence of their achievements over many years of pedagogical service. The "National Education Board Medal" will be conferred upon persons for their special service to education and upbringing.

3) The honorary title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" is conferred by the Council of State. The "National Education Board Medal" is conferred by the minister of education and upbringing at the recommendation of the appropriate minister.

4) The Council of State determines the particulars of conferring the title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic," the procedure for making recommendations for the title, the pattern of the badge of the title, as well as the ceremony for conferring it and the manner in which it is to be worn. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, upon the recommendation of the minister of education and upbringing made in an understanding with the interested ministers, determines the particulars for the awarding of the "National Education Board Medal," the procedure for making recommendations, the pattern of the medal, the ceremony for conferring it and the manner in which it is to be worn.

Article 36

1) For 20 years of pedagogical service, a teacher is awarded the Gold Cross of Merit.

2) For 30 years of distinguished pedagogical service, a teacher is awarded the Order of the Polonia Restituta, if he has not yet received such a State distinction or a higher state distinction.

Article 37

1) Teachers directing schools are entitled to the service title of school director.

2) The teachers discussed in article 1, paragraph 1, items 1-7 may attain the grades of professional specialization.

3) The particulars and the conditions, as well as the procedure for attaining the grades discussed in paragraph 2, will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Section VI

Social Rights and Other Rights

Chapter 1

The Social Fund

Article 38

1) A social fund is created for teachers in the amount of 5 percent of the planned annual personal wage fund.

2) The Council of Ministers determines the principles of the creation and manner of utilization of the social fund.

Chapter 2

Other Teachers' Rights

Article 39

1) Teachers employed within the environs of all villages and within the environs of towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants have the right to free housing at the place of work, not lower than the legal occupancy standards and the average standard of housing for the locale. The incorporation of a village into a town of up to 5,000 inhabitants or the inclusion of the village in the census of towns or the increase of the number of inhabitants in the town up to 5,000 does not deprive the teacher of that right to free housing.

2) The rights discussed in paragraph 1 should be implemented, first of all, by housing teachers in school buildings and buildings utilized by schools or in buildings administered by the local organs of the state administration.

3) In the event of a lack of housing in the buildings listed in paragraph 2, the local organs of the state administration at the basic level are obliged to conclude direct rental agreements for teachers with the proprietors of housing in the place of their work, and if this is not possible, in another location, from which it is possible to ride to work each day, with the commuting costs being reimbursed by this organ.

4) If the local agency of the state administration cannot supply the teacher with housing (par 3), it is obliged to pay him a suitable allowance.

5) The amount of the allowance discussed in paragraph 4, the principles for paying this allowance and for reimbursing travel costs discussed in paragraph 3 will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the minister of labor, wages and social affairs.

6) The rights specified in paragraph 1 for actively employed teachers of schools within the environs of all villages as well as within towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are rights to which these teachers are likewise entitled after they have gone on pension or disability annuity, if immediately prior they worked in such areas for at least 5 years. The 5-year limit does not apply to teachers transferred exofficio to such areas.

7) Teachers employed within villages and towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are awarded a separate allowance, the amount and principles of which will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing.

Article 40

The local agencies of the state administration will guarantee teachers employed within all villages the purchase of fuel according to the standards for the population, as well as the free delivery of such fuel to the teacher's residence.

Article 41

1) A teacher employed within a village has the right to receive a parcel of school property for his personal use and the use of his family.

2) The local agencies of the state administration are obliged to allot the prescribed area of land, as possible, if the alloted school property is insufficient for the implementation of the right specified in paragraph 1, but the area may not be more than 0.25 hectares.

Article 42

A teacher employed within villages and towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants is entitled to reimbursement for the costs of public transportation to a doctor or to the hospital, when the teacher must seek medical assistance beyond his place of residence.

Article 43

1) Independently of the right of the teacher and family members to medical care and medicine according to the regulations concerning social security, the organizational units of the education administration will earmark additional funds in annual budgets for health care for teachers using health care.

2) The minister of health and social welfare in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing will determine the form of specialized medical assistance available to teachers.

Article 44

Teachers have the right to additional living space in the form of an extra room. The principles and procedure for the allotment of the additional space will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection.

Article 45

Housing in school buildings and in buildings utilized by schools may be occupied only by employees in active service in schools.

Article 46

The children of teachers, whose qualifications equal those of other children, are entitled to priority in acceptance to preschools, boarding schools, dormitories, university houses, postelementary schools and higher schools.

Article 47

The rights specified in articles 40–45 likewise belong to teachers after they have gone on pension or annuity, including the rights belonging to their children as specified in article 46.

Article 48

1) Teachers employed in schools for the first time immediately following their studies receive a one-time housekeeping allowance amounting to 2 months' basic pay.

2) The allowance discussed in paragraph 1 is subject to return if the teacher voluntarily quits or is fired through his own fault within the initial 3-year period. In warranted cases, the immediate supervisory organizational unit of the education administration may release the teacher in whole or in part from his obligation to return the allowance.

Article 49

A teacher in active service who goes on pension or on disability annuity and his spouse are entitled to train fares according to principles specified by the Council of Ministers.

Article 50

In conjunction with the fulfillment of his service duties, the teacher has the right to the protection granted to state employees. The organizational units of the education administration are obliged ex officio to defend the teacher when his established rights are violated.

Chapter 3

Teacher's Day

Article 51

On the anniversary of the National Education Board, 14 October, Teacher's Day will be celebrated as a holiday from work.

Section VII

Vacations

Article 52

1) School vacations are a time of rest/relaxation vacation for a teacher employed in a school whose work organization includes such school vacations.

2) The teacher spoken of in paragraph 1 may be obliged by the director to execute the following tasks during such school vacations:

--conduct examinations,

--execute tasks associated with the conclusion of the school year and preparations for the new school year.

The tasks may not occupy a teacher more than 7 days.

3) Teachers are obliged to participate in the self-improvement specified in article 13 of the law during school vacations and days off.

4) Teachers employed in schools that do not have school vacations are entitled to a rest/relaxation vacation of 8 weeks during a time established in the vacation plan.

Article 53

1) A teacher employed in a school with a school vacation earns his first vacation after the last day preceding the school vacation and earns a second and further vacations every first day of the next calendar year.

2) A teacher employed in a school listed in article 52, paragraph 4 earns his first vacation when a year of work has passed, and he earns a second and further vacations on every first day of the next calendar year.

3) A teacher employed in a school listed in article 52, paragraph 4 earns a partial vacation after 6 months of work, in proportion to the period worked.

Article 54

1) If a teacher does not take advantage of his rest/relaxation vacation wholly or partially during the school vacations due to an inability to work because of illness,

isolation in conjunction with a contagious disease, maternity leave or participation in military exercises, the teacher is entitled to a vacation during the school year to complete those 8 weeks.

2) If a teacher does not take advantage of the entitled rest/relaxation vacation, according to article 52, paragraphs 1 or 4, due to the termination or expiration of the work relationship, or appointment to basic or temporary military service, he is entitled to a monetary equivalent for the period for which he was not able to take his vacation, not exceeding 8 weeks, to the extent that the termination of the work relationship did not occur due to a loss of his right to a rest/relaxation vacation.

Article 55

During the rest/relaxation vacation, a teacher is entitled to a salary equal to what he would receive had he worked during that period. The changeable components of salary are calculated on the basis of the average compensation for the 10-month period preceding the month before the vacation.

Article 56

1) A teacher is given a paid vacation for recuperation for a period up to one year, if the organ of the social health service attests that the teacher's state of health requires such for undergoing prescribed medical care. However, if he has less than one year before acquiring his pension rights, the paid vacation for recuperation may not be granted for a period exceeding the end of the calendar month the teacher acquires his pension rights.

2) The procedure and action of agencies of the social health service in the matters discussed in paragraph 1 are determined by the minister of health and social welfare.

3) The vacation discussed in paragraph 1 is granted directly by the supervisory organizational unit of the education administration.

Article 57

1) A teacher may receive a paid or unpaid vacation for continued self-improvement for scholarly, artistic or educational purposes or for other important reasons.

2) The Council of Ministers determines the conditions warranting a paid or unpaid vacation, as well as the agencies authorized to decide these matters.

Article 58

1) The principles for granting maternity leaves and child-rearing leaves are specified in separate, universally binding regulations.

2) During maternity leave, the most recent full salary is paid and all other service rights specified in the law are preserved.

3) Should the work time of a woman nursing a child require more than 4 consecutive hours daily, she is entitled to use a 1-hour break added to her work time.

Article 59

1) A teacher who has applied for a transfer to the permanent residence of his spouse is granted an unpaid vacation by the organizational unit of the education administration if the application cannot be considered due to the impossibility of employing him as a teacher at that place.

2) The period of unpaid vacation discussed in paragraph 1 may not exceed 2 years. If the teacher has not returned to work during this time, the work relationship should be terminated the final day of that month when the 2-year period of unpaid vacation ends.

Article 60

The regulations of the law concerning duties and rights, with the exception of the rights specified in article 59, likewise apply to teachers employed in full-time work on the basis of a labor contract, except that for teachers employed for less than half-time, the regulations in articles 36, 39, 40-49, 56, 57 and 92-94 do not apply.

Section VIII

Service Responsibility

Article 61

1) Appointed teachers assume disciplinary responsibility for the violation of their service duties and for offenses against the dignity of the teaching profession.

2) For lesser offenses against services responsibilities, these disciplinary penalties are exacted:

a) a reprimand,

b) a reproof.

The principles and procedure for meting out these penalties are specified in separate, universally binding regulations of labor legislation.

Article 62

1) Disciplinary penalties meted out to teachers are:

a) a reprimand with a warning,

b) a reprimand with a transfer to another school without reimbursement of the relocation costs,

c) dismissal from work,

d) expulsion from the teaching profession.

2) A disciplinary commission metes out disciplinary penalties.

3) The administration of a disciplinary penalty specified in paragraph 1, item 4 is tantamount to prohibiting that person from educational service.

4) The administration of a disciplinary penalty specified in paragraph 1, item 3 is tantamount to prohibiting that person from educational service for a period of 3 years from the punishment.

5) A copy of the ruling together with its justification is included with the personal documents of the teachers.

Article 63

1) In disciplinary matters, teachers' cases are ruled upon in the first echelon:

a) by disciplinary commissions operating from the school superintendent's office of education and upbringing and from departments of provincial offices conducting schools--for the teachers of schools directly and indirectly subject to these school superintendent's offices and departments,

b) disciplinary commissions under the appropriate ministers--for the teachers of schools subject to these ministers and not subordinated to the local organs of the state administration.

2) The second echelon in disciplinary matters for teachers is disciplinary commissions for appeal under the appropriate ministers, appointed to examine appeals of the rulings of the disciplinary commissions listed in paragraph 1.

Article 64

Disciplinary commissions are independent in the area of disciplinary judicature.

Article 65

1) The organizational unit of the education administration through which the disciplinary commission was appointed will appoint a disciplinary spokesman for every disciplinary commission and a suitable number of deputies from the body of employees subject to the spokesman.

2) The disciplinary spokesman's duties are:

a) to conduct an explanatory proceeding in consequence of notifying the teacher of the violation of his responsibilities or his learning of the violation in another manner,

b) to present recommendations to the disciplinary commission concerning the initiation of disciplinary proceedings,

c) to uphold the charge before the commission,

d) to submit appeals against the rulings and decisions of the disciplinary commission.

3) The disciplinary spokesman is bound by the recommendations of the organ that appointed him to this function.

Article 66

1) The disciplinary commission commences a disciplinary proceeding at the recommendation of the disciplinary spokesman.

2) The disciplinary commissions issue rulings after conducting a hearing and after listening to the disciplinary spokesman and the accused or his counsel.

Article 67

1) A disciplinary proceeding for an action subject to punishment in a penal proceeding, or in matters of malfeasance may be conducted at the same time as the penal proceeding. This proceeding may also be postponed until a legal ruling in the penal proceeding or in matters of malfeasance is issued.

2) A ruling issued in a penal proceeding or in a proceeding in matters of malfeasance may not preclude a disciplinary penalty.

Article 68

1) A disciplinary proceeding must commence within 6 months of the date that information about the action warranting a penalty was given, and within 3 years of the action. However, if the deed is a crime, this period may not be shorter than the period prescribed for the prosecution of this crime.

2) The termination of the work relationship after such an action does not prevent a disciplinary proceeding and a disciplinary penalty.

Article 69

1) The penalties stipulated in article 63, paragraph 1, items 1, 2 and 3 are subject to obliteration, and the copy of the ruling concerning the penalty that is attached to the personal documents of the teacher is destroyed 3 years after the teacher was handed his final ruling, if in this period he was not punished disciplinarily or judicially.

2) Decisions concerning the obliteration of the penalty are issued by the agency under which the disciplinary commission has been established.

Article 70

1) The appropriate minister, in a supervisory capacity, may order the revision of a legal ruling of the disciplinary commission if this ruling violated essential regulations of the law; a revision unfavorable to the interested party may be submitted only within 6 months from the validation of the ruling.

2) The appropriate minister, in ordering the revision of a legal ruling, instructs the appropriate disciplinary appeals commission to examine the revision, if the revision refers to the ruling of the disciplinary appeals commission, the composition of this commission is changed.

3) Rulings of the commission according to the procedure in paragraph 2 are final.

Article 71

1) The organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct supervision over a school may suspend a teacher from his service duties, if that teacher has had a penal proceeding initiated against him or if it has been recommended that a disciplinary proceeding be commenced, if, with regard to the seriousness and credibility of the charges, his removal from his school obligations is appropriate. In matters which are not urgent, the teacher may be suspended before the recommendation concerning the commencement of the disciplinary proceeding is made.

2) By force of law, the teacher remains suspended from his service obligations in the event of his temporary arrest or in the event that he is incarcerated for a penal proceeding.

3) The suspension of service should not last longer than 6 months, unless the teacher faces a penal proceeding, and this is the reason for suspension.

Article 72

1) The salary of a teacher during the period of suspension from the fulfillment of obligations may be limited. The salary of a teacher temporarily arrested is limited at most to half his salary, depending on the family situation of the employee, beginning the first day of the calendar month following the suspension.

2) During suspension from service obligations, the teacher is not entitled to an operational allowance or to compensation for overtime.

3) When a teacher is incarcerated, he is not entitled to a salary.

4) The regulations in paragraph 3 and article 71, paragraph 2 likewise apply to teachers employed on the basis of a labor contract.

5) If a disciplinary proceeding or a penal proceeding is discontinued for lack of evidence or if it concludes with a not-guilty verdict, the amount of the withheld teacher's salary should be returned, except as listed in paragraph 2.

Article 73

The Council of Ministers will determine by decree the particulars in the composition and the character of the disciplinary commissions for teachers, the principles and procedure for their appointment, the appointment of those announcing rulings, the appointment of disciplinary spokesmen and counsels and the course of disciplinary proceedings and the execution of disciplinary penalties and their obliteration.

Section IX

Initiating, Changing and Terminating the Work Relationship

Chapter 1

Initiating the Work Relationship

Article 74

1) A work relationship with a teacher is begun with his appointment or by concluding a labor contract.

2) A work relationship with a teacher is begun by his appointment, if:

--he possesses Polish citizenship,

--he possesses the necessary qualifications to assume the given position,

--directly before his appointment he executed full-time pedagogical work unbroken for at least 2 years and achieved positive results in this work,

--he is to be employed full-time.

3) For a teacher who:

--does not fulfill the conditions specified in paragraph 2 or

--is to be employed for a specified time if employment duration is precisely specified and results from the organization of teaching or if he is replacing an absent teacher, or

--is to be employed in less than full-time work,

the work relationship is begun by concluding a labor contract.

4) The regulations in paragraph 3 likewise apply to persons for whom work in a school is additional employment.

Article 75

1) The organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct supervision over the school in which the teacher is to be employed appoints or concludes labor contracts with teachers in an understanding with the director of this school or at his recommendation.

2) The appropriate minister may authorize another official to appoint or conclude contracts with teachers and he may specify the positions requiring the approval of the higher level official.

Article 76

1) The work relationship begun through appointment begins with the day specified in the appointing document and if this day is not specified, with the day on which the individual receives the document.

2) A labor contract begins on the day specified in the contract, and if this day is not specified, on the day the contract was concluded.

Article 77

The appointing document and the labor contract should specify in detail:

1) the position or the type and location of work,

2) the date on which work begins,

3) the amount of salary or the principles of the amount of salary.

Article 78

With his first appointment to a teaching position, the appointed person makes a pledge, as established by the appropriate minister.

Article 79

A newly employed teacher is obliged to be present for work on the date indicated in the appointing document or in the labor contract. If the newly employed teacher does not justify his failure to report for work within 6 days, the appointment or the labor contract is validated, unless special regulations deem otherwise.

Chapter 2

Changes in the Work Relationship

Article 80

1) The appointed teacher may be transferred at his own request or ex officio with his approval to another position in the same or in another school, in the same or in another location, to the same or another position.

2) When organizational changes cause the entire or partial liquidation of a school, making the continued employment of the teacher in a given school impossible in his current position, the appointed teacher may be transferred without his consent to another position in the given school or to another school in the same or another location within the boundaries of the given school superintendent's office of education and upbringing, to the same or another position.

3) The transfer of a teacher ex officio with his approval and according to the procedure specified in paragraph 2 to another location may occur, with the observance of the following strictures:

a) that in the new location of work the teacher be guaranteed housing suitable for his family situation, as well as a place of work for his spouse, if the spouse is a teacher,

b) that the teacher be awarded, in addition to reimbursement of the moving costs as specified in article 81, paragraph 1, a settlement benefit in the amount of 2 months' basic salary currently paid, with allowances.

4) Should a teacher petition an appeal on a prescribed date, the transfer may not occur until this appeal is resolved by the appropriate minister.

5) The regulations in paragraphs 1-4 also apply to the transfer of a teacher to a school in another ministry, and the regulation in paragraph 3 likewise applies to a teacher's transfer with his consent to work in organizational units of the education administration.

Article 81

1) In the event of a teacher's transfer, he is entitled to be reimbursed for the moving costs according to the separate regulations for state employees.

2) A teacher changing his residence because of a transfer should be released from his services duties for a reasonable period, considering his family conditions and the transportation situation accompanying the move.

3) The transfers discussed in article 80, paragraph 2 are executed, with the consent of the plant organization of the appropriate union, by the organizational unit of the education administration at the provincial level with reference to teachers in schools subordinated to the local organs of the state administration, and with reference to teachers in schools not subordinated to the local organs of the state administration, by the appropriate minister.

Article 82

1) A teacher may be obliged to work in another school in the same location in the same or another position in order to complete the obligatory teaching (upbringing) workload, for not more than half-time employment.

2) A teacher transferring to work in organizational units of the education administration or to work with trade unions associating teachers by choice is entitled to the rights issuing from articles 35, 36, 44, 46, 49, 92-94.

3) For teachers employed in chief (central) and local organizational units of the education administration in positions requiring teacher's qualifications, the respective regulations in articles 14, 17, 18, 33 and 91, paragraph 3 of the law apply.

Article 83

1) A teacher may be transferred in principle with the first day of the school year. Transfers during the school year may be executed only in specially warranted cases. Decisions concerning the transfers of teachers to other service locations or to other positions should be delivered before 1 June.

2) Decisions concerning the transfers on the basis of article 80, paragraph 2 should be delivered to the interested party 6 months before the transfer. A decision delivered after this date is legally invalid.

Chapter 3

Termination of the Work Relationship

Article 84

1) With an appointed teacher, a work relationship should be terminated:

a) upon the teacher's recommendation;

b) during temporary incapacity of the teacher caused by his illness, if the period of this illness exceeds 1 year; in specially warranted cases after a statement by a doctors' commission of improvement in the state of health and the possibility of return to work, the period of absence from work caused by the illness may be extended beyond 1 year, but not exceeding 2 years, combining the period of the illness and the recuperation leave;

c) for a ruling by a doctors' commission for disability and employment affairs attesting to the permanent incapacity of the teacher to work in full-time employment in the currently occupied position;

d) with the end of the school year in which the teacher reached retirement age, if his period of employment allows him a pension. If upon reaching retirement age the teacher has not earned a pension, the work relationship with him should not be terminated until he earns this right during a period of not exceeding 5 years, however, beyond retirement age. The organizational unit of the education administration authorized to make appointments may, with the teacher's consent, extend the period of employment in cases warranted by cadre needs.

e) if a teacher has failed to discharge his service responsibilities.

2) A recommendation concerning the termination of the work relationship should be made in writing by the person who appointed the teacher not later than 3 months before the school vacation. The termination of the work relationship with an appointed teacher upon his recommendation occurs 31 August.

In a school with classes during the whole calendar year, the work relationship may be terminated by the person who has appointed the teacher at any time with 3 months' notice.

3) Directing a teacher to be examined by a doctors' commission for disability and employment affairs may occur with the teacher's initiative or ex officio at any time by the appropriate official in accordance with article 82; the unjustifiable failure of the teacher directed ex officio to report to the examination authorizes the appropriate organizational unit of the education administration to terminate the work relationship.

4) The termination of the work relationship with a teacher because he failed to fulfill his service responsibilities occurs at the end of the school year, with 3-months' notice in writing to the teacher, after unsatisfactory work evaluations twice within a period of not less than 1 and not more than 1½ years, according to the procedure in article 85.

5) The work relationship may be terminated with the teacher according to an understanding of both sides as well.

Article 85

1) The organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct supervision over the school establishes an unsatisfactory evaluation on the basis of the opinion of the school director and his representative.

2) The organizational unit of the education administration is obliged to inform the teacher of an unsatisfactory evaluation of his work, substantiating it and warning that the next unsatisfactory evaluation will cause the termination of the work relationship.

3) If the unsatisfactory evaluation has not been established by the chief (central) unit organizational of the education administration, the teacher has the right to appeal within 14 days from being informed of the evaluation considered unjust, to the authority directly superior to the one making the evaluation.

4) If a teacher appeals a second unsatisfactory evaluation, the work relationship may not be terminated until this appeal is settled.

Article 86

1) A work relationship may be terminated with an appointed teacher in the event of:

a) the demolition or the transformation of the school or basic organizational changes in the school that make it impossible for the teacher to be employed in this same or another school, in this same or another location; in this case, work should be proposed according to his qualifications.

b) the teacher's failure to comply with an order for transfer according to the procedure in article 80, paragraph 2.

2) The termination of the work relationship for the reasons in paragraph 1, item 1 occurs with an appointed teacher with a 3 months' written notice stating the reasons for the termination of the work relationship and with the prior approval of the plant union organization of the appropriate trade union.

Article 87

A decision to terminate a work relationship on the basis of articles 84-86 is issued by the official authorized to make appointments in the manner specified in these articles.

Article 88

1) The work relationship of an appointed teacher is terminated by force of law in the event of:

a) the legal disciplinary punishment of a teacher by a disciplinary penalty of dismissal or expulsion,

b) the legal sentencing of the loss of public rights or the right to practice one's profession,

c) a statement that the appointment occurred on the basis of falsified or invalid documents,

d) his abandonment of the position by voluntary absence from work.

2) The termination of the work relationship in the cases specified in paragraph 1, items 1-4 is ascertained by the official authorized to employ the teacher.

Article 89

The regulation of article 114 of a law dated 23 January 1968, concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 3, item 6), applies accordingly to teachers.

Article 90

1) In matters concerning labor contracts with a teacher, the universally binding regulations of labor legislation, together with the considerations in paragraphs 2-4, apply accordingly.

2) A labor contract concluded with a teacher for an unspecified period may be terminated by the official authorized to conclude the contract, at the end of the school year, the teacher having been given 3 months' notice.

3) The regulations in paragraph 2, referring to the termination of labor contracts at the end of the school year, does not apply to teachers in schools with year-round teaching activities.

4) A labor contract concluded with a teacher may be terminated at any time and without notice in the event of the teacher's inability to work due to illness beyond 1 year.

Chapter 4

Severance Pay

Article 91

1) An appointed teacher with whom the work relationship is terminated for the reasons specified in article 84, paragraph 1, items 2 and 3, and article 86, paragraph 1, item 1 is awarded a one-time monetary severance benefit in the amount of 1 month's basic salary for active service at the most recent rate, for every full year of teaching service calculated according to the regulations based on article 21, not exceeding 6 months' basic salary.

2) An appointed teacher with whom the work relationship is terminated for reasons specified in article 59, paragraph 2, may be awarded a one-time severance benefit based on the principles specified in paragraph 1, not exceeding:

--3 months' basic salary, if the period of active teaching service did not exceed 10 years;

--6 months' basic salary, if the period of active teaching service exceeded 10 years.

3) An appointed teacher who is pensioned is awarded severance pay in the amount of 2 months' basic salary at the most recent rate in the school serving as the basic place of work.

Variant II, article 91

1) An appointed teacher with whom a work relationship is terminated for the reasons specified in article 81, paragraph 1, items 2 and 3, and article 88, paragraph 1, item 1 is awarded a one-time monetary severance benefit in the amount of 1 month's basic salary, at the most recent rate during his active service on the basis of article 21, not exceeding 6 months' basic salary. The awarding of severance pay for reasons specified in article 84, paragraph 1, item 2 may occur only once during the period of the teacher's employment.

2) An appointed teacher with whom the work relationship is terminated for reasons specified in article 59, paragraph 2 and for whom the appropriate organizational unit of the education administratrion has not proposed work meeting his qualifications is awarded a one-time severance benefit according to the principles... (and so forth as in variant I).

3) (Text as in variant I)

Section X

Retirement Benefit

Article 92

Teachers and their family members have the right to a retirement benefit specified in regulations concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families, together with the considerations in article 94 of the present law and inclusion among employees in category I of employment.

Article 93

1) Teachers with category I employment of at least 30 years, having terminated the work relationship at their recommendation, may go on pension.

2) The basis for the amount of pension or annuity for a teacher is based on the general principles specified in regulations concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families, with all awards attained for the professional achievements of the teacher added to this base.

3) The particulars of the base for the pension or disability annuity for teachers is determined by the minister of labor, wages and social affairs in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing.

4) Disabled teachers in groups I or II, as well as disabled teachers in group III, whose disability arose from a work accident or an occupational disease may, after the termination of the work relationship upon their recommendation, go on pension if they have worked the required period.

Article 94

1) Teachers entitled to a pension or disability annuity are also entitled to a supplement amounting to 20 percent of these benefits if the person has taught in a school.

2) The supplement discussed in paragraph 1 is to be granted regardless of an allowance granted from teacher's holding state distinctions.

3) The regulation in paragraph 1 likewise applies to teachers who go on pension or disability annuity after the date, as well as to those who have gone on pension or disability annuity before this date.

4) The minister of labor, wages and social affairs determines, in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing, by decree, the periods of work authorizing the supplements discussed in paragraph 1, as well as the particulars of the award and calculation of such supplements.

Article 95

The pensions and annuities of teachers are subject to continual recalculation, together with an increase in the salary of active teachers and the costs of upkeep.

Section XI

Cooperation with Trade Unions Associating Teachers

Article 96

1) The organizational units of the education administration cooperate in matters concerning teachers with trade unions associating teachers. This applies above all to:

--tacks in the name of improving working conditions;

--the improvement of social-living conditions of employees and their families;

--the utilization of the plant awards fund, the social fund, the housing fund and the health fund;

--ideological and professional improvement;

--changes in and the termination of the work relationship;

--vacation planning and use of vacations;

--the granting of distinctions and recognitions;

--the assignment of teaching hours and of other intraschool activities.

2) The particulars of the cooperation of the organizational units of the education administration with echelons of trade unions associating teachers will be determined by an understanding of the minister of education and upbringing with the chief authorities of these unions.

Section XII

Transitional and Closing Regulations

Article 97

The Council of Ministers is authorized to improve further the working conditions of teachers and to reduce the norms of work time specified in the law.

Article 98

1) Teachers who remain in teaching service or in organizational units of the education administration on the date of the law's implementation and who have attained, on the basis of the previous regulations, the scholarly and pedagogical qualifications to teach or conduct educational activities in schools of a specific type and level are considered qualified for the position of teacher or educator in these schools, even if they do not meet the conditions specified in article 9, paragraph 1.

2) For graduates of teaching studies who will complete work in these studies after the implementation of the law in the area of scholarly and pedagogical qualifications, the regulations of paragraph 1 apply accordingly.

Article 99

For matters not standardized by regulations of the present law and concerning appointed teachers, the appropriate, universally binding regulations of labor legislation apply.

Article 100

1) Those appointed to permanent position on the basis of previous regulations are considered teachers appointed according to the present law.

2) Teachers employed on the date of the present law's implementation but not notified of dismissal are considered teachers appointed under the present law, if they fulfill the conditions specified in article 74, paragraph 2.

3) Teachers employed on the date of implementation of the present law on the basis of:

--being notified of dismissal and not fulfilling the conditions specified in paragraph 2,

--being appointed for a specified time,

--a labor contract,

are considered employed on the basis of a labor contract under the present law.

Article 101

The rights issuing from article 82, paragraphs 2 and 3 are rights to which teachers who have transferred to organizational units of the education administration of trade unions associating teachers before the date of the law's implementation are likewise entitled.

Article 102

1) The regulations of the law do not apply to soldiers in active military service:

a) occupying the position of teacher in schools and education-upbringing institutions,

b) selected for tasks outside the military in positions listed in article 1.

2) Soldiers listed in paragraph 1 may be granted the honorary title of "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" and the "National Education Board Medal," and the children of these soldiers are entitled to the rights specified in article 46.

Article 103

The minister of education and upbringing, by agreement with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, may extend the regulations of the present law or certain of its provisions to teachers of non-state schools and other non-state education-upbringing institutions, as well as teachers in training plants and institutions.

Article 104

Until the issuance of the executory regulations stipulated in the present law, the previous regulations with the changes issuing from the law are binding.

Article 105

Teachers who, on the basis of working conditions or their qualifications, are entitled, according to special regulations, to specific rights or sector benefits, retain these rights or benefits in the binding area on the date of the law's implementation.

Article 106

In article 46 of the law dated 23 January 1968, concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 3, item 6):

1) in paragraph 2, point 1 is specified,

2) paragraph 4 is added with the text:

"4) The matter of additions to pensions and annuities by virtue of teaching is regulated by the regulations of the law, The Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher."

Article 107

In the law dated 15 July 1961, concerning the development of the system of education and upbringing (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 32, item 160, and, dated 1971, No 12, item 115), the following changes are introduced:

1) articles 31-33 are deleted,

2) article 34 becomes:

"The qualifications of teachers and educators, their rights and duties, the principles of education and improvement and the tasks and procedure for appointing teachers and educators to and dismissing them from directorial positions in the school, in educational, upbringing and guardianship-upbringing institutions, are specified in regulations of the law, The Teacher's Charter."

3) in article 35, paragraph 2, the following sentence is added:

"The particular scope of the duties and rights of teachers exercising pedagogical supervision employed in organizational units of the education administration are specified in the regulations of the law, The Teacher's Charter."

Article 108

In article 65 of the law dated 25 January 1958, concerning people's councils (DZIENNIK USTAW, dated 1963, no 29, item 172), paragraph 1(a) is added:

"1) a) The procedure for appointing and dismissing school superintendents and deputy school superintendents, inspectors of education and upbringing and their deputies and gmina directors and deputy directors of schools is specified in regulations of the law, The Teacher's Charter."

Article 109

The following lose force:

1) the law dated 27 April 1972, The Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 16, item 114):

2) other regulations concerning matters regulated by the present law.

Article 110

The law comes into force on the date....

FROM THE EDITOR: Opinions concerning the ministry draft of the teacher's charter as well as remarks and proposals for changes should be directed to the Ministry of Education (Avenue of the First Polish Army 25 00-918 Warsaw, with the notation on the envelope: Minister's Office) or to the Main Board of the ZNP--Education, Legal-Social Department, Spasowski St., No. 6/8, 00-369 Warsaw.

Reaction of NSZZ Solidarity to Charter

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 31 May 81 p 3

[Article by Bronislaw Sarzynski, deputy chairman, National Council of the Education and Upbringing Section of NSZZ Solidarity]

[Text] In the previous issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI we published the ministry's draft of the teacher's charter. We likewise inserted editorial commentaries, presenting the reasons recommending this document, which would regulate the most important and most basic matters and problems of the teacher's profession in the form of a law. We likewise solicited the opinions of all those interested--i.e., all teachers--on this subject. In subsequent issues we will publish these readers' opinions, which are flooding our editorial staff. Many opinions are expressed in the form of official documents, resolutions and proposals of entire pedagogical teams and plant councils.

We likewise heard the position of Col Bronislaw Sarzynski, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Education and Upbringing Section of NSZZ Solidarity, which we are publishing in full.

The most favorable solution offered in the alternative legal documents for the current development stage of the socioeconomic situation is a basic concern for NSZZ Solidarity. This question touches the very idea of professional-social solidarity under conditions of total democracy and egalitarianism of all citizens according to the obligatory law of the state. The Charter is a normative document, which affords privileges to a specific socioprofessional group from among the rest of society. This is, of course, at odds with the fundamental assumption of the Solidarity movement. The differentiation of the privileges of professional groups creates a source of antagonism in society. Security such privileges for some professional group is, under conditions of a true democracy, ineffective, and even demeans its prestige in practice.

If the current Solidarity movement continues in the direction of limiting the role of the state as the organizer of social and economic life in order to increase the role of self-governing organizations, societies or individual production initiatives, the means of production of crucial subsectors of the national economy will still be in the hands of institutions with a higher level of socialization. Consequently, there is no reason for the state to provide special protection for some socioprofessional group.

In states characterized by the preponderance of private property, the state's granting of security to certain professional groups may be justified, but only for professions that are not very attractive but socially indispensable.

The granting of privileges to teachers by force of the law is senseless, and even harmful for this profession. It is not difficult to see the low esteem in which the teacher's profession is held today among other professions and how much value the teacher's privileges guaranteed in the charter have on paper.

No official government document can determine the prestige of a profession and its social esteem in an intellectually developed society. It can only define the importance of the field in which this profession works and the manner in which it executes its tasks. If the Sejm, by force of law, wishes to make possible for teachers the more effective fulfillment of their profession in the field of the teaching and the upbringing of the younger generation, it should do this by increasing the importance of education in the program of national development. Increasing the importance of education should be effected through the development of a good system of national education and by priority to total investment in it. Adequate working conditions and fair pay should not be considered privileges. Similarly, a series of other social benefits issuing from one's employment has already been long guaranteed in sufficient amount, according to universally binding labor law. Those aspects of questions regarding the work relationship are more profitably regulated by collective bargaining, since changing working conditions are accompanied by a changed market-monetary situation.

A law, having a permanent nature, always keeps the teacher in last place for compensation increases. Keeping the teacher in the so-called budgetary pot makes this professional group independent of the functioning of the entire national economy and of the operation of the state administration. Consequently, the guarantee of the education administration's using the collective system with regard to employees, as the signitaries of this system, should be a Sejm law stabilizing the extreme importance of national education in the program for the socioeconomic development of the country.

A Sejm law concerning the system of national education, including the goals and directions of the development of institutionalized education, should be a point of reference for the collective system, including the possibility of the flexible adaptation of requirements to changing conditions of life and work.

Thus, the answer to the question "a charter or a collective system" is obvious. A law, a charter, not for the teacher, but for national education, is needed. On the other hand, work relations between the employee and the employer should be regulated through a reliable collective system based on this law.

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TREATMENT OF ECONOMIC ISSUES BY RADIO, TV REVIEWED

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Sep 81 pp 27-30

[Roundtable discussion with Sorin Pamfil, chief editor of the economic broadcasts staff, Stela Cristea, deputy chief editor, Ionel Cristea, secretary responsible for the editorial staff, and Nicolae Culcea, Ciprian Enache and Gheorghe Verman, broadcasters, chaired by Cristina Dumitrescu; date and place not specified: "A Party Commitment in the Treatment of Economic Problems"]

[Text] For the activities of newspaper reporters, the written press and radio-television throughout the country, the speech delivered by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the festive meeting dedicated to the celebration of the semi-centennial of SCINTEIA and Romanian Press Day constitutes a reference point of unequaled reverberation, a fundamental document with broad possibilities for the future. The work of reporters, carefully supported and guided by the party, today benefits from a broad document dealing exclusively with this work and a coherent system of criteria and guidelines.

Each of the problems presented in this speech naturally becomes a subject for serious thought for Romanian reporters; each idea, each criticism, each directive naturally becomes a theme for discussion for our magazine - the echo of the opinion of newspaper reporters.

In this issue, we have proposed to have a discussion with members of the economic editorial staff working in television, a staff with special tasks in creating a progressive, responsible attitude regarding work and the major problems of developing socialism in our country. We wanted to have a working dialogue and a practical analysis of the means and methods used by the economic staff of this important media organ in order to achieve one of the essential objectives of its activities - so that "each worker will well understand," as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech, "that only to the degree of development of the national economy and of the more powerful growth of industry and agriculture can we create conditions for the general development of the country, as well as the continued improvement of the people's material and spiritual well-being."

An Active, Daily Involvement in the Country's Economic Affairs

Pamfil: If up until several years ago the activities of our staff were similar to those of a specialized weekly magazine, today we are a kind of daily. I think that currently our broadcasts have a utilitarian, organizational and mobilizing nature. This is, in fact, the sense of social demands - an active, daily involvement in the country's economic affairs. In this regard, an especially clear description is contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech delivered in celebrating SCINTEIA, which points out that "the press and radio-television must reflect the great achievements made by the workers. It must popularize and spread everything that is good and positive in all fields! At the same time, it must criticize fully decisively shortcomings, shortfalls, negative affairs and any expression of a lack of responsibility regarding socialist property, defending with revolutionary intransigence the general interests of the workers and socialist construction in Romania!"

We consult on a daily basis with the responsible authorities in the economy and the workers in different sectors of activity in order to seek solutions and ways to improve our activities and to have progress in one field or another. We seek to stimulate responsibility, to mobilize people and to favor the best possible cooperation between all the parties that contribute to the achieve of a certain action.

I think, therefore, right from the beginning of our discussion we must define this organizational, mobilizing role that we wish to confer upon our broadcasts.

Enache: Our daily presence on the station placed the economic staff in a new situation and I must admit that in the beginning I was sufficiently concerned. The staff retained the same number of reporters and, generally, the same technical-organizational potential, but, with a collective and individual effort, I think we have succeeded in meeting the challenge. We must note that the redesign of our job, which at the beginning worried us, lead us to produce certain programs that were closer in nature to the concerns that the television viewers expected from us - aspects more directly related to life and the daily problems of work. Television viewers want to feel involved in our programs, which is natural, and not for them to just be a simple audience. I think that in this manner we also succeeded in bringing us closer to the television viewers and contributing to the broad process of educating them from an economic point of view. We are involved, and we want this most of all, in those things that interest them and we are dealing with the problems of production and life that they encounter on a daily basis.

We encounter especially interesting emphasis in connection with this idea of maximum significance in the speech delivered by the secretary general of the party on the semi-centennial anniversary of SCINTEIA. In this reference document for reporting activities, it notes: "Beginning with the fact that we are building

socialism and communism with the people and for the people and only to the degree in which the workers and all the people work in close unity under the leadership of our communist party can we ensure the victory of socialism and communism." In this idea and by implication, I think that it will be necessary for our broadcasts to pursue more carefully than at the present the connections and the rich and complex ramifications of economic problems.

The People Trust Our Broadcasts

Pamfil: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is also guiding us in a critical examination of our activities. That is why I feel the need to point out that our predilection for the major problems of industry and agriculture, although justified, sometimes work against the presence in our broadcasts of the third sector: trade, services and the production of consumer goods. All of these also have a sphere of interest for the workers and I believe that a more systematic approach on our part will be absolutely necessary.

Ionel Cristea: Perfectly true. And this is even more so since while traveling through the country I noted that the people regard us with great trust and place great hopes in what we film. It sometimes comes to the point where they have the belief that television will resolve their problems and not those directly involved.

[Question] Even if the solution is not strictly in the realm of television, is a broadcast not in the position of stimulating the parties or persons involved?

Ionel Cristea: Most of the times, yes.

Pamfil: Any program provokes reactions on the part of the television viewers - evaluations, counterpoints, thanks or displeasure, and suggestions for future programs. Despite the fact that economic programs are not shows that people watch as entertainment and that their scheduling during the evening hours when people are relaxing, requiring the citizens to again think about the problems they just left at work, despite these handicaps, we have a sufficiently broad audience of viewers. The agricultural program, for example, is the main program of political interest for numerous management personnel in the economy. We get correspondence from the highest levels of responsibilities in the counties and, furthermore, from those persons with the most modest jobs. The editor of the agricultural program has become a well-known person in all the counties and I think that this is proof of the impact that our broadcasts have upon the awareness of the televisions viewers. This fact pleases us and, at the same time, you realize just how seriously involved we are.

On the other hand, it is difficult for you to find a means of programming that will correspond to the level of all potential television viewers and to a public that is heteregeneous through its work. Sincerely speaking, the audience for our programs has decreased, if we ask the citizen on the street, but it has increased certainly among the ranks of those persons directly involved in the carrying out of economic phenomena. The decision-making authorities more carefully watch the economic programs, and this is, I think, a gain in the efficieny of our reporting efforts.

Ionel Cristea: The audience for our broadcasts is, according to the results obtained by the Office of Radio-Television Ratings, 25 to 30 percent, which, compared to the audience on the worldwide level for economic programs, is satisfactory. I think that our efforts should be directed towards covering certain broader, more diversified areas of concern.

We Are, We Try Hard to Be, a National Office for the Exchange of Experiences

Stela Cristea: Even if we lost some television viewers who are not involved directly in the carrying out of economic affairs, through our daily broadcasts, which we believe are now sufficiently polished to meet demands under good conditions, we have achieved a very important thing. We have become a type of national office for the exchange of experiences in all the fields that today concern the workers.

[Question] You referred to one of the priority tasks of the media: an exchange of experiences. Would you like to dwell some more on several examples?

Stela Cristea: The exchange of experiences favored by television refers to all important problems of an especially current nature: the recovery and recycling of materials, the use of nonconventional sources of energy, the new quality, investment policies, the reduction of imports and so forth. After each program, we receive telephone calls from enterprises that are interested in the details of a procedure, a technology or a system of work that we have presented on the air. In organizing an exchange of experiences, we are responding, certainly, to one of the most important tasks of the media and the economic programs, a task clearly expressed in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech.

Pamfil: In the sphere of the economist, all the subjects are and must be of major interest. It is very important, however, for us to know how to find the means of attracting the attention of the public and of suggestively emphasizing an essential truth - the direct involvement of each citizen in the carrying out of economic phenomena. "The Energy File" was a program dedicated to a major problem and through it we were able to make contact with a great many television viewers. We were truly bombarded with letters and there nearly was confusion between our staff and an institute that was to supply the designs for a biogas installation, for example.

This was a confusion that we encouraged, however, satisfied with the trust that we enjoyed, so that in the end the writer who was responsible for the program obtained these designs, reproduced them at this own expense and sent them out through the mail to the people interested.

Stela Cristea: In addition to the utilitarian aspects that Sorin Pamfil was talking about, the educational facet in our programs is especially pronounced. We are not carrying out economic education programs in a declared manner, but the subjects

and the means of presenting the problems represent efficient ways of educating the workers in the enterprises. We had, for example, a series on problems in foreign trade in which we discussed the manner in which the provisions of law are understood and respected in this field. The examples provided by the experiences of the different work collectives have proven much more instructive than an eventual theoretical presentation on the problem.

Pamfil: The series mentioned, produced at the proposal of and with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, succeeded in resolving many problems and some ideas and principles that had been insufficiently or incorrectly understood, and also provided specific solutions for overcoming certain difficulties of a practical nature in applying the law.

Ionel Cristea: In the case of the series mentioned, the educational purpose is very clear, it is explicit, but this content practically exists in each of our programs. A subject that is dealt with at the level of an enterprise is always (it can be no other way) placed in the context of the national economy. The examples and data that we provide are selected so as to always have an illustrational role. Regardless of the exact subject of a program, the substantive content is the explanation of the party's economic policy, with references to one field or another of activity. This just direction, which we appreciate empirically, is clearly seen in the context of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech. That is why we will seek to improve it constantly as a method of work for the purpose of increasing the propagandistic power and educational force of our programs.

The Mobilization of the Workers in the Achievement of the Tasks of the Economy is not Possible Without a Good Understanding of the Economic Laws

Culcea: Speaking of the education of the television viewers, I think that there is room to note that we achieved an educational plus through these daily programs. Professionally, from a point of view of the cohesion of the collective, the change in the structure of our activities was especially useful for us. In the programs and in our work the necessary symbiosis was produced between the concerns in the industrial or agricultural fields, regarded as inseparable facets of the same great process.

We spoke about economic education and the mobilization of forces. Considering things in the light of the ideas contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, I think that these two objectives which we are pursuing can only be conceived in close relation. We cannot speak of a real mobilization and an efficiency in the case of the workers or a collective where there is no understanding of the many laws of economic development of the country and the exact significance and consequences of each action. Sometimes, we have immediate proof of the educational effects of our broadcasts. The better use of natural flora, for example, an important resource in our country that is currently neglected although it would

provide significant benefits with low investments, is a theme that we have suggested and we have begun to present it in our agricultural programs. And, we were pleased to find, right from the beginning, a very good reaction on the part of the television viewers.

Stela Cristea: I think that it is important, especially for television, for us to carry out education by demonstrating and richly and convincingly arguing, not just be stating. There is a clear growth in the level of the public's understanding today, compared to several years ago. Today, workers and peasants have an economic cultural environment and we have a much more receptive and more informed public. On the other hand, I think that in our staff and in the professional training of the reporters there have been noticeable improvements. We will have to think more about using these "goods" that we have acquired. This is, in my opinion, an indispensible condition for progress and for avoiding routine.

Verman: I think that the ever greater involvement of our programs in the country's economic affairs also have a direct effect upon increasing the level of responsibility for each of us. And, perhaps precisely because of these increased tasks and responsibilities it will be necessary to have a better correlation of our activities with our colleagues in the written media. We have different means of expression and different opportunities and audiences, and it would be well for us to avoid inefficient duplication, in favor of having actions for collaboration. We have the advantage of the timeliness of information and of transmitting events "on-time," even to the minute, while the written media can be more thorough and more methodically analyze and not just reissue the next day that information which we presented to the public. It is a correlation that must be considered to the degree in which we judge the overall use with a maximum of efficiency and in specific means of the real forces available to the means of mass communication. The public would be better informed and better served.

In what we have achieved I believe what is important is the fact that we are trying harder with each broadcast to change something, to get involved and not just to relate information. Perhaps our programs are not always "pretty" or perfect from a stylistic point of view, and perhaps they do not respond to the tastes of certain more exigent viewers, but what interests us above all is to permanently pursue the pulse of life. Because, as was also stressed in the party secretary general's recent speech "all our activities must become the loyal exponent of the concerns of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the workers."

This is a fundamental argument for getting us to be more and more interested in being understood and for finding the words and the pictures that are accessible to everyone. We still have much to do with regards to the unified production of programs, for example, but the truth is that the amount of work is very great for our group and we are permanently fighting the clock.

Pamfil: The pressure of the clock is an explanation, but not an excuse! Such are things when because of haste we make concessions ourselves in the journalistic quality of the programs and we are not always as prompt as we should be. These are, certainly, difficulties that we know well, those of us behind the scenes in these activities, but sometimes the effects become visible. Being aware of this, we are determined to do things to find solutions for overcoming this impasse.

Another problem that we must be permanently concerned about is the rigour and the mathematical order in the production of broadcasts and the flow of empty words, as well as bland pictures, that say nothing. We still say "the view takes the words out of our mouth" or "let us describe" and these are things that should be eliminated. We hope, however, that the steps that we are taking forward will be greater and more important than those that we take backward or that we take in place.

The thoughts expressed at this roundtable certainly do not represent a listing of all the problems or a complete set of ideas, but merely a succinct noting of the principal directions for action proposed by the staff. We believe, however, that the dialogue carried out by the reporters on the economic television staff showed the concerns and the effforts of this group for a continuing growth of the quality of their work and the firm decision to do everything to carry out the responsibilities outlined for the written media and radio-television by the party and by its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

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MATERIAL ON TRANSYLVANIA IN CLUJ-NAPOCA YEARBOOK

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Aug 81 pp 1587-1592

/Review by Radu-Dan Vlad of the "Yearbook of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology," Vol XXI (1978), 548 pages/

/Text/ Now in its 21st year of publication, the "Yearbook of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology" has won well-merited reknown among technical publications both because of the worth of its contributors and its broad coverage of all periods of Romanian history and because of the wealth of information and the profound ideas it offers its readers. We must also note the generosity with which it gives its editorial space to the young researchers, thereby helping them to assert and fulfill themselves professionally. With the same consideration the editors offer their good offices to all those who, even if they are not directly engaged in research, show sound knowledge and interest in resolving some too little investigated or even unknown questions, especially in regard to local history. And finally we also wish to point out the particular care taken in the Cluj-Napoca publication to publish some unpublished documents in both Romanian and foreign archives.

The Yearbook begins with two groups of articles in honor of the two great anniversaries in Romania's history that were celebrated in 1978, namely the 60th anniversary of the great and glorious unification at Alba Iulia and the 130th anniversary of the 1848 revolution, groups in modest homage to those who by their thoughts, by their deeds and especially by their heroism, often carried to the point of self-sacrifice, fulfilled the ancient dream of this people of martyrs, a dream that might seem modest to many, that of living in freedom in the land of their ancestors.

In opening the series of anniversary articles, Academician Stefan Pascu denotes the high scientific tone of this volume in "The Importance and Significance of the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia and the Accomplishment of Unification" (pp 7-30). With his well-known clarity and conciseness, reinforced by his gift for describing the famous deeds of the people, the author points out from the very start the plebiscitary nature of the decision at Alba Iulia, evidenced not so much by the strength and resolve (not to be overlooked either) of the 100,000 and more voices that unanimously confirmed, in the first capital of all the Romanians, the ardent desire of their forebears expressed 70 years before on the Field of Freedom in Blaj ("We want to be united with Romania!"), as by the similar demonstrations in all the cities and villages of Transylvania. By presenting the reactions in the press of the time throughout Greater Romania, Academician Stefan Pascu brings out the fact that all

Romanians everywhere realized the importance of the act of 1 December 1918 at the time. The author concludes that all told, over 80 percent of the population opted for unconditional unification of Transylvania with Romania, quite freely and without any pressure or influence of any kind whatever from anyone. The distinguished historian goes on to tell us of the "Odyssey" of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference which, after some delays, finally had to recognize an act (the Great Unification) de jure that had long since become a reality by the will of the broad masses of Romanians, Saxons, Swabians, Jews, Slovaks, Ruthenians and a large part of the Szekler and Magyar population. Upon analyzing the events that ultimately led to the happy decision at Alba Iulia, Academician Stefan Pascu concludes that the Great Unification was no act of vengeance "but one of historical justice that accomplished its mission of righting wrongs, fulfilling its objective laws, and overcoming the obstacles that opposed the process of logical development."

The other article in honor of the Great Unification, "Consequences of the Unification of Transylvania with Romania" (pp 31-50) by I. Cicala, stresses the point that the act of 1 December 1918 "further unleashed the energies and creative power of Romanian society" as a factor for progress both in agriculture (It brought about the radical agrarian reform that dealt the big landowners a powerful blow by reducing their holdings from 40.23 to 10.44 percent of the land) and industry and on the cultural level (The national minorities were granted the broadest freedoms).

And finally, Gh. Iancu concluded the cycle of these anniversary articles with "Considerations on the Role and Position of the Directing Council in the First Years After Unification" (pp 51-56), wherein he describes the activity of that high authority from its founding on 2 December 1918 to its dissolution on 10 April 1920, during which time it governed several activities in Transylvania that were not yet directly under the authority of the Romanian government. On the basis of a careful scientific analysis the author concludes that the Directing Council made noteworthy progress in the economic, social and political fields and especially in administration, as it consistently pursued and accomplished a reduction and gradual and elimination of regional differences.

The following four articles are dedicated to the other great event of historical importance to the Romanian people, the 130th anniversary of the 1848 revolution. In his article "Ioachim Bacila in the Revolution of 1848-1849" (pp 67-100), I. Plesa uses a number of unpublished sources in the Alba Iulia Batyaneum Documentary Library, the Alba Branch of the State Archives, the Alba Iulia Museum of History and the Hunedoara-Deva Branch of the State Archives as well as extensive documentation (special maps, studies and articles, etc.) to present a less-known figure of the revolution in Transylvania. The author cites and scrupulously interprets a number of unpublished documents concerning the course of the revolutionary events that took place in Alba Iulia in 1848-1849 and the circumstances and events that had far-reaching implications for the whole revolutionary process in Transylvania and in which the priest Ioachim Bacila (former tribune, senator on the municipal council, commissar of the Romanian National Committee, vice prefect, requisitions commissar, military commander, etc. played a leading part.

In his article "Satu Mare Scholar Moise Sora Novac and the 1848 Revolution"(pp 101-106), based on some unpublished materials (the correspondence of Moise Sora Novac, whom GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI called "one of the most national Romanians we have in Hungary"), Doru Radosav gives us some new data on the 1848 Revolution in Satu Mare County and especially on the odious repressive actions organized by the Hungarian nobles against the villagers' very justified dissatisfaction.

In "An Unknown Manifesto Concerning the 1848 Revolution in Moldavia" (pp 107-112), Mircea Popa presents the manifesto entitled "Moldavia to Its Sons" in the archive of the Institute of Linguistics and Literary History in Cluj-Napoca, a document that contributes new particulars on the tasks, long-range aims and especially the extent of the Moldavian revolution which, it appears, was much greater than hitherto believed.

And finally Hilde Muresan in her article "A Revolutionary German-Language Daily published in Wallachia in 1848" (pp 113-119) presents in extenso the seven numbers that were kept in the collection of the daily ROUMANIA, which was published in Bucharest beginning on 18/30 June June 1848. The author of the article believes this daily was intended "not so much to interest the German-Austrian colony in Bucharest but as propaganda for the cause of the Romanian revolution in Austria and Germany."

The next group of articles in the Yearbook, under the heading "Studies and Articles," begins with Mircea Rusu's article "Turkish, Slavic and Indigenous Populations in the Carpatho-Danubian Region in the Sixth to the Ninth Centuries" (pp 121-131). On the basis of extensive documentation, the author comes to the fully supported conclusion that "The cultural synthesis achieved in the course of the sixth to the ninth centuries throughout the Carpatho-Danubian region faithfully reflects the evolutionary stages of the symbiosis of the various populations, which were ethnically and culturally heterogeneous but finally attained a material cultural characteristic of this area wherein the ethnic differences could no longer be distinguished with any certainty." But as the author quite rightly points out, the linguistic situation developed quite differently. For example, the various populations and especially those living in large and compact groups in various areas were able to assimilate the Avars gradually but steadily, although the Avars were the dominant force politically and militarily. The author makes equally logical statements about the 10th to the 11th centuries, when the Hungarians succeeded in subjugating the first state units (Salamus, Glad, Menumorat and Gelu), imposing a new political-military rule on the indigenous populations (Romanians, Slavs, Szeklers etc.), but the latter were to go on preserving their characteristic traits (ethnic, cultural and liguistic) until today.

Another problem of medieval history is treated in Ion Bordea's and Volker Wollman's study "Transportation and Marketing of Salt in Transylvania and Maramures in the 18th Century" (pp 135-171), based on very solid and largely unpublished documentation and accompanied by many highly interesting map reproductions and statistical tables. After carefully analyzing all the data and information obtained, the authors draw the conclusion that both the population growth and the increasing numbers of livestock or constant expansion of the areas of sales regularly provided an assured market for increasing quantities of salt, exploited by new and much more productive methods, and all this kept increasing the states's revenues.

Nicolae Bocsan's article "Beginnings of the Romanian National Movement in the Banat. Paul Iorgovici's Activity" (pp 173-188) starts with an analysis of Paul Iorgovici's work "Notes on the Romanian Language," which demonstrated the Roman origin of the Romanian people and the Latin origin of their language. The second part of the article describes Paul Iorgovici's laborious efforts for the noble purpose of obtaining positions for Romanians as district or local school directors and as bishops of dioceses inhabited by Romanian majorities, which problems dominated the national movement in the Banat from its inception to the third decade of the 19th century. The author points out in conclusion that "The start of the national movement in the Banat and the western regions was in immediate proximity to the Transylvanian Supplex movement, illustrating the simultaneous nature of the process of national assertion of all Romanians in the Habsburg empire regardless of their religious affiliation."

The following articles concern the modern period of Romanian history, such as Simion Retegan's interesting study "Economic Changes in the Romanian Village in Transylvania in the Middle of the 19th Century (1848-1867)" (pp 190-208), dealing with the consequences of the abolition of serfdom in 1848 with its far-reaching socioeconomic effects in Transylvania. The author considers the most important one to be "the change made in the traditional organization of the agricultural area by the increased proportion of arable land." This, along with the transition from alternating cultivation to continuous agriculture, amalgamation of village boundaries and segregation of forests and pastures, expedited economic exchanges and made markets more accessible to peasant farms. On the basis of some interesting and significant unpublished archival documents, the author describes the penetration of capitalism to the villages, the start of the first trade companies in the villages, the development of the village artisans, and the appearance of the so-called "industrial village." And finally Simion Retegan makes an extensive and sound analysis of the profound changes made on the social level (increasingly pronounced differentiation of the peasantry), the cultural level (considerably increased number of schools), and the national level (It is significant that in the two decades of liberal government the vast majority of the Romanian communes and even counties [comitate] had Romanian notaries).

Liviu Botezan and Nicolae Cordos publish the first part of a longer study entitled "Attempts to Revitalize the Activity of the PNR [Romanian National Party] in 1899 (I)" (pp 209-231), based on extensive documentation (archives, press and subject papers and articles). It describes the efforts of the Romanians in Transylvania and the Banat to revitalize the activity of the PNR, beginning with the preparations made to convene the internal conference at Sibiu on 14 June 1899 and going on to the discussions on that occasion. After an extensive review of the positions of the four important factions within the PNR (known as moderates, gazettists, old tribunists and new tribunists), the authors conclude that it was only the frequently acerbious tone of the debates (on reorganizing the party and whether to continue the passivist tactics or replace them with the new activism) that obstructed the restoration of discipline in the PNR in 1899, while this internal conference afforded an opportunity to express some bold ideas as to the necessity of adopting the political tactics of the new activism, which was to gain ground in the first years of the 20th century.

On the basis of extensive and largely unpublished documentation, Ludovic Bathory gives us an interesting study of the "Role of the Coal Industry in the Romanian National Economy (1919-1921)" (pp 233, 252). The author demonstrates on the basis of some detailed statistical tables that the unification of the Romanian national state afforded the coal industry much better conditions for development than the situation before the war did because the market for coal was considerably expanded.

The next two articles on modern history conclude this series and are unfortunately much more modest, clashing disagreeably with the serious tone of this publication. Ion Bratu and Ioan Popovici give us "Aspects of the Revolutionary Climate in Bihor County During the Years of the Economic Crisis (1929-1933). Unemployment" (pp 253-266) wherein, after a cursory presentation of the phenomena characteristic of capitalist society that generated the revolutionary climate of those years, the authors confine themselves to listing a few annual figures on unemployment in Bihor County without drawing the necessary conclusions. Nor is Petru Bunta's article "Efforts of the Romanian Delegation to the 1946 Peace Conference To Consolidate Romania's Independence and Sovereignty" (pp 267-278) distinguished by any capacity for synthesis and much less by originality. It is confined a cursory description of the activity of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference and makes points that are already known, such as the correctness of Romania's claims and the injustices done to Romania in Paris.

The series under the heading "Miscellaneous" begins with Ioan Piso's report "Epigraphy (IX). Votive Inscriptions Recently Discovered at Sarmizegetusa" (pp 279-287), presenting 24 unpublished inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa that are housed in the Archeological Museum of the modern community of the same name.

In his article "Monetary Treasures from the 15th-18th Centuries Discovered at Cluj-Napoca and Some Problems of Monetary Circulation" (pp 289-296), Francisc Pap publishes the list of monetary treasures including coins issued between the 15th and 18th centuries, making some interesting comments on monetary circulation in 17th century Transylvania. According to the author it is not only difficult but even superfluous to try to determine the social category to which the owners of these treasures belonged, because the important point is whether they can constitute proofs in support of certain phenomena of economic history. The author also demonstrates that the Austrian and German coins could not have replaced the Polish ones at any definite date because it was a process lasting throughout the entire 17th century and one that was caused by the cessation of the "price revolution" of European proportions in the middle of the 17th century.

In the article "Problem of the Existence of the Roe Deer in Romania (15th-19th Centuries)" (pp 297-305), Alexandru Filipescu proves by irrefutable arguments that this species could not have existed in Romania "before the more intensive colonizations begun toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries."

Marius Porumb's article "Medieval Romanian Inscriptions from Transylvania" (pp 307-318) presents several unpublished medieval Romanian inscriptions from Transylvania (15th-18th centuries), and in their article "Lateinische Inschriften aus Cluj (16-17 JH)" Eugen Chirila and Viorica Guy Marica publish several ancient, medieval and biblical inscriptions discovered at Cluj-Napoca.

In the article "Agrarian Life in Transylvania in the Hungarian-Language Narrative Sources from the 17th Century" (pp 329-337), in addition to 17th century diaries and memoirs Maria Ursutiu also presents the brief but authentic texts of the historical chronicles in the Hungarian almanacs from Transylvania. The information collected from about 90 works is classified by subjects and chronologically arranged, from reports of agrarian production and productivity, prices of products and labor, and regular use of the varieties within cities to the natural calamities and epidemics that were important factors affecting the feudal economic situation. Note that many references of a social nature (the serf's life, relations between master and serf, trial, redemption and subjugation of the serf, surety, etc.) are also encountered in the historical literature of the 17th century, which is the subject of this article. These, in correlation with the existing documentary material in the archives, can facilitate sound conclusions and arguments.

Cristina Fenesan in her article "Relations of Transylvania with the Ottoman Empire in 1613-1624 in the Light of Some Turkish Documents" (pp 339-379) places some less known aspects of Transylvania's relations with the Ottoman Empire in wider scientific circulation by publishing 13 original Turkish-language documents. Two of the 13 documents she has published are at the General Directorate of State Archives in Bucharest, in the reserve of Turkish documents, and the other 11 are in the Sandor Mike Collection in the "Diplomatic (Historical) Chest" reserve (F. 126) in the Transylvanian Provincial Archive housed in the Hungarian National Archive in Budapest (These 11 Turkish documents together with all the other 98 are on microfilm at the General Directorate of State Archives in Bucharest). Some of the documents published by the

were also published at the end of the last century in German and Hungarian translations in some document collections, and some in the form of summaries or digests. The 13 documents published here are arranged in three groups according to content as well as the time they were issued, and they pertain to several different phases, namely the implications of the relations established in 1613 and 1614 between the Transylvanian prince and the Transylvanian Saxon "nation," Transylvania's political relations with Moldavia in 1620, and the Porte's position concerning the intervention of the autonomous prince in the Thirty Years' War. In addition to her irreproachable presentation of the documents (digest, external criticism, facsimile, translation, and place and date of other publication), the industrious researcher also gives us an excellent commentary (about 10 pages), based on extensive and sound documentation, which could not make better use of these documents that are highly important because of the wealth of new information they contain.

In "Evidence Concerning the Banat Princes in the Beginning of Austrian Rule. Notes About a Document" (pp 379-385) Costin Fenecan presents a document vital to knowledge of the functions and authority of the Romanian princes in the Banat shortly after the inauguration of Habsburg rule. It is a judgment handed down in 1719 by Ioan Tornya, the magistrate of Caransebes District, jointly with eight neighboring provincial princes sitting in judgment, and it indicates the broad functions they still held at that time which, as we know, they were soon to lose. The document is published in the original language, Latin, accompanied by a copy, but unfortunately not by a translation, which would have been normal. But the author does give us a brief but pertinent commentary.

In "Maria Theresa's Decree of Tolerance of 21 March 1760 Printed in the Romanian Language" (pp 387-391), Aurel Radutiu publishes the said decree for the first time in Romanian, according to the original printed at Blaj on 20 May 1760 by Petru Sibianul the printer and housed in the Library of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy.

In "New Data on Fairs" (pp 393-399) Alexandru Neamtu publishes four documents in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the State Archives concerning two customs of the Romanians in Hunedoara County, the stag [cerbul] and the fairs. But the documents (one in German and three in Latin) are not accompanied by translations, as is customary, but only by a brief commentary.

In "'Codex Kretzulescu' and Its Place in Historiography in Scheii [?] of Brasov" (pp 401-410) Ioan Aurel Pop makes a detailed comparative analysis of the historical writing "Codex Kretzulescu" (attributed to the scholar Radu Duma by its first publisher in the Romanian language, Em. E. Kretzulescu) and concludes with the well-substantiated hypothesis that this codex "should be entered in its entirety (either as a whole or separately according to fragments) alongside one of the two names (Radu Duma or Simeon Hiara) or preferably both, "since this work is earlier than 'The Anonymous Chronicle of Brasov'..."

Ladislau Gyemant's article "Circumstances Surrounding the Election of the Bishop of Blaj in 1832" (pp 411-415) relates the circumstances that led to the election of Ioan Lemeni as Greek-Catholic bishop of Blaj. The circular printed in Romanian and addressed to the diocesan clergy notifying them of the imperial resolution to convene the electoral synod is published in an annex.

Iacob Marza's article "Pupils of Blaj High School (1836-1837)" (pp 417-427) presents, on the basis of archival materials housed in the Blaj Deposit of the Alba County Branch of the State Archives, some pupils in the philosophy courses of Blaj High School in the school year 1836-1837 who were to distinguish themselves in the following decades "in one way or another in the political, social, cultural and religious affairs of 19th century Transylvania."*

In their article "A Document of 1866 Concerning Reorganization of Blaj Schools" (pp 429-440) Ion Botezan and Ioan Gabor publish for the first time a document from the private archive of Alexandru Sterca-Sulutiu, housed in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the State Archives.

The document is important because it supplements previous knowledge of the state of Blaj schools on the eve of the inauguration of the dual monarchy, indicating the efforts to modernize the Blaj schools and to bring them up to the level of the comparable ones in the empire as regards standards for hiring, promoting and paying the teachers. The document is accompanied by a brief introduction and a very useful glossary.

With a sound and varied documentation (unpublished materials from Romanian and foreign archives, the press, general and specialized works, and both Romanian and foreign technical studies and articles), a gift for synthesis and an attractive style, the young researcher Stelian Mindrut provides us with an excellent study of the laws of Apponyi, a subject which, if not completely neglected by our historiography at least has not been accorded the importance it deserves, particularly in view of the sad effects of these laws upon the Romanians in Transylvania. Therefore we must devote more space to the presentation of his study, "Apponyi's Laws and the Parliamentary Activity of the Romanian Deputies (1907)" (pp 441-458).

After a brief review of the abusive measures for forced Hungarianization taken by the Budapest governments in 1868-1907, with direct references to education, the author gives us an extensive and sound analysis of the infamous school laws of 1907, the ultimate purpose of which was to transform all non-Hungarian peoples' schools "into cultural institutions under the permanent control of the state in order to facilitate the non-Hungarian population's acquisition of the state language, alienation from their mother tongues, and their forced conversion to the idea of a single national state. The author goes on to describe in depth the Romanians' reaction to these hateful laws, especially the very farseeing and ardently patriotic speeches of the Romanian deputies to the parliament in Budapest (Teodor Mihali, Aurel Novacu, Alexandru Vaida, Iuliu Maniu, Vasile Goldis, St. Ciceo-Pop, Aurel Vlad, George Popovici et al.), who denounced and vehemently stigmatized the chauvinistic and antidemocratic character of Apponyi's laws both during the discussion of the bill and after it was voted on 19 March and 26 April 1907 in many protests, popular meetings and an active press campaign accompanied by motions and resolutions against the voted bill. Nor does he overlook the strong opposition expressed in the House of Magnates by the heads of the Romanian Church, who openly disapproved of these laws "so injurious to the cultural development of the Transylvanian Romanians' and other nationalities' existence as a people." This opposition was unfortunately quite unsuccessful, as the House of Magnates was also to approve the laws on 10 May 1907 to go into effect on 1 July 1907. Stelian Mindrut goes on to describe various reactions to the Hungarian school policy at points closer to or farther from the center of events, culminating in the

*Namely, Nicolae Pauleti, Nicolae Vladut, Iosif Sterca Sulutiu de Carpinis, Ioan Brad et al.

state of "national defense" announced by TRIBUNA. Pointing out that "The socialists' position regarding the school laws is still an enigma difficult to unravel to this day" (since ADEVARUL, the organ of the Romanian contingent of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, in the years before the law "revealed in its pages the difficult existence of teachers in non-Hungarian schools, but in the months crucial for the cultural fate of the nationalities, marked by heated discussions and debates that engulfed the whole country, the semiofficial organ of the Romanian socialists fell silent"), the author feels this problem merits a logical explanation (which we hope he will give us as soon as possible!). But while the Romanian socialists in Transylvania did not take a firm stand against these revolting laws, this was not true of international public opinion. The author diligently records its reactions, which were unanimous in vehemently condemning Apponyi's laws. Among other things, two great literary figures, the Norwegian Bjoernstjerne Bjoernsen and the Russian Lev Tolstoi refused to attend the Interparliamentary Conference to be held in Budapest and the Berlin Peace Congress as a sign of protest against the Hungarian government's decision to denationalize the subjugated peoples. And finally, Stelian Mindru briefly but significantly analyzes the consequences of this Draconian law for the Romanians in the territories occupied by Hungarians and incorporated in the territory of Hungary.

In an interesting article entitled "From the Struggle of the Apuseni Romanians to Occupy the Landowners' Forests (1918-1927)" (pp 459-472), Gheorghe Hristodol has used some unpublished materials from archives, the press of the time, and many subject articles. The first part of the article describes the Apuseni Romanians' revolutionary actions in 1918 and the harsh repressions of the Austro-Hungarian state authorities, which were to culminate in the massacre at Belis, where 45 Romanians, men and women, old and young, were brutally assassinated. More space is devoted to the Apuseni Romanians' fight for agrarian reforms, which also took violent forms at times (occupation of the forests by force and burning them to enlarge the pasture areas). The last part concerns the demanding actions of the Apuseni Romanians, who were dissatisfied with the way the agrarian reform was implemented, mostly against the forestry companies behind which most of the old owners were acting, which actions characterized "the constant struggle for social justice and a better life led under the conditions improved by the new political climate in Romania between the wars."

The last article of this volume is Alexandru Matei's "'The Romanian National Community.' Contributions to Knowledge of the Organization of the North Transylvanian Romanians' Resistance to the Horthy Regime" (pp 473-495). After a brief review of the Romanian National Community's activity in the short period of 2-14 September 1940 in order to defend the rights of the Romanians in North Transylvania, which had been annexed by the Horthyites, the author publishes in an annex a number of documents issued by that community that are in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the State Archives in the collection of photostats and xerox copies.

The Yearbook also contains a section entitled "Reviews. Bibliographical Notes" (pp 497-534) presenting the most important technical journals and books, Romanian and foreign, in what we must say is a good scientific style, as well as another section entitled "Notices," wherein the intensive scientific work of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology and the History Department in 1977 is perhaps too modestly analyzed.

In conclusion, this volume is a complete success by virtue of both the intrinsic value of the studies and articles that compose it and its overall balance. The editors

have succeeded in covering every period of national history and in reflecting a broad field of interests (political, economic, social and cultural) and that, let us acknowledge, is by no means easy. But we must reproach the editorial collective for the predilection they display for problems concerning the history of Transylvania and, to a less degree, the Banat. The other Romanian provinces are very rarely mentioned and then only from the standpoint of their connections with Transylvania. The fact that the Yearbook is published in Cluj is no justification. The example of the colleagues in Iasi is illustrative in this respect... In the hope that our remark will be received rather as a suggestion for the future (which it actually is), we conclude with a cordial recommendation of the volume to all specialists.

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CONTROVERSIES IN VOJVODINA PROVINCE HIGHLIGHTED

Brutal Policeman 'Undiscoverable'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1602, 13 Sep 81 pp 23-24

[Article by Petar Ignja: "Sticks With Two Ends"]

[Text] This is the story told by Slobodan Radovic, a university-trained economist and senior adviser of the Belgrade Investment Bank:

"On 22 February 1979 I received a telephone call at 0630 (at my home in Novi Sad) from Petko Sekulic, investigator of the Novi Sad police, who told me to be in his office (room number 15) at 0700. At exactly 0700 I arrived at room 15, where I was awaited by two investigators: Petko Sekulic, law school graduate, age 26 (karate expert), and Branko Vuckovic, law school graduate, age 38. The aforementioned investigators commenced the interrogation without any sort of order. They put various questions to me about my business and private connections with managers of various work organizations which are clients of the Bank of Belgrade in Novi Sad, whose director I was until 31 December 1977. The interrogation lasted from 0700 to 1600 hours. They pressed me to say and write what they wanted ... that I approved credit to the work organization Vojvodina (an export-import firm) so that in return that same work organization would hire a certain VP, an unskilled working woman who is the sister in law of the building contractor M. P., to sell ears of boiled corn in a street stand for a certain time--while M. P. would build me two weekend cottages without payment for doing him that favor. When they broke off the interrogation, they took me home, conducted a detailed search and took away my passport, the bankbook for my foreign exchange savings account and a pile of various documents."

The Inquiry

To make a long story short, Radovic also said that after the search they again took him to room 15, and from 1900 hours to 0300 the next morning they continued the "job they had already begun." And then something occurred which the people in the Novi Sad police say they do not do (according to the official statement by the responsible authorities): the two investigators simply beat up Slobodan Radovic.

He said that this abuse lasted 3 days; the people responsible in the Novi Sad police say--only one. In the morning, they say, when they learned of the methods of investigation used by their two people, they immediately suspended them.

However it was (1 day or 3 days), Radovic remained in custody for all of 25 days.

He says: "At 0300 hours on 24 February 1979 they took me to room 5 of the jail. It was then that I removed by shirt for the first time in 44 hours and saw the horrible condition of my body; I was all black and blue."

Once he was eventually released, Slobodan Radovic had to undergo medical treatment and rehabilitation. He was given sick leave for 1.5 months.

On 7 April Radovic filed criminal charges. Twenty days later the public prosecutor requested information on the two investigators from the Novi Sad interopstina police department. Two days later the response came back: "In connection with the criminal charges which have been filed against members of the Novi Sad interopstina police department, the disciplinary court of the interopstina police department rendered a decision on 19 April 1979 to expel Petko Sekulic and Branko Vuckovic from the work community. This decision is not final." This was followed by information on the persons named and the signature of Djuro Markov, chief of the Crime Control Administration.

The entire case, of course, passed into the jurisdiction of the courts. At that point a new tale begins that is still stranger than the one we have been telling up to now.

Mechanical Error

The first trial was scheduled for 9 July 1979. But the trial did not take place, since the two investigators did not appear at all. More precisely, it was established that the summons could not be served on them because the addresses were given incorrectly.

People familiar with court affairs know that such things do happen. Once, twice.... In this case the trial was held only after the fifth date was set. Either the investigator did not appear, or only one would come, or both would come without their lawyers,... and so on, and so forth.

In the meantime (to spend just a moment breaking down this chronicle of court procedure) Slobodan Radovic's work organization granted him paid leave, which he had not requested, lasting 1 month, on the simple grounds that criminal proceedings had been instituted against him, that it was in the interest of the bank "to grant paid leave." Comradely attention or the beginning of something else?

In March 1980 the opstina court in Novi Sad rendered a verdict in the name of the people and pronounced Petko Sekulic and Branko Vuckovic guilty of having in Novi Sad, acting in their official capacity, while conducting conversations with the injured party Slobodan Radovic for purposes of obtaining information,

insulted him, saying that he was dishonest, slapped him and hit him with their fists "in the region of the chest and stomach," demanding particular admissions, and in that way "mistreated the aforenamed and behaved toward him in a manner that violated his human dignity." The verdict of the court is clear, and in the criminal code this is referred to as mistreatment in the exercise of authority. Sekulic was given 1.5 years in prison and Vuckovic 1 year and 4 months.

How did this judicial procedure end? In an unusual way. A few months later the Novi Sad Superior Court issued a ruling vacating the verdict of the opstina court. What is unusual is not that the superior court set aside the verdict of the lower court (this is nothing rare in our system); it is the grounds. The superior court found that the trial was conducted and verdict of the court pronounced by one panel, while another panel is referred to in the document calling for delivery of the verdict. In essence it turned out that the verdict was pronounced by a panel which was not involved in the trial!

Frank Conversation

How did this error occur? we asked Kajka Igic-Jovic, president of the opstina court in Novi Sad.

"It was a purely technical error, one that occurred by accident. The verdicts are written by the clerk of court, and I think that the superior court should not have quashed the verdict because of a single technical error," she said.

The opinion of the president of the opstina court remains, however, in the private domain, the decision of the superior court has legal force.

So, everything begins again from the beginning. The case was put in the hands of another panel, and the trial was set for 27 February 1981. But that same day it was postponed. It was to be scheduled five more times and postponed just as often, since it would turn out that the summons was not served on the codefendant Vuckovic. Finally, this May the court ordered Vuckovic to be taken into custody and issued a warrant for his arrest. Three and a half months have passed since then, and Vuckovic has not been found.

The responsible people in the Novi Sad interopstina police department say that they are covering their jurisdiction and guarantee that Vuckovic is not in Novi Sad. Where is he? They can only make conjectures (a village in Lika is mentioned). A warrant has been issued for his arrest, and it is to be expected that some police department somewhere will certainly find him. Until then there is no trial.

We put to Marija Struharik, deputy president of the opstina court and president of the criminal panel, the question: Have there been other cases in the Novi Sad Opstina Court when employees of the police department were being tried for overstepping official authority?

"These cases are not frequent, but there have been some," was the answer.

We put the same question in the Novi Sad interopstina police department. The responsible people categorically said that nothing like this had happened in the last several months (at least 6) if we exclude Radovic and his investigation. But it does happen that a policeman will strike an innocent man on the street. Before our eyes an assistant chief signed a ruling demoting a policeman to washing cars because he mistreated and struck a woman on the Novi Sad bridge.

The responsible people in the Novi Sad interopstina police department say that the political responsibility of its two investigators has also been established through party procedures. This did not move quickly nor easily. There were people who "did not find sufficient grounds for their punishment by the party." Nevertheless, Vuckovic was expelled from the League of Communists, but Sekulic had in the meantime obtained a job, and the entire case is now in the jurisdiction of his new basic organization of the League of Communists.

Why is it that certain people in the Novi Sad interopstina police department have taken the part of these two investigators? We have talked about it. The responsible people say that it is probably a case of false solidarity (where will they find other jobs), but also defense of the outdated police methods of the past. The new methods we are advocating require much more knowledge and ability, and some people refuse to understand this or are unable to understand it. That is the essence of the conflict.

Everything that has happened and everything that is still happening in the case of Slobodan Radovic and his investigators will probably serve as a lesson to someone.

Organ Recitals Better Avoided

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1603, 20 Sep 81 pp 24-25

[Article by Petar Ignja: "It Was All Just Music"]

[Text] In mid-June of this year we wrote about everything that happened in the Radnoti Miklos High School in Kanjis after the now infamous concert in the Horgos church. To remind our readers: several teachers of that school attended a concert given by a girl who was one of their students. The concert was held in a church, in Horgos, following weekly mass. The girl played Bach on the church organ (it is relevant to say that this is the only organ in the area). The epilogue has been drastic: four teachers have been expelled from the League of Communists, and several others received less severe penalties.

We have also written how the workers' council of the school formed a disciplinary commission which was supposed to establish their fitness for work in the school. Recently that job was completed; four teachers were discharged, one resigned, and two were suspended from the school for a year.

Our attempt to have a few words with the "competent authorities" about the fate of the people who were discharged was unsuccessful. Some were too busy, others

felt that any conversation was superfluous, since the orderly self-management documentation existed concerning the entire matter. And why not? The documentary approach protects both sides from the unpleasant possibility of making an (unintentional) error.

Weighty Decisions

The disciplinary commission of the school consisted of five members. After the public hearing it made several decisions. We will go in order:

In the case of Nandor Lajko, teacher of defense and protection, it was decided that he was guilty and it was recommended to the workers' council that it confirm the decision--"since in his behavior he does not give evidence that he is competent to work in the field of education and training." And since he "committed a quite serious violation of his work duties," the disciplinary commission recommended the measure of termination of employment.

A similar introduction was used for all the professors punished; in future we will give only the grounds.

It is said of Nandor Lajko that on the basis of the data collected it was established that it was his idea (dating back to last year) to organize the concert in the Horgos church, though he himself did not attend the concert. In the inquiry the disciplinary commission ascertained "that Nandor Lajko possessed a Bible, which he kept in the school office (...) but there was no evidence that the accused used the Bible in the training and teaching of students. On the basis of the minutes of a three-member commission for environmental protection, the nationwide defence room, which was his responsibility, was disorderly. Moreover, on two occasions he forgot to lock the door of the preparation part of the room, where weapons are kept."

This is essentially all that this teacher did; these are the errors which earned him his discharge. The final assessment of their severity will be made by the court.

It is said of Laslo Hegedis that he attended the concert and that "during the inquiry" the commission learned that he defended his attendance. Yet another sin is put on his soul: namely, it is said that in a meeting of the teaching council he "reacted rudely" when he learned that A. S. had been awarded the Mokranjac Certificate.

The commission said of Istvan Kabok that he attended the concert and that even later he did not see "his error." It also said that he was "careless in certain of his statements on very serious topics." To be sure, there is no mention of either the statements or the very serious topics, but we will remind the readers that Kabok did, among other things, say this: let the committee buy an organ, and we will go there to concerts!

Istvan Kabok is almost blind. A few days after the article was published in NIN, the Subotica Opstina Committee of the Vojvodina Federation of the Blind

sent him by mail notification of his recall. We read: "The decision is passed unanimously to recall Istvan Kabok from his positions on commissions, his delegate's immunity not withstanding, specifically: chairman of the commission for awards and decorations, member of the commission for awards and decorations, and member of the disciplinary commission." And that is all. Not a word, not a single letter about the why and the how?

It is said of Marija Antoci that she supported attendance of the concert in the Horgos church. She is reproached for having on one occasion brought into her homeroom class a monograph on the nearby village Martonos which had been published by the church.

Emilija Salai (penalized with a 1-year suspension) is reproached for having attended the concert. But that is not all. It is said that on one occasion she missed the dress rehearsal for ceremonies on the day before the official opening of the gymnasium. She is reproached for having in the past (this was later withdrawn, but the seal was affixed, and the charge was typed out), been the author of a rhythmic dance number (Emilija teaches physical education), and the sociopolitical organizations had found her number, performed by girls on School Day, "unsuitable for that occasion." There is no mention of what sort of "unsuitability."

A similar fate befell Denes Sabo, a chemistry teacher, who says that he has been thinking for days about leaving the school voluntarily.

How did the teachers themselves take this punishment?

Emilija Salai says that all of this has been very painful for her, since even today she does not know who is right.

And who is right?

Back in mid-June it was our judgment that the concert in the Horgos church was purely cultural in nature on the basis of the information we had. No one has denied that assertion. Moreover, had that not been the case, had anyone attempted to use the church or the concert for militant religious purposes, our position would certainly have been different.

The Rhythmic Dance Number

Probably aware of the deficiency of their charges, the people who favored pronouncement of these strict sentences tried to broaden them. Stories were started that the teachers who attended the concert were also poor teachers. It was said of Kabok, who was discharged, that he did not regularly enter the content of classes in the school daybooks. To some extent this is true, but it is also true that he corrected that error (we will not point out once again that the man is nearly blind and has great difficulty writing, since he himself does not consent to this justification). That Bible was the charge placed on the head of Lajko, who was discharged. His explanation in response to the question--Why a Bible in school?--is that there was a campaign to collect old books, and

that Bible is an old book, published back in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, the disciplinary commission itself acknowledges that it was not proven that the teacher Lajko had used that book in the school.

And the criticism that the rhythmic dance number (in the case of Emilija Salai) was not suitable for School Day does not deserve comment. Certainly not as grounds for the disciplinary measure which was pronounced against her.

All in all, on the basis of everything read in this "self-management documentation" one gets the impression that there is a large gap between the severity of the penalties and the convincingness of the substantiation. As though someone wanted to prove that he was right at all costs. In spite of the public reaction, or precisely because of it. But the price is too high. Are several relatively young people to be left without jobs because of it? Fortunately, in our democratic and self-managed society the last word has by no means been said in this entire case. Now it is the turn of the courts of associated labor and, we believe, of the bylaws commission of the League of Communists. Let us wait.

7045
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MUHIC RESUMES ARGUMENT OVER 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM'

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic, responding to an article entitled "Democratic Centralism or Democratic Unity" by Antun Zvan, published in KOMUNIST, 28 August 1981: "Certain Old Refrains"]

[Text] At times the author of polemical articles finds himself in a situation of regretting the level of civility which he wanted to display during a critical examination of someone's views. That is exactly the position Antun Zvan has put me in in his article "Democratic Centralism or Democratic Unity," KOMUNIST, Yugoslav edition, No 1276, 28 August 1981. In the tone of affected arrogance which is in any case characteristic of theoreticians of his orientation he has proven once again that one should talk with thinkers of that persuasion the way Oskar Davico does: frankly with respect to revealing the premises of their thoughts and in any case without beating about the bush, without pulling punches, since they do not deserve any other approach. On numerous occasions the New Leftists--and in Zvan's case that is essentially what we are talking about--have shown that classic petty bourgeois intolerance is actually concealed beneath the false academic gloss of their writings, and when it is examined in an ethical and psychological light, that intolerance is nothing other than a feeble defense of their own insecurity, theoretical stuttering and an endeavor, worn out long since, but still persistent, to discredit in advance every criticism of their position as dogmatic or at least politically determined in the highest degree. That is why on this occasion it is necessary to talk to Zvan without those scruples which for the sake of conventional civility (but, as it subsequently turned out, altogether without success), we wanted to display in this spring's article entitled "No Alternative," SVIJET, No 1188.

We will familiarize the reader with what we are dealing with on this occasion.

In the Yugoslav edition of KOMUNIST on 5 June 1981 (No 1264), Franc Setinc published under the department "Ideological Trends in the League of Communists" authorized excerpts from lectures entitled "Democratic Centralism in the Theory and Practice of the LCY" which he delivered at the Josip Broz Tito School of Politics in Kumrovec. At one point Setinc refers to the views of Antun Zvan to the effect that democratic centralism should be abolished as the basic principle of the organizational mechanism of the LCY, which had been published in NIN

(No 1568). We will quote that passage in Setinc's article which is directly relevant to the purpose of this article of ours. "Comrade Dolanc delivered lectures on this (that is, on democratic centralism--F. M.)," Setinc writes, "at the School of Law in Ljubljana, and he also had an interview in NIN which is alluded to by Antun Zvan of Zagreb, reproaching Dolanc for supposedly having caused confusion. Dr Fuad Muhic, who quite rightly reproaches Zvan for having begun a debate on revision of the principle of democratic centralism, also joined in the debate. Zvan, then, was not debating solely with Dolanc, whom indeed he did not fully understand, since he had merely plucked certain ideas from the interview and without having Dolanc's entire lecture before his eyes he had begun a debate about whether the principle of democratic centralism was still relevant at all. He thinks that it is not, that it is outdated, on the grounds that the centralistic element is favored not only in its practical use, but even in theoretical elaboration. He says that the adjective 'democratic' does nothing more than denote what kind of centralism is involved, and he says that we ought to adopt a new name--democratic unity in action. But Dr Muhic feels that this is revision, that these are well-known things from the past, specifically from the time of the euphoria of nationalism and what we might call the liberalist-petty bourgeois views of the principle of democratic centralism, when we were fighting against attempts not only to revise the principle of democratic centralism, but indeed also to change the party into a party of the petty bourgeois type."

As one immediately detects, in the first part of this passage Franc Setinc expressed his concurrence in my judgment that in the case of Antun Zvan we are actually dealing with a revision of the principle of democratic centralism, that is, an approach that is altogether different and which, let it be said even if it prejudices the matter, is not originally ours, rather than the desire for democratic centralism to undergo further development and improvement. In the second part of the passage, however, Setinc merely quotes my views without entering into their evaluation.

And what does Antun Zvan do?

His reaction is one of alarm. "Now the debate has truly begun, he is sounding the alarm ... but instead of taking the road of a fruitful dialogue, he has turned it into a dead end, arguing that 'there is no alternative' to democratic centralism. F. Muhic's article entitled 'No Alternative' first appeared in the Sarajevo review SVIJET (No 1188), where he is chairman of the publishing council. In it the author says expressis verbis that 'Zvan is not talking' about the only alternatives to democratic centralism he wrote about, and then, taking an incomprehensible turn, he discusses my article precisely in the context of those alternatives, i.e., the nationalistic, liberalistic and New Left attempts to revise democratic centralism. It was to Muhic's advantage that 'attempts had been made in our most recent past to speak about his' alternatives, and the fact, as he would have it, that I do not suggest possible alternatives. I did not respond to him, since I have neither the time nor the will for such debates. However, when you (here Zvan is addressing Franc Setinc--F. M.) in the lecture already mentioned and the fragment in KOMUNIST /repeated/ (emphasis A. Z.) Muhic's constructs, and then added something against me as well, it became clear

to me that the desire was to break off the dialogue and retain the status quo in application of democratic centralism. Incidentally, you speak in general terms about my article, passing on Muhic's interpretation that this is 'revision' ... (then follows the quote we have given from Franc Setinc)."

Now, isn't that fine, as Mija Aleksic would say on television. A prestigious sociopolitical figure such as Franc Setinc has nothing else to do, according to Antun Zvan, but to deprive him, Zvan, of the possibility of entering into a dialogue, nor sufficient intellectual abilities to form his own views, but must "repeat" someone else's "constructs" and then add something else for his own part! A very fine opinion and still finer level of imputation coming from this picture of refinement who just one sentence before uttering this invective was bemoaning the fact that violence had been done him and he had been shunted into a "dead-end street"! But we hope that Franc Setinc will respond to the extent that he deems necessary.

As for Zvan's arrogant allusion to his not replying to me "because he had neither the time nor the desire for such debate," I would mention that no one in fact expected anything of the kind from him. The article "No Alternative" came about as the result of the need to familiarize the public more broadly with views of the kind that regard democratic centralism to be "outdated" for our present and future organizational needs and that it should be replaced by some new principle, which Zvan has found in "democratic unity in action." The article in fact concluded with the remark that its purpose was not to "rebuke" Zvan "for any of the motives he had referred to." I believed that that was the civil way to act toward him, and I acted accordingly. Even then I was not anxious to mention his name, not because of his subsequent arrogance, but simply because I was giving an author free advertising before a large public. But in such an important period as the period just in advance of the 12th LCY Congress one could not be satisfied with the standard formula "there are individuals...." So, let Zvan strut about in the role of greatness which has been wronged. His name was mentioned much more because of the timing than because of its value, and it was done much more out of a need for illustration than from a conviction that the public gained something thereby.

Now I would return to the first sentence of this article. Zvan's indirect answer in KOMUNIST convinced me that he should not be shown even that minimum of civility which had been shown him, since his brief article in NIN even then indicated the need for a different treatment. In his article in KOMUNIST, however, Zvan left no room for doubt: the 1968 New Leftist in him emerged, adopting the basic view that a party arranged according to the principles of democratic centralism can be nothing other than the parties of the Old Left, whether they be Stalinist or neo-Stalinist, whether they are called the VSKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] or the LCY, whether they have arisen on Russian or Yugoslav soil. Zvan has been striving to prove this unique metaphysics by referring to no other than Lenin and to those passages in Lenin which show that democratic centralism has its historical grounding only in conditions similar to Russian conditions, its meaning being defined accordingly exclusively in terms of the direct conditions rather than in any more lasting value. In Zvan's opinion, its effects in the final outcome are always negative (bureaucratization,

overemphasis of representative bodies, passivity of the party rank and file, and so on), though (grudgingly) he admits that it has certain constructive effects ("respect for and implementation of the decisions of the majority, powers of leadership organs as organizers in implementing those decisions and their creative historical and practical role in the League of Communists and in society"). In short, Zvan concludes, the time of democratic centralism has passed irrevocably and now a new era should be opened up in which the bylaws would be amended to inaugurate "democratic unity in action."

The reader has certainly be struck by the fact that this important "change of direction" which Zvan advocates coincides in both time and content with the "post-Tito" period. We hope he will not be angry if we remind him that the view that the "post-Tito" period should be distinguished by "broad democratization," by contrast with the previous period of "bureaucratic centralism," is nevertheless not original to him, but rather over the last 1.5 years we have had occasion to hear it from certain other quarters as well. Zvan will probably write about this in more detail in the extensive study which he has just announced.

In any case, regardless of Zvan's possible anger at being reminded of this coincidence, one should not suppose that its importance is only one of timing. He advocates a view which is in essence very radical and which, were it carried out in practice, would require either an experiment with consequences that cannot for now be foreseen or indeed an irresponsible and intellectualistic playing with our experience up to this point and with the need to deepen it with new knowledge and not simply to abandon and reject it as the experience of "bureaucratic centralism," of "operation through official bodies and professional staff members," and the like. Both aspects deserve a critical examination.

Zvan's "democratic unity in action," whether he wishes it or not, is so ambiguous and without any precise definition that it is absolutely incomprehensible that he should become angry when someone says that it calls up the most diverse associations. Was he not explicitly appealed to by our New Left in 1968 and immediately thereafter by the right in 1971? Are there not resonances of that kind of demand (grant us leave to make mention of this as well) in certain points of the program of today's Albanian irredentism in which the demand is expressed for "democratic inclusion" of the League of Communists of Kosovo in the LCY, but as an independent provincial party (and, incidentally, isn't it in this spirit that the now-deposed Kosovo leadership attempted to act)? Zvan vehemently rejects any connection whatsoever with those platforms and would like to compel us to admit his originality. But he ought to know (though we do not wish to be his tutors in this matter) that no intellectual can stand aloof from the objective consequences of his reflections unless he has adopted irresponsibility as a privileged form of behavior granted to his profession and in exasperation proclaims every reference to it to be an impermissible interference in the sphere of freedom of thought. By contrast with this irresponsibility, we much prefer Lukac's view (though Lukac himself applied it one-sidedly only to bourgeois theoreticians) that in essence there is no harmless view of the world and that there are consequences which rise above the sphere of subjective intention and take objective form in reality regardless of whether someone wishes it or not. If "democratic unity in action," assuming that that little "party centralism" which we have today is abandoned, were to result in a decanting of the LCY

so that it is transformed from a revolutionary party to a typical bourgeois party on behalf of a false "democratic spirit" as an end in itself rather than as a function of real needs, no sensible person would consider Zvan any less responsible than those forces who have already attempted this, but fortunately were thwarted by correct application of the principle of democratic centralism.

Perhaps Zvan is imitating certain formulations of the parties of Eurocommunism, which also speak in a variety of versions about "democratic unity in action" and abandonment of democratic centralism. But in fact the most recent experience of the Spanish party, in which these views appear to be most evident, furnishes a warning as to the danger to its very survival the party ran in its attempt at "democratic unity in action" among such opposed orientations as the "new Eurocommunists" and the Spanish "Afghanistanis," and between them Carrillo's center, whose authority both currents wanted to deny. How much more articulated historical meaning there is in Carrillo's appeal for preserving the unity of the party (essentially democratic-centralistic unity) than the gabble in the congress of those forces which in the name of abstract democracy (but as a practical matter from quite narrow sectarian interests) had forgotten the necessity of unified action around a common center.

In his article Zvan toys even with Lenin in a rather jovial manner. It is true, as Zvan asserts, that Lenin did avoid being doctrinaire and did not wish the Russian experience to be imposed on other parties of his time. But when it comes to the principle which he considers to be already outdated in our present context, Zvan should have also quoted that passage in which Lenin says that there is "democratic centralism" and "democratic centralism." Obviously this is not just a play on words on Lenin's part, but of his emphasizing one of the sides in the phrase "democratic centralism" depending on whether the historical circumstances require greater centralization or greater democratization of party life. Even our own Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY has gone through both phases, and there is no reason for us to conceal this today. But since the periods in which we had a more pronounced centralistic pattern did not extinguish the prospects for democratization (rather, moreover, signified even an important thrust in the struggle for it after the bureaucratic deformations were realized), so the periods in which the democratization of party life has been achieving significant success have not eliminated the need for centralism. If Zvan had followed the evolution of our democratic centralism with a bit more goodwill and a bit less of a desire for radicalism, he would necessarily have spotted all those innovations which make it essentially different from that same principle in the parties of the Old Left (we might mention only the fact that the principles of concluding agreements and accords in the process of policy decisionmaking are winning ever greater legitimacy and that the position of the majority is being arrived at through them, rather than through the classical procedure of outvoting, though the decision of the majority is not made any the less binding thereby; and then renunciation of the behavioral pattern whereby the membership which was in the minority is subjected to suspicion of oppositionist or factionalist unless it strives to develop its view as a separate platform, and so on). These innovations have not at the same time been a negation of that form of party centralism which was indispensable to us in preserving revolutionary integrity and which perhaps we need more today in its democratic form than in any previous period, in spite of Zvan's disagreement at the

very level of principle. Naturally, in the form of democratic centralism, which does not preclude even "democratic unity in action" (but even presupposes it), but not in the absolutized meaning in which Zvan uses that term.

In conclusion I would say that Antun Zvan, with respect to the democratic spirit of dialogue, had no particular need to refer to Aleksandar Grlickov and thus to give the reader the impression that a party official (Setinc) is denying him what others grant him in principle. This is a rather trivial methodology of disputing or approving particular individuals, for which neither Setinc, nor Grlickov, nor the LCY as a whole have any need. The problem appears to be elsewhere: It bothers the mentality of our New Left greatly if someone fails to deny it access to the public, since then it cannot proclaim itself a victim, and that seems to be the only way left of making itself attractive. I believe that there will not be a single publication in our country (and KOMUNIST has indeed demonstrated this) which will not publish the views of Antun Zvan along with others. Why, then, does he need to declare himself in advance shunted into a "dead-end street"? He will have reason to say so only when a realization of his own position, now suppressed, begins to break through. But in that case he would not be able to blame anyone "outside" for its failure, but only the inadequate level of his own knowledge. It is not exactly a refined, nor altogether academic pattern of behavior to pass off one's own subconscious as someone else's consciousness, and then to intimate a hindering of free expression where there really is no basis whatsoever.

7045
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CONTRASTING ASPECTS OF TITO LEGACY ADDRESSED

Interview With Biographer Dedijer

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 331, 26 Sep 81 pp 18-22

[Interview with Vladimir Dedijer by Jelena Lovric in Opatija; date not specified]

[Text] There are books which fill an entire human life: "Novi prilozi za biografiyu Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito] is not only the life of Josip Broz, but also contains Vladimir Dedijer's entire life. Not merely because Professor Dedijer is Tito's biographer, as newsmen usually refer to him, or the "chronicler of our revolution," as he usually refers to himself, but also because he has spent nearly his entire life gathering material for these books which one reviewer has said are important "both from the scholarly and from the moral standpoint." It seems as though all the author's days, all his human emotions, and all the tremors of his life are deposited and compressed in them, in these books.

These past days he has been in Opatija, where with his publisher, Liburnija of Rijeka, he has been doing the final chores on the second volume which will soon be coming out (and the third volume has already been sent to the printer's), and whence he is in contact with his publisher in West Germany, where his large book "Tito, moj zivot, moje djelo, moje nasljedje" [Tito, My Life, My Work, My Legacy] will also be coming out soon (and the text is already being translated into 12 other world languages), Professor Dedijer told us that he was "terribly tired and somehow all shattered." The last year has been a very frantic and strenuous one: the second and third volumes of "Novi prilozi ..." were prepared in 11 months during a period when Vladimir Dedijer made several trips to various parts of the world to sit in Russell's court in judgment on human tyranny, aggression and injustice in whatever form it might appear. And even his health, seriously damaged way back somewhere on Sutjeska, has not exactly borne him up: On several occasions he had to enter the hospital, but always the hospital room becomes an office through which physicians and historians, nurses and collaborators--researchers--file through at the same time. All in an effort to finish the books and thus fulfill--as Dedijer likes to say--the pledge made to President Tito.

[Question] We ask Professor Dedijer what he was most mindful of and what he concentrated on in writing this book.

And he read to us the words with which it begins:

Dedijer: "As I write the first lines of this chronicle of the life and struggle of Josip Broz Tito, a man whom I have loved and respected, it is my duty to always be mindful of his devotion to the idea of truth, justice and fairness. I will hold to that principle insofar as I am able until I complete the very last line of this book, since I also have a duty to obey that pledge of Tito's concerning decisiveness in respecting the truth and justice in every matter, and therefore in the writing of an historical chronicle as well." My young comrade and close friend Rudi Rizman likes to say that the historian must doubt everything, but first of all his own self and everything he has written. That sacred rule, which, I think, is a key one in historical methodology, I am applying first to my own texts, so that, for instance, the second volume begins with corrections of inaccuracies and the filling of gaps in those Contributions for Tito's biography which came out 30 years ago. But since all of us who participate in contemporary events must be aware that the scales of history will be our sole judge, I also apply that rule to the texts of other contemporaries, including Comrade Tito himself. I might illustrate by mentioning that Comrade Tito gave three different dates of his birth in his three autobiographies.

START: Was that intentional?

Dedijer: No. Tito wrote the first autobiography in 1935, the second in '45, and the third in '52. I have talked with Tito about those differing dates, and we established what was involved: He was one of 15 children, and in rural families with a great many children in the house they weren't very mindful of each birthday. But the very fact that Tito gave those three dates shows how profoundly he was a man of the people. However, my researchers found that someone there in Tuhelj, somewhere in the mid-sixties, did falsify the date of Tito's birth in the certificate of baptism. But it was done very ineptly: a little piece of paper bearing the date "25 May" was simply pasted over the date "7 May."

START: Was it difficult to arrive at that truth and fairness in this book?

Dedijer: Yes, it was. First, because I had extremely strong emotional ties to Tito, ties that were for all time, not something that was changed by this or that policy. We were together in a great revolution, at its zenith, when violent death was cutting down our peoples on a large scale. Tito is for me the symbol of that struggle and those sufferings of the people. It was difficult, especially during the shock that affected everyone after Tito's departure, to suppress those emotions and give preference to reason, to work with my head--since after all this is scholarly work--to prevent the heart from leading me into bias.

START: And outside yourself? Were there any misunderstandings--if we can so put it--on the public scene, for example, with your publisher in West Germany?

Dedijer: Herr Schulz is a very civilized and unusually good man, a man who loves literature. But since no one is perfect, so he happened to fall under the influence of certain of our petty bureaucrats who in a desire to wangle a few points on their own suggested to him that this was some kind of official book. You know, to some extent Schulz was thinking along the lines: Yugoslavia is a communist country, the government there decides everything, so this fellow Dedijer is only talking big when he says he is free to write as he chooses. And then the first conflict back 9 months ago: I sent him the chapter on nonalignment and I was waiting for him to return it to me for authorization, which is the procedure, especially in the case of a translation. But Schulz didn't send it. I telephoned him, I sent telegrams--nothing. Then my lawyer gave him 24 hours. The next morning Herr Schulz arrived in my village in Istria, drove 9 hours, he was alarmed, and he said that he had given it to one of our comrades--let's not mention the name--who holds a certain position, to read the text, and that person had said that everything was just fine. Since interest in the book had grown, more and more of these people of ours gathered around Herr Schulz to suggest various things to him; I heard that they even wanted to arrange some promotion: 100 of the most prestigious Germans, and I was told, you need not even come. And when the news was published in the German papers that these were Tito's memoirs, and my name was not even mentioned, I wrote to him and spelled it out that this is only one of the numerous books about Tito, that it is written by an independent historian who does not even belong to any university, and that this is not any kind of official publication at all.

START: So, it is not an official book. But have there been "official" suggestions, influences?

Dedijer: I do not claim to make the final assessment of Tito. But since it is the historian's job to constantly gather new material, new documents, not only about recent events, but also about those from the previous period about which, let us say, we do not know enough, I did ask some of our leaders to give me accounts of events in which they participated or help me in the search for documents. Most of them answered me, we talked, they helped me, while some did not respond, and still others agreed to see me, but when they heard what I wanted--they hemmed and hawed and fell silent. I think it is to the credit of the country in which I live--and I specifically emphasize this in the book--that following Tito's death none of the leaders in Yugoslavia, either in government or party positions, whom I met displayed any intention to influence me with respect to the publication of certain facts. My conversations with these men of politics, who also talked with me about events in which they themselves were participants, even ended with the words: it is your affair how you want to select and how you will write it, we are not interfering in that.

I received the most help from Edvard Kardelj and Vladimir Bakaric. I do not correspond with Bakaric on history only when I have one fat year after nine lean ones (not a single book of mine was published in Yugoslavia for 13 years). Bakaric had the courage to correspond with me even in '54 when I was like the black sheep. Aside from his manly courage, Bakaric is also gifted with the wisdom of caution. As a man who is democratically disposed and who is at the same time a friend who has known me for 40 years as a hard-headed Hercegovinian, he

has emphasized in many letters that he is writing to me exclusively as an actual participant in the events. In one letter concerning the tragic events in Kerestinac he says that he has only a few "tiny suggestions concerning those things where I might be an eyewitness or almost an eyewitness. I leave the rest to you, and I will not interfere." At the end of the letter he stresses once again: "but I will not interfere."

But the underground began to operate and to assault that greatest and noblest thing which Comrade Tito left to us: that a man like me, for example, can write in peace, without pressure, unhampered, according to his conscience.

START: If one is to judge by various rumors, there was also mistrust of what you were writing.

Dedijer: The first of those underground charges was that I underestimated the struggle of the Communist Party of Croatia in 1941. I do not honor such accusations. The book contains what I myself saw: I lived in Zagreb illegally from 1938 to 1941. We were publishing the magazine 30 DANA [30 DAYS], we published Lenin's "Imperialism," which Ognjen Prica, Bakaric and I translated. What an atmosphere there was at that time in Zagreb! This was Yugoslavia's largest industrial center, it had the strongest working class and the strongest influence of the party among the workers. The party's strength in Zagreb was in worker organizations, but a large number of young intellectuals were also on the side of the party. Only the student movement at the university in Belgrade was slightly stronger than in Zagreb, but in Belgrade the party had far less influence among the workers and intellectuals. But I know from what quarter the wind of those underground intrigues is blowing. Some people don't like my having inserted this or that, but they won't come out in the open and say what bothers them, but they are searching for my sensitive and vulnerable spots.

START: Isn't the rumor that your book is pro-Djilas aimed at those vulnerable spots of yours?

Dedijer: My book is neither pro-Djilas nor anti-Djilas. It is the work of a historian who critically examines, first, everything that he has written himself, and then everything which others have written. Including, of course, Djilas as well. Djilas has written more than anyone else about our contemporary history. I concur in Mitja Ribicic's opinion that our people--were they able to read everything which Djilas has written--would frame their own judgment about all this. There are also accurate things in his books, but he suffers from a disease which I suffer from a bit myself: We come from regions where everyone looks lovingly at his own bust and polishes it all day long. That is the root of his examination of historical occurrences: doctrine is the most important thing for him, but he changes doctrines as often as his shirt. He looks at the facts of life through doctrine, and whatever does not suit his doctrine or his preoccupation of the moment--he alters, particularly when it concerns him himself. In his books, you know, he is always on the white horse, he is the only one who is clean. But the facts speak otherwise. But I do not write much about Djilas--some 10 documents or so about certain specific matters.

START: You say that Kardelj helped you a great deal. How do you treat his role in the book?

Dedijer: I measure Kardelj by the same yardstick and the same methodology as all the others. I do not belong to any Kardelj cult as do, for example, certain of my Slovenian friends who out of local patriotism have made Kardelj larger than Tito. I do not engage in that: I am not a teacher giving grades to students. Nor do I engage in the activity of certain individuals who in attacking Kardelj are actually attacking our system of self-management. I have no use for such things. I am a free man, I act according to my conscience alone. I do not turn according to which way the wind is blowing. So in my book I offer all the accessible material on all the open questions, I furnish all the possible views.

START: Did you also seek eyewitness accounts from people who are no longer in power? From Aleksandar Rankovic, for example?

Dedijer: You must take into account that the history of our revolution cannot be written without the eyewitness accounts of Aleksandar Rankovic. He was in fact the person closest in physical terms to Tito from '41 right up until almost '62-'63. Both Kardelj and Djilas had missions during the war in various parts of the country, and the only man who did not leave Tito for even a day was Rankovic, so that his accounts have tremendous historical importance.

On one occasion Comrade Tito said when the question arose of whether I should turn to Rankovic: "Well, go ahead, but be careful, he is a very tricky one." "Now, now, Old Man," I said, "you don't have to tell me that water is wet." I wrote him a letter, but it went unanswered. Just recently, as I was finishing the book, I again sent a telegram to Rankovic, though that was not on my initiative alone, I reminded him of the letter 2 years ago, I don't know, I said, whether you received it, "you know the way police are, they are sticking their nose in everywhere, even where they shouldn't," and I asked him to give his opinion to a historian who wanted to fulfill his duty completely, especially concerning events in which he was a participant and eyewitness.

START: You spoke about open questions, about problems on which there are differing opinions. Could we open up some of those open questions here?

Dedijer: Well, since I am talking about Rankovic, one of the key questions I write a lot about, but on which I cannot yet give a decided opinion, is whether Rankovic installed equipment and did actually eavesdrop with taps and bugs on President Tito himself? I have talked about this with many people. The most eminent opinion is that of Bakaric, who says that he could not swear to it in a court, but that he believes that equipment was in fact installed to bug Tito. In any case some 15 microphones were installed in the apartment which Bakaric used when he came to Belgrade. Kardelj told me that all of 47 microphones were installed in his quarters.

Or the question of whether Andrija Hebrang actually signed the commitment that he would work for the Ustashi and Germans? According to the documentation so far accessible to us, I believe that he did sign it, but as a historian I can

make that assertion only when I have all the relevant documents in my hands. I have requested them from an institution where they ought to be, but they told me that that document had been taken by a certain person, and they told me who.

START: Are there also many things which are unclear and differing opinions concerning the tragic events in Kerestinac?

Dedijer: Well, yes. But I have presented both. I have actually checked it out: There is eight times more material from those comrades who feel that Kopinic is responsible for Kerestinac, but I also gave Kopinic. I am not able to choose: This is not a question of the Hajduk or Red Star soccer teams, so that I can root for one or the other. History, my friend, means that you have to furnish all the opinions, and then later let the future generations establish what was the truth, since we are not able to do so. I have collected everything in one place, both those who get along and those who do not get along, those who do not speak, those who even hate one another. You see, on one side a photograph of Tito and Stevo Krajacic and on the other side Tito and Kopinic. The two of them--Stevo and Kopinic--are like cats and dogs, but let the two old revolutionaries be side and side at least in Tito's book. I think that Stevo and Kopinic themselves feel that we are all Tito's children, that there is nothing else for us to do but to walk together. Since only tumultuous and terrible times are coming, times similar to those on the eve of World War II. Our ship can stay afloat only if the entire crew is deeply imbued with the idea of mutual assistance, just as then when Tito--putting an end to all the factional strife--created the unified party which was capable of carrying out the revolution.

START: You said in an interview a few months ago that you speak about Tito in your book as a great man with all his human virtues, passions and faults. Particular note was taken of that statement.

Dedijer: Tito was an unusual frank man, he did not hide anything. He was not a man for protocol, he was always running up against it, in him the charisma of the revolutionary and the charisma of the statesman were always in conflict. Here is an example. A few months before his death Tito was visited by some revolutionaries from Africa, and he took them out on the target range and showed them how one fires from an automatic rifle. That is what I liked most about him--that revolutionary charisma. Tito himself spoke to me about his passions and faults, about his attitude toward love, toward women, about his passion in playing games. Of course, there is no private life for a revolutionary and statesman, he is always under the public's microscope.

START: You also present certain details from Tito's personal life in the book?

Dedijer: If you are thinking of Tito's attitude toward women--he himself did not hide that. Just before his death, for instance, he confessed to a good friend of his that a revolutionary should never marry. It is true that I speak in the book about Tito's attitude toward his first wife Pelagija and toward his second wife Herta Haas. Both Pelagija and Herta Haas are human figures of a high caliber. I never saw Pelagija, but according to the material which I have gathered, she was a martyr who on two occasions was sentenced in the USSR to 10

years in prison. Although Herta Haas does not want to be written about for a number of reasons, I can only say that this is a great and noble revolutionary who has preserved all that revolutionary ethics from the days of her youth. It is indeed a piece of good fortune to meet such a person, especially since the conditions of life in this consumer society are grinding up the Partisan ethics of ours like a millstone.

I also write about Davorjanka Paunovic, who was with Tito during the war, whom he loved a great deal and who, poor woman, died of tuberculosis on Golnik Mountain in 1946. I obtained the last letters which Tito wrote to her in the hospital, and one can see from them the noble man that Tito was. Even after her death he continued to look out for her parents, and even now Davorjanka's mother, who is nearly 90, does not lack for protection and attention.

START: You said a man with all human virtues and faults.

Dedijer: I furnish material from which the conclusion can be drawn that Tito did have weaknesses; perhaps it would be better to say human faults. For example, like every peasant child Tito in his poverty greatly desired to have a new suit. That desire was so strong that he became a waiter only to have the nice suit. There is something to be said about Tito's faults, but one needs to be mindful of measure. Tito should be written about the way Tito was. And he was a huge figure who far surpassed all the potential of this country: the political potential, the cultural potential and also the economic potential--that is a fact. Poor service is done to that great figure by writing about him which is faithful to protocol, which elevates him to the heavens like a pharaoh, which hides his faults.

START: When we talked about Tito the first time, I recall that I was most impressed by your description of how 30 and more years ago you looked at Tito's face and were utterly unable to seize upon its dominant and stronger feature: whether it was the revolutionary's resoluteness and severity or the tenderness and sensitivity which you say he inherited from his mother. You in fact describe this in the book. We are very pleased that it is START--as you have agreed--that in its next several issues will be publishing excerpts from your book which concern Tito's sensitivity. But let us be precise: What is sensitivity?

Dedijer: It was Marko Miljanov who said that courage is overcoming evil in oneself, and heroism is overcoming evil in others. Like his great predecessors Matija Gubac and Njegos, Tito recognized the oppressed person's right to reprisal. Actually his entire life is in Njegos' lines of verse: Let the impossible happen, let the struggle be unceasing. Tito's entire philosophy of life revolves around every man's and peoples' natural right to self-defense. At his trial in Zagreb in 1928 he shouted that he did not recognize any positive laws whatsoever, but only the natural right to self-defense. But reprisal, rebellion only until the evil is conquered, and revenge, never passes over into deviation. For instance, I analyzed how Tito behaved after the war toward people who had arrested him, investigated him and tried him before the war. I can say on the basis of the historical facts that Tito did not persecute any of those people.

Marokini the state prosecutor who filed charges against him appeared with him in his memoirs on television. The more I study the documents, the more evidence I get about Tito's great sensitivity.

START: The book is finished. Now the end: Are you afraid of the criticism?

Dedijer: I fear only the criticism of my own conscience: Did I write a book in accordance with Tito's pledge or not? As for well-intentioned criticism--it can only help future historians to examine the full magnitude of Tito's deeds more fully. The criticism that comes from petty censors, petty political hacks who use every occasion to win a little point for themselves and for their own careerist gain, does not concern me. They would like to draw me as well into those toadying deceptions, but I have nothing to do with that. I know that I have raised a number of new issues and problems. No more can indeed be expected of a contemporary historian. It is up to future generations to provide better and more final answers. I believe I have performed my duty. I burned myself up on this book. I gave the manuscript of my book to a young woman to read who is a schoolteacher in Novigrad, which is in Istria. When I asked her what her impressions were, she answered me: "I am grateful to you for having brought Tito still closer to us young people. He is a great man because he is the personification of the vital force."

Disposition of Properties

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1605, 4 Oct 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Houses of Memories"]

[Text] "I went to Igalo for medical treatment and the staff there told me that certain federal officials from Montenegro come to the president's villa individually for treatment and that federal funds are spent for that purpose. All of these officials are preaching stabilization, but heating the swimming pool alone costs 10,000 dinars," Aleksandar Cvetkovic of Nis, delegate of the Yugoslav Assembly, said 5 days ago in support of his query: How are the former residences of President Tito being used?

At that meeting members of the Administrative Commission of the Assembly expressed dissatisfaction, to put it mildly, with the "Report on the Condition of Socially Owned Assets (Property) Used by Federal Bodies and Agencies." The Federal Secretariat for Justice and Organization of the Federal Administration has stamped that report CONFIDENTIAL. A representative of that secretariat told the delegates that this classification was necessary since the secretariat has no power to issue information on anything of which an issue is being made.

What are we actually dealing with here? The delegate's query and a portion of that report deal with the present manner of use and future purpose of Tito's residences and other properties belonging to the stock of facilities for recreation and entertainment. Most of these properties have come to be called--mistakenly--"Tito's villas," though they were built for reasons of state diplomacy. Tito did no more than stop by some of them.

As is well known, the president did not own any of these properties, and it was his last wish, expressed in 1979 in Bugojno, to donate all his property and all gifts which he had received to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, since:

"... I never considered that presents made to me in the country and abroad were my property. All that belongs to my country. It is not mine, and thus it may not belong to my closest relatives either...."

All copyrights and royalties on Tito's writings also belong to the League of Communists.

Economy and the Delegates

Aleksandar Cvetkovic said in an interview with NIN that newsmen had taken from his speech on economy only what seemed most interesting.

"For 3 years now there has been debate in the Assembly on economy, and we have even changed some things. I might just mention that previously officeholders and delegates went to the airport after the pattern 'one man in one official car.' That is no longer the case, and every 3 months we obtain a list of users of official cars and official telephones. By contrast with certain republic assemblies, delegates in the Federal Assembly pay for drinks they order for their guests. As for my query on use of the villa at Igalo, there was but one motivation: economy! Properties of this kind are expensive, and since there is no regulation on their use, though there is one for Brioni, say, few people use them, and that makes it still more expensive. If such a property is to be used, then a regulation needs to be drawn up and as many people sent there as it can accommodate," Cvetkovic told us.

Cvetkovic said that so far he has twice spent his summer vacation on Brioni in hotel facilities of the closed type whose services the users pay for. The right to use them is regulated by a regulation, though Cvetkovic feels that the right to use of such facilities should be broadened.

Several proposals have been made concerning use of the residences. Some would retain their present function, while it has been proposed that others be turned into museums, memorials, hotels, hospitals, and cultural and research facilities. It is well known that there will be more talk to come on these proposals in the Federation and also in the republics.

These facts can be reconstructed from what has so far been published on these proposals.

The working group for preserving the name and works of Comrade Tito which was formed last May by the SFRY State Presidency has prepared a general design for a Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center.

Properties and Purposes

"The new institution would have the task of offering domestic and foreign visitors a maximum of knowledge about the life and work of Josip Broz Tito, of preserving mementos of the life and creativity in the prewar period, National Liberation Struggle and revolution, postwar construction and international activity of one of the most powerful sociopolitical phenomena of contemporary history, Josip Broz Tito," our reporter was told in May by Gen Col Rahmija Kadenic, who has been commissioned to establish the memorial center.

The memorial center will consist of several museums and memorials: the House of Flowers, the 25 May Museum, the 4 July Museum, the Archives and Library, the Josip Broz Tito Museum Collection, the president's private residence at 15 Uzicka Street, where he spent most of his postwar life, the memorial island Vanga and the residence and White Villa on Brioni.

There will be no change in the purpose of Stari Dvor [Old Mansion], which serves as the residence for visiting heads of state, or Beli Dvor [White Mansion], which is the official residence of the SFRY State Presidency.

Brioni was Tito's summer residence for more than 30 years. It is a group of islands and small rocky reefs separated from the mainland by the Fazan Channel, which is 2 km wide. In all there are 14 islands stretching for about 5 km, the largest being Big and Small Brioni, though Vanga is the island best known because of the residence. Tito had had his summer residence on Vanga since 1951. Since this island will be part of the memorial center along with the White Villa on Brioni, it is probable that moderate construction of first-class tourist hotels will be allowed on the other islands. There are in any case three hotels here already for the vacations of federal and republic officials and delegates. Political meetings and assemblies have also been held on Brioni since the president's death.

Several proposals have been made concerning use of the villa in Split known as "Dalmatia." It was built before the war and is surrounded with a large park in which there are five smaller houses, two of which were built before the war, and a building to house 200 people. According to the proposals coming from Split, "Dalmatia" should become the headquarters of international institutions which are located in this city.

The villa known as "Zagorje," on the slopes of Pantovcak in Zagreb, was built of concrete and glass according to a design of Kazimir Ostrogovic and Vjenceslav Rihter, and the city of Zagreb presented it to Tito in 1965. Since May of last year several exhibitions have been held there, including the one entitled "Tito and Zagreb." This April START published a proposal that the villa "Zagorje" become the Marhsal Tito Hospital, since this would:

"... provide optimum service to the city, to the republic, and indeed to the state, and it would also most appropriately signify and preserve the memory of the man for whom this place was intended while he was alive. That is, though he was not close to medicine by profession, he did devote a large portion of his life, thought and work to peace, humanism and the well-being of MAN...."

The other residences which Tito used from time to time will be handled in diverse ways. Those whose function was primarily for entertainment and for receiving foreign statesmen, of which Brdo kod Kranja [Hill Near Kranj] serves as an example, will, it appears, retain that purpose. A proposal has been made that the villa known as "Drava" in Belje and the grounds of the Jelen Hunting and Forest Preserve continue to be used to meet the entertainment needs of the Federation. Much the same will be the case with the residence at Karadjordjevo, but most of this hunting and recreation complex, which includes a tavern, a barn and an old windmill, has already been opened to visitors.

The villa in Tito's native village Kumrovec will remain, by all appearances, part of the Kumrovec Memorial Park. The future purpose of the residence at the "Galeb" [Seagull] sanatorium in Igalo will probably be made known in the response to delegate Cvetkovic's query, while the residence "Bjelasica" in Milocer has not been completed, so that the future of that property is yet to be discussed. Agreements also have to be reached concerning the villas "Gorica" and "Koprivnica" in Bugojno.

There is an evident tendency in the agreements reached so far for some of the properties to retain their entertainment function, for some to be given new purposes, and for some of those places in which Tito lived and worked and which possess memories of his personality and work to be turned into memorials and opened to a broad public.

7045
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DUGANOVA INTERVIEWED ON 'KOSOVO OVERPOPULATION' REMARKS

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1195, 29 Sep 81 pp 14-15

[Interview with Vaska Duganova, member of the LCY Central Committee, by Stevan Zec: "Ballist Seeds of Evil"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the meeting of the LCY Central Committee at which the irredentist-nationalistic events in Kosovo were assessed and the causes of the counterrevolution analyzed, you, Comrade Duganova, said among other things: "There is no way for an Asian birth rate and a European standard of living." Would you please clarify this thought for us?

[Answer] People are the principal source of any country's productive potential. That is the truth. However, if the population growth considerably exceeds the growth of natural resources and the means and implements of production, the balance of the productive forces is upset. The consequences that follow are clear: not only do the economy, culture and society as a whole fail to develop in that region, but there is retrogression in every respect. This theory is confirmed in practice in our own opstinas in Macedonia, where we have a high birth rate, and that is also the case in Kosovo. Because of the excessively high natural population growth, the national income is divided up again and again, and the per capita value is constantly dropping. In every wise society population growth should be brought into line with material capabilities both of the community as a whole and also of each family. I was the eighth child in a family which had 12 members, and I know from bitter experience what it means to have one plate and a great number of wooden spoons. We never got enough to eat, we were inadequately clothed, and our childhood was not carefree by any means. For those reasons it is not only inadvisable, it is indeed even inhumane to have many children in a general and individual situation of poverty. A high birth rate means poverty both for the family as a whole and also for society. At this point someone will immediately put the question: What has happened to our well-known solidarity in helping such families and such regions or provinces? We are indeed doing that. By law we are appropriating money for the underdeveloped regions and to meet general needs there: schools, the health service, culture.... But even solidarity must have its limits. What sort of solidarity is it when, say, a Slovene allocates money from his work not only to give schooling, medical treatment and enlightenment to his own one or two children, but also to the six, eight or nine children of someone else. How can we interpret and defend that

kind of solidarity? Is it solidarity and humanism when someone only gives birth to children, while others out of solidarity are supposed to furnish the money for their childhood? Finally, why can we not understand that the greatness of a people or nationality has nothing to do with the size of its population, but depends on what those people do and how much they contribute by their labor.

Similarities and Differences

[Question] The counterrevolutionary events this spring in Kosovo had repercussions even in Macedonia or, more accurately, in that part of the republic where Albanians live. Are there any specific peculiarities of those repercussions, or is this a spread of the hostile activity?

[Answer] Events in Kosovo have always had a direct impact on the situation in SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia. There are several reasons: geographic proximity, the level of development of transportation connections and the fair number of young Albanians who live in SR Macedonia, but who are attending school in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. By contrast with Kosovo, though no exhaustive analysis has yet been completed of the events in our republic themselves, it is already clear that the participants in the demonstrations were of a different makeup, both the leaders and the led. In some places in Macedonia the demonstrators were led mainly by young people who came from Ballist families [the reference is to the Albanian political organization Balli Kombtar]. That is, the fathers, grandfathers, uncles and other relatives of a majority of them had been Ballists during the war or had helped them and sheltered them. By contrast it is well known that a majority of the demonstrators in Pristina, for example, consisted of young people from very poor peasant families whose political past was unblemished up to now. The linkup of the enemy in these two regions was also hastened by the fact that almost all those noted down as enemies in the 1968 events had moved from Macedonia to Kosovo. On the other hand, after the 1968 demonstrations those who were convicted of hostile activity in Kosovo found jobs in various places in SR Macedonia, mainly as teachers.

The Exodus From Kosovo

[Question] According to the results of the population census, as of 31 March of this year there were 375,004 Albanians living in SR Macedonia. In the census 10 years ago 279,871 inhabitants of Macedonia declared themselves to be Albanian. Is that the result of the birth rate or of migration?

[Answer] There is a constant pressure or, to put it better, effort for Albanians to move out of Kosovo into SR Macedonia. I could not say whether the reason for this is exclusively economic, but the phenomenon does exist. Here is an example: Over the last 10 years 10,000 Albanians have moved into Tetovo Opstina alone. This confuses me a bit, since here is evidence that it is not just the Serbs and Montenegrins that are moving out of there, but also Albanians. Macedonians, Turks and Albanians have lived intermixed in Macedonia for centuries. More or less in peace and harmony, depending on the historical conditions. However, things began to change at the point when SAP Kosovo began to interfere in political issues and relations among the nationalities in SR Macedonia. Here is

an example: In our republic in 1968 a certain number of elementary and secondary schoolteachers were convicted of having organized demonstrations and were proven to be inveterate nationalists and irredentists. Immediately thereafter there was an intervention by the politicians of that time in Pristina: How is it that you there in Macedonia are sentencing people to 6, 8 or 10 years in prison for crimes which a court in Pristina would give lighter sentences? In Kosovo that same year, 1968, though the demonstrations were larger than here, the court recorded and convicted fewer participants, and most of them were merely taken before justices of the peace. As time passed, in 1969, 1970, and 1971, the interventions became more frequent, so that not a single Albanian convicted in Macedonia served his full sentence. I think that in 1971 all those people were free. A friend of mine, at that time a member of the republic commission for clemency, was embittered. I remember his telling me: "Well, if at least they had written a petition for a pardon, but they did not want to do even that, and they were released from prison." A list simply arrived of those who were to be freed from further serving of their sentence. Almost all of those released from prison went to Kosovo and immediately got jobs there. There were even cases when they became university professors and even doctors of science in Pristina.

We did not have the same attitude and yardstick concerning Albanian nationalism and irredentism, neither then nor now....

[Question] What do you mean, "now"?

[Answer] This is what I mean. Our security service in Macedonia saw back in 1979 that something major was cooking. They began to monitor suspicious groups in Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar.... However, the "subject" crossed the Macedonian border and went off into Kosovo. Our police sent the Kosovo police information that so-and-so of such-and-such characteristics had crossed from Macedonia into Kosovo. The Kosovo police would say thank you to the Macedonian police for the information--and that was that. That was happening right up until this year's demonstrations. In March when the first disorders broke out in Pristina, some of the comrades in Kosovo judged that those disorders were the result of failure to resolve the nationality question of Albanians living in SR Macedonia, SR Montenegro and SR Serbia. To the effect that Albanians in those three republics were not allowed to express their nationality identity and so they were now rebelling and demonstrating in Pristina. It was also said that the principal demonstrators in Pristina in March were almost exclusively those who work and live in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, and they had gone to Kosovo only to demonstrate. I personally was told by a delegate in the Macedonian Assembly that this is the case and that therefore a university with instruction in Albanian should be opened in Tetovo, and he also asked me why official titles in Skopje were not written in two languages: Macedonian and Albanian? Only later, in April and May, did it become evident that this was a real counterrevolution which the comrades in Kosovo slept through.

The Case With the Strawberries

[Question] What are the relations among the nationalities in, say, Tetovo or Gostivar?

[Answer] So far not a single case of someone moving out has been reported, nor even a hint of that. The trouble lies in the large influx of population from all regions of Macedonia to Skopje, but that migration is of altogether different origin, and not a consequence of any sort of pressure, political or nationalistic. I would like at this point to say that immediately after the events this spring there was also a backlash by the population in SR Macedonia toward the Albanians living here. The very first days, above all at the open-air vegetable market in Skopje. Skopje is indeed supplied in large part with farm products from that area, the environs of Gostivar and Tetovo. I remember the case with strawberries. Strawberries are a perishable fruit, and if the peasant does not sell them today at the market, tomorrow they are ready to be thrown away. However, this spring at the Skopje market not a single seller wearing a white cap on his head had customers, and no one wanted to buy his goods. A lot of strawberries spoiled. This was even debated by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, since revanchism does not lead anywhere. There were also boycotts of shops for sweets and pastries owned by Albanians, but only during the period of the fiercest demonstrations. Recently there has been no backlash, since everyone realized that we would impose very severe penalties, at least we in Macedonia, for any nationalism, whether it be Albanian or Macedonian.

Pressure on the Torbesi

[Question] Would you please explain to us the case of the Macedonian Moslems which occurred immediately before this year's population census in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] This is an ethnic group which is Moslem in its faith. But they do not speak either Turkish or Albanian, but Macedonian. In Macedonia they have come to be called Torbesi. Just before the population census this year there was pressure for these people to declare themselves to be Albanians rather than the way they felt. There were also cases where certain censustakers in our republic, who did their jobs unlawfully in that they tried to persuade people how to declare themselves, were suspended or even penalized. Immediately before the census there was the case of the population of Dragas in SAP Kosovo. This is an opstina which is right on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. A delegation of people from there came to Skopje and asked help from the Macedonian Republic Conference of the SAWP so that they would be allowed in the census to declare themselves according to their wishes. Then comrades came to Skopje from the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the SAWP for talks, after which a joint communique was issued for the public which only confirmed our constitutional principle that every citizen of the SFRY may freely declare his nationality according to his feelings and that any pressure on the individual is unconstitutional and unlawful.

[Question] Quite a few competitions have been noted in daily newspapers published in Macedonia for Albanian-language teachers for schools in SR Macedonia. One gets the impression that there will not be enough of those to replace the suspended teachers who were involved in hostile activity.

[Answer] That is true. If there are not enough teachers to give instruction in Albanian, some sciences like, say, mathematics, will be taught to Albanian children in Macedonia by teachers using Macedonian. Incidentally, after the events this spring a detailed selection was made in the schools in SR Macedonia which have instruction in Albanian. A curriculum is already being drafted for the political-ideological training of teachers of Albanian nationality who have been teaching in our republic. We found that the greatest influence was felt in those places which border on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and SAP Kosovo. Albanians living in other places in Macedonia behaved very openly in those events, and even contributed to clearing up certain matters. For example, some time ago there were two major military exercises of territorial defense and certain specialized units in the vicinity of Skopje. One night participants in those exercises spent the night in several villages which belong to Kisela Voda Opstina. They were assigned to houses, both Macedonian and Albanian. There were more hosts than guests, and some houses did not get a single soldier to spend the night. A delegation of offended Albanian peasants came to the opstina headquarters the first thing in the morning to protest: Why had no one come to spend the night in their houses? They asked: Don't you trust us?

People Allergic to Public Statements

[Question] Comrade Duganova, in the LCY Central Committee you have stated insistently that timely and complete information is the principal precondition for us to avoid surprises of this kind in the future. What lapses were there in the supplying of information?

[Answer] After the Kosovo events we have presumably derived a good lesson as to where erroneous or incomplete information takes us. It is certain that the counterrevolution in Kosovo would not have the proportions it did had there been timely news about what was happening there. You have seen yourself how many people are sensitive when it comes to providing information from their own milieu. When that news is going further and even reaching the general public, especially when it is a question of something that is not what it should be. And that is not a good thing. We have become sensitive not only to the local, the provincial and the republic news media, but also to the interrepublic news media. As if there were some unwritten law to the effect that news is to be stopped at the border. It is regarded as a real sin on the part of the newsman, but also the source of information, when any bad news crosses the border of the opstina or administrative boundary, the province or the republic. In my opinion this is a case of petty bourgeois vanity, and nothing good can come of it.

7045
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VUKMANOVIC TEMPO INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL QUESTIONS

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 81 pp 4-6

[Interview with Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, member of the Council of the Federation, by RAD editor Vuk Draskovic in Rezevici: "Not To Turn Away From the Truth"; date not specified]

> [Text] The complexity of our present moment, which arises out of the insufficiently consistent resolution of certain contradictions manifested at the present stage in development of our socialist self-management, requires a constant search for ways of reaching the road plotted under Tito's leadership in the crucial stages of our revolution. One of these tireless explorers is Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, member of the Council of the Federation and one of Tito's close comrades in arms for many years. Recently our editor Vuk Draskovic visited Comrade Vukmanovic in Rezevici and talked with him about how he sees the accumulated problems which our society confronts, about what Tito had said to him about the spirit of community among the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, about the upcoming 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia....

[Question] On my way to see you I was reflecting on the point at which I should begin this interview, on what I should ask you first. And how should I conduct the interview? Roundabout and with caution as though I were walking through a mine field, or openly, without kid gloves, in the only way--it seems to me--that one can talk with Svetozar Vukmanovic?

[Answer] Well, it is my way to speak frankly. I have always felt that we have a duty to speak the truth, however unpleasant the reverberations might be. Uttering the truth, I am deeply persuaded, cannot undermine the foundations either of our revolution or of the system. Bitterness and trouble come only from keeping the problems quiet, from embellishing reality and from evading the truth.

[Question] You abhor, then, Potemkin villages?

[Answer] Exactly so. To illustrate, I remember something that happened 20 years ago, when I headed the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. I had gone to visit a factory, I think it was the factory in Smederevska Palanka. There was a whole group of officials with me, we were looking over the machines and exchanging words with the workers as we went along. Happening to drop back a bit, I heard a worker say to his comrades: "Just see how many rats are around him." That's just the way he said it. That was his comment on that show of ours, that dialogue on the run as we passed the machines. And the man was right. Machines are machines, and a job is a job. What could Tempo or anyone else say to them in that din, and what could they say to him? Nothing, just hinder them in their work. It was then that I decided never again to conduct those hollow and pretentious conversations in passing....

[Question] Does that mean that you avoided visits to factories and among the workers?

[Answer] No, by no means. I was glad to go there, but for frank debates and conversations, not courtesy visits. A meeting would be called, and not just the management personnel and activists would be invited, but above all the workers. And then people would talk about everything that was galling them, openly, without beating about the bush and without the embellished words used to cover over the truth. I always endeavored to talk with the workers face to face, eye to eye, without the help of their representatives and translators.

[Question] Who are these "translators" whom you avoided? Do they exist even today, or are they only an unpleasant memory and material for your memoirs?

[Answer] If only it was just a question of the past and memories.... If that were so, a large burden would fall from socialism and self-management. But unfortunately I fear that there are more of them today and that they are stronger, more perfidious, better allied than 20 years ago.

[Question] Fine, but you did not say who these "translators" are.

[Answer] Who are they? The technocracy and the professional managers, beginning with the OOUR and going all the way to the provincial, republic and federal administration.

[Question] Two decades ago, when you were chairman of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, you threw up the gauntlet to precisely that stratum. During the war and for a long time after the war you won every battle. How did it go in that struggle: Was it really your first lost battle?

[Answer] Let us understand one another straight off. That battle was not mine alone, but it is true that it was lost at that time.

[Question] It was on Tito's initiative that you went to head the Federation of Trade Unions?

[Answer] That is right. Early in that year, in 1958, a major strike broke out of the miners in Trbovlje. To be sure, it only lasted 2 days, but it resounded like thunder in a clear sky. The workers had gone on strike for the first time since the victory of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia. This was a true shock. It was particularly puzzling that the strike should have occurred in a period when the economy was in full swing and growing. After all, the year 1957 was our most successful postwar economic year. So, it was in that context that the miners in Trbovlje raised their voice of protest. What were they rebelling against? That question required an urgent and clear answer. That is why a delegation at the highest level was immediately sent to Trbovlje; Kardelj, Rankovic and Todorovic went to the scene....

[Question] And what did they report upon their return to Belgrade?

[Answer] They came back with the report that the self-management rights which the workers had under our laws of that time had been usurped in the mine and appropriated by those "translators" I was just speaking about. By the bureaucratic-managerial elite in the mine. It was that elite which assigned workers to jobs, determined salaries, issued discharge slips to those who were insubordinate, and so on. By and large the workers did not have power, though they had it under the letter of the law. This revolted them and drove them to go on strike for their rights and for the power guaranteed them by self-management....

[Question] And at that time Tito made the decision for you to go to head the Federation of Trade Unions?

[Answer] I was regarded as a potential nominee for chairman of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions even before the strike. Nevertheless, the events in Trbovlje were, it seems, decisive. Tito summoned me and said approximately this: /the laws are obviously not being respected. The only thing the miners have demanded is actually that the right guaranteed by self-management not be taken away from them. I think that the trade unions have to become vigorous, to aid the struggle for self-management, and I think that you ought to go to work in the trade unions./ [in boldface]

[Question] And you went off to the battle in which, as you yourself acknowledge, you were defeated?

[Answer] Well, it seems that that was the way it had to be.... The situation which I came upon was more than alarming. The power was in the hands of the government administration and the bureaucratic-managerial elite in the enterprises. Those were conditions favorable for an alliance to come about between them. There were even material advantages involved for both sides. Certain people in the government administration determined the conditions for the conduct of economic activity without appealing to any sort of principles, by eye, right across the board. They would grant privileged conditions to their individual favorites in the economy, whether they were industries or enterprises--lower taxes, lower customs duties or higher prices--and the latter would in return rig up some job contract, some material favor in return, and so on. Self-management served both, both those above and those below, as a blind, as a screen behind which they wielded power to their own benefit and liking.

[Question] And what did the Federation of Trade Unions undertake?

[Answer] Two radical and very important things. First, we proposed that every production unit be organized as an independent work unit or economic unit in which the price on their products would be set and in which the workers would dispose of the total income which they earned in the most direct manner. And second, so that direct self-management within the work unit could come to life, we called upon the Federation to ensure the same conditions for conduct of economic activity for each grouping engaged in the same kind of production. What did that mean? That meant that in each grouping engaged in the same kind of production conditions would be created so that they could realize equal personal incomes on the average. Within groupings, within enterprises, within work units, fluctuations were possible, but this would depend on the performance of the individual participants.

[Question] Doesn't that work unit resemble the basic organization of associated labor we now have?

[Answer] That is absolutely right. Except that this one now has become so institutionalized and independent that it has grown into an enterprise. Aside from that, the administration has overflowed and makes the decisions in the name of the workers. But in that other case there was not to be any sort of administration. There was only to be the social accounting service at the level of the enterprise that would work out the total balance sheet of income and expenditures of each economic unit and would regularly send this to them. Then the workers would sit down and say: so here we are, the price of the product is so much and so much, and the cost of materials so much and so much, subtract production costs, subtract for expanded reproduction, subtract for depreciation, subtract for social services, and divide up the remainder. How? By job slots, depending on the results each individual achieved in his work. If you did not fulfill your work obligation, then not only would you receive a thinner pay envelope, but you would be required to compensate for the loss which you had inflicted on the other workers by your idleness. The workers themselves would make the decisions on all that, the professional managers would be excluded.

[Question] And why were you not successful in that effort?

[Answer] Well, there was a great deal of resistance.

[Question] Who was against it?

[Answer] The opposition consisted, first of all, of the Organizational and Political Secretariat, as well as many others who occupied important posts in the party leadership and government administration whom I will not name. There was opposition from those who lose thereby: the professional managers in enterprises and the bureaucrats in the government administration, as well as certain people in the party leadership. They all felt that they were losing their privileged positions. I called upon the party to get behind this thing, since this was the time when the party had the strength to do that, and it could have done it. I was told in the Organizational and Political Secretariat that these

were issues which had not been cleared up and that the party would not get involved and lose its prestige.... Then we proposed that both things--direct self-management in the work unit and equalized conditions for the conduct of economic activity--be incorporated in the 1963 Constitution. We were successful, but only partially. The position was adopted that the social community--the Federation--would take from the economy that portion of income which is not earned by the work of the workers, but is the result of various forms of rent, of monopoly position on the market, and so on. The general needs of society were to be met from that source. The concept of direct self-management in the work unit was so mutilated by various compromises, however, that for all practical purposes it was rejected.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] With the excuse that this would mean parcelization of the economy.

[Question] But, as far as I know, Tito supported both demands of the trade unions.

[Answer] True, true. Tito did support us, but it turned out that even that was not enough. No attempt was ever made to carry it out in practice, but the principle of equalizing conditions for the conduct of economic activity was accepted. The official formulation was to the effect that this was administrative regulation. It was said that this was unfeasible. Implementation had not even begun, but it was already "found" that this could not be done. Others were somewhat milder and concluded that the economy would equalize the conditions for conduct of activity on its own through operation of the laws of the average rate of profit. But that is nonsense. Operation of the average rate of profit is a typical capitalist category. Indeed, even in modern capitalism the government intervenes to transfer capital from one industry to another, since it does not want to allow economic chaos and anarchy. And in the context of social ownership of the means of production the possibilities for operation of that law are reduced to zero....

[Question] The position was taken at the Eighth Congress of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions that conditions for the conduct of economic activity needed to be objectified.

[Answer] Yes, but even that is a kind of compromise solution. Equalization of conditions for the conduct of activity is looked upon as just one of the "measures" in the economic system. But in actuality this is a conception. If conditions for the conduct of economic activity are not equalized, there is no distribution according to labor, nor is there harmonious development of the economy. Nor is there planning that conforms to the context of self-management, since under those conditions planning must come down to creation of conditions for the conduct of the economic activity which guarantee both distribution according to work and harmonious development of the economy, as well as operation of the market in the sense that it is on the market that the socially necessary work time for each production process of the same kind and socially useful work is verified, rather than the individual work done for each production process,

and so on. Unless we resolve that issue, then there will be cases, say, when the person who sits in the thermal electric power plant and presses a button earns 4.5-fold more than the miner who mines the coal for that plant....

In the party group which worked on Bled to edit the well-known 1968 Guidelines, which adopted after the student demonstrations, I presented a drastic example to the comrades. I said: Because of the privileged position of the electric power industry and because the Cetina Hydroelectric Power Plant has a high head and plenty of water, its average earnings could be 8,000 dinars, as against 800 dinars which were average earnings at that time in Yugoslavia. Fine, I said, we can establish by agreement how much the average earnings of workers in each grouping carrying on production of the same kind are to be. In that way we might bring it about that the earnings of workers in that power plant not exceed 1,000 dinars. But what is achieved thereby? The power plant will have fivefold larger funds and will invest capital in other enterprises and other branches which are also privileged and will derive a fat profit from that. On the basis of that profit it will share out large surpluses and will objectively come into a situation where it can shut off the most productive power plant and live off the profit of someone else's labor. And what answer was made to me? Well, if they can manage it, let them close down the power plant!

[Question] Who said that to you?

[Answer] Who said it to me? Are we to make an issue of that and solve the problem? I said: then it is all up with distribution according to labor--in its place we will establish distribution according to capital invested on the one hand and fixed salaries for the workers on the other. And I think that is what did happen.

[Question] You mean to say....

[Answer] I said what I meant.... In that discussion on Bled I also was in disagreement with the concept adopted for relations between the advanced and underdeveloped regions in Yugoslavia. The position adopted was that we must protect ourselves from the West with tariffs. Otherwise we will remain an economic appendage furnishing raw materials. I said: fine, but let us also follow that same logic within our own country. Let us break down the relations which objectively facilitate the creation and maintenance of metropolises and peripheries furnishing raw materials.

[Question] You seem to be calling into a question the very constitutional concept of our economy?

[Answer] And why shouldn't we undertake certain amendments of the constitution? Who guarantees and would anyone dare to guarantee that all the constitutional provisions represent a perfection to which neither criticism nor objections can be addressed. It is written down in the LCY Program that /nothing is so sacred and perfect that it cannot be still better, still more perfect..../ [in boldface] In that same program, which I have just recently been studying once again and underlining certain passages, it is written that the principal vehicles of

socialist development are in the base of society: the producer, the work collective, the commune and socialist sociopolitical organizations. No mention is made of the republic as a vehicle of economic development. But in the constitution the vehicles of economic development are the republics and provinces; they must agree on every issue in the domain of the movement and development of the economy. Or again, the principle is set down in the party program that the social plan of Yugoslavia is to ensure harmonious development of the economy, economic stability, equalization of conditions for the conduct of economic activity, etc. Decisions on all these matters are to be made in the Chamber of Producers of Yugoslavia. The role of the republics comes down to drafting programs for development of the productive forces, but within the limits of the revenues which they realize in their jurisdictions under equal conditions for all individuals and for all economic organizations. There is none of all that in the constitution. The Chamber of Producers no longer exists. Now agreements are made on all matters concerning conduct of economic activity by representatives--delegates--in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces instead of by delegates of the workers in the Chamber of Producers. The gap between them is obvious. The workers are not entering into agreement with one another directly, through their delegations, but indirectly, through the delegates of the republics as states. And this cannot but create relations in decisionmaking that bypass the workers, cannot but create power centers alienated from the workers, and so on.

[Question] Judging by the applause at the Third Congress of Self-Managers, the workers have voiced a decisive No to these statisms and to the parcelization of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Yes, they have voiced it.... But I, though I spoke at the congress, have failed to say one thing, I didn't think of it. But I would propose that the Congress of Self-Managers be the principal chamber in the SFRY Assembly, the one in which relations in production and distribution among the branches and groupings of the economy would be resolved. That in such a chamber the workers enter into direct agreement on equalization of conditions for conduct of economic activity for groupings engaged in the same kind of production, that is, agreements on prices, tariffs, the turnover tax on products and rebates whereby that equalization would be achieved. And they would enter into agreements concerning relations in distribution of the total income realized for productive and nonproductive expenditure for each grouping engaged in production of the same kind. And nothing more than that. That would be the framework within which the workers in organizations of associated labor would be altogether independent in making further decisions in production and distribution. The consequence would be that not a single social service or nonproduction sector would be able to realize larger material income than those in production. Then our children would not be grasping for office jobs, and we would not have to force them and drive them, through what is called targeted education, into what are referred to as worker occupations.... Direct self-management and--related to that--equalization of conditions for conduct of economic activity represents the only strategy and the only way, among other things, of preserving the unified Yugoslav economy and a unified Yugoslavia....

[Question] We have full-fledged theoretical debates being conducted concerning the economies of the republics, of the nationalities, economies which have been rounded off. The advocates of this concept assert that this is the way of guaranteeing prosperity and ethnic equality.

[Answer] That is the road that leads to a shattering of Yugoslavia. Let us guarantee every citizen of Yugoslavia access to a job under equal conditions, equal income for equal work, a place to live and all the political, cultural and self-management rights at any place in Yugoslavia--wouldn't that resolve the issue of ethnic, religious, linguistic ... equality?!

[Question] But have we guaranteed those things?

[Answer] No, we haven't, unfortunately. We are cutting ourselves off and setting up barriers in "our own republics," in "our own communities," in "our own yards." I am seriously concerned and afraid that this course will not bring anything good either to the working class or to Yugoslavia. Nothing good. Indeed, I said as much to Tito on the eve of the 11th LCY Congress.

[Question] What did you say to him?

[Answer] We had a talk on Brioni under a tent for more than 3 hours. I asked him at the very outset of the conversation: /"Old Man, what is happening to Yugoslavia?"/ [in boldface] In the manner peculiar to him Tito started, and I knew that he had understood what my question referred to. What he said was literally this: /"There is no Yugoslavia if we continue on this way. There will be eight dwarfish and economically autarkic little states which cannot enjoy the kind of prestige in the world they might have."/ [in boldface]

[Question] What else did Tito say to you at that time?

[Answer] I asked him: "If that is so, Old Man, why don't you do something, everyone would do what you say?" He responded with a question: "And why are you silent, why don't you do something?" I said: "Who is that 'you' you are referring to, Old Man?" Tito waved his hand: "It is clear who I am referred to, to you old revolutionaries and party members, and to you among them, Tempo." Then he added, in a rather worried voice: "I believed and I hoped that the working class would integrate Yugoslavia...." I asked him what he thought about the party, did it dare run the risk of being broken up among the republics and provinces so that the LCY would become a federation of eight independent parties? Tito came back like a shot: "Certainly not that! The party must remain unified." We talked for a long time and in detail about many problems, and we agreed in all respects. He was surprised when I told him certain things....

[Question] What things?

[Answer] I cannot and I do not wish to speak about everything we discussed, at least for the present. Those are things I will say as I continue my memoirs, which I am writing at a rapid pace. I can only say this: When Tito rebuked me and certain other old revolutionaries for our passive behavior, I was unable to

restrain myself and told him that for all of 3 years before that meeting I had been trying unsuccessfully to reach him, to get access to Tito. I wrote to his office, but in vain. I was continually informed that the president is busy.... When we parted, Tito said to me: "Come as often as you can, whenever you deem it necessary for us to have a little talk."

[Question] You said that for 3 years you had tried in vain to get Tito to see you. How, then, did you succeed in reaching him?

[Answer] I don't know. On the advice of certain comrades, I addressed Tito directly. I wrote to him that I would be making a critical statement at the 11th congress and that I would like to talk to him directly before that. And what happened? Just a few days had passed when I received a call from the post office in Petrovac. A woman was on the other end and she said: "Comrade Tempo, yesterday a Mrs Brioni was urgently seeking you and left a number for you to call." That is exactly what she said, that a "Mrs Brioni" was asking for me. I supposed at once that Tito had received my letter and that someone in the Old Man's office was trying to find me. He received me immediately after that.... But even on that occasion I was not notified through my office in Belgrade, but through the post office in Petrovac.

[Question] As far as you know, was Tito preparing a radical showdown with the provincial and republic statisms, that is, with the tendencies to parcelize Yugoslavia?

[Answer] He certainly was. That was made evident in his closing address at the 11th LCY Congress, not to mention the initiative concerning the 1-year term of office which he took at the Eighth Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions. It is no accident that he said at that congress that he was well aware that the political bureaucracy was hindering the workers from taking the management of production and distribution into their own hands. He was looking for a way and a means of breaking up, of cutting the knots, of bureaucracy, of factionalism and of usurpation of self-management. For example, as far as I can remember, he was calling for the chairmen of the League of Communists in the republics to be replaced a year before the republic congresses were held. Obviously he was looking for a way of selecting with more freedom the personnel for new leadership bodies. I am convinced that it was in pursuit of that goal that he proposed the calling of the Third Congress of Self-Managers. He wanted to appeal to the workers and seek their support.

[Question] The republic and provincial borders have in many respects become boundaries that separate. Those who are setting up those boundaries are appealing to the revolution--they say that that is indeed what we fought for.

[Answer] That is nonsense. Both during and after the revolution those boundaries were regarded as fine and barely noticeable lines in a single block of marble. In fact during the war we believed that the boundaries would even vanish between the Balkan States.... Immediately after the liberation I was driving with Mosa Pijade over Cakor Mountain. When we came upon a stone there which on one side read /People's Republic of Serbia/ and on the other /People's Republic of Montenegro/. [in boldface] Mosa asked that we stop, got out of the car

and pushed that stone over. He said: "We have been fighting all our lives against divisions and borders, and now we are looking at boundaries between states even within Yugoslavia."

[Question] Would he have a hard time today because of such an action?

[Answer] Indeed he would. Today they would immediately label him a unitarist, a hegemonist and I don't know what else.

[Question] What nationality are you, Comrade Tempo?

[Answer] A Yugoslav, what else would I be? I am not a Serb. I am a Montenegrin only by birth. A Yugoslav. An internationalist. Back in 1946, as a deputy from Montenegro, I wrote down that I was a Yugoslav. I also declared myself to be a Yugoslav in that period of Savka and Tripalo, when that was regarded as treason.

[Question] Were you younger, you would have a hard time getting your name on a list of personnel as a Yugoslav. We have representatives of the Serbs, of the Croats, of the Albanians, of the Slovenes ... but there is no representative of the Yugoslavs.

[Answer] No, there isn't. But there will be, there has to be. There are more and more mixed marriages, and the young people are oriented toward Yugoslavism. This cannot be prevented.

[Question] Will our present republics and ethnic divisions be confronted with a great challenge at the moment when several million people in Yugoslavia state in the blank marked "nationality" that they are Yugoslavs?

[Answer] That will happen. It will happen soon. See what is happening in America. People of various nationalities settled there. They are settling there even today. And they all feel themselves to be Americans.... What is happening in western Europe? The state companies are unifying, a unified market is being created, and even a European Parliament. But we--we are doing everything backwards. We are moving apart and are proclaiming those divisions to be unity and self-management consensus.

[Question] So, what is to be done?

[Answer] Let us fight, let us not allow them to divide and separate us. This is a cause in which you newspaper people can help quite a bit. Write, strike blows against the bureaucracy, strike blows against separatism, and spare only one thing: do no harm to self-management and Yugoslavia. Socialism and Yugoslavia--those must be our reference points. Only that. Of course, I cannot imagine Yugoslavia without equality among the nationalities. But the way I conceive that equality of nationalities is that we build a self-managing and socialist social community in which every man has the right to work and his material income depends on his work regardless of the nationality to which he belongs. After all, I learned from Marx that in a society in which exploitation

of man by man has been abolished there are no conditions for emergence of exploitation of one nationality by another. That is basically the way relations among the nationalities have been set up in the program of our party. Only on that foundation can we successfully build the equality of the nationality from the political, cultural or any other standpoint. Only under such conditions can we prevent the struggle for equality of the nationalities from becoming a struggle for the equality of the bureaucracies of the various nationalities.

[Question] Before you retired, while you were still an officeholder, were you ever publicly criticized in the press by name?

[Answer] Yes, many times. On one occasion almost all the directors of business firms attacked me in a meeting of the Economic Chamber of Belgrade. They referred to my television speech in favor of forming work units an sabotage, an attempt to break up the Yugoslav economy.

[Question] You were realistically in a position to pull the chairs out from under certain of those critics and to pin labels on them.

[Answer] That I never did. It never occurred to me to do that. Socialist democracy simply cries out for dialogue, for debate, for a contest between differing views and opinions. Without that, without that "draft," there is neither creativity nor self-management. And we lack dialogue, frank conversation, however bitter that conversation might taste to some people or however much it might jeopardize their official posts, their comfort, their good night's sleep and social position.

[Question] I would remind you of a conversation which Lenin had with Bukharin, I see that you are reading Bukharin. This is the passage where Lenin cautions the Bolsheviks that without debate and freedom of criticism there is no democracy either in society or in the party....

[Answer] Right. Bukharin told Lenin on his sickbed that there were quite a few "insubordinates" in the party, mainly intellectuals who did not respect the established authorities and who were calling for public and open debate of all the key issues of socialism. Stalin was in favor of reading these "insubordinates" out of the party. When Lenin heard that, he reacted with a strident and prophetic warning that if that happened the party would soon become a party of docile fools. That is what he said. I always remember that when I hear the anemic and formula-ridden speechifying in our delegate assemblies, in congresses, in working meetings. As though the speaker's main goal was not to "distinguish" himself, to avoid saying anything "suspicious," to be sure not to offend anyone. Whatever is proposed by the forum or some established authority within the forum is accepted without objection, by acclimation. There is no dialogue, there are no sparks, no fresh air is let in, and there is no critical and creative spirit urging progress. In my opinion that is one of the key reasons for the stagnation of self-management and the flood tide of all those bad manifestations I have been talking about.

[Question] Are the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress an occasion for frank talk about these problems?

[Answer] I think that the situation has been created in the development of production and distribution and in social relations that necessitates radical changes. If the situation that has been created is to be changed, a discussion will have to be opened up among party members, without restriction and without name calling to the effect that some position is regarded as opposed to self-management if it calls for amendment of certain provisions of the constitution. We should not undertake to hold the 12th congress without that kind of broad and open discussion.

And something else. At the 12th congress there ought to be open discussion of how it came about that we got into this situation. Was it a question of unrealistic relations which were supposed to be established on the basis of the new constitution and law? Or is it that the personnel were not competent or did not know how to apply the constitutional provisions in practice or to see that it was impossible to implement all the provisions in practice? And so on, and so on. Whichever of these alternatives or all of them together is involved, the accountability of the party members, the leaders above all, who contributed to creation of this situation must not fail to come about before the 12th congress. After all, these relations have persisted for years and have not been changing. And they did not fall from the sky.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1942

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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ Weekly on Dangers of Polish Worker Management
(TRIBUNA, 16, 23 Sep 81) 1

Socialist System Endangered, by Karel Horak
Economic Base Threatened, by Karel Horak

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

August 1981 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Rene Heilig; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Aug 81) 3

Closer Attention to 'Citizens' Concerns' Urged
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 4 Aug 81; EINHEIT, Aug 81) 4

West German Commentary
SED Functionaries'Discussion, by Werner Boehme, Lothar Steglich

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(EINHEIT, Aug 81) 13

ROMANIA

Activity of 'AGERPRES' Discussed by Director
(Ion Cumpanasu Interview; PRESA NOASTRA, Jul 81) 17

Activity of Presenting Romania Abroad Discussed
(George Potra, et al.; PRESA NOASTRA, Jul 81) 26

Role of Sociologist in Socialist Society
(Adrian Dinu Rachieru; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Aug 81) 34

Legal Aspects of Organ Transplant Process Examined
(Ioan Chelaru; REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, Jul 81)..... 39

YUGOSLAVIA

Additional Comments From Ivan Stambolic Interview
(Ivan Stambolic Interview; VJESNIK, 26 Sep 81) 47

Pay Scales for Officials Analyzed, Argued
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 27, 29 Sep 81; ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 6 Oct 81) 61

Call for Publication, Change, by Scepan Rabrenovic
Situation in Serbia, D. Jovanovic
Situation in Slovenia
Croatian Trade Unionist Interviewed

CPCZ WEEKLY ON DANGERS OF POLISH WORKER MANAGEMENT

Socialist System Endangered

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 37, 16 Sep 81 p 3

/First installment of article by Karel Horak: "In the Service of Counterrevolution" entitled "What Hides Behind Worker Self-Management"/

/Excerpt/ Solidarity's plan to form a so-called workers self-management in enterprises and willfully organizing a movement for implementation of this plan is also in full agreement with Solidarity's power aspirations. The plan is based on the intention to abolish the socialist collective ownership of the means of production and thus to deprive the socialist state of its economic support. According to Solidarity, the so-called workers self-management should be fully authorized to manage an enterprise, including the right of appointing the director, and the state should not intervene in enterprise management at all. That is not all. The ownership of the enterprise should be transferred from collective state ownership to ownership by the workers collective, that is to group ownership, which would gradually evolve into the capitalist type ownership.

The question, who should use these "collective enterprises"--as they should be called--is not without interest. An official document, which characterizes their conception, says: "Self-management can be formed only on the initiative and with the support of Solidarity...," no other initiatives in establishing self-management will be strong enough to assert themselves, or they will be used in an attempt by management to manipulate Solidarity.

The logic of development is inexorable. Very often it discloses the actual objectives and intentions of individual actors in the political struggle which is taking place. One, who wants political power must necessarily acquire control over the economy. Expressed simply, the ownership of the means of production is one of the fundamental factors defining the nature of political power. That is why Solidarity endeavors to abolish collective ownership, to convert it into group ownership (which is essentially private) and to liquidate the principles of socialist planned management of the economy.

Economic Base Threatened

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 38, 23 Sep 81 p 3

/Second installment of article by Karel Horak: "In the Service of Counterrevolution"

/Excerpt/ The main attack at the congress was directed toward the very foundations of socialism--the collective ownership of the means of production. The congress approved the principles of the so-called economic reform, which is supposed to be implemented through "self-managed collective economic mechanisms." The essence of the reform is constituted by the demand to convert collective ownership of the means of production to group ownership (which in practice means private ownership), and to deprive the state of both any ability to influence the management of the economy and the authority to appoint enterprise directors. At the same time, the congress appealed to the Sejm not to accept the government proposed law on self-management and state enterprise and, instead, to organize a nationwide referendum on Solidarity's proposal. If the Sejm were to turn down this ultimatum, Solidarity decided to organize the referendum by itself, and if the Sejm approved of the government proposal on the laws, Solidarity would ignore them.

Solidarity modestly does not say that this approach aims at depriving the state of the economic base and thus in fact to liquidate it. The main essence of this so-called economic reform is hidden behind dogmatic phrases about transferring the factories to workers. It is not difficult to decide, who would control and manage them. It would be the same class which the Polish people deprived of the control of the country and the ownership of the means of production 36 years ago.

9814
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AUGUST 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Aug 81 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 8, August 1981, signed to press 9 July 1981, pp 737-848: "Clear Conception for the 1980's." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Science in our society is a central theme in EINHEIT No 8, 1981. "Further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR in economic, social and cultural respects today depends largely on our ability to use, and also to determine in fact, the results of the scientific-technical revolution," Kurt Hager observes. Through the economic strategy for the 1980's as developed at the 10th SED Congress, he emphasizes, we have a clear concept for the growth of social production and thus also for the fundamental requirement for science. An essential aspect of our science policy therefore was our still more closely combining the science potentials of the combines, academies and university institutions. It was important to extend branch-specific basic research in the combines and to continue in speeding up the applicability of data from the Academy and the universities.

Helmut Koziolek, the author of another article, continues those ideas. He explains essential aspects of our party's economic strategy and stresses the close interaction among the 10 key points in this far-reaching guideline.

Greater economic effectiveness should have to be attained by means of modern science. That was a constructive response to the changed requirements under which the main task was going to be smoothly continued in its unity of economic and social policy throughout the 1980's.

The August issue of EINHEIT also features experiences in interdisciplinary research at the Academy of Sciences, recorded by Ulrich Hofmann and Wolfgang Marschall, and an article by Wolfgang Herger about the growing responsibility of youth to coping with scientific-technical progress.

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CLOSER ATTENTION TO 'CITIZENS' CONCERNS' URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 115, 4 Aug 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes Law Infringements by State Organs." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Ernst Timm, party boss of Rostock Bezirk, now has accused the GDR state organs of not paying enough attention to citizens' concerns and of infringing the law in processing petitions. Recent surveys by the party control commission in Rostock Bezirk had confirmed that in this field "still many deficiencies" had to be "overcome." The functionary asked the SED kreis managements to check the state organs' "respect for law" in their processing petitions. At the same time he granted, at the most recent session of the SED bezirk management, that recently, especially during the debates for the recent people's elections, the work collectives and the population had presented concerns "in great number and partly most critically."

The SED organ EINHEIT (No 8, 1981) also has expressed great dissatisfaction with the processing of petitions. Everywhere one should have to struggle resolutely, the journal asked, "that petitions are nowhere handled contemptuously, superficially or even heartlessly." The citizens' trust in the state was being undermined by someone who disregarded established processing deadlines or, instead of checking all possibilities, sought a convenient way out by asserting: "it won't work."

SED Functionaries' Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 8, Aug 81 (Signed to press 9 Jul 81) pp 799-805

['Party and People' feature article by Werner Boehme, sector chief, and Lothar Steglich, staff employee, SED Central Committee: "On Civic Closeness of Our People's Representations"]

> [Text] What makes for a civic closeness of our people's representations? What makes a working style relate to the people? How can we still more comprehensively mobilize the people's creative capacities by involving the citizens even while we are looking for decisions through highly effective publicity

work and a careful handling of petitions with all their suggestions, criticisms and recommendations? Many experiences and examples are adduced as an answer to these questions.

The socialist state which embodies the power of the workers and farmers, also holds decided guarantees for obtaining the great goals the SED decided on at its 10th party congress for the good of the people. That is why the party always sees to it that the socialist state consistently fulfills its role as the main instrument of the working people under working class leadership. It places great expectations in the vital force of the people's representations as the elected organs of this state power and in the creative activities of its deputies--from the People's Chamber, the supreme power organ of the GDR, down to the smallest communal representation.[1] The people's representations are functioning corporate bodies which in and through their activity implement the unity of decision-making, implementation and supervision. Do do not act in place but on behalf of the citizens. The broad involvement of the working people in the management and planning of social processes becomes a more and more typical criterion of life in socialism and is indispensable for the work of the deputies and for good results of their work.

A People-related Working Style

Transforming the will of the citizens--to accept the challenges of the 1980's and further strengthen the GDR through great performance improvements, politically, economically and militarily--into concrete activities calls for a working style that is most relevant to life and marked by comradely relations with the citizens and by knowing what concerns them. Civic closeness, relevance to life, solidarity with the people--that requires and encourages the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, engaged in systematically and consistently, a policy that makes the good of the people into the measure of all things, as espoused in great unanimity by our country's citizens in the people's elections on 14 June.

Genuine people's power is deeply democratic. For the first time the working people, through establishing the political power of the workers class and creating socialist production relations, no longer are an object of political rule but the sole support and subject of political power. On that also is based the new human relationship which becomes more and more marked as one of comradely cooperation and mutual aid. In making this social innovation fully prevail with all its advantages, we create the conditions "for implementing on an increasingly higher level the meaning of socialism to do everything for the good of the people, the interests of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people."[2] Our socialist state, the main instrument of the workers class and its allies, fulfills its function in this process because it functions as the organizational form of socialist democracy and as the instrument for its development at one and because its organs, through being relevant to life and affiliated with the people, critically help release the social energies and creative capacities of the working people. Civic closeness and closeness with the people are implied by the nature of the people's political power, the nature of a policy that is oriented to the interests of the people.

Civic closeness and solidarity with the people--that logically is a decisive principle in the work of the people's representations and their organs, because nothing is done for its own sake, everything is done for the good of working people. Working with relevance to life and civic closeness implies familiarizing the working people with this policy in its entirety, and with the connection between domestic and foreign policy all the way down to communal problems. Relevance to life also means conferring with the citizens about the tasks at hand, jointly finding feasible approaches, and that means learning from them and teaching them, seeking their counsel and paying careful attention to their problems. Keeping an open ear for the citizens' concerns, showing them respect, understanding them and being understood by them--all that must inform the people's solidarity of our people's representations. Civic closeness is no catchphrase that might be interpreted at will, in accordance with subjective notions or local exigencies. Rather, it defines a working style that results objectively from the deeply democratic character of the workers' and farmers' state power and becomes all the more a compelling precept in view of the high demands of the 1980's.

The civic closeness of the people's representations and their organs is inherent even in the ways and means of their formation and composition: the deputies come out of the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers and from all other working strata. Even before the future candidates are nominated, they are checked over by the work collectives. In the places where they do their everyday work they are known by their work, and there it can be expertly judged whether their words and deeds conform in their political, occupational and personal lives. And those will pass their tests there who, as good custodians of the people's interests, of our socialist fatherland, have sound political knowledge, a fine education and technical skills, expertise and rich experience in life, and are deeply rooted in their work collective in the enterprise and in the social life of their residential area. Comrade Erich Honecker pointed that out at an election meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt: "You have put your candidates through their paces. They stem from your ranks. They will carry out the policy contained in the election appeal from the National Front of the GDR, which is in the interest of the workers class and all the working people."[3] And these very deputies remain working people after being elected, remain tied to the people, have to account for their activity and can be dismissed if they fall short in their duties.

Mobilizing the People's Creative Capacities

Civic closeness becomes real, however, not merely by that there exist more than 200,000 deputies or by the quality and composition of the people's representations and their organs. Civic closeness ia made real precisely also by the systematic and consistent activity of the people's representations. That mainly means making the preparation and implementation of the plan the pivot and fulcrum of the work. The plan, after all, is the most concentrated expression of the party policy as aimed at the well-being of the people, in which the social requirements and the working people's and collectives' initiatives toward their solution crystallize. That the people's representation work according to plans consequently also means promoting the working people's initiatives in socialist competition and providing much space for their activities, because fulfilling and a targeted overfulfilling of the plan, and achieving the ambitious competition obligations, require the working people's creativity and innovator spirit in every enterprise as in every town and community. Working according to plan thus includes precise state

management and a high personal commitment by each deputy, manager and associate in the state apparatus and their resolute everyday advocacy of high plan and state discipline.

Everywhere we want initiatives, a high sense of responsibility, conscious discipline, and spotting, and promoting, what is innovative and progressive. In Stassfurt Kreis for instance the deputies actively involved themselves in the discussion of the 1981 economic plan, explained the kreis draft plan in their collectives and familiarized the working people with their increased requirements. Together with their work collectives the deputies committed themselves to exceeding the plan. At the same time they intend to improve the efficiency of their own work and of deputy activity as such. Such targets can of course only be achieved if the initiators mobilize the whole work collective for it. Only together with his collective can a deputy assume such an obligation. To that end he must exercise a convincing and mobilizing effect, advance cogent arguments in political mass activity and set a model in persistence and standing power. This was the way in which, for instance, foundry worker Dietmar Fischer, kreis assmbly deputy of Stassfurt, led a large collective of 200 colleagues into creative action. As a result, among other things, 92 tons of cast metal were produced in excess of the plan, 150 tons of material were saved, rejects were diminished at a clip of 0.8 percent, and 2 percent was saved in melting costs.

The Citizens' Involvement in Decision-making

Civic closeness by the people's representations and their organs means conferring with the citizens in all crucial matters, familiarizing them with relevant aspects, explaining problems that arise to them, listening to their counsel and learning from them. The more complicated the tasks may be--as they are more multiform and far-reaching in their interconnections and ramifications--, the more necessary is the citizens' participation in various forms in the management of the state and the economy. We have a golden treasure here which must still more effectively be mined: the high educational level of the citizens, their class-bound political circumspection, and their greater interest in the clarification and settling of civic affairs and in effectively solving economic tasks. For developing a working style of civic closeness it is crucial to provide ideological clarity everywhere about the fact that in our socialist democracy awareness, responsibility and the citizens' participation depend on eachother: awareness, on the knowledge about what is socially necessary; responsibility, on the deliberate exercise of civic rights and duties; and participation, on direct involvement in forming a will all the way to the implementation of what has been resolved.

The strength of the people's representations and their organs is exponential to the degree that they use and convert in their activity these elements in the political exercise of power, civic activities in various ways and many different forms. Not the quantity but the result is what always matters. The value of socialist cooperative efforts is not measured by how many commissions and task forces there are. Rather, high results are achieved, e.g. in territorial rationalization, where after a careful feasibility study the citizens' means and activities are concentrated on major focal points, and where every consultation about it is well prepared and it is made clear what is to be done in whatever form. Deputies and councils in the city of Halle have demonstrated that by working closely together with the citizens,

holding consultations "in situ," organizing conversations between groups of council members and working people on the job, receiving status reports from the managements, engaging in exchange of experiences and conveying the experiences of the best workers.

The permanent commissions of the city kreis assemblies are also working in such practically relevant manner. Members of the territorial rationalization commission have taken part directly in the 1981 plan discussion in enterprises in various economic branches and there, together with the working people, traced further possibilities for tapping territorial reserves. In the outcome, among other things, approximately 160,000 machine hours were put to use and an output of M 7.5 million was achieved, and a considerable saving of fuel resulted in intra-plant traffic through deeper cooperative work.

To involve the citizens in searching for decisions is an important side of the people's representations' and their councils' work in civic closeness. The Stralsund construction information center, doing that, picked up directly the citizens' concern for urban renewal. Construction blueprints, models and sketches challenged the visitors to express their own opinions and come up with suggestions themselves. Thousands of citizens have made use of such a possibility. The number of their recommendations and suggestions--down to the color and architectural design of facades in the city center--exceeded all expectations. In conferences between deputies, state functionaries and architects many a solution was then rendered more specific or was reconsidered.

Working in civic closeness calls for a working style that pays attention even to time economy in this public partnership. What is the form to be used to achieve the optimum? This aspect also governs the interaction between the deputies with their responsible tasks and their work collectives and the contact with their voters in the election districts and residential areas. They combine every day the occupational work, the political work of the deputies in their work collectives, and the concerted efforts of the deputy groups in enterprises and cooperatives with the problems of the working people. When deputies conduct hours for public inquiries in the enterprises, about plan fulfillment, the application of best experiences, the way of how to get to top achievements, industrial cooperation with public state organs, and the use of territorial reserves for performance development, as they have been doing in Magdeburg Bezirk, the point precisely is that they want to use the citizens' opinions, suggestions, references and criticism in state management activity. So always again new impulses can be released for implementing the decisions and for working out solution alternatives for ripened development problems. How the workers' word, the experiences of the working class, crystallize in state decisions, that to a good part expresses what we mean by civic closeness.

Increased Effectiveness for Publicity

Another, no less important, aspect of working in civic closeness is found in the deputies' contact with their voters and in the cooperation between the state organs and their associates and the citizens in their residential areas. The experiences of the elections emphatically teach us this: A relationship of trust becomes most intimate where deputies have a concrete area of responsibility in certain houses, housing communities and families over a long period. A relationship of trust grows

out of permanent contact and in many places leads to the readiness to participate more vigorously in the future in the elaboration, preparation, implementation and supervision of state decisions.

To do that, a deputy or state functionary must be fully informed. On their knowledge and skill largely depends how the citizens' great demands for expert information can be satisfied. After all, we are dealing here "with knowledgeable, educated people who will not settle for commonplace and hackneyed phrases. They expect comprehensive information and cogent arguments to gain the proper political orientation."[4] Answering the deputies' questions at meetings of the people's representations, active work in the election districts, a joint elaboration of standpoints and of argumentations and of targeted, objective information, and on concrete problems in matters of communal policy, serve the satisfaction of the need for information. The council of Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk has set down concrete stipulations for how the political mass activity is to be organized throughout the entire bezirk and how the information policy and the cooperation with publication organs are to be rendered effective. Among the various methods in state publicity work that have been found useful, as part of mass political work, are the publication of information and reports, public answers to readers' letters, and the clarification of issues that arise under standard rubrics such "deputies enroute," "on the agenda," "the interview," "city-hall information," "information from the council," "letter from the mayor," "local schedule," "on the track of decisions."

Public council meetings have been found a very good method for further reinforcing the relationship of trust between the state organs and the citizens and making the bond still tighter between the voters and the elected and arousing their interest in the solution of the task and sparking initiatives. In the city kreises of Frankfurt (Oder), Eisenhuettenstadt and Schwedt, in Rostock and in our capital Berlin, in city and town districts, such council meetings are publicly prepared, started with a touring of the town, and public conferences then continue on major tasking areas in the territory, which conclude with laying down commitments for the continuing efforts. In the eastern part of Eisenhuettenstadt, 220 citizens attended such a council session. In Schwedt there have already been three such conferences this year in municipal districts and one in the Heinersdorf suburb. In Dessau this method has been practiced for several years and has been found as expedient there as in other towns.

All this proves: "The more convincingly we explain the tasks ahead of us, and the more thoroughly they are understood, the better we succeed in involving all working people and in solving them. The key is a working style that is most relevant to life, comradely relations of the party, state and economic functionaries with the citizens, and an accurate knowledge of what concerns them. The highest value must always be attached to that in our political mass activity. Because that encourages initiative and reinforces the confidence between the party and the people, the citizens' bonds with their socialist state."[5] The citizens are by no means merely passive recipients of information. They expect concreteness, truth, together with political guidance and directions for active participation.

At an experience exchange on mass-effective forms and methods for state publicity work last year in Neubrandenburg, sponsored jointly by the city council of Neubrandenburg and the Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, it was found:

be it the plan fulfillment in the construction industry, the expediting of urgent repairs in apartment houses, plan fulfillment in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, a matter of public supplies, or conferring on problems in public education, health or culture, it all also always involves ideological demands and thus, tasks of the state organs in effective publicity work. Normally, after all, this involves measures affecting many people's working and living conditions, for which reason they must be discussed with them and can only be solved with them. That even applies to seemingly small matters, like changing business hours or traffic patterns, or reconstruction, which are important to the citizens because they affect the habitual life pattern in communal areas. When one delays publicity work until questions and problems pile up, one practically gives away what should be the guarantee for success: the working people's conscious readiness to dedicate themselves totally to a task.[6]

Careful Handling All Petitions

Great importance to shaping a working style of civic closeness also is a responsible handling of petitions, advice, suggestions and criticism--whether offered in letters to the councils or orally. That deputies, and members and associates of the state apparatus, keep an open ear to that specifically is of high political rank. A citizen, after all, addresses the state organs in confidence with his concern which, he likes to think, is in good hands there. That is why we must struggle resolutely everywhere for petitions nowhere to be treated contemptuously, superficially or even heartlessly. He who disregards established processing deadlines or, instead of checking all possibilities, seeks a convenient way out by asserting "it won't work," instead of changing things where that is necessary and possible, undermines the great trust the citizens place in the work of the people's representations. Granted, not every petition can receive a positive response, yet the general principle must be carefully to examine, process and take care of each petition. And the more this is done right on the spot together with the citizens and their collectives, the more convincing will the answer be. There is this maxim that is also incumbent on the deputies and state functionaries: "Whoever bears responsibility as a functionary in our party, state and economy will make the workers' words be heard, respond sensitively to the citizens' concerns, keenly watch all signals, react fast and carefully to the proposals and criticism of the working people and provide for solutions where they are necessary and possible. Poor routine, bureaucratic narrow-mindedness, arrogance and heartlessness in dealing with people will be found to be deeply alien to them."[7]

Especially during the election movement many citizens submitted suggestions for the development of production and on state management and communal policy tasks. Now inferences have to be drawn from them for the continued activity of the state organs, as Comrade Erich Honecker asserted at the second Central Committee session--no thought, no suggestion, no recommendation or advice must be disregarded or treated with contempt.

The participation by increasingly more working people in the exercise of state power, among them more than 200,000 deputies of the people's representations and hundreds of thousands of citizens actively engaged in volunteer work in the various forms of our socialist society's political organization form a reliable foundation for the stability of our socialist state. All their knowledge and skill, their

experiences and creative capacities must now be summoned more than ever to cope with success also with the great challenges of the 1980's. Especially from the new dimensions of the tasks to be solved arises for the work of the people's representations and the associates of the state apparatus all the more of an obligation to work in civic closeness and people's solidarity.

Civic closeness is not merely one attribute but a basic feature of the workers and farmers power. And the more we advance in the shaping of the developed socialist society and the more penetrating the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes become which we intend to achieve, the more closely must the work of the people's representations be oriented to life, to the citizens. That strengthens the authority and functioning capacity of the organs of socialist state power and reflects the ever stronger molding and perfection of socialist democracy, the main trend in the further development of our socialist state.

People's Chamber Delegates according to Mandate

	Number	Percent
SED	127	25.4
Democratic Peasant Party of German	52	10.4
NDP	52	10.4
CDU	52	10.4
Liberal Democratic Party of Germany	52	10.4
FDGB	68	13.6
FDJ	40	8.0
Democratic Women's League of Germany	35	7.0
German Cultural League	22	4.4

Local People's Representations

Deputies according to Social Position (in percent

Workers	46.6
Members of agricultural producers cooperatives, horticultural producers cooperatives and production cooperatives of working fishermen	21.8
Employees	25.4
Members of artisan producer co-operatives and commission trades	1.0
Tradesmen, independent craftsmen and self-employed	1.8
Others	3.4

Deputies according to Age-groups (in percent)

18-25	14.7
25-31	11.5
31-41	22.2
41-51	29.0
51-61	19.0
61 and above	3.6

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.

2. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976. pp 19-20.

3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 June 1981, p 3.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 141.

5. "Tenth Party Congress Decisions Control the Work Ahead--From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the Second SED Central Committee Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20/21 June 1981, p 1.

6. Cf. Doris Machalz-Urban, "Information and Initiative," EINHEIT, No 12, 1980, pp 1312 ff.

7. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 137.

5885
CSO: 2300/33

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 8, Aug 81 (Signed to press 9 Jul 81)
'Resumes' addendum

Science and Society

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article, originally a lecture at Freiberg Mining Academy given on the occasion of Miners' and Foundrymen's Day, 23 June 1981, by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science; pp 748-760. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Basic Research Seen as Key to Production Success," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Proceeding from the functions of science in socialism, the impulses for its development and the wholly new qualitative relations between production and science today, the article deals with fundamental conditions for the needed acceleration of scientific-technical progress, especially with basic research strategy, the correct development and use of the research potential and the further development of scientific creativity. Through a polemic against theories hostile to progress, in capitalist countries, the article explains our position on science as shaped by socialist humanism.

Economic Strategy and Development of Science

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, economist; member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Economic Research Council; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 761-769. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Basic Research Seen as Key to Production Success," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The basic feature that controls our party's economic strategy consists in taking another step toward combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. How is, in particular, the intellectual-creative potential

of our country being used to that end? Which main trends in science development have been set down in considering the ongoing speed-up, worldwide, of the scientific-technical revolution and the social exigencies and requirements?

Interdisciplinary Research Must Be Intensified

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article by Prof Dr Ulrich Hofmann, engineer, vice president, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Marschall, engineer, economist, department head, Central Institute for Economic Sciences, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 770-776. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Interdisciplinary Cooperation Urged for S&T Research," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Through more effective cooperation among the natural, social and technical sciences, the science contribution to the shaping of the developed socialist society must be intensified. What explains the need for more intensive interdisciplinary cooperation? What are the experiences of the Academy of Sciences, and what fosters and what blocks the development of interdisciplinary cooperation? What demands arise with respect to its management and planning?

Science and Technology--Youth's Proving Ground

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article by Dr Wolfgang Herger, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 777-784]

[Text] Continuing on a higher level the communist education of all youth is the strategic line of SED youth policy. In it, the coping with the scientific-technical revolution gains in importance under the following aspects: providing youth with the knowledge needed for coping with scientific-technical progress, working youth meeting its test in implementing the scientific-technical tasks assigned by the 10th party congress; the growing responsibility of our young scientific-technical intelligentsia.

Our Policy, Closely Tied to the People, Must Be Effectively Implemented

[Summary of 'Party and People' feature article by Hans Albrecht, engineer, economist; member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Suhl Bezirk Management; pp 785-790]

[Text] The 10th party congress decisions provided a scientific orientation and guidance for practical action for the communists, party organizations and all citizens. That the working people make the policy that is committed to the well-being of the people their very own business also is the concern of political leadership activity in the Suhl Bezirk party organization. Deepening mass solidarity and enforcing our economic strategy--higher demands arise from all that, which we must meet.

The Marxist-Leninist Party and Its Growing Leadership Role

[Summary of 'Party and People' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Herold, economist; candidate member, SED Central Committee; first dean (prorektor). Karl Marx Party College, SED CC; pp 791-798

> [Text] Considering the challenges of the 1980's, the article shows how our Marxist-Leninist party through political creativity and with a progressive conception that is turned to the masses, which are thereby mobilized, proves once again its real leadership capacity and fulfills its growing role in the political leadership for all social processes. In arguing aggressively, the article combatively fights against the bourgeois misrepresentations of that fact.

Safeguarding Peace and Defense Preparedness

[Summary of article by Dr Werner Huebner, colonel, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 806-813]

> [Text] Safeguarding the peace and fulfilling our main task come indivisibly combined. The realization of that is becoming increasingly a motive for action for the GDR citizens that marks their growing willingness to contribute through increased personal efforts also to the military protection of our socialist fatherland. We shall do all we can in our commitment to our people and in our international responsibility in making our contribution to the safeguarding of peace in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the peoples in the socialist community.

Historic Inevitability and Epochal Understanding in Our Time

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Kuettler, research office head, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 814-821]

> [Text] In looking at the course of history as it really is in our era and by taking issue above all with the positivistic bourgeois conceptions of history, the following is being explored: How do laws affect history? What are the indications of that in the basic processes of our era, particularly in the struggle for peace and social progress? Why does this development not proceed in a straight line but full of contradictions and conflicts? What role is played by the subjective factor in enforcing historic inevitability?

Aesthetic Education of School Youth

[Summary of article by Dr Heinz Sallmon, lecturer, deputy director, Institute for Social Science Teaching, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 822-828]

> [Text] The aesthetic, as a component of communist education, is not confined to the encounter and occupation with art but embraces all of culture. The vital areas students are exposed to contain elements of beauty, but also of ugliness. It is the task mainly of the pedagogues to provide all children with the sense and knowledge of what to us not only in art but also in our lives and interhuman relations is beautiful or ugly, what has to be fostered and what has to be surmounted.

USA's Arms Buildup Course--A Threat to Mankind

[Summary of excerpts from "The Greatest Robbery in History," a brochure published in New York, November 1980, written by Victor Perlo, member, USCP Central Committee; pp 829-834]

> [Text] Through taking issue with the lie about the threat, this is being shown: the U.S. government has started the most dangerous arms buildup of all times. The "national defense" budget is a budget for spreading U.S. military power all over the world. The first strike threats are coming from the United States, while the Soviet Union keeps taking the initiative to end the arms race. Big business interests in dominating and profiteering are the impulses for the arms buildup which is accompanied in the United States by a reactionary offensive. The U.S. communists are rigorously fighting against that course of arms buildup.

5885
CSO: 2300/33

ACTIVITY OF 'AGERPRES' DISCUSSED BY DIRECTOR

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Jul 81 pp 15-19

[Interview with Ion Cumpanasu, director general of the Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, by Virgil Danciulescu; "Serving the Party and the People With Devotion"—date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, has within the overall means of mass communication a specific task of great political-social responsibility of informing the public in our country and abroad through the press and radio-television about domestic and foreign policies and political, economic, social, scientific and cultural-artistic affairs in Romania, as well as disseminating in our country news from abroad. How is this task carried out?

[Answer] In speaking about this fundamental task, I feel that there is no lack of interest in stressing the fact that a single staff, the one dealing with domestic news, monthly provides an average of approximately 2,000 news items, with 500 dealing with the activities of our party and state leadership and other political, economic and cultural-scientific events, 500 dealing with subject news, including sports and approximately 1,000 news items being provided especially for radio-television within the framework of a separate bulletin.

At AGERPRES, significant reporting sources are concentrated for events in all the corners of the world. In this regard, I can mention that daily telegraph reports are received from over 50 national and international press agencies, reports that produce a volume of items of approximately 2,500 pages. The Daily Staff Buletin of Foreign News contains up to 100 items destined for the press or radio-television. These include briefs, notes, daily and subject editorials, press reviews, statements, opinions, profiles of international political figures, summaries referring to achievements in the socialist countries and in the developing nations, energy problems and so forth. Radio and television are sent news items in special forms - short news items and flashes on developing events, keeping in mind the specific requirements of this means of mass information with a broad public audience.

The agency publishes 12 periodic bulletins covering a vast subject area: international political affairs, economic problems in general and international economic trade, domestic affairs in the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movements, events in the developing nations, military affairs, technical-scientific affairs and the problems of energy and fuels. These bulletins total approximately 1,300 to 1,500 pages per month.

[Question] What is the principal content of this informative activity?

[Answer] A central place in the agency's activities is held by reflecting, through news items and reports, as well as photographs, the political events and official or working meetings and visits of the secretary general of the party and the other actions of the party and state leadership. In order to carry out this task of great responsibility under optimum conditions, which require a special effectiveness and a high professional level coupled with a thorough political training, a significant number of writers and photo-reporters are brought together and a mirsculous organizational effort is made that will guarantee a proper journalistic level in the texts and pictures and the accuracy of the facts and figures mentioned in the news items and reports.

Paralleling reflecting the central political events, the agency has the significant task of presenting, through news items, summaries and reports, the manner in which the ministries, central institutes, counties, large enterprises and agricultural units implement the tasks and directives established by the party congresses and the party and state leadership in the different fields of socialist construction - industry, agriculture, construction, social-cultural activities, science and education - in the continual broadening of the workers participation in the management of the country's political and economic affairs, and in the raising of the people's material and spiritual standard of living.

[Question] One of AGERPRES's fundamental attributes is informing the public abroad about Romania's domestic and foreign policies and presenting the economic, social, political, cultural and scientific realities of the process of building socialism. By what means does the Romanian Press Agency achieve this important task?

[Answer] Through the Foreign Broadcasts Staff, the agency makes events known, as well as their meaning and significance, and transmites to foreign countries materials that reflect the progress of the Romanien economy, the continuing development of socialist democracy in our country and the complex mechanism for bringing the mass of workers together in the management of the entire society and in the improvement of the leadership of society. A significant number of items present the international activities of the party and state and their contribution to the solution of the complex problems of international affairs and to the strengthening and unification of the revolutionary, democratic, antiimperialist forces that are fighting for the cause of social progress, detente and peace.

The most effective means of reporting, especially slated for press agencies, is the radio broadcast or cable, conducted in four languages - Russian, English, French and Spanish, with a broadcast time totalling approximately 31 hours daily. These broadcasts are received by approximately 50 agencies. Similarly, we provide a telex news service for approximately 15 national agencies. For publications and

institutions abroad, as well as numerous persons who are interested in Romanian realities, AGERPRES publishes the weekly magazine ACTUALITATEA ROMANEASCA [Romanian Current Affairs] in English and French, versions of the magazine LUMEA [The World] in Russian, English, French, Spanish and German, and the magazine ROMANIA - FILE DE ISTORIE [Romanian - Pages of History] in five versions (Russian, English, French, Spanish and German). Similarly, a series of bulletins are published in six languages - Russian, English, French, Spanish, German and Arabic, on a daily, weekly and monthly basis with a total run of approximately 14,000 copies dealing with the vast problem of the internal and foreign activities of our party and state and the economic and social-cultural relations of socialist Romania.

AGERPRES publications are disseminated in approximately 100 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, the two Americas and Australia.

Placing on film the most significant events of the last 30 years, the Photo-reporting Staff maintains in its film and photograph libraries a true illustrated chronicle of socialist Romania. For that reason, there is a special responsibility for preserving and using the unique photo library of high level events, in accordance with the regulations in effect. The Staff conducts photo-reporting at official events, as well as subject reporting for the press and other users. At the same time, it maintains an exchange relationship with 80 agencies abroad, to which it monthly forwards approximately 4,000 photographs and from which it receives approximately 1,500 photos each month. The specialized staff publishes on a bi-monthly basis the photo-magazine FOTOCRONICA AGERPRES in a run of 14,000 copies.

[Question] How does AGERPRES work on the international level in the great competition for information?

[Answer] The world of international press agencies is today, as is well known, the arena of a fierce struggle. A small number of agencies are enormous, multi-national or trans-national enterprises that collect and transmite news from and to the entire world. These agencies are after not only the priority in obtaining and spreading news, but frequently exclusivity; they are concerned with sensational aspects, frequently with political scandals more than economic phenomena.

Each of the great international agencies has offices in over 100 countries and thousands of correspondents who transmite millions of words. These agencies disseminate news 24 hours per day to thousands of subscribers - national agencies, newspapers, radio and television stations - and have ultramodern means of tele-communication available, including radio transmission via communication satellites, intercontinental submarine cables and so forth.

Currently, there are national news agencies in approximately 120 countries, most for transmiting domestic and foreign news to the national press and radio-television, with some of them also disseminating news abroad about their countries.

In contrast to the large agencies, the majority of the national agencies are faced with immense difficulties: a precarious financial situation, a lack of technical means and specialists, a lack of journalists and a poor development of telecommunications in many countries. In some cases, the communications between neighboring countries still take place through the intermediary of the former mother countries. Additionally, in relation to the national income, the charges for telephone calls are exorbitant.

I wanted to give these several points on the world of press agencies since I feel they are necessary to understand the objectives, means and ways of action used by AGERPRES in order to provide, with the means available, an accurate and objective reporting in all the areas of the world and in order to allow the broadest possible penetration of information about Romanian affairs and the domestic and foreign political actions of our country.

AGERPRES maintains relations for collaboration with 72 foreign agencies, including over 66 on the basis of agreements. Among these are all the international agencies, 14 agencies in socialist countries and 34 agencies in the developing nations. AGERPRES participates as an observer in the pool of the nonalined nations' agencies and in other forms of regional press agency collaboration.

The contracts concluded with different agencies and the use of the multiplex system ensure the cable telex reception (the most rapid and certain system of telecommunications) of all the large agencies, the majority of the socialist agencies and other important agencies. Through the same channels, we ensure the dissemination of news about Romania to the main international and national agencies, as well as tele-photo reception and transmission.

[Question] Under the current conditions when, on the world information market, the great agencies frequently unilaterally or even in a distorted manner present events in different areas, what are the possibilities for AGERPRES to provide correct, truthful information and to avoid certain pitfalls sometimes presented by one agency or another?

[Answer] Practice has proven the need that in relating an important event to depend upon a number of agencies and to retain those facts confirmed from different sources. But, the most important source is the news agency in the country where the event has occurred and, for that reason, its use is a general rule for us.

The publication of news from the national agency source creates, at the same time for this moral obligation, the need to publish from the AGERPRES source news about Romania.

[Question] What are AGERPRES's concerns for improving the reporting of our central and local press and radio-television?

[Answer] The principal subject of all of our staff groups has been for a long time the broad constructive program and the themes and tasks of historical significance contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Report and in the documents and decisions of the 12th RCP Congress. The agency's workers consider it a duty of honor to do everything to present in a convincing and journalistic manner the inspired program of continuing the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism, the achievements of our people in implementing this program and the actions carried out on an international level for a better and more just world.

In the area of domestic news, one constant concern is the qualitative, journalistic improvement of reporting on central events and other activities involving the party and state leadership. Taking into consideration some of the elements stemming from a comparison of similar previous events, we must be permanently open to new things, to the qualitatively special element in an event, an element that must be brought out with journalistic competence.

In the information related to the vast subject of socialist construction in our country, in addition to those subjects illustrating the continuation of development programs in industry, agriculture, housing construction and foreign trade, we insist upon the qualitatively new aspects of economic activities.

A significant concern is the presentation, in its full complexity, of the broad democracy of our society and of the growth of the participation of the masses of workers in the adoption of party and state decisions and in the management of economic-social affairs.

Naturally, we present and will present in varied forms the continuing growth of all the people's material and spiritual well-being, the supreme objective of our party's policies.

The above objective also guides the activities of the Photo-Reporting Staff, where we place a strong accent on improving the quality and variety of the pictures produced and on enrichening the photo library with the most significant achievements in socialist construction in all the counties of the country.

[Question] In our media, and sometimes even in PRESA NOASTRA, there is criticism with regards to the effectiveness of transmissions and a certain decrease in the amount of information in the country and especially photographs. Is this criticism founded? What actions are being taken to meet the increased demands of our media?

[Answer] Without rejecting the criticism regarding the effectiveness of the information provided by our agency, I must point out that in many cases the delays are caused by the need for certain additional verifications so as not to err in publishing inaccurate news items or, especially in the foreign realm, presenting confusing situations during an uncertain evolution of events.

The agency's management is concerned with the justified criticism regarding a certain decrease in the number of photographs, as well as the news reflecting the economic-social affairs of the country, and we are working to satisfy those requirements of the press.

We must say, however, that there is no great interest for subject photography at AGERPRES since most publications and especially dailies and periodicals, as well as illustrated magazines, have their own photo-reporters, and it is somewhat natural for these to publish their own materials. It happens that the photographs taken from the agency are not only not signed by their authors (normally not even by the collective group - AGERPRES), but they appear signed by the photoreporters of the respective newspaper. This also sometimes happens with some of the news items that the newspaper correspondents could not get prior to the Agency. In connection with this, more than once the news item from the agency which the newspaper does not have from its own staff is not picked up because this item bears the caveat "proxy." I said "proxy" in quotes because sometimes this informational material is also based on an agency news item.

Leaving aside these small problems, I must, nonetheless, say that our users have the right to feel dissatisfied, but I think that not so much because of the quantity of the information, but especially for its quality. We have discussed this problem with the leaderships of the newspaper staffs and radio-television and we have taken a series of measures in this direction, measures that are now being applied.

[Question] In the field of foreign political affairs, what objective does AGERPRES pursue in its reporting activities?

[Answer] In the field of reporting international affairs, through the bulletins of the foreign news staffs and informational materials, as well as through the magazine LUMEA, which is also published by AGERPRES, the principal task is to consistently reflect the dynamic, constructive policy carried out by our party and the powerful echo created by the theses and initiatives of our country's president in the most important problems of the contemporary era.

We are especially involved in the statement and support through actions of the party and state declarations on certain major ideas, such as: the need to continue the process of detente and eliminate the sources of international tensions; general disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament - a fundamental requirement of the

contemporary era; disarmament, an indispensible condition for ensuring the elimination of underdevelopment; a European security that directly involves military disengagement; the active participation of the small and medium-sized countries, a condition for democratizing international affairs; a new international economic order, the fundamental requirement for ensuring peace in the world; the new conditions of relations between the communist and workers parties; and the need for unity of the broadest democratic and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress. Certainly, the ideas listed here do not exhaust the broad subject and, at the same time, are the priorities of our foreign policy which AGERPRES must deal with in this field.

I would also like to stress that in foreign information we try to give greater attention to the economic problems of the contemporary world in order to inform the public about the new means of understanding energy consumption. We will continue to disseminate columns in our bulletins such as "The Energy Agenda," "Economic-Social Realities in the Developing Nations," "From the World of Capital" and so forth. Similarly, we are involved in reflecting the growth, even in the capitalist countries, of opposition to the mentality and practice of the consumer society.

[Question] Keeping in mind the weight of the AGERPRES's "editorial" activities, it would be appropriate to have some mention to reflect the publications' concer for providing information for foreign consumption.

[Answer] With regards to propaganda for foreign consumption, the materials will pursue the more powerful expression of the new realities of Romanian society and the outlining of its broad democracy and the new humanism of the order that is being built in Romania. We are aware that the propaganda abroad must become more active and more combative, giving in convincing forms a more significant portion to counter-propaganda.

In order to ensure an increased efficiency for this material, we will attempt to have, to a greater degree than up to now, a more differentiated approach to the subject and a more accentuated targetting according to the different categories of destinations.

In the future, perhaps that even the magazines in foreign languages, ACTUALITATEA ROMANEASCA and LUMEA, should be differentiated not only with regards to the versions by language, but also according to their destinations. And, the problem of differentiating propaganda abroad is a complex, long-term problem tied both to personnel problems and financial ones. However, we must do everything in order to advance in this direction because this serves as the basis for improving our propaganda abroad to the level and favorable conditions created by the growing prestige socialist Romania enjoys in the world, as well as its domestic and foreign policy, wisely and smartly promoted for the most noble aspirations of humanity by the president of the country, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

[Question] The reporting activities carried out by AGERPRES also require a continuing improvement of its own reporting activities. How are the "reporters" reporting? How are the relations with the public institutions designed to provide information operating? Through spokespersons? What about the network of correspondents?

[Answer] The question touches on a problem whose solution has kept us busy for a long time. Certainly, the main amount of data accumulated by those you have called "reporters" must be the results of their own, persistent and continuing efforts. In this sense, our staffs have broad possibilities available, first of all the contacts with life, with the land and with the places where special events take place worthy of being noted in the news by the agency. Therefore, we have a very broad interest and direct contact with the authors of these events. Then, they have on-hand Romanian and foreign publications, ministry bulletins, statistical bulletins and documentary publications, as well as a permanent tie with the ministries, other central institutes and large units, in accordance with the existing divisions within the staffs, with each one having a certain field in which, perhaps it is said too often, there is specialization.

To this, we must add those forms of reporting necessary to our profession, such as the press conference, speeches on situations in different fields and contacts with spokespersons in the central institutes and public organizations. In this direction, steps have been taken, but still insufficient in number, especially under the conditions where each field of activity must today be regarded through the prism of the manner in which it reflects in its achievements the requirements for a new quality, which guide the efforts of all our people.

With regards to the spokesperson, I would like to add the fact that if, after a good period when in accordance with the requirements received AGERPRES collected for use by the press so-called weekly bulletins from each ministry and central institute regarding new activities in their areas and those events worthy of being noted by the press in these fields of activities, now our people cover the path to the offices of these spokespersons in vain because, with extremely few exceptions, no one is interested in these especially useful activities. I say especially useful referring, certainly, to those that have a very serious content and not those that are simple formalities. It seems to me that there should be more energetic actions, not only through the Journalists' Council, but also through the staffs of the different publications, to get the spokespersons in the institutes involved, in accordance with the provisions of the Press Law. And, because I have mentioned the Press Law, I would like to point out the fact that if it is taken into consideration with regards to the responsibility of the staffs and the reporter in order to apply its provisions, otherwise the obligation belongs to someone else for the proper execution of press activities. I am referring first of all to the access to news sources, but, certainly, not just to this.

[Question] Reporting is an important, essential step in the formative-educational process. It requires a thorough political-professional training. What is being done to improve the reporters and editors and to strengthen their qualities as militant communists in the field of press activities?

[Answer] The constantly growing requirements of working in the agency imperatively raise the need to continually improve newspaper personnel, both in a political sense and in a professional one. I must point out that the level of exigencies in this area were continually raised. Just 5 to 6 years ago, we were satisfied if a foreign news editor knew a foreign language well. Today, nearly all know two foreign languages well and many of them know three or four foreign languages. Similarly, several years ago, we still had numerous editors who were completing their higher studies and, in some cases, barely their high school studies. Currently, of the staff personnel, 90 percent have high studies and 10 percent (in the great majority of jobs that do not require higher studies) have average educations, with nine of these workers pursuing correspondence courses in journalism departments. In the ranks of the staff personnel, there are 28 graduates of post-university courses. At the same time, we can mention that over 90 percent of the staff have graduated from or are currently enrolled in higher party courses.

The staff personnel have almost all graduated from up-grade training courses. A contribution to the improvement of the political-professional level of the journalists is made by the political education groups in each staff and groups for the study and discussion of party documents after they appear, as well as specific forms for professional discussions, such as the "journalists' workshops" in the staffs.

In presenting a series of achievements in this area, we are at the same time aware that we still have much to do and that the level of training is not satisfactory for all. For the ever greater requirements made on the agency, we must provide a political and professional training at an ever higher level.

At the same time, I think that right now the accent must move to the better use of the increased knowledge gained by our workers on both a political and professional level in practical activities and in the content and variety of the materials produced.

8724
CSO: 2700/41

ACTIVITY OF PRESENTING ROMANIA ABROAD DISCUSSED

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Jul 81 pp 20-23

[Interview with George Potra, chief editor of the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff, Serban Stati and Victor Botez, secretaries responsible for editing on the Staff, by Cristina Dumitrescu; "How we are Presenting the Picture of Today's Romania to the World — date and place not specified

[Text] In the realm of Romanian journalism, the written press for foreign consumption has tasks of special importance, with a constantly richer content in direct relation to the dynamics of our international affairs and to the lively pulse of socialist Romania's current political, economic and cultural relations with the countries and peoples throughout the world.

A discussion dealing with the specific professional problems of this area of the press seemed to us to be worthy of interest so we called upon our colleagues at the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff - George Potra, the chief editor, Serban Stati, a secretary responsible for editing, and Victor Botez, another secretary responsible for editing - to give some opinions, experiences and points of view regarding the specific content of their activities.

This dialogue will be continued also at AGERPRES, where there is a powerful sector of activity dealing with informing the entire world about Romanian political, socio-economic and cultural activities, as well as at Romanian Radio-Television where there is a rich experience in the field of programs for foreign consumption.

Before turning this over to our interlocutor, we wish to succinctly note several points:

Last year, the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff celebrated its 30th anniversary of existence. Over time, the number of publications produced has increased and diversified in direct correlation with the needs of our foreign propaganda, stemming from the increase itself in socialist Romania's involvement in the field of international relations and the unequalled prestige that it has acquired in the world. This correlation is expressed, on one hand, by the increase in the number of versions and popular foreign language editions, while, on the other hand, by the increase in the number of copies. As a result of this evolutionary process, a process of transformation and permanently keeping up to

date, it publishes periodicals in six languages: French, English, German, Spanish, Chinese and Russian. One and one-half years ago, the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff was given the task to create and publish the magazine of the National Center for Promoting Friendship with Other Peoples, the magazine VEAC NOU. This publication joins the magazines ROMANIA AZI (in English, French, German and Spanish), ROMANIA with the literary supplement BIBLIOTECA ROMANA and ORIZONTURI ROMANESTI in Russian, ROMANIA in Chinese and REVISTA ROMANA (French, English, German and Russian). Similarly, the Staff publishes the Romanian version of the magazine UNIUNEA SOVIETICA, a task that requires more than a simple technical operation, being produced by a micro-staff that deals exclusively with putting out this publication.

[Question] What is the content today of the press's foreign propaganda and how is this activity characterized in 1981 under the conditions of an unprecedented intensification of socialist Romania's relations with countries throughout the world and the growth of its role and prestige in the contemporary world?

Potra: The Ninth RCP Congress and the period that followed it saw a concern and, to an equal degree, the success of turning domestic and foreign Romanian propaganda into a coherent system that brings together directives, objectives and means. Certainly, during the years, there have been numerous statements in the program documents of the RCP, in the speeches of its secretary general and in other party and state documents related to the area of activity, the means of use and the stress that we must place on one situation or another, in one area or another. Over the course of a decade and one-half the Romanian concept of foreign propaganda has substantially improved and permits us to currently speak, through its fundamental data, of a coherent system in which the press occupies a distinct but not singular position, with the other instruments and means being associated with it.

A moment of special significance for foreign propaganda in general and for press propaganda in particular was the March 1978 adoption of the Political Executive Committee Decision regarding the development of relations of friendship and assistance, the first decision dedicated exclusively to this field and which set directions, objectives, means and responsibilities. Through this decision, specific measures were adopted regarding broadening the framework for carrying out foreign propaganda activities in the press. The increase in the means used (the appearance of certain new publications of this type), the numerous improvements that have occurred in the activities of the existing press organs (REVISTA ROMANA's monthly appearance instead of a quarterly issue, for example) and the measures to improve the content and the graphic and polygraphic conditions for the appearance of publications for foreign consumption are merely several of the specific results of this decision. Through such measures that principally involve the press, today we have more magazines, in more copies and a wider area for dissemination. We can state with complete certainty that, without having an ideal situation, we are closer to the requirements and values of our foreign policy. Certainly, we, the journalists who work in the field of international relations, always aim high at

the values of our foreign policy, unceasingly trying to get closer to these high points. We must have the most effective reflection possible and the most profound reflection of the great altitudes of the ideas expressed in the field of Romanian foreign policy and of its exemplary dynamism. For us and for the entire front of propaganda activities, this is the source to the necessity to attempt to overcome the stage of reflecting and writting down, with ourselves achieving an action which, by virtue of the fundamental guidelines of the party, will be capable of foreseeing and anticipating events through journalistic actions and methods based upon the best knowledge of international public opinion and the centers of interest on both a subject and regional level.

[Question] If we were to make a comparison between the press for domestic consumption and the press for foreign consumption, what would you note as the primary defining element, from a professional point of view, for the latter?

Botez: In differing from the domestic press where you assume that the reader knows something about the subject, is aware and has a background of information accumulated over time from diverse sources, in the press for foreign consumption the social-political theme must keep in mind the premise that the reader knows much less or even nothing about the subject. Certainly, this does not mean that each article requires an exhaustive approach. In the strategy of planning and producing articles, we keep in mind that each of our publications has dealt, over the years, with such a subject and we must also avoid a repetition that can become annoying. The main problem lies precisely in the existing distances in the spiritual geography.

[Question] Generally, in producing a publication you have in mind a certain make up of the public and there is a correlation between the type of newspaper or magazine and the category or categories of readers who are targetted. How is this correlation resolved in the case of the publications for foreign consumption?

Stati: There are some magazines (in Russian and Chinese) that address a sufficiently precise area, but for others the public is very heteroclitic with regards to age, occupation and spiritual profile. The magazine ROMANIA AZI, for example, which appears in four versions - French, German, English and Spanish - or REVISTA ROMANA - in French, English, German and Russian - is also read by the French and the French-speaking public in Africa, by Americans and by Indians, and by the Spanish and by the Cubans. The versions of these magazines are 70 percent identical and it is difficult for you to find a common area of concerns and the means of approaching subjects that will be of equal interest. There are differences in psychology, cultural formation and ideological education that we must keep in mind. We cannot rely on a regional jargon since the magazine must be conceived and produced so it interests the reader in New York and the one in Lagos.

[Question] Then how do you nonetheless find the common denominator?

Stati: I am convinced that a simple, clear expression, without the stylistic embellishments that we are still used to in the domestic press, ensures a good reception. Recently, we had meetings with readers of REVISTA ROMANA. Foreign students who are studying in Bucharest participated in the discussions, as well as cultural persons from Timisoara. One of the problems discussed was pomposity, especially in the cultural journalism. For translators, such stylistic shortcomings raise great problems. If the style is preserved in English or in German, for example, it becomes dull and the readers will reject this type of journalism. The problem of pomposity and the temptation to turn a journalistic text into a literary one constitute aspects that we are especially concerned about.

From a subject point of view, one of the essential aspects of our work is the selection process. In the domestic press, not just the specialized magazines, but also the dailies present almost everything new that happens in the different areas of activity. Our publications do not have the possibility of covering everything and the selection process becomes essential and is carried out with maximum responsibilty. Not even the reporting can be done the way it is for the domestic press. Let us take the example of a book review: you must give the reader more information about the subject of the book and about the author, beginning with the idea that what is well-known to the Romanian public can be totally unknown to the foreign public and that this book is not available to them. Similarly, the similarities and dissociations that are at play must also be carefully considered so that the reader can understand the terms of comparison. It is not very easy to achieve this, without committing the sin of using a didactic style, and this is one of the difficulties related to working with collaborators who are not always ready to modify their approach and the writing style they have become accustomed to. We must not forget, however, that the main purpose of our publications is to explain things to the foreign public: to explain our country's policies, to explain Romanian realities and to explain the principles of developing our society. To explain clearly, convincingly and soundly.

Botez: We must carry out a good propaganda for our economic, social, cultural and scientific values. Therefore, this means the existence of an axiological process and a rigorous selection that will show the entire world we are addressing (our magazines go to approximately 90 countries) the significant competitive Romanian values. In order to make them better known, we must keep in mind the regions we are addressing and the comprehensive nature of the masses of readers that are found in countries with very different cultural levels and that are of a specific spiritual nature. There is also need to find a common denominator, a vocabulary that will be accessible to all categories of readers. Along these lines what I think must be stated, however, is the need for our journalistic approach to preserve its specific brand, to let us remain ourselves. We must express ourselves according to our national spiritual nature and our means of communicating.

[Question] In what way are personnel trained and selected for this area of journalism? Can we speak of a certain specialization?

Potra: Without a doubt, the journalist of our days has a background of political and professional knowledge that is broader than his predecessors. We can find in this portrait of the 1981 journalist a series of objective factors, years and years of material efforts, organizational efforts. I am thinking about the establishment and operation of the journalism departments, certain post-graduate courses for journalists and all the editorial efforts dedicated to the political and professional improvement of the journalists. Similarly, I am thinking about the broad actions, first of all political actions and then, barely in second place, professional ones, related to the certification of journalists, and so forth. There are some very important things that we have done and which find all their corollaries and their framework for affirmation and expression in the Press Law, which incorporated these new things into a statute on the operations and responsibilities of the journalism profession.

Similarly, we must mention the importance of the decisions made by the leadership of our party regarding the disestablishment of censorship, proof of the fact that the level of the journalists' political and professional training in the Romania of our times serves in itself as the foundations for actions that no longer require an external control.

Under these conditions of a high level of political and professional training of journalists, I believe that we, nonetheless, cannot permit the mistake of accepting that a journalist can be used anywhere and in any way. I believe in specialties, I believe in specialization and I am convinced that the activities of a journalist in one area of another of the profession cannot be, should not be, determined by criteria of an administrative nature. In my opinion, in foreign affairs journalism there is need perhaps more than anywhere else for specialized journalists. And, I believe that our journalism department, in addition to all the good things that it has done over the years, should be able to also take into consideration just such a specialized training. I have in mind, for example, the thorough knowledge of at least two foreign languages so that the article can be directly written in the respective foreign languages. The expressions would be better, more exact, more accurately relate the ideas. Similarly, it is necessary to achieve a better understanding of current international relations and the phenomena, trends and processes that are taking place in the contemporary world, and, to an equal degree, of the new press techniques and changes that are taking place in this entire area represented by the mass media. We are taking part not only in the development of press techniques, but also the modification of vocabulary and the message. It is necessary for the linguistic and non-linguistic message that we disseminate to be understandable to the readers everywhere. Therefore, I believe in the need to create a specialized journalist in this field, in this specific job. More than all his colleagues, he must be a person with an

exemplary political training that is constantly kept up to date and a person with a broad intellectual horizon. I believe that we can no longer accept the idea that in this sphere of foreign propaganda beginners will be accepted. In an internal selection process that the company itself has to promote, we must arrive at a separation of values - not in an ideal situation, but in a normal situation - that will bring about the concentration of persons in the sphere of foreign propaganda journalism who have been recommended as having an exemplary awareness and professional training.

[Question] In the case of publications for foreign consumption, to what degree is there a dialogue with the readers, an essential element in the activities of the domestic press? How can you evaluate the efficient of your work?

Botez: Our public, as has been noted, is very diverse both in their geographic locations and in their axiological sensitivities. We receive several hundreds of letters each year and this correspondence is very important for us. Another index of interest is the number of copies demanded of our publications in different countries. Similarly, we have personal contacts during documentation trips made by our writers and during readers' visits in our country.

Stati: Another means of linking the content of the publications to the areas of interest of the readers is facilitated by the information and responses received via diplomatic channels. Our embassies abroad, the cultural offices and the friendship associations are such sources of special value. For example, the Romanian-Japanese Friendship Association is very active.

Botez: There are numerous proofs of the efficiency of our activities. I had the pleasure to find out, for example, that a publishing house in England and one in France decided to translate certain Romanian books after they read portions of these books in REVISTA ROMANA.

Stati: It must also be noted that in the USSR they have produced plays by Horia Lovinescu and Aurel Baranga after the appearance of certain translations in our special collection of literature published in Russian. REVISTA ROMANA, a magazine on Romanian culture and civilization, has the advantage of having a less heterogeneous public that is more specialized by region, concerns and level of education. We frequently receive information referring to the real utility of our magazine for cultural people in other countries. In order to have the best possible understanding of the values of our national spiritual nature, REVISTA ROMANIA and our social-political-cultural publications publish broad works (sometimes monographic pieces) devoted to certain persons in Romanian culture. A very good response was enjoyed by the pieces dedicated to Eminescu, Goga, Arghezi and so forth. In REVISTA ROMANA we also had some subject pieces. Those dedicated to Romanian science fiction were, for example, also very well received.

[Question] In this regard, you have therefore done more than the domestic press, where this theme is very rarely presented, a fact criticized more than once by the readers.

Stati: Remarkable successed have been recorded by REVISTA ROMANA and the other publications last year, on the anniversary of 2050 years since the creation of the first centralized and independent Dacian state and on the occasion of the International Congress of Historical Science in Bucharest. We are preparing similar special pieces this year for the International Congress on the History of Science. The effect of these monographic and subject pieces is very good. In connection with this, what we are concerned with is the permanent improvement of the manner of conceiving them so as not to attain a sameness in their construction or, in other works, a monotony.

Botez: There is a portion of our magazines, a certain vocabulary accessible to everyone: the photographs. It is a modern language that must be used very well so that its ability to convince can be decisive. This also brings up the problem of selection and of presenting the most significant illustrations that are turly relevant, from the point of view of the content and the artistic aspect. We have been involved in the development of this department of editorial work and we are happy to note that there has been some effective progress.

Potra: We should not lose sight of the fact that the publications we produce have an illustrate magazine character. This attribute takes into consideration a necessity of the modern world confronted with an ever greater amount of informational material. There is need, therefore, for concentrated expressions of a subject and of a geographic and temporal reality. No national issue destined for foreign consumption can avoid the idea that it is confronted with an extraordinary informational wealth and that it will come into competition - and it will matter in this competition - through the seriousness of the publication, through the accuracy of the message addressed in the name of a political, intellectual and national awareness, and through a journalistic expression of clear intelligence and separate attractiveness. At this level, I also place the problem of the non-linguistic message and the illustrations. In our publications, there has been a thorough modification between the proportions of the written text and the illustrations. Currently, this relationship is about 50-50 and we expect to reach a level of 60 to 65 percent illustrations, figuring that this percentage corresponds to the modern spirit of the press and that the linguistic portion will lose nothing by being concise. Perhaps, on the contrary, we could gain, eliminating any temptation to use rhetoric and the excessive amount of lyricism that we still frequently encounter. The truth is that we still are promoting a heavy, thick style that communicates more feelings and sensations than ideas. We sometimes risk killing the idea, the message of a culture, a civilization, drowning in words. I believe in the need for logical, coherent, precisely structured expressions. Before we introduce words into circulation, let us find

comprehensible concepts and let us establish connotations that are accessible to foreign readers so that our realities that suggest the specific values of the Romanian spiritual nature will not remain cryptic formulas and indecipherable hieroglyphics.

Our efforts are directed to an equal degree towards the cultivation of a precise and beautiful language and we believe that in recent times we have succeeded in overcoming in this regard an inertia accumulated over two and one-half decades. We are profoundly appreciative of the assistance we have received from the RCP Central Committee Section for Press and Radio-Television and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the professional training of our translators in England, the FRG and the USSR.

And, this action also includes the efforts we have made for credibility, accuracy and quality in our journalistic style. A publication must be of its times, this is the condition for its existence, and linkage to the pace of the present is achieved also at the level of creating a publication, the genre promoted and the style.

8724
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ROLE OF SOCIOLOGIST IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 81 pp 24-25

/Article by Adrian Dinu Rachieru: "Position of the Young Sociologist," in reference to Achim Mihu, "Values and Limits in Current Romanian Sociology," ERA SOCIALISTA No 12, 1981/

/Text/ In a recent article Achim Mihu suggests an extensive discussion of the state and future of Romanian sociology for purposes of enhancing its role in furthering the scientific character of social knowledge. To discuss the value and limitations of the current Romanian sociological movement, as the Cluj sociologist does, is to abandon flights into the abstract and motivations of interest in an "ardent" discipline but one evolving in a theoretically ambiguous context. The criticisms made in the said article are unquestionably true and valid: The naivete of some studies and the failure to use or make adequate use of the available data make it impossible to draw and advance any truly sociological conclusions, since this valuable store of raw data is not organized from any theoretical-axiological viewpoint characteristic of sociology. And then, in the broad scope of problems that motivate sociological work, the research choices and priorities that are soundly substantiated coexist with socially useless research initiatives that present common knowledge in a sociological guise, some from the start and others because of inadequate and irrelevant information. Clearly such "investigations" cannot contribute to development of sociological theory, since they even retard their own scientific maturity, nor can they be applied to social programs, since their use and usefulness are very limited.

But surprisingly enough Achim Mihu's article, which was in fact the occasion for these comments, avoids discussion of the sociologists' professional status, which we consider important to the very future and effectiveness of the discipline in our intellectual life. We even believe that sociology's necessary contemplation of its own condition cannot evade or neglect discussion (pointed because of both the difficulties inherent in the discipline and those of the profession) of the status of its practitioners. Hence the urgency of the sociologists' attempt (however timid) to examine their own activity scientifically in the area where, paradoxically, sociology appears to be "losing ground" while their professional status remains ambiguous.

Let us briefly review here some other known and reported findings on sociology, with emphasis of course upon the Romanian sociological phenomenon, revived more than 15 years ago and setting off a veritable explosion and even an inflation of sociology that have visibly compromised the great applied qualities of the "renaissance" and its rapid advance.

In the first place, as we know, there is an epistemological obstacle created by familiarization with the social universe. Exotericism accordingly becomes a disadvantage, fostering an irrational, "popular-emotional" sociology (as I. Iordachel called it), giving rise to interpretations for household use, and feeding the illusion of competence. Then we shall note the logical evolution of sociology toward consolidation of its scientific status and self-reproduction and that of professionalization, specialization and institutionalization, following the organizational pattern of "industrialism." Sociological research is accordingly in the nature of a collective undertaking, in spite of some inevitable discontinuities. Sociological knowledge is cumulative while the sociological output is intensively socialized.

In this connection let us examine the young sociologist's position more closely, bringing the analysis "down" to the actual level of his activities. But we do not mean the happy lot of those engaged in research work properly speaking, on the "teams" of institutions of higher education or sociological laboratories and research units and benefiting by proper institutional organizational structures and their results. On the contrary, the industrial (enterprise) sociologist's position is less than active, unsuitable, unintegrated and even unstable and leads to waste of the scientific potential of these graduates with a distinct, special and institutionally confirmed training, because of his solitary, isolated, still unaccustomed and sometimes perfunctory presence in such jobs, where he is used for other purposes or assimilated with other personnel. And practical activity is decisive in the exercise of the profession and the "social recognition" of this category (handicapped by failure to solve the problem of professional status), since it combines the personal aspirations and standards, the desire to advance and the dynamism of those who can strengthen or diminish the very presence and effectiveness of sociology by virtue of their actual position and role, regardless of the level on which it is performed.

But we shall not ignore or minimize the difficulties experienced in the activity of these professionals. We refer particularly to the system of training, and coordination of training and familiarization with the actual future demands, which are not actually known until after assignment. The idea, also mentioned in VIITORUL SOCIAL (1), of founding a methodological center for guidance and improvement is also noteworthy, since it provides "methodological aid" and facilitates continuing professional improvement of all these specialists, whose postuniversity training (excepting, of course, those who make diligent personal efforts or those belonging to research institutes) is not the subject of regular, centralized efforts, so that an undesirable and harmful fragmentation of the "forces" is perpetuated.

But under enterprise conditions the traditional attitude of "production fetishism" favors separation of production tasks from psychosocial ones, the relationship between them being one of subordination rather than interdependence. Therefore some decision making collectives will be short of psychosociological training and information, not going beyond the finding stage or contemplative approach, perhaps requesting the collaboration and help of these specialists but not using their completed investigations to prepare the alternatives ("counciling" the decision making activity itself). And so Achim Mihu is right again in noting that the interest taken in malfunctions is confined to the "behavior indicators" and economic discipline, adopting the organizational viewpoint but overlooking the aspects of the very broad field of sociohuman problems, so that the implemented decisions and suggestions, when they are out of touch with the state of the social relations, inevitably lack lasting effectiveness.

The presence of a sociologist in a socioeconomic organization is advisable but not indispensable, since his strictly or narrowly professional contribution alone is not required. On behalf of rationalization and scientific substantiation of all activities (including public-cultural ones, circulation of information and political-educational work), his efforts will be required for crystallization and diffusion of the new culture of participation with an eye to actual dissemination of the principles of collective management. But one point must be made: Since he is either secretary of the workers council (as he is in some enterprises) or he is organizationally attached to it and not dependent upon other operational sections or even affiliated with them (being engaged in many other activities, entailing the risk of deprofessionalization), the young sociologist is involved in this regular participation in the activity of the unit but he does not have any cogent experience.

The real and critical question in connection with the grouping of sociohuman disciplines as "sciences of intervention" is whether their involvement in a detailed pragmatism does not undermine the very position of these professionals as "scientific agents." By emphasizing the pragmatic-engineering function and devoting himself solely to the applied function, the sociologist-technician ultimately "cripples" his personality. Neither his purely theoretical position, where he is solely concerned with academic study and pedantries, nor the other extreme, where he on the course of hyperempiricism (as a "supplier of data") and uninterested in the consequences of his suggestions, is acceptable. Moreover this contrast between the theoretical sociologist (cultivating an armchair sociology) and the one interested in "social engineering" (sacrificing macrosociological perspective in his empirical outlook) accentuates characteristics of overspecialization conducive to a luxuriant development of "sciences." But in the case of sociology, self-restriction of the field of vision by "seclusion in a specialty" and exaggeration of the perceptive value of the raw data (inaugurating a "sociological naturalism," as Alain Touraine says) eclipses the very viewpoint of sociology properly speaking, as A. Roth remarked (2).

To be sure sociology has become a profession and the sociologist has become a specialist, while the process of differentiation and specialization (dealing with "slices" of social existence) is to be accepted, but not by virtue of an excessive intensification ignoring the integralist epistemological effort (a consequence of the "adventure" of the analytical spirit and "elimination of contacts," of isolation in the tight compartment of one's own competence, and of truths "excavated" from the plot of a specialization actually eclipsed by "tunnel vision"). Dispersion of disciplines can even be a rejection or negation of knowledge, since as Mario Bunge noted scientific progress means a gain in complete understanding of entireties. Let us acknowledge that the constantly invoked desideratum of the interdisciplinary approach has barely arrived, with actual results that are rather modest (meaning additions of disciplines and not their correlation), while the sociological coordinating "treatment" is still understood, regrettably and harmfully, not in a methodological sense but in an administrative one.

But by means of competence sociological investigations and interventions may become effective (accepting the "restrained optimism" to which Robert K. Merton called attention), by a combined effort to enhance the means and to determine the limits. "Realistic expectations" are recommended to both the sociologist and the beneficiary, underestimates and exaggerations being equally unacceptable.

When the sociologist develops as a cultural personality and the organization develops as an integrating structure conducive to initiatives and activism, the requirement

for detailed comprehensiveness in cultural achievement can be met in and through an organization. But naturally the personality of the sociologist as a communist intellectual is developed and revealed in his activity, the action expressing the objective, applied acculturation. In dwelling on this point we may even wonder whether such a personality is adequately determined by the intellectual values it conveys by assimilating and "producing" knowledge. In displaying an enthusiastic and dedicated spirit, using his powers of social expression, and being receptive to all sociohuman problems, the sociologist will be intimately concerned with developing not only his scientific-sociological consciousness but also his moral-political one, related in our ebullient era to what Eduard Shills called "the incipient formation of a world sociological culture." Then his "creative" potential itself and, more broadly, the creative phenomenon in sociology supports and necessitates some qualifications. It is clear the sociological front will repudiate those exercises (actually gratuitous but socially harmful), "rediscovering" commonplaces (not above the level of common knowledge), just as it is clear that it must be found that in view of the said cumulative nature of sociological knowledge the cognitive ideal will not be to construct entirely original sociological systems but to amplify the conceptualized, widely applicable and mutually controllable disciplines. There is a differential creative productivity of age groups, while future creativity is known to be difficult to predict. Development of the "creative man" and democratization of creativity (as a mass social process during construction of our new society), however, are not a matter of absolute originality but of releasing the nonconformist intelligence by abandoning the stereotypes of thought and nonparticipation. The young sociologist (a questionable term if it implies a value judgment, but we consider it useful in the discussion in view of the age of those who are active) may become, through a pseudocreativity and through the inauguration of self-sufficiency, a routine practitioner divorced from research, the causality not being necessarily or invariably external. Therefore he will try to avoid such restrictions by fully adjusting to the flexibility of the period and the intellectual flexibility of the discipline and determining the role and position of sociology in the contemporary context.

A final comment on the critical purpose and predisposition of the sociological procedures, which are obscured in some studies. We refer not to criticism within sociology (regarded by R. Boudon for example as a possible standard orientation detectable in a "pure" state) but to the critical function of sociology (as society's scientific knowledge of itself). As part of a culture sociology may also have a mystifying use, serving the status quo and fortifying the establishment, and the realities of "late" capitalism unequivocally confirm the conclusion. But as a reflex action it will also foster the structuring of critical trends of a disconcerting variety and varying widely in their capacity for radicalism. At any rate the idea of a critical sociology (performing the criticism of apologetic, "integrated" sociology but not proposing any coherent theoretical system) is an incomplete criticism that will not generate any political activity. A questioning and prospective science par excellence, sociology is impracticable if it minimizes practical-critical activity and substitutes critical action through theoretical criticism (the case of the pretentious reflective sociology known as "critical").

We do not think the critical function of sociology (also operative in a socialist context, involving management through rationalization by realizing the applicative potentials on the tactical or strategic level) can be reduced to the claims or disabilities of "critical sociology," and for the same reason we cannot accept criticism (sociological) as one of the aims of sociology alongside the others. Actually an active, effective sociology as a science "of position" regards its critical aspect as a model of its applicative, comprehensive-interrogative and predictive procedures.

Benefiting by the fine tradition of the Romanian sociological movement in the period between the wars, Romanian sociology will test its twofold function (theoretical and applicative) as Romanian society inevitably presents many original problems requiring specific, systematic and complete treatment in the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary spirit, avoiding illustrativism, empiricism and evasion of contradictions. As a uniform whole (theoretical and empirical) offering a global, historical and determinist view of the social whole and its developmental trends and naturally passing through the period of diversification and institutionalization of its studies and of specialization and professionalization of its exponents, Romanian sociology (as I. Dragan noted) is still mainly descriptive and demonstrative, not going beyond the desiderative aspect of the conclusions and producing rather modest results with a low coefficient of applicability.

And if the superiority of socialism is to be not only asserted but demonstrated by facts and realities, as Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out so many times, sociology (as society's scientific knowledge of itself) can meet this high obligation by activating its critical and self-critical function.

FOOTNOTES

1. Florian Popa-Micsan, "The Sociologist's Practical Activity in the Socioeconomic Organizations," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 3, 1978, pp 573-577.

2. Andrei Roth, "Toward a Sociology of Sociology," Dacia Publishing House, 1975, p 186.

5186
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LEGAL ASPECTS OF ORGAN TRANSPLANT PROCESS EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Jul 81 pp 13-18

[Article by Ioan Chelaru, attorney, BCAJ Roman]

[Text] Within the framework of non-property personal rights, one category of rights for which the law provides special protection, is the one associated with a person's existence and physical integrity. That is why as a rule, a medical treatment, an operation, and so on, can be performed only with the consent of the person involved, except in cases in which the law expressely stipulates the compulsory nature of the treatment. Added to this is the fact that the right to dispose of a human body after death is recognized by regulations in force, except in cases in which for reasons of public order or health, another measure can be imposed by justice, district attorney, or administrative organs.

A few years ago, the legal literature (1) pointed out the absence of a legal provision intended to regulate the removal and transplantation of human organs.

In 1978, the adoption of Law No 3, regarding the assurance of the population's health (2), which in chapter V, section 2, regulates "Blood, Plasma, and Blood Derivatives Therapy. Removal of Human Organs and Tissues," responded to a need that had become obvious.

It must be emphasized that this regulation sought to contribute to the development of a new therapy "for the good of man, using death to save lives," (3) based on humanistic ethical and legal principles.

It is particularly well known that any action which causes the removal of organs from the human body, severely and directly affects man's life and physical integrity, a circumstance which constitutes an infraction and is sanctioned as such (4). At the same time, the point is made that a doctor's major concern must be the protection of health and the safeguarding of life, that a doctor must have the confidence of the patient, and that this trust is a major element in assuming responsibility, even though an organ transplant imposes itself as a supreme act of man's gift to man, an action on the part of man, who despite his inalienable rights upon his body, is a member of society and can thereby be of service to his fellow man, but under the conditions of a "healthy and reasonable" generosity.

The problems raised by the practice of organ removal and transplantation assume greater proportions every day, furthered as they are by the development of medical technology. In the present paper, we propose to respond to some of the questions raised both by the medical and legal literatures, as well as by the inadequacy of current regulations. In this respect, we propose to analyze the manner in which two persons--the donor and the recipient--can dispose of their rights, and determine which medical and state agencies are entitled to approve, perform, and control such operations.

Manner in Which Donor and Recipient can Dispose of Their Own Rights

A distinction must first be made of whether we are concerned with a temporary effect on the body's integrity (sale of hair, or blood donation), or with an irreversible effect (donation of a kidney). It must also be noted whether we are concerned with actions which produce their effects among living persons or after death, as well as whether the actions are paid or free. Moreover, we must present the need for consent as an essential condition, as well as the legal value of this consent (5).

Within its two paragraphs, article 131 of Law No 3/1978 makes two important stipulations, to wit: that "the removal of human organs as well as the transplantation of human tissues and organs can be performed for therapeutic purposes under the conditions of the present law" (paragraph 1); and that such operations "cannot be the object of any transaction" (paragraph 2).

In the text of our law, the removal of human tissues and organs falls under special regulations, depending on whether it concerns acts among living persons or acts resulting from death. For instance, article 132 of the law stipulates that "the removal of tissues and organs from living persons is performed only if no danger exists to the donor's life, and with the latter's written consent given to the head doctor of the department of the health unit in which the donor is admitted, in the presence of two witnesses." The legislators thus introduce two cumulative conditions which must be fulfilled in order for the removal to be performed.

The first condition--that no danger exist to the donor's life--is considered to have a relative value (6) since there does exist an inherent risk, a degree of uncertainty, associated with any surgical intervention. The manner in which the doctor acts, the importance of his actions, and the doctor's social responsibility, ultimately depend on the training and conscience of his professional group, and rigid restrictions on the manner of action would represent a barrier in the path of new advances in medical science. In paragraph 2 of article 132, Law No 3/1978 provides that "the donor's consent can be given only after the doctor has informed him of eventual medical risks that can be incurred from the act of removal." The legislators themselves, thus recognize the existence of a risk. Under such conditions, sufficient opinions have supported the inadmissibility of the transfer of some organs among living persons (7), or the possibility of donating only tissues but not organs for transplants (8).

But because, as Rabindranat Tagore has said, "life is a gift which we deserve only when we give it," and because under equitable socio-human conditions, a refusal to donate a tissue or organ is subject to ethical implications, it can happen that a

parent will donate a kidney or an eye to his child, when the possibility exists of saving the child's life. We believe that such an act springs from, and corresponds to, the principles of socialist humanism. On the other hand, if it becomes a matter of single organs--whose removal would result in the donor's demise--the law implicitly forbids such operations through actions among living persons.

The second condition--that the donor give a written consent under special circumstances--also leads to a number of explanations. From its formulation, it would appear that the legislators sought to grant the respective action the character of an authentic act. We are basing our opinion on the fact that the law expressly demands a written consent, which must be given to a specially empowered agency and in the presence of two witnesses. This special authentic act, unlike the usual regulation in civil law regarding the irrevocability of acts performed for free, can be revoked, since the donor can withdraw his given consent after the doctor presents the existing risks. It should be stressed that the law does not contain detailed provisions about the manner in which the established conditions are to be entered into a document, and that the same agency is authorized to receive the consent of both the donor and recipient.

Pursuing the general policy of protecting minors and adult persons incapable of judgement, in article 133 the legislators forbid the removal of organs from such persons, as well as from persons who suffer from various diseases established by the Ministry of Health.

The law contains separate regulations regarding the removal of human organs and tissues from dead persons. Article 134, paragraph 1, stipulates that "the removal of tissues and organs from dead persons is performed only if biological death has been medically confirmed. In this case, the removal of tissues and organs from dead persons can be performed only with the written approval of one of the adult family members, in the following order: spouse, parent, child, brother, or sister." This specific provision would reopen the question--widely analyzed in the specialized literature--of establishing the moment of death of the donor. Even though no unanimity of opinion currently exists on this matter at present (9), we will not delve on it in this paper. We will however point out that the doctor must exhaust all known medical means to maintain the life of the person, and that only after this has been done "the death must be confirmed by two doctors--members of the commission (formed for the organ removal and transplant, n.b.)--and by a forensic expert, with the conclusions being entered in an official report," as stipulated in article 137, last paragraph, of the law.

In fact, this provision correlates with the one in Decree No 278/1960, which stipulates that "the recording of a death is to be based on the document issued by the doctor."

It would appear that the extensive discussion being conducted in the specialized literature will continue, partly because of the tendency to attend to serious cases through the transplantation of organs which should not be impaired, and partly because of the urgency of matters and of the responsibility assumed by doctors (10). For organ removal, the legislators also require other circumstances in addition to medical confirmation of biological death. For instance, "this operation is forbidden if the deceased has expressed in writing the wish that such a removal not be performed, or when the removal would impair a medico-legal autopsy." (Article 135 of Law No 3/1978).

In the absence of an express, written interdiction on the part of the deceased, the operation is possible in accordance with the law (article 134, paragraph 1), only with the written consent of adult family members, in the following order: spouse, parent, child, brother or sister (11). As distinct from transplantation, removal is thus not possible without the consent of one family member, in the order stipulated by the law. We believe that this provision unfortunately creates a serious obstacle in terms of existing urgencies, a reason for which some questions become necessary. To which family members does the law refer: all those who are living, or only those who are present? What happens when members of the family with equal levels of kinship have different opinions? Or when, for illegal purposes, the first of those who must grant approval does not give it, with all the other members of family being in agreement? The regulations formulated to apply the law must clarify these situations as fairly as possible.

Legal aspects concern both the donor, who as we have indicated can undergo moral or physical harm, and the recipient, for whom a risk has been created. In terms of legal rights, matters of almost equal interest are the condition of the recipient, the group of persons who can donate organs, the legality of their consents, the moment of removal, and so on.

These intimate interconnections bring into discussion, a fortiori, the need to establish interest priorities which can form the foundation of the legal regulations that we are analyzing here.

In our society, only one solution appears possible, which is that the donor's interests be predominant. In fact, it should be pointed out from the beginning that the legislators envisage transplantation as a measure of last resort, making it acceptable "only if it is the sole intervention capable of saving the health or the physical integrity of the recipient" (article 136, paragraph 1). This feature is also emphasized by the different regulations covering removal and transplantation. For instance, removals are permissible "if no danger exists to the donor's life," while in the case of transplants, the doctor's only obligation is to inform the recipient about existing risks. In this respect, an analysis must also be made of the second condition required by the law, "the written consent of the donor, given in the presence of the head doctor of the department in which the donor is admitted, and of two witnesses." In this light, we ask what is the legal value of this consent, and how final is it?

That is why the patient has the obvious right, weighted by the ethic-pshychologic obligation of being informed of the risk to which he is exposed, so that "the transplant cannot be performed without his written consent." There undoubtedly exist persons who in such a situation would refuse a transplant, but in most cases, those finding themselves in conditions of last resort have no other choice. In this light, the wish expressed by a recipient appears as irrelevant. And still in this light, it can be readily observed that the declared consent of the donor is free and altruistic in all respects, whereas that of the recipient is given under special conditions, in which "choice" implies only one possibility. This reasoning reopens the question of the need for a written consent from family members--in the same order of priority--when the recipient is incapable of expressing his own will. This consent would have the character encountered in special legal trusteeships (12).

But what will be the attitude of the doctor who finds his efforts to perform a lifesaving transplant, stymied by opposition from family members, who for irrational or dishonest reasons refuse to give their consent, and who consequently prevent him from saving the patient's life?

The law also provides that for persons placed under interdiction, consent can be given by their parents or other legal protectors.

The exceptional, serious, and urgent nature of a transplant situation has caused legislators to also foresee the possibility--frequent enough, in fact--that the consent of the recipient or members of his family is no longer necessary, if "steps cannot be taken in proper time," but only in cases where "delays would inevitably lead to the loss of the recipient's life." The action is recorded in a document by the chief doctor of the department, and by two witnesses.

We believe that the witnesses should be specialized medical personnel, given the knowledge that is needed to determine the probability that the patient will die.

Authorized Medical Organs Will Approve, Perform, and Supervise the Removal and Transplant of Human Organs

Article 137 of Law No 3/1978 stipulates: "The removal and transplantation of human organs and tissues is performed only by doctors, and only in hospitals authorized by the Ministry of Health. The need for removal and transplantation, as well as approval for their performance, will be given by commissions specially formed by the hospital's management.

Biologic death is confirmed by at least two doctors in this commission, with the participation of a forensic expert."

These measures reflect the concept of legislators, which is to assure a maximum of guarantees for maintaining the physical integrity of those involved, and free will, and while providing appropriate medical care. The conditions that are imposed reflect on one hand the exceptional nature of these operations, and the fact that the number of units in which they can be performed is limited, and on the other hand, a certain level of endowment in medical technology at the current stage of our country.

From a legal standpoint, however, it must be emphasized that the intervention must have a therapeutic, exclusively humanitarian purpose, followed by a scientific one, that the tissue or organ must be donated, not sold, and that the action must have clear probabilities of success (is not rash).

Law No 3/1978 contains no provisions regarding relationships between donors and recipients. Since the operations are performed in hospitals established by the Ministry of Health and authorized by special commissions, under some conditions of consent of the parties, it is possible for no kind of relationship to exist between the two persons. In the absence of a special restrictive provision, we believe that nothing prevents the removal of organs of living persons or from the dead, to be performed intuitu personae.

But the transplantation of human organs also raises other problems, which will certainly be solved by the regulations which we hope will be issued for applying the law. Should the removal of an organ from a healthy person be allowed, even though it is known that its transplantation will prolong the recipient's life by only a few months or years? How will the recipient be chosen when several patients could benefit from the transplant, but when only one, or very few donors are available? Who will receive priority, a child, or an adult? Who has the right to make the choice? To what extent is the doctor entitled to select between the risk to which the donor is subjected, and the value of the recipient's life (13)?

Regarding the declared consent of the person who is to undergo the organ removal, article 135 of Law No 3/1978 stipulates that the removal is forbidden if the deceased person expressed "in writing the wish that such removals not be performed." The consequence therefore, is that in the absence of such a manifestation of will, silence is considered as consent.

In most cases, the donor's consent can no longer be obtained, with the doctors having no other task than to confirm the biological death. In this situation, article 134 of the law stipulates imperatively that "removal can be performed with the written consent of one of the adult family members, in the following order: spouse, parent, child, brother, sister."

One important problem of interest, is that of the persons who can fall under the law regarding the removal and transplantation of human organs. Article 125 in chapter V, which refers to "Medical Assistance for the Population," section I, regarding "General and Emergency Medical Assistance," stipulates: "Emergency medical assistance is provided by all permanent health units, at any time of day or night, independently of the person's place of residence." At no point does this chapter make any sort of distinction among persons who are entitled to medical assistance, including transplants and the removal of human organs. The only exception provided by the law is for minors and for those incapable of judgement. Thus, any person, independently of nationality, race, or sex, benefits from equal medical assistance treatment. For reasons of egality, the legislators have therefore adopted the application of territorial law (14).

This reopens the discussion of some aspects of the complex question of human organ removal and transplantation. Insofar as many other legal aspects still remain to be clarified, we belive that both OMS and the UN could initiate a number of measures aimed at helping the nations which practice such operations, to elucidate and understand some facets of this complex matter.

FOOTNOTES

1. I. Dobrinescu, "Legal Problems Regarding Surgical Grafts Through Organ Transplants," REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, No 12/1974, p. 14. "According to some authors, the state legal agencies can provide no given rule or method whatever to doctors, in the case of organ removals" (H. P. Schudi, "The Doctor's Responsibility," REVUE DE MEDICINE ET HYGIENE, No 797/1967, Geneve, p 1112).

2. BULETINUL OFICIAL, I, No 54, 10 July 1978.

3. Gh. Scripcaru, T. Ciornea, and N. Iancovici, "Medicine and the Law," Editura Junimea, Iasi, 1979, p 55.

4. See article 180 and following, C. pen.

5. P. P. Andrei, "Removals and Transplants of Human Organs in the Light of the New Provisions," "Annals of the Al. I. Cuza University, Iasi," "Legal Sciences" series, 1979, p 45; G. Marty, P. Raynaud, "Civil Law," Vol I, "General Introduction to the Study of Law and Judicial Institutions. Persons," Paris, 1961, p 484.

6. P. P. Andrei, loc. cit., p 46; G. Marty, P. Raynaud, op. cit., p 484.

7. In this respect, see G. Marty, P. Raynaud, op. cit. p 484; H., L., J. Mazeaud, "Lessons of Civil Law," tome one, "Persons," Paris, 1972, pp 681-682.

8. Gh. Scripcaru et al., op. cit., p 55.

9. In this respect, see I. Dobrinescu, loc. cit., p 16; M. Stoian, "The War for the Heart," Editura Enciclopedica, Bucharest, 1971, pp 143-147; L. M. Raymondis, "Legal Problem of a Definition of Death in Connection With Organ Grafts," REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE DE DROIT CIVIL, 1969, pp 29-39.

10. L. M. Raymondis, loc. cit., pp 29-39.

11. In this respect, see D. Laiusell, "The Procurement of Organs for Transplantation," NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW, No 5/1969, pp 607-627. In general, instances of common law, both in England and the United States, starting from the older concept according to which no property right exists on a dead body, the latter being res nullius, nevertheless recognize that a surviving spouse, children, or other next of kin, have a right to the cadaver for burial, a right which also implies the one of receiving the body of the deceased in the condition in which it was at the moment of death. In France, the Caillavet Law of 4 April 1978 regarding the removal of organs, does not contain this condition, if the removal is likely to extend the life of another person.

12. P. Andrei, loc. cit., p 46.

13. T. Burghele, review in "Ethics in Medical Progress," CHIRURGIA, No 1/1968, p 20. This advanced surgery is not yet fully developed, representing in some aspects an experiment on man.

For a study of comparative law, see the draft for "Law on Human Organ Transplantation," of FRG (R. Sturm, "Government Draft for the Transplantation Law," in JURISTENZEITUNG, No 21/1979, pp 697-702; Th. Cartens, "Organ Transplants," ZEITSCHRIFT FUR RECHTSPOLITIK, No 11/1979, pp 282-284). The draft mentioned here tends to regulate only the removal of human tissues and organs, and not transplantation as well; in another respect, it refers only to the removal of tissues and organs from dead persons, and not from those alive

as well. As in the Romanian law, two principles stand at the basis of the regulation: a) the principle of respecting the right to dispose of one's own person, even after death, as an expression of the freedom of, and respect for human beings; and b) the general social interest presented by the performance of these removal and transplantation operations.

14. M. Jacota, "Private International Law," Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, Bucharest, 1970, pp 161 162.

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ADDITIONAL COMMENTS FROM IVAN STAMBOLIC INTERVIEW

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 81 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 4-5

[Interview with Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, by Seska Stanojlovic: "Our Inflation Is Our Product"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] During the debate of the causes and consequences of the counterrevolution in Kosovo at the May Plenum of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee you spoke inter alia about the adverse political consequences of arbitrarily giving other names to SR Serbia and to its nuclear part particularly. By force of circumstances we newspaper people, and also you politicians, and indeed you personally frequently use the terms "Serbia proper," "Serbia without the provinces," "Serbia outside the provinces" ... which you yourself say contribute to the public's confusion....

[Answer] It is not just from the terminological standpoint that these expressions are unfitting. I would remind you, however, that this issue has another more important side.

In their time Svetozar Markovic and Dimitrije Tucovic settled accounts with Garasanin's 19th century idea of Great Serbia. But it has been repeated many times since then, the working class movement in Serbia has had to settle accounts with it down through virtually its entire history.

The attitude of Serbian communists toward this nationalistic and hegemonistic thesis and idea has always been clearly defined and confirmed by their successful concrete revolutionary struggle and policy. That kind of struggle and that kind of attitude are indispensable even today. Especially since we must be aware that the idea of the so-called small Serbia, of a Serbia which does not exist, of Serbia in the form of the Belgrade pashaluk [district under jurisdiction of a pasha] whose boundaries and map are being tendentiously drawn and printed by nationalists and enemies not only of the Serbian people and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but indeed of all the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, finds its point of support in the idea of Great Serbia. They want in that way to demonstrate that there is not even any SR Serbia without Great Serbia. This is the soil on which the thesis arises which Lazar Kolisevski recently spoke about: "A weak Serbia--a strong Yugoslavia."

We must say that only a unified SR Serbia, as a socialist republic born in the revolution, that is unified and strong in conformity with the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Tito's policy of equality, brotherhood and unity, and self-management, and only the unified and strong republics, which also arose in the revolution, of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia and the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina comprise a strong and powerful Yugoslavia as a workers' state, as a free and independent socialist and nonaligned community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities. Weakening of any one of them, including Serbia, which includes the autonomous provinces, signifies a weakening and destabilization of Yugoslavia.

That is why I think that calling SR Serbia by various names is not an ordinary question of language.

[Question] Since you are the chairman of the executive council, we must ask you something about the relationship between the state and self-management. In recent debates on stabilization there has been more and more (critical) talk about administrative intervention and the "meddling" of the government in the relations of self-management. You often advocate constructing a comprehensive policy of economic stabilization, and it would be interesting to hear your opinion about the degree of "government" involvement in that.

[Answer] Let me first tell you something about that concept of stabilization. There is not a man in Yugoslavia today who does not feel the burden of the economic situation on his own back. Some more, some less, but that is another topic. For that reason we are now coming to an increasingly correct understanding of the policy of economic stabilization, seeing it as a necessity for us to produce more and spend less. We had broken the natural tie between production and consumption, and now we must pay for that--in cash. No one can fall head first down the stairs without any consequences whatsoever for his own head!

In building the policy of economic stabilization and in implementing it so far we have mainly concentrated on suppressing excessive spending and have been less concerned with more efficient production, and I fear lest we again fail to bring production and consumption into line with one another in good time--only now in a different way. That is why I mention so frequently the need for a more organized effort to construct a comprehensive concept and program of economic stabilization, referring thereby primarily to production.

My point of departure is that we possess the material conditions for overcoming our economic difficulties and for opening up real prospects for further material development. I am therefore convinced that the principal issue in the policy of economic stabilization of the future is becoming how to raise labor productivity, how to speed up the turnover of capital, how to reduce the level of indebtedness, how to lower production costs, how to increase the efficiency of capital investment, and so on. How to open up ourselves economically toward the outside world more effectively and how to expose ourselves to the judgment of the world market, how to overcome difficulties and restrictions related to the balance of payments? It would seem that we all know what we ought to do, but the question is--How?

Neither administrative regulation on the one hand nor the so-called free market on the other represents one of our choices in finding a way out of the economic difficulties we have fallen into. We must seek the way out through development of socialist self-management--by conclusion of compacts and accords--but that does not mean that now we should turn our head away from the market and renounce the government. If the government does not do everything now which it must do, the day might come when it could take everything into its hands.

In other words, the conclusion of social compacts and self-management accords must proceed on the basis of objective economic laws of commodity production on the foundations of self-management, while by virtue of its measures the government would guarantee and stimulate that direction in the development of socio-economic relations. Only in that way is it possible to guarantee both democracy and efficiency in a self-managed economy, above all through optimum use of the huge mass of social capital.

Ambiguous Slogan

[Question] You mean to say that a self-managing government also has quite definite obligations toward "its own" self-management?

[Answer] Exactly. To that we should add that there also exist certain social contradictions which can be resolved only by "government methods." That was the case earlier, it is true today, and it will also be true tomorrow. Certain social contradictions, and indeed even social conflicts, if you like, must and can be resolved only by the means of socialist government coercion.

To overlook that fact in the present world and time is the same, to put it simply, as if the police, for example, use no other means than to deliver sermons on how theft is not permitted by law.

[Question] At the same time demands for "freeing us of statism," whose correctness and progressiveness are truly difficult to dispute, are echoing ever more loudly in the public. What does this mean in concrete terms in the context of the questions we have spoken about so far, especially in the case of SR Serbia, where it also arises as a question of the scope and role of the statehood of the republic and the provinces?

[Answer] Let me answer by asking another question: Who actually are all these people advocating liberation from statism? This demand, just like that general slogan of "Anticentralism," is both undefined and ambiguous. I would remind you that Dr Vladimir Bakaric even pointed out on one occasion that such demands in certain situations may be reactionary instead of progressive.

That is, who is it who is to be freed of government control? If it is the working class, if it is a question of liberating space for self-management, then the question is not in dispute. But if the bureaucratic-technocratic apparatus, whether it be the one in the republic, in the province, in the opstina, in the bank, or indeed even in the organization of associated labor, is supposed to get freedom to manage the surplus value as it pleases, then that demand, as Dr Bakaric has said, is essentially reactionary.

[Question] For decades our social development has been going in the direction of gradual decentralization of what are referred to as government functions so as to broaden the degree of democracy and to augment the rights of citizens and self-managers. Do the debates of the role of so-called regional statehood also signify that that statehood is greater or smaller than it should be?

[Answer] I could answer you most simply by saying that in some respects it should be greater and in some smaller. But that does not signify a great deal. If statehood in our context--in proportion to the place in government regulation and in conformity with social development--is "divided" among the Federation, the republics (which comprise the Federation), the provinces (which are also an integral part of one republic) and the opstinas, then there is no need for debate of the "greater" or "lesser" responsibility of any of these entities.

There are functions which could not be transferred to the opstinas; there are those which represent the very identity of the Federation as a government. Take any opstina, say in Vojvodina or in Kosovo: its statehood is manifested in the scope of definite power which the opstina wields. The scope of power is "divided" between it and its parent province in such a way that its statehood is an integral part of the statehood of the province. And the statehood of the autonomous provinces is in turn manifested in the scope of their power and is regulated by the "division" of power between the republic and autonomous provinces on the basis of the Constitution of SR Serbia. The statehood of the autonomous provinces is an integral part of the statehood of the republic--they are not states which are components of the Federation, but they do have their own statehood--as a function of realizing socialist self-management. Is there any need to recall by way of illustration all the damage inflicted and the extent of the impetus given to the counterrevolution in Kosovo by assumption of a greater degree of statehood than set forth in the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR Serbia?

[Question] We all know that in Yugoslavia there is no equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities without economic equality. We also know that there is no true community consensus on the basis of self-management without corresponding economic community consensus. Nevertheless, there is less and less community consensus, there is more and more autarky, and the economy is gradually becoming confined within "government boundaries" of the opstinas, the republics and the provinces.

[Answer] Since the pluralism of self-management interests presupposes a development of political relations whereby they are more and more transformed into socioeconomic relations, I am afraid that we have not always been aware of all the kinds of political relations that could come about if there should be less and less economic community consensus in Yugoslavia. Autarky seriously threatens to cut off social development in the direction of pluralism of self-management interests and to turn us exclusively toward pluralism of governmentalized interests. That is why I think that it is not possible to simultaneously be in favor of Yugoslavia's political unity and the foundations of socialist self-management and to be against economic community consensus in the self-managing forms of pooling labor and capital and to be in favor of autarky.

In analyzing the problems of autarky we must now become all-embracing and must altogether seek answers which will guarantee a rapid change of direction. I would also say that even individuals who are well known as advocates of dogmatic and other ideological premises unacceptable to us are now trying to join in our justified criticism of autarky and the low level of the economy's integration in Yugoslav economic space--as well as of the other problems that are arising out of the halt in development of self-management.

Two Conclusions Concerning Inflation

[Question] You mean to say that even here we are coming to have unwanted "allies"?

[Answer] Yes. Individuals who criticize the Yugoslav economy's lack of integration from the positions of statism, unitarianism and the policy of a firm hand would like to join in our justified criticism of the lag in integration on the basis of self-management.

Since we have permanently rejected administrative-bureaucratic centralism, our criticism of the closed economies of the republics and provinces and of the regionalization of capital is based on the positions of socialist self-management, of self-managing pooling of labor and capital. That is why we must constantly set ourselves apart and wage an ideological showdown with all those who see the republics and provinces only as obstacles to self-management integration, and not as an instrument of self-management, people who through criticism of autarky would even call into question the very existence of the republics and autonomous provinces.

We must, then, vigorously reject all the more or less pronounced and truly bureaucratic-centralistic and similar conceptions being passed off on us as the right solutions, the only solutions, and indeed even the self-management solutions. That is why we must emphasize more and more that outside the foundations of the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav Federation, outside the foundations of the constitutional concept of the republics and provinces, and aside from the clearly articulated political line of the League of Communists, no other concept is acceptable to us.

Criticism not only of the mechanisms and instruments, but indeed of the foundations of the economic system, ought not to deceive us. As a rule we are dealing with criticism of the political system. This criticism is all the fiercer as the criticism of the foundations of the economic system becomes more radical. And it is that exemption of the political system from the debate, the supposed failure to mention it, supposedly so as not to "intervene" in politics, that makes it incumbent upon us to make a good examination of the ideological positions which are the premises of that kind of criticism of the economic system. Are we not dealing, then, with the same kind of radical criticism of the political system, except that it is stated in terms of the economic system, appears to be ideologically neutral, and is committed only verbally to socialist self-management.

[Question] In a conversation with business executives of Serbia last week you dwelled particularly on inflation, insisting on the line of argument that Yugo-inflation, however much it may be a part of today's world economic processes, has its own very specific domestic features.

[Answer] Yugoslav inflation has been studied many times and elucidated from the economic standpoint. The analyses coincide with one another quite a bit and come down to several conclusions. Two are the most essential ones: underutilization of capital investments and underutilization of labor. Both show that the social organization of production has not been in line with the available material and human potential. And if that is to be achieved, the correct merger of interests is needed: of the person who, for example, is making decisions on investment of capital and the interests of the person who will be working with those assets and will depend on the dimensions of expanded reproduction. That linkup is a rarity with us. That is, when the investment process begins, both proceed mainly on the basis of how many new jobs and how much new income will be obtained, without making a serious analysis of how much accumulation can be expected and what are the long-term possibilities for the survival and reproduction of such facilities on the domestic and world markets.

It seems to me that the whole time this has been creating the impression that there exists available social capital which "we" could make better use of than "others" if our share in decisionmaking were greater (our political share, say).

In various periods there have been various formulas which pointed specifically to this. Among them the one which only recently disappeared: "There is money enough for every good project." That type of behavior arose out of the mistaken impression already created concerning the limited possibility of using someone else's capital for one's own needs. That is how excessive foreign indebtedness came about and how the credit relationship became the predominant relationship in the economy and in society.

[Question] Another frequent "slogan," now that we are discussing them, is the one that holds that we are the victim of world economic troubles because we are an open country.

[Answer] I have already said what I think: Yugoslav inflation is a Yugoslav product. We should seek the causes here at home, on our own unstable market. The strategic directions for emerging from this situation are possible only in stretching out the inflationary spiral over a long period of time in which it would gradually decrease and in which the bad aspects of the previous economic strategy and tactics would be eliminated. I think that we ought to acknowledge the real level of inflation, reevaluate in market terms the planned system for the conduct of economic activity (the market is the most important part of the planning orientation), defend ourselves against artificial equalization of employed persons for the sake of welfare, achieving at the same time socialist solidarity, and return still more radically to the idea of division according to labor and the results of labor.

Nor, to be sure, can we neglect the influence of the world economic crisis, but neither should we overemphasize it. We must free ourselves of the fear of greater openness toward the world market, but we must be better integrated through self-management on the unified Yugoslav market. It is easy to be brave when there is no other choice.

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PAY SCALES FOR OFFICIALS ANALYZED, ARGUED

Call for Publication, Change

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1604, 27 Sep 81 pp 10-12

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "How To Pay Officials"]

[Text] Do you perhaps know the size of the personal income of the president of your opstina? Or of any of the political officials whose election you participated in?

Which accounts for all the mystification and conjecturing about how much political officeholders earn. This has even been discussed in a session of the Federal Social Council for Questions of the Social System, which last Friday debated the uniform elements for remuneration of officeholders. It was literally said in that meeting that there has been manipulation with the earnings of political officeholders, that they are exaggerated, that people are saying that they earn between 70,000 and 100,000 dinars, which, it was also said, is not true. Which is why, it was emphasized at that meeting, the earnings of political officeholders should be accessible to the public.

Actually there are no figures on how much political officeholders earn monthly. Not even in newspaper documentation, which is regarded as a "storehouse of data," did we encounter any reliable figures on this in the more recent period. According to that documentation, the last public debates on the level of the monthly earnings of political officials were conducted in 1970 and 1971. It was proposed at that time that the highest monthly personal income of a political officeholder in the republic or province could not be greater than 7,000 dinars and "that the president of the youth organization should not have more than 4,000 dinars."

And that is all.

Outside the System

On the basis of which and what sort of criteria have political officeholders been "earning" their personal income up to now? On the basis of the so-called

coefficient, which is the ratio 1:5. In practical terms this means that no political officeholder can have monthly income exceeding fivefold the average income of the work force in the socialized sector. When we know that the average earnings of persons employed in the socialized sector was slightly over 9,000 dinars in June, then no political officeholder in that month could receive more than 45,000 dinars. It was said at that same meeting that in practice use is not made of the possibility granted by the coefficient in the ratio 1:5, which in practice means that the highest monthly earning of an official amounts to less than 45,000 dinars.

But what is least known about and what is least covered by the data are the so-called supplements of the office.

On the whole remuneration of officeholders "according to the coefficient" is not in line with our present system. After all, most of the legislative acts regulating the personal incomes of officials from the Federation to the opstina were adopted before adoption of the law on associated labor and the law on the foundations of the system of government administration, and also before the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility was implemented in practice. That is why there is a need to bring remuneration of officeholders into conformity with development of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical systems.

It is with these remarks that the proposal was indeed presented of a social compact which insists that the same criteria and the same scales apply to all sociopolitical officeholders in all sociopolitical communities, and they are to be adjusted to remuneration in associated labor.

What are the essential changes this proposal contains?

First of all, the principle that there cannot exist one system for the personal incomes of political officeholders and another system for the remainder of the work force in the socialized sector. In practice this means that work and the results of work will determine the material and social status of political officeholders as well, depending on the overall contribution of past and present labor. This is one of the future criteria, which number nine in all. Moreover, an officeholder's personal income would depend among other things on the rise of the social productivity of labor and the trend of income and personal incomes in the economy of the particular sociopolitical community. The other criteria pertain mostly to the functioning of the social and political system.

Funds for the personal incomes of officials would be provided separately to each body and agency and organization in their total amount, "on the basis of the jointly agreed bases and scales and on the basis of the relevant legislative acts for each sociopolitical community.

When the decision is being made on the size of the total funds for each body and agency and organization, an assessment would be made of the function's value to society, the sociopolitical significance of the function, independence and intensity of work and tasks which constitute the content of the function and the direct social accountability for performance of particular functions, while the

criteria and scales pertaining to earnings on the basis of past and present labor would also be stated precisely.

In future officeholders would not have any supplement of the office whatsoever, and "all other" income would be in conformity with "other income" in associated labor. Thus per diems for official travel in Yugoslavia would be able to go as high as 12 percent of the average monthly personal income earned by the work force in the economy of the particular sociopolitical community; reimbursement of moving expenses would be paid on the basis of the carrier's bill (or a lump-sum payment would be made not to exceed the amount of that official's monthly personal income); compensation for use of annual vacation could not be greater than 60 percent of the average monthly personal income in the economy of the particular sociopolitical community; severance pay at the time of retirement would be paid up to the amount of three monthly personal incomes of that official, and all officeholders living separately from their families would have the right to four monthly visits, the expenses to be justified.

The proposal which was discussed and the discussion in the meeting itself emphasized that the number of political officeholders ought to be reduced. To be specific: the term "officeholder" would extend only down through the deputy federal, republic or provincial secretary and corresponding offices in sociopolitical organizations and opstinas." Should this proposal be adopted, the number of officeholders would be considerably reduced. In addition, it would be precisely known who the political officeholders are, which up to now has not been the case. (In some places, for example, even the head of an officeholder's office staff was referred to as a "political officeholder.")

Fewer Officeholders

The proposal of that social compact was basically accepted in the meeting we have mentioned, but quite a few objections were also made. Among others, that certain solutions had been taken over from the old system and that past labor is being given preference over present labor in remuneration, which runs counter to the Law on Associated Labor. It was said that the new system ought to contribute to faster deprofessionalization of political office.

There ought not to be any acquired rights, it was specifically emphasized, with respect to the remuneration of officeholders.

When the meeting had ended, one got the impression that quite a bit of the job still remained to be done so that the remuneration of officeholders might be "fitted in" as a function of associated labor. Especially since associated labor itself does not have valid criteria for evaluating the results of work, which means that it lacks them for distribution as well. If associated labor lacks clear criteria concerning distribution, and that is at least the case in a majority of work organizations, how, then, can they be defined concerning the remuneration of officeholders? To go further, in what respect would the criteria concerning distribution in associated labor still differ from that applied to political officeholders: associated labor must first realize income, and only then divide it up on the basis of criteria concerning the results of work.

In the case of officeholders, on the other hand, the only thing to be done is to devise criteria concerning distribution, since the funds are appropriated through the budget or in some other fiscal manner.

Inflation "is opposed" to the drafting of clear criteria and also to their application throughout society. The higher the level of inflation, the more leveling is evident in distribution. Nor is it any surprise that officeholders are complaining of leveling. It was stated in that meeting, for example, that certain heads of the office staff of officeholders have personal incomes only 4,000 dinars less than their bosses.

Incidentally, the social compact on remuneration of officeholders on which everyone insists has to be enacted before the next elections.

Situation in Serbia

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1604, 27 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Article by D. Jovanovic]

[Text] There are at least two (extreme) opinions concerning the pay of officeholders in Serbia. According to one that is widespread in the population, they are too high and also difficult to justify; according to the other, which is held by fewer people and is based on better information, the republic administration in Serbia has the lowest pay of any republic or province. The second line of argument was supposedly taken even by Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, in a semiclosed meeting. But in an interview lasting only a moment Stambolic told us: "No, I did not say that. I said that our administration is the smallest in view of the work which it has. And so that it might be seen which republic administration and which officeholders are the best paid and the worst paid, the payroll list ought to be published in the newspapers: publicly."

Zivorad Jakovljevic, chairman of the administrative commission of the Serbian Assembly is the man whose desk contains all the payroll lists of elected officials, from those "top ones" to the deputy republic secretaries. Jakovljevic spoke to us first about the criteria for setting the pay level of officeholders, mentioning for his own part how devilishly difficult and even illusory that job is:

"We have striven as far as possible for the basic principle to be distribution on the basis of the results of work. But how is one to measure the work of an officeholder? How is one to determine whether the meeting of the chambers of the assembly attended by the president of the Serbian Assembly is more important than consulting with the presidents of opstinas, whose proceedings he also participated in that same day? Finally, it may sound as though I'm on the defensive, but in society at large we have not solved the problem of remuneration according to work even in production proper."

Nevertheless, the work of officeholders in Serbia has been measured and classified by groups according to the importance, responsibility and complexity of the tasks that go with each political office. There are five groups, and each has its own coefficient used to determine the level of the officeholder's personal income (when it is multiplied by the average personal income in the republic's economy).

In the first group, with a coefficient of 4.2, are the so-called "top-level officials": the chairman of the SR Serbia State Presidency, the president of the Serbian Assembly, the chairman of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, the chairman of the Republic Conference of the SAWP, the president of the republic trade unions and the president of the republic SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War].

In the second group, with a coefficient of 3.73, are the vice presidents in the Serbian Assembly, the presidents of the chambers of the assembly, the vice chairmen of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, the president of the Serbian Constitutional Court, members of the State Presidency of SR Serbia, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and members of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP.

The third group (coefficient 3.52) is made up of the chairmen of the working bodies of the Serbian Assembly, members of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, the associate judges of the Constitutional Court, chairmen of republic judicial bodies, chairmen for the forms of activity of the Republic Conference of the SAWP, chairmen of committees and commissions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and executive secretaries of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In the fourth group (coefficient 3.30) are the republic secretaries working in the Serbian Assembly and Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly and directors of directorates and organizations of interest to the republic (the Bureau for Statistics of SR Serbia, the Bureau for Public Administration, the Republic Geodetic Administration and the Directorate of Commodity Reserves).

And in the fifth group, whose coefficient is 3.10, are the deputy republic secretaries and judges of the Supreme Court of Serbia.

As we have said, the coefficients are multiplied by the average personal income in the republic's economy, which last year was 7,334 dinars in Serbia. But it has been agreed at the level of the republic that the base which is to be multiplied by the coefficient will be lower than the average republic personal income and is to be 6,520 dinars. Since this January the pay of officeholders has been raised 12 percent "though it might have been raised 26 percent on the basis of the self-management accord."

The personal incomes of elected officials this year looked like this by groups (past labor was not taken into account): officials in the first group have been receiving 27,384 dinars of personal income, those in the second group 24 320

dinars, in the third group 22,951 dinars, in the fourth 21,516, and in the fifth 20,212 dinars per month.

Officeholders receive on the basis of past labor 0.5 percent for each year of service, but the amount paid for past labor cannot exceed 20 percent of the personal income. It follows that no elected republic official in Serbia can have a personal income larger than 32,861 dinars, Jakovljevic added.

Then comes the inevitable question of the supplements of the office.

Aside from the lump-sum payment of four per diems (which amounts to 2,800 dinars, since the officeholder's per diem is 700 dinars) which in future will be received only by delegates working on a permanent basis in the SFRY Assembly and in the republic and provincial assemblies, there are no other supplements or privileges whatsoever, Jakovljevic says. The lump-sum payments, which are "a situation inherited from the period of deputies," are living out, then, their last days, though certain delegates receiving them feel that they are small and that visits to their electoral units are becoming more and more expensive.

Do officeholders in Serbia have certain other privileges?

"Aside from the 'top-level officials' no one is entitled to use an automobile to travel to and from work. Except for them no one has the right to alcoholic beverages for purposes of public relations," Jakovljevic says.

According to figures on official travel which were available to us, it turns out that officeholders are rather thrifty. The average number of per diems paid for all of 1980 is 10.5 per official; along with Jakovljevic's remark that officeholders as a rule are not paid a per diem for official travel on which they depart in the morning and return in the evening. As everywhere, there are, of course, exceptions.

In conclusion, the person we talked to announced that thought is being given to raising the pay of officeholders before the end of the year.

Situation in Slovenia

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1604, 27 Sep 81 p 12

[Article reprinted from the Ljubljana newspaper DELO, 29 April 1981]

[Text] Personal incomes (and total income) of delegates, elected and appointed officeholders, and holders of public positions in SR Slovenia were as follows as of 31 March 1981:

1. A personal income from 25,000 to 31,860 goes to the chairman of the State Presidency of SR Slovenia, the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the chairman of the Republic Conference of the SAWP, members of the State Presidency of SR Slovenia, the president of the Republic Assembly and the chairman of the Executive Council of Slovenia, the president

of the Constitutional Court and the presiding officers of the republic trade unions, the republic committee of the Federation of Veterans, the Economic Chamber of Slovenia, and the secretaries of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

The personal income of members of the Council of the Federation From SR Slovenia who are not receiving pensions ranged from 24,060 to 31,854 dinars.

ii. A personal income ranging from 22,919 to 25,780 dinars was paid to the vice presidents of the republic assembly and vice chairmen of the executive council, the presidents of the chambers of the assembly, the chairman of the Republic Conference of the SAWP and the republic council of the Federation of Trade Unions, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the chairmen of the republic social councils for questions of the social system, economic development and economic policy, the republic public defender of self-management law, the secretary of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP and the secretary of the republic committee of the Federation of Veterans. Within that same range were the personal incomes of the president of the Supreme Court of SR Slovenia, the Court of Associated Labor of SR Slovenia, the republic public prosecutor and the associate judges of the Constitutional Court.

iii. A personal income within the range from 19,502 to 23,057 dinars was paid to members of the republic executive council, republic secretaries or chairmen of republic committees, the director of the Bureau of SR Slovenia for Social Questions, the chairman of the commissions of the Assembly of SR Slovenia; members of the republic presidium of the Conference of the SAWP, of the republic council of the Federation of Trade Unions, executive secretaries and chairmen of commissions of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the vice president of the republic economic chamber and the chairmen of the executive committees of the general associations, the deputy republic defender of self-management law, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Assembly of the Community of Culture of SR Slovenia. In that same range are the personal incomes of the solicitor general of SR Slovenia, the associate judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Associated Labor and the deputy public prosecutors of SR Slovenia.

iv. Personal incomes ranging from 18,950 to 21,574 dinars are distributed to the chairman of the republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League, that organization's vice president and secretary, the secretary of the republic Conference of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers, deputy republic secretaries and deputy chairmen of republic committees, the deputy director of the Bureau for Social Planning of SR Slovenia, the deputy solicitor general of SR Slovenia and the president of the republic Court for Misdemeanors.

These personal incomes are augmented by a certain percentage on the basis of the Regulation on Past Labor. This increase ranges from 1 percent for employees who have less than 5 years of service to 12 percent for workers with more than 30 years of service. For example: if an officeholder whose personal income is 31,860 dinars has more than 30 years of longevity, which is fairly likely, that increase would amount to 3,498 dinars, for a total of 35,358 dinars.

These are the figures reported by the Commission of Signatories of the Social Compact on Bases and Scales of Personal Incomes and Other Income of Delegates of Elected and Appointed Officials and Holders of Public Office in SR Slovenia as of 31 March 1981.

Croatian Trade Unionist Interviewed

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1196, 6 Oct 81 pp 14-15

[Interview with Dusan Dragun, secretary of the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions, by Stevan Zec in Zagreb during October: "There Is a Yardstick Even for Officeholders"]

> [Text] These past several weeks there has been debate in all the republics, provinces and also the Federation on who is and who is not an officeholder and who should and who should not receive an officeholder's personal income. As we examined the accessible material and reports, we asked for an interview with Dusan Dragun, secretary of the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions, who is also chairman of the commission for monitoring enforcement of the self-management accord on remuneration of officeholders in Croatia and at the same time a member of the commission for resolving the housing problems of officeholders in Zagreb.

A Supplement, Yes, But Not Another Salary

[Question] Comrade Dragun, why are the incomes of officeholders being debated at this time? Does the reason lie in the upcoming elections, or is something else involved?

[Answer] The discussions about remuneration of officeholders in sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations did not begin, at least here in Croatia, because of any excessive situations—which do occur—but out of a need for maximum application of our constitution and the Law on Associated Labor to this remuneration. Moreover, I think that there is a need to speak in public about this, as indeed about everything else. Every veil of secrecy should be removed from this question, since there are no reasons to hide anything, either because of what has already occurred or in particular because of what will be in the future. The policy governing the personal incomes of officeholders must be absolutely public, if for no other reason to avoid the situation where a man who looks at the television news says: "Who is this man to talk about stabilization when he has a salary of 5 or 6 million!" It is certain that there is quite a bit of mistrust with people precisely because there was not enough public access. At a meeting of the Federal Council for the Social System one member of the SFRY State Presidency said that even his relatives and close friends did not believe that he had a monthly income of 37,000 dinars and certain other very limited benefits.

[Question] What will be the principal change in the manner of remuneration of officeholders in SR Croatia, and what did you advocate in meetings at the federal level?

[Answer] We are in favor of every person elected to public office of having the personal income which he brought with him from his work organization, but to this would be added an appropriate supplement that goes with the post, which he would receive while he is in that position. When his term of office is over, that supplement is, of course, also terminated. The officeholder's supplement ought to be determined in such a way as above all to precisely evaluate the position and to establish the complexity of the work, the responsibility and the working conditions. For example, a worker from an organization of associated labor has been elected, and he has been receiving 15,000 dinars a month, and the position to which he has been elected is evaluated at 22,000 dinars. During his term of office he would receive from the forum or institution 7,000 dinars and from his own work organization he would continue to receive his personal income which he was earning there previously. This is especially important because of the system of collective leadership. A man remains a member of the collective governing body, but he is an officeholder for only 1 year, while he is the chairman, and only during that time can he receive the officeholder's supplement, but not afterward.

[Question] How is the personal income to be determined for officeholders who do not come from associated labor, but who are only moving from one public office to another?

[Answer] That example was also taken up in the meetings of the republic commission. Our point of departure should be the fact that in all our political commitments we oppose repetition of the term of office and the circulation of the same people from a forum of the League of Communists to the trade unions or to the SAWP, or from the executive council to the Croatian Assembly. Yet there are, and there will probably continue to be, people who left associated labor long ago. That is why we are demanding that conditions be drafted in the social compact under which transitional solutions would be found for the personal incomes of people moving from one public office to another. I think there will be fewer and fewer such people. Perhaps for just a few more years, until the principle of collective leadership becomes altogether firm.

Halving the Number of Officeholders

[Question] Within these changes it is being proposed only in SR Croatia that there be a reduction in the number of people who are now on the payroll as officeholders. What is this really all about?

[Answer] In Croatia at the present time there are about 6,500 people who earn their personal income under the system which we refer to as the officeholders' system. These are people in the assemblies of opstinas, communities of opstinas, in the republic and in the courts. Nor does this number include senior officials in self-managing communities of interest. We are demanding that this number be at least cut in half in this republic. Of course, we will not be

driving these people out at all, but they will rather be moved where they belong, and that is the work communities in which work is evaluated by other criteria. Another innovation is that the term "officeholders" will apply only to those who are appointed by the highest forums of delegate bodies: assemblies of opstinas, the republic assembly and the highest bodies of sociopolitical organizations: the central committee of the republic's League of Communists, the republic Conference of SAWP, of SUBNOR, of the Socialist Youth League, and the republic trade union council. None of those chosen by executive bodies can be officeholders. Likewise judges cannot receive officeholders' personal incomes, but must be included in work communities.

[Question] In a recent meeting in Belgrade the opinion was expressed that SR Serbia has fewer officeholders than any republic or province. Does SR Croatia want to reduce the number of officeholders because it has the largest number?

[Answer] No, neither does Serbia have the least, nor does Croatia have the largest number of officeholders. It is a matter of what is meant by the officeholder and who are all those people who receive the same personal income as received by elected officials. It is certain that we in Croatia think that we have a great number, even too many paid officials. In the further development of the delegate system we must demand that there be fewer and fewer professionals and more and more of those who are voluntarily performing sociopolitical functions. When we reduce, that is, reduce to half, the number of people who figure as officeholders in the manner in which they earn their income, we will not reduce the size of the staff, but we will only be compelling those who are not objectively officeholders to move into work communities and to earn their income like the rest of the administrative apparatus.

[Question] Will those people be receiving smaller income in the work communities than what they are now receiving as officeholders?

[Answer] No, in the work communities they are receiving approximately the same income. The specialized staff services of committees, of assemblies, of republic conferences and similar bodies even now have rather high incomes, almost as high as those of officeholders, so that those people who give up their places on the payroll of officeholders will not be hurt if they do enough work. It is just that work will be better measured in the work communities. They will have to work more to earn what they have now been receiving, as I would put it, on almost a lump-sum basis. The highest personal income of an officeholder in SR Croatia is the chairman of the Presidency, who receives 37,000 dinars per month. The lowest incomes of officeholders in our republic are 21,800 dinars. We believe that those are decent personal incomes, but we also feel that they are not superhigh incomes. There are quite a few people in associated labor who have considerably higher incomes. There are even a few hundred persons employed in the economy and noneconomic activities who earn more than 35,000 dinars a month. These are business executives, specialists, university professors and scientists. There are also skilled and highly skilled workers, miners, lumberjacks, masons and metalworkers who have monthly earnings of 30,000 or even 40,000 dinars. We feel that this is normal.

To Each According to the Community

[Question] When the new social compact is implemented, will the real personal incomes of elected officials be larger or smaller than now?

[Answer] Over the last 5 years, if we compare the income of officeholders to the economy, their earnings have been dropping steadily. According to my estimates, applying the new scales for personal incomes of officials ought to mean a smaller decline of their real earnings; that is, they should be greater in real terms than they are now.

[Question] Does that mean that certain people have begun to renounce public office because their earnings are greater in work organizations?

[Answer] Yes, exactly so. There are cases where people do not want to become judges, since their colleagues who are lawyers in the economy have passed them by a considerable amount. This is yet another reason why we must transfer judges from the payroll of officeholders to work communities.

[Question] The most highly developed of our republics is Slovenia, and the most underdeveloped federal unit it is SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. The chairmen of the presidencies of that republic and that province have up to now been receiving approximately the same personal incomes, but how will it be in the future?

[Answer] There have to be differences. By the very fact that incomes will be indexed to the success of associated labor in the relevant community rather than to some federal or republic average, there will have to be a difference between the personal incomes of officials. There will be differences in income at the same level of officeholders from one republic or province to another, just as there will be differences in earnings, say, of opstina presidents within a single republic. This is inevitable.

[Question] When the new system for remuneration of officeholders was being debated at the federal level, what were the differences in views of the delegations of the republics and provinces?

[Answer] We more or less agreed on all essential questions. Yet there were differences. Above all about how to measure and pay for the past labor of officeholders. We from Croatia felt that the proposals of certain republics and provinces were unrealistic in proposing that the past labor of officeholders be paid at a higher level than past labor of workers in associated labor. There ought not to be any differences whatsoever in other rights based on labor and arising out of labor either. Here again officeholders can be put on a par with other working people. It is unacceptable for them to have larger remuneration for separation from family, a higher supplement for longevity, higher per diems, larger severance pay and higher moving expenses. Our position is that these supplements cannot be lower than they are in the economy, but not higher either.

[Question] How do you measure the value of the officeholder's labor?

[Answer] The first and basic thing is that one does not pay for a name, but for the value or complexity of the position. There has been quite a bit of reflection about whether there should be a reduction of the personal income of, for example, the chairman of the executive council if within a particular period that forum as a whole does not do its job well enough. What seems to me the correct conclusion was drawn to the effect that the entire executive council will not do better work in the following months if its chairman is receiving a personal income 5 or 10 percent below what it was. There is a need to put the question of personal responsibility in a more exacting way, to take other social measures, including recall or removal if necessary. Reducing the personal incomes of office holders can only be an auxiliary, but by no means the principal reaction to poor work in some public office.

[Question] There was also talk about whether members of the Council of the Republic or Council of the Federation are officeholders or not. Are they to receive their personal incomes according to the same scale as elected officials? What position was taken by the commission in SR Croatia?

[Answer] In our case there are very few, an almost negligible number, of people who are members of the Council of the Republic and who are receiving a personal income. The members of the council are mainly retired people. However, if there are people who are not pensioners, in Croatia we will apply to them the same scales as those which apply to other officeholders. As for the Council of the Federation, it is our position that that kind of solution and the opinion that we have arrived at in the republic be honored here.

Who Is Entitled to an Official Dinner?

[Question] The public feels that perhaps net personal incomes of officeholders are not excessively high, but that a number of other benefits objectively raises the standard of living of those people. Recently a query was put in the assembly as to why certain officeholders are going for medical treatment and summer vacations at federal expense. There was also mention of use of the villa at Igalo for this purpose, when heating the swimming pool alone cost 10,000 dinars. Are there similar benefits for summer vacations and travel of officeholders in SR Croatia?

[Answer] These are exceptions and isolated cases, but at the federal level. In our case, for instance, the republic assembly or the central committee and the republic conferences do not have special facilities for special purposes. There are no opportunities to take advantage of privileges on this basis. For several years now the trade unions have advocated not giving the discount for annual vacations to those who earn more than 15,000 dinars monthly. This year not a single officeholder in the republic council of Croatian trade unions received the discount. Unfortunately, that is not the case in the Assembly of SR Croatia, the executive council, and so on. I hope that in a year or two we will reach the point where no officeholder will receive the discount any longer. Nor are officeholders in Croatia receiving tickets for hot meals, but members of work communities are receiving them. Not a single officeholder in SR Croatia has any

sort of reduction on public transportation except the delegates to the republic assembly, and that applies only when they are coming to meetings. Republic institutions also have a small jet airplane which is used exclusively for emergency meetings at the federal level. Not a single one of our sociopolitical organizations has its own airplane. To be sure, the assembly of one opstina wanted to buy an airplane, but that fell through.

[Question] In looking at television we become convinced that officeholders take official trips frequently. When they travel, they receive per diems. Then again, it is well known that there are quite a few official lunches and dinners. What are all the benefits paid to an officeholder during official travel?

[Answer] Per diems in SR Croatia amount to 600 dinars, and if a bill is presented for lodgings, then 800 dinars. If anyone is traveling for less than 12 hours, his per diem amounts to 300 dinars. We have very strict auditing and internal monitoring of sociopolitical communities and organizations. It is certainly taken into account that no opstina can pay a republic official's hotel bill. Perhaps there are exceptions, but those are exceptions that confirm the rule. Incidentally, it is normal for officeholders to use hotel services and to pay for that themselves. Perhaps there are cases to the contrary, but they are very rare; I would say they are negligible cases from the standpoint of the individual's material benefit. But from the standpoint of social harm not a single solitary case ought to be allowed to happen. As for meals, these joint lunches and dinners have been reduced to a minimum, at least with us in the trade unions. As a rule they are arranged only when the most responsible comrades come. It is my judgment that this is considerably less than done by business people in associated labor. To be sure, it is not a justification for officeholders if this is done in certain other places, and this should be abolished. It is worth stressing that things like this which we did have are now being recorded more and more rarely thanks to public scrutiny of public business. Even this conversation of ours will have a considerable impact in eliminating those things.

Bachelor's Apartment for the Duration of the Term of Office

[Question] In discussing the standard of living of officeholders it is impossible to avoid housing. What happens in practice is that a man receives an apartment thanks to the office he holds. When his term of office is over, he keeps the apartment. Will there be any changes in this respect?

[Answer] We are insisting in housing policy that the city decision to the effect that the maximum housing space is one room per member of the family be applied to republic officials as it is applied to other citizens of Zagreb. That means that a three-member family would have a three-room apartment, a four-member family a four-room apartment.... That is the upper limit. But the fact that some officeholder does not leave his family apartment which he has received on taking up his office is a matter of personnel policy in the republic, that is, a matter of his moving from position to position, and not of his refusing to leave that apartment. However, we have already let contracts for some 50 bachelor's apartments. They will be for republic officeholders who come from the provinces, and after their term of office expires, they will leave them to their successors.

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East Europe Report

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No. 1943

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CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Policy for 1980's Toward 'Freedom Movements' Explained
(Various sources, various dates) 1

West German Commentary
SED Academician's Discussion, by Gerhard Powik

Dutch View of Peace Movement Within GDR Church
(Rex Brico; ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE, 10 Oct 81) 11

Kant's Philosophy Viewed as 'Source of Marxism'
(Siegfried Wollgast; SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, 18 Sep 81) 17

Intensified Ideological Propaganda in Education Urged
(Various sources, various dates) 20

West German Commentary
Education Ministers' Communique

HUNGARY

New Regulations on Scholarships Outlined
(Imre Vegvari; IFJU KOMMUNISTA, No 8, 1981) 23

POLAND

XIII National ZNP Congress Reported
(GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, various dates) 25

ZNP Statute
ZNP Program for 1980-1983
Resolution of XIII National ZNP Congress
ZNP Main Board Officials Listed

Plan for Future Polish School Described
(Zbigniew Bubien; AYCIE WARSZAWY, 6 Oct 81) 65

ROMANIA

Sociology Face To Face With Socio-Human Realities
(Petru Panzaru; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 81) 69

Briefs
Alba Iulia Auxiliary Bishop 85
Presidential Appointments, Removals 85
Ministerial Changes 85
Foreign Trade Bank Chief 85

POLICY FOR 1980'S TOWARD 'FREEDOM MOVEMENTS' EXPLAINED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 147, 9 Oct 81 p 2

/Report from Berlin: "GDR Intends to Cooperate More Closely with 'Freedom Movements.'" A translation of the East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK article cited below follows this commentary/

/Text/ "In the struggle against imperialism" the GDR intends even more closely to cooperate with the "liberation movements" and "progressive nations" in Asia, Africa and Latin America. That was proclaimed in the latest edition of the East Berlin periodical DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK (No 10, 1981). Cooperation of the socialist countries with the "liberation movements" is said "to have decisively changed the international balance of power, so that the joint struggle in the 1980's may be conducted from far stronger positions than ever before," the journal emphasized. Nevertheless, the full exploitation of these positions required "an even greater extent of internationally coordinated action." The SED would do everything in its power to help this advance.

In this connection the East Berlin periodical rejects Western concepts which make the further pursuit of detente dependent on the maintenance of the international political and social status quo and demand "restraint" from the socialist countries, especially in regions in crisis. It is claimed that the "internationalist politics" of the socialist countries and "their support for the war of liberation" offend neither the spirit nor the principles of international detente, rather do they narrow the "scope for aggressive imperialist actions."

SED Academician's Discussion

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 26 No 10, Oct 81 (signed to press 3 Sep 81) pp 5-15

/Lead article by Prof Dr Gerhard Powik, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "GDR's Internationalist Positions in the 1980's." A translation of Hermann Axen's article cited in footnote 9 is published under the heading, "Axen on Proletarian Internationalism in Light of October Revolution," in JPRS 70417, 5 Jan 78, No 1492 of this series, pp 14-27/

/Text/ Thanks to the momentous work done by the working class, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and all working people in the GDR which celebrates its

32d anniversary this month, the Tenth SED Congress was able to draw up a satisfactory balance sheet. Relying on creativity and initiative the Tenth SED Congress sketched the GDR's path in the 1980's. The results achieved and the further goals in the organization of the developed socialist society embody the unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism which are of the essence of SED politics. Everything we do for the construction of the socialist society in the GDR is also done for the further strengthening of the socialist community and the revolutionary world movement. The GDR has always met its national and international obligations in the serious class conflict with imperialism. At the present time also, in the presence of the complications conjured up by the confrontation politics of imperialism and its threat to peace and the peoples of the world, the GDR is demonstrably a stable pillar of peace and socialism in Europe, a socialist country linked indisputably to the main revolutionary power of our age, which is conscious of its role and obligation at the border between socialism and imperialism. The great esteem the GDR therefore enjoys among the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces worldwide was reflected in the attendance of 125 foreign delegations at the Tenth SED Congress and their moving words of praise for our party and its internationalist policies.

As Erich Honecker assured the foreign delegations in his concluding address, we thereby feel "confirmed in our regard for the common cause. You may be sure that the SED will always do its duty in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity."[1]

As the conscious and organized advance guard of the working class of the working people in the socialist German Democratic Republic the SED carries out "the tasks and targets of the revolutionary workers movement established by Marx, Engels and Lenin." It is part of the international communist movement and "firmly stands on the soil of proletarian internationalism"[2] the spirit and principle of which permeate the entire theory and practice of the SED.

The Tenth SED Congress started from the assumption that the SED will be confronted in the 1980's with new and more advanced tasks from the national as well as the international aspect. For the SED, as for all fraternal parties of the socialist community, the new and higher criteria for its internationalist efforts arise forst of all from the advanced standard of social development achieved, the greater weight of socialism in the international arena, the advances and successes of the other revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. In the common struggle against imperialism they achieved outstanding results already in the past decades. As regards their work of construction, the defense of peace and the independence of the peoples, the socialist countries have accomplished results of great historical import in the 1970s/ At the beginning of the 1980's the Soviet Union and the countries closely linked to it enjoy an unprecedented international consequence and influence.

Increased therefore is the responsibility of the countries of real socialism in the worldwide sharp conflicts regarding the issues vital for mankind. Most of all that applies to the security of peace which more and more represents the focus of the tremendous struggle. Here we see ever more clearly that peace and socialism are identical. Socialist constructions rises by the diligent and creative work of the people and, in order to increasingly benefit all, it needs peace. We also see ever more clearly that the parties interested in the arms race and the imperialist spirit of aggression involved therein represent a terrible danger to mankind.

The transition to a policy of confrontation, threats and boycotts by imperialist circles, especially in the United States, demonstrates that imperialism has not changed its nature and remains a constant source of danger to peace. These forces are not willing to accept the realities of the modern world, the consolidation of the positions of socialism, the successes of the national liberation movement and the growing strength of the forces of social progress. Their strategy of confrontation is directed to the removal of the present approximate military balance of power and to the establishment of military superiority over the countries of socialism. Openly and without scruples they pronounce entire continents their spheres of interest, threaten the sovereignty and independence of other states and interfere in their internal affairs, whether this be in the Near and Middle East, the Caribbean or Europe. Their machinations threaten to destroy much of what was achieved in the way of detente and progress in the 1980's.

The extent of the dangers again threatening peace, security and the advance of the peoples may be discerned from the nuclear first strike strategy decided upon by the American Administration, the immense rearmament projects and adventurism of their foreign politics, the threats and attempts at blackmail. That is why there is no more important task in the 1980's than to maintain peace, defend and pursue detente, put a stop to the arms race, in other words defeat the imperialist politics of confrontation and bring about the thorough and long-term recovery of the world situation. That is the challenge of the 1980's, that must be the focus of the efforts and goals of all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. So to phrase the issue does not mean the abandonment of the class conflict standpoint, does not mean that we should subordinate the class struggle to the struggle for peace. In complete agreement with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties the SED considers the struggle for peace the core of its international activities, the reason being that the politics of confrontation represent the main danger not only to the survival of mankind but, directly, also to economic and social development, progress and the freedom of the peoples. In the current international situation detente, the defense and stabilization of peace are not only prerequisites for social progress, they are themselves part and parcel of this progress.

As the issue of war and peace is the main issue of present international developments, it is up to socialism to act as the main force in the struggle for the prevention of a thermo-nuclear disaster, in other words for saving our civilization from annihilation. In so doing it secures the necessary external conditions for the accomplishment of the tasks confronting the socialist countris and, at the same time, settles a problem of truly international dimensions. These two related aspects are also reflected in the foreign policy line adopted by the Tenth SED Congress. The GDR makes its own the peace program submitted to the Twenty-Sixth CPSU Congress, because it shows the approach to the defeat of the imperialist line of confrontation, the warding off of the danger of nuclear war and to again advancing detente. We thereby respond to the basic interests of our people and, at the same time, to the GDR's international responsibilities on the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Starting from socialism's mission of peace and our national interests, the SED Congress therefore made a point of emphasizing the following as the principal target of foreign policy: "Purposeful extension of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community..., setting course toward the all-round strengthening and increase of the international attraction of socialism."[3]

After all, the socialist community of nations is the main support of the positive basic trend in international development. On the further growth of their strength, their solidarity, the increasingly perfect evolution of the benefits of socialism, largely depends the fate of their peace strategy.

It was emphasized at the Tenth SED Congress that progress and peace are certainly not divisible at this time. We see this very clearly in the nature and the targets of the two opposing basic trends of international development.

The champions of the imperialist line of confrontation candidly state that they wish to make peace, detente and peaceful coexistence dependent on the maintenance of the political and social status quo in the world, on the "good behavior" of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in international affairs, on their renunciation of international support for the just liberation struggles of the peoples, in other words on the socialist countries more or less offering a guarantee for untrammeled imperialist expansion, control and exploitation of the peoples.

This reflects the Western admission that internationalist solidarity of, in particular, the socialist countries has turned into a powerful factor for worldwide social progress.

Obviously the most reactionary imperialist circles fear most of all the effect of proletarian internationalism, involuted by the power of socialism, the cooperation, reciprocal solidarity and support of all anti-imperialist forces. The potency of this principle in the new international realities as a real power in the defense of peace and the implementation of social progress is to be offset by playing the card of a nuclear first strike, the reckless handling of the military bludgeon against the peoples.

This same logic of imperialist power politics is also at the base of the hypocritical justifications of Western politicians and media when they assert that it had been the Soviet Union's solidarity with revolutionary Afghanistan and its subsequent military aid which had exacerbated the international situation and put detente at risk. Years ago already help for newly liberated Angola against South African intervention had been similarly described and "restraint" demanded of the socialist countries.

Basically all this is designed to obfuscate the imperialist policy of aggression and interference while slandering international solidarity in the consciousness of the peoples as expansionism, intervention, as actions threatening peace. At the same time self-sacrificing internationalist aid is depicted as running counter to the peoples longing for peace.

Do the internationalist politics of the socialist countries, their support for the peoples battles for liberation really endanger peace, do they offend against the spirit and the principles of international detente, are international solidarity and peaceful coexistence contradictory?

Our answer must be a decided no. If we accepted this false alternative, we would have to consider irreconcilable peace on the one hand and the freedom and progress of the peoples on the other. In that case we would subject all peoples to the dictate of imperialism and its policy of robbery and exploitation, which has always been the real cause of tension, conflict and war.

Peace is not threatened by the struggle of the peoples for independence, freedom and the achievement of full powers over their natural wealth, for equality in international economic relations also, nor by the victories they score for their just cause. In fact their growing power and successes strengthen the cause of peace, narrow the scope for aggressive imperialist actions. The victory of the Vietnamese people and its reunification served peace not only in East Asia but all over the world; a dangerously smoldering source of conflict was removed. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique ended a long-standing colonial war and strengthened the cause of peace in southern Africa. The Iranian revolution destroyed a regime which international monopoly capital had invested with the role of military guardian against the peoples of the region. Aided by worldwide solidarity the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea achieved victory over all agressors as well as internal reaction. The dearly bought victory of the peoples in the struggle for the independence and sovereignty of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, the People's Republic of Yemen, Zimbabwe and other countries represents a powerful contribution to the cause of the liberation of mankind.

The popular revolutions in Afghanistan, Iran, Nicaragua and Grenada destroyed important fortresses of despotism and opened the door to freedom for these peoples. New impetus was given the struggle against unpopular fascist and military-fascist regimes in El Salvador, Bolivia, Chile and South Korea.

At the very core of the principles of detente, the policy of peaceful coexistence, is the renunciation of the use and threat of the use of force, absolute respect for the unrestricted right of the peoples to self-determination. This totally agrees with the nature and goals of proletarian internationalism. On the other hand it runs counter completely to the nature of imperialism and its urge toward aggression and violence, its practice of interference and intervention, the export of counterrevolution which is the order of the day in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe --everywhere in fact where imperialism considers its unpopular interests and goals threatened.

The SED and the GDR altogether will always unreservedly take the side of the fighters against imperialism, colonialism and for national liberation on all continents. Together with the progressive forces the world over we aided the Vietnamese people in its struggle against U.S.aggression, the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos and Angola's fight for independence just as the struggles of other peoples who are defending their right to national sovereignty and social progress and making resolute use of the sovereignty and independence achieved. Their word is increasingly weighty in the decisions about the great issues of our age.

Ww all know that the countries of the socialist community send internationalist aid to the progressive countries. They support them in matters of politics and increasingly send economic and scientific-technological aid. Up to now the GDR has handed over to these countries 500 objects, complete factories, equipment, plant and educational facilities. "We concentrated mutually beneficial cooperation on such areas as are crucial for the conquest of economic backwardness, the achievement and consolidation of economic independence."[4]

CEMA aid goes to 86 nationally liberated countries; 4,400 projects were planned, 3,000 of which are already in operation (745 with GDR involvement). Our country's

solidarity fund is replenished every year by about M200 in voluntary contributions from the working people. They are used for gifts of aid merchandise, the financing of medical treatment and the training of cadres.[5]

Socialism's contribution to the settlement of these countries problems is even more extensive. Due to its grown strength and increasing international influence, real socialism restrains imperialist striving for world domination. Socialism has greatly expanded the radius of action of these states. Cooperation between the states of the socialist community and the countries liberated from the yoke of colonialism is based on such standards of international law as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The SED actively encourages the strengthening of the GDR's close alliance with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. Our state now entertains diplomatic relations with 87 countries of these regions. Since 1971 it has concluded more than 350 government treaties and agreements as well as agreements at ministerial level. They represent a sound contractual basis for deepening reciprocal relations.

It is therefore evident that the basic interests of real socialism and the national liberation movements are tightly interlinked in the struggle for peace and social progress, against imperialism. Their cooperation has crucially changed the international balance of power, so that their joint struggle in the 1980's may be conducted from far stronger positions than ever before. However, utilization of these positions requires an even greater extent of internationall coordinated approaches. After the Tenth SED Congress the SED will continue to do everything in its power to promote this goal.

"International solidarity with all peoples fighting for their freedom remains the supreme law of our actions. All peoples who struggle for national and social liberation, for independence, democracy and progress will be able in future also to count on the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic."[6]

By their attendance at the party congress the foreign delegations demonstrated that they hold the GDR's solidarity in great esteem; after all, they rely on aid from the socialist countries for the victory of their just cause.

The course and results of the Tenth SED Congress and the great international attention it received from the progressive forces the world over bear witness to the growth and cooperation of the three great revolutionary mainstreams of our age, bear witness to the unbroken vitality of proletarian internationalism in our age and are a constructive contribution so to develop the cooperation of communist and workers parties in all suitable forms that the communist movement may do even better justice to the demands of the age.

The SED never considered proletarian internationalism as a principle of the exclusiveness of the communist parties. On the contrary--proletarian internationalism serves it as well as all Marxist-Leninist parties to develop widespread cooperation with all forces of the workers movement, all anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in the world, including the national liberation movements.

An outstanding example was the international scientific conference held in Berlin on the topic "the common struggle of the workers movement and the national liberation movement against imperialism, for social progress." This was attended by the senior delegates from 116 communist and workers parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements from 103 countries. It was the largest and broadest ever meeting of its kind in the history of the revolutionary movement. The organization and results of this conference responded to the profound needs of the anti-imperialist struggle in our age and evidenced the urge of the revolutionary forces to cooperate and act in common for common goals.

The SED holds that the rise in the requirements on internationalism, the growth of the tasks and duties common to all revolutionary forces on the international level has objective causes. This process is profoundly rooted in the inevitabilities of social development, the process of the international class conflict.

What is the result of the rapidly advancing internationalization of the class conflict for the relation between international and national considerations in SED politics? Does the rise in international tasks proceed at the expense of national interests, does it require a "scaling down" of national aspects, the subordination of national interests to superior goals and requirements?

Hostile ideologues continue to insinuate that the SED holds such a rigid interpretation of internationalism as to contradict national interests. However, such an interpretation of internationalism is entirely foreign to the nature of our politics, the traditions of our party and its goals. Our party is at all times conscious of its responsibilities to our own people as well as to the international working class. This is not to say that the unity of national and international aspects arises spontaneously in the politics of our party and the actions of every communist party. Properly to link these two aspects--that is the art and the duty, the central issue of truly internationalist politics.

In the conditions of the complex class conflict it is certainly not always easy to reconcile the specific national and common international interests. To achieve this requires the Marxist-Leninist parties basically always to start from the class interests of the working class. This class interest always includes national as well as international aspects. After all, there is an objective unity of class interests of the proletariat on the national and international level. The fundamental issue, therefore, does not consist in replacing specific national aspects by common international aspects, or vice versa. Instead it is imperative to produce the proper connection between these two aspects. From the very beginning that requirement was particularly crucial for SED politics. As in all other socialist countries, the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the GDR was the basic condition for the construction of socialism. In the course of its organization and exercise as well as its steady consolidation the SED always endeavored to take into account historial and national features and find appropriate specific solutions while carrying out and observing the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution. That resulted, for example, in the survival of several parties, the methods of cooperation between the SED and the other democratic parties. When nationalizing the means of production, the general inevitabilities were again applied to our actual national conditions. This included the fact, for example, that land was not nationalized, that state investment in small and medium private industrial

enterprises gradually conducted these enterprises to socialism without expropriation. In socialist farming we have developed specific types suitable for the introduction of industrial production methods and the linking of industry and agriculture.

The increasingly close links between the GDR and the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community were and are an indispensable basic condition of the successful construction of the socialist society. Nor can the socialist society in the GDR develop without, with the leadership of the SED, constantly coping with its own tasks in all areas of social life, seeking and finding new ways and means of accomplishing those tasks which respond to the specific conditions of our country.

Firmly rooted in the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and utilizing their experiences, the Tenth SED Congress directed us to do everything to expand the economic base of our country, pursue the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and thus contribute to the strengthening of socialism, the improvement of its stability and international attraction. Precisely by its close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member countries the GDR is able even in the changed conditions of the 1980's to guarantee its stable and dynamic development as a firm element of the socialist community of nations. In this dialectic interrelation the SED's internationalist line accords with Lenin's demand fully to exploit all internal opportunities for the consolidation and greatest possible development of socialism and communism within the country and, at the same time, for the support and evolution of the revolutionary struggle in the world as a whole.

It would therefore be very one-sided if we were to restrict the struggle and the responsibility of a Marxist-Leninist party entirely to the struggle and the revolution or construction of the new social order in the home country.

Above and beyond this it has other internationalist obligations respecting the concern for consolidating the unity of the socialist world system, concern for the development of the worldwide revolutionary process, the effective and common struggle against imperialism. Needed, therefore, is the correct balance of all national and international factors in the respective concrete situation, from the standpoint of the overall interests of the working class, the overall interests of socialism and communism. It is precisely this unity of national and international interests which is featured in the Tenth SED Congress resolutions, in the SED's strategy and policies for the 1980's.

The development of the revolutionary anti-imperialist popular movements in the world, the great example of our socialist community of nations as an alliance of a totally new type demonstrate and constantly reaffirm that internationalism on the one hand and independence of the peoples on the other postulate one another. Our own experiences in the GDR prove to us each day that the indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm roots of the GDR in the community of socialist nations remains for our people the stable foundation of its independence, security and success in the organization of the developed socialist society. These facts refute the assertion by imperialist ideologues that loyalty to proletarian internationalism and independence are mutually exclusive. The intention is so to represent things as if the affirmation of loyalty to the Soviet Union and the CPSU amounted to the surrender of independence. Criticism of the Soviet Union,

distancing from Lenin's party, the social socialist reality in the USSR and its politics, on the other hand, are considered the criterion of independence and orginality.

At the conclusion of the Tenth SED Congress Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, emphasized: "Our party...is tied for good to the party of Lenin, the communist party of the Soviet Union."[7] In fact the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR have become allies, comrades-at-arms and friends. At the same time we are further developing our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union in all areas. The focus is on the even closer interrelation of the material and intellectual potentials of our two countries for coping with the tasks ranging far into the future. The long-range program of specialization and cooperation in production through 1990, agreed between the USSR and the GDR, is directed to the settlement of such important issues of the present and the future as stable energy and raw material supplies and the constantly more effective coupling of the benefits of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

The fact that the deepening of relations leads to the increasing rapprochement of our peoples is demonstrated by the contacts established in the most varied fields and include many personal relations. All these serve to solidify our unity. The increasing similarity of the tasks and problems to be settled in both countries make it possible and indeed challenge us to exploit and apply our positive experiences even better and more usefully. From the standpoint of the USSR developments in the GDR, for example, supply valuable experiences regarding the rationalization of production and the conservation of energy, raw materials and other materials. When paying its respects to the successful balance sheet displayed at the Twenty-sixth CPSU Congress, our party emphasized that the practical long-standing experiences of the CPSU are gaining increased importance for the conscious application of the fundamental inevitabilities of socialist and communist construction. In other words, the practice of real socialism in the USSR reaffirms the basic principle of our party, established in its program, according to which the attitude to the CPSU and the USSR is the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.[8]

Our attitude to the Soviet Union is decided by the following three basic considerations:

-- The extent of social progress achieved in the Soviet Union;

-- The role played by Lenin's party and fatherland within the revolutionary movement;

-- The power and influence exercised by the Soviet Union on the international balance of power and the fate of mankind.[9]

For more than 60 years the USSR has proven itself the most powerful and decisive pioneer of social progress, the chief fortress of socialism and communism, the standard bearer in the struggle for peace.

Our party always considered it an enormous advantage to be able to build socialism in the GDR in firm alliance with the land of Red October. In realization of the Tenth SED Congress resolutions it will multiply its efforts in order, at the side

of the CPSU and the USSR as well as the other fraternal parties and countries of rhw socialist community, to conduct the struggle against imperialist confrontation politics, for peace, independence and the progress of the peoples, for the prosperity of our socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Concluding address by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the Tenth SED Congress, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 17 April 1981.

2. "Programm der SED" /SED Program/, Berlin 1976, p 6.

3. "Bericht des ZK der SED an den X. Parteitag der SED" /SED Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress/, Berlin 1981, p 31.

4. Ibid, pp 29f.

5. See "Studienhinweise fuer die Seminare: Grundprobleme des Revolutionaeren Weltprozesses. Parteilehrjahr der SED 1980/1981" /Study Suggestions for Seminars: Basic Problems of the Revolutionary World Process. SED Party School Year 1980/1981/, Berlin 1980, pp 60f.

6. "SED Central Committee Report...," as before, p 6.

7. Concluding address by Erich Honecker, as before.

8. See "SED Program," as before, p 70.

9. Ibid, pp 11f; H. Axen, "The Great October and Proletarian Internationaiism Today," EINHEIT, Berlin 1977, No 10/11, p 1156.

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DUTCH VIEW OF PEACE MOVEMENT WITHIN GDR CHURCH

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch Vol 37 No 41, 10 Oct 81 pp 70-72, 77-78

[Last of three articles on recent peace movement activities in The Netherlands, the FRG and the GDR, by Rex Brico, head, 'Religion, Man and Society' department, ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE: "Hopeful Signs from the GDR: Peace at All Costs--Profile of a Movement"]

> [Text] After the fusion of the Dutch peace movement with the IKV [Interchurch Peace Council] campaign, the "Dutch Disease" [antinuclear arms sentiment] spread particularly to the FRG, as shown by the previous two articles in this series. This third and last installment describes the manner in which the peace movement in the GDR is determined through both ideologic and Christian initiatives. The latter initiatives, however, are the ones which are getting the support of the churches.

"I am drawing attention to the monopolized mass media (in the West) because they often hamper objective reporting on important events which are aimed at securing peace. In the current discussions on armament, in particular with respect to the NATO resolution on modernization and the American neutron weapons, the reports are primarily publications by those newspaper empires which are trying to justify the course of armament and discriminate against its opponents."

The man who makes this judgment is Hubertus Guske, editor-in-chief of BEGEGNUNG, a magazine for "Catholics in the church and in society." The place where it is being given is a press center in East Berlin where a meeting is taking place of the so-called BK -- the Berlin Conference of European Catholics. Mr Guske is one of the four speakers at this meeting which deals with "communication and action of catholics in the service of peace."

Just how Roman Catholic is this BK? Not too terribly Roman, for according to rumors the Vatican representative,who was to attend the event, withdrew at the last moment at the instigation of the [West] German bishops. This absence does not, however, keep Mr Guske from putting Johannes Paulus II extensively in the forefront of his argument. In his message of 31 May this year the Pope, namely, warned of the danger of manipulation in communication. Guske concludes that that can only refer to the Western media, for those are hampered by "commercialization,

pursuit of profit and concentration." In the GDR, he says, there is neither official press censorship, nor are there rules concerning the content of papers and magazines.

Apparently it doesn't bother Mr Guske that there are a few Western journalists in the hall who only a few weeks previously attended the meeting of the World Council of Churches which was held in Dresden, GDR this year. Even the most uncritical among them were able to determine there how every word of criticism of the GDR or the Soviet Union, no matter how implicit, was left out of local press reports, even if quotations had to be cut up for that. On the other hand, the slightest criticism of the United States or NATO was emphasized so much that the meeting looked more like an anti-Western rally than like a world church meeting.

In all fairness, it must be admitted that Mr Guske was not representative of the speakers and discussion circles at the BK meeting. Among them there were also a Pax Christi [Catholic Peace Movement] representative in the person of Father Donald O'Mahoney, who said aloud that the church in the Eastern bloc "must be given the freedom to deliver its message, and the social implications of the message, to the people without fear of censorship, which undoubtedly exists." There was also the Polish journalist Anna Maria Borowska, who stated that there could not be peace without justice and that justice has failed to exist in her country for 30 years. "We must also talk about social factors which prepare for a war," said Mrs Borowska. And then there was the Irish journalist, Louis McRedmond, who vented his ire about the views in which the opponent is pictured as black and one's own party as white. He called it "a sin against the Holy Ghost." Whoever expected this sort of remark to be included in the final report, however, was sorely mistaken. In it, one talked exclusively about the good peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the nastiness of the United States and NATO. It was this final report which the next day was sent onto the socialist radio network on all wavelengths by the GDR rado. It indeed resembled a sin against the Holy Ghost.

Although in general one cannot expect a much different line from the BK than that which is laid out by the governments of the Eastern bloc, the line of the BK's reformed-orthodox equivalent, the (Prague) Christian Peace Conference, CFK, is not much different. First the CFK approved of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan; later, under the influence of discussions with Western participants, it withdrew the approval. The value of peace movements such as the BK and CFK is therefore more at the level of personal meetings than in the public standpoints through which they address the world. Those public standpoints don't serve much but communist propaganda, while for many Eastern European church people the meetings form the only opportunity to exchange ideas with others without being censored.

Communist propaganda in the Eastern bloc actually abuses the desire for peace in such a flagrant manner that even the word alone has been devaluated into a hollow cliche. Everywhere in East German cities life-size slogans are to be seen in which peace is identified with both state socialism and the state itself. And not only there. A priest from another Eastern bloc country tells me in the hallways of the BK congress that his countrymen merely shrug their shoulders when peace campaigns are discussed. "Over here the feeling predominates that the Soviets determine that peace and that we are completely powerless in it," he says. "We have been badgered with the word peace for so many years that it no longer makes

any impression on us." Not even if the (Roman Catholic) Church exerts itself for that peace? I ask. A bitter smile appears on his face. "We often think that people from the state, that is to say Marxist officials from the department of culture, have more understanding and feeling for what the Second Vatican Council has proclaimed than do our own bishops," he says. "Those bishops are thinking in completely pre-council terms, to the extent they can think at all. They know nothing of theology and have no contact whatsoever with the people. The only body with which they maintain contact is Rome. I myself have been criticized a number of times by my bishop because I talked and wrote about peace. That is not part of a priest's duty, he says. Our church is headed by a hierarchy of bureaucrats."

Does all this mean that there are no Christians in the Eastern bloc who really exert themselves for peace and that peace is not discussed? The answer is: "no." That was apparent, for example, during a so-called ecumenical coffee in Dresden, organized by the reformed clergywoman Be Ruys. During this coffee, where the American World Council Adviser Dwain Epps, our former General M. von Meyenfeldt and the East German physicist Dr Walter Romberg answered questions of young Christians, the latter noted an increasing frankness in the GDR with respect to questions about peace and also a growing willingness to go into those questions more profoundly. During this session Dr Romberg even pleaded for the GDR to consider unilateral initiatives also, after the Dutch model, in order to come to bilateral disarmament. He called such an initiative the abandoning of arms systems which in case of war could be turned into nuclear systems (for there are no permanently stationed nuclear arms or nuclear warheads on GDR territory).

It was not the first time that Dr Walter Romberg stuck out his neck for effective peace initiatives in his own country. Although he is a member of the CFK mentioned earlier, in 1977 he initiated a disarmament task force which since that time has played a much more believable role than the CFK or the aforementioned BK. The task force was an outcome of the Theologic Study Division, which was founded in 1974 and financed by the Federation of Evangelic Churches in the GDR. Already at the time of its founding, the disarmament task force asked itself how the churches in the GDR would be able to take an independent position in a responsible manner with respect to the armament and disarmament question. In any event, they did not think that the answer was in conforming to or identifying with the standpoints of the state on that. Then where? In the very same year, a so-called Problem Outline was drawn up which did not really give a conclusive answer, but which in any event indicated the direction in which the churches should go. The latter would have to give higher priority to an analysis of the social, social-psychological and anthropological factors which govern armament. The problem outline itself utilized political-military analyses based -- particularly -- on the Stockholm peace foundation SIPRI. In it, the task force came to similar conclusions as the IKV had in the Netherlands, namely that negotiations in practice lead only to ceilings and not to disarmament, that technology has an increasing influence on arms production, and that proliferation of nuclear arms is alarmingly close at hand.

That similarity to the IKF was not coincidental; inspired by the nuclear arms statement of the Dutch Reformed Synod of 1963, Walter Romberg sought contact with the Dutch peace council already in 1977-78. And it was in conjunction with this peace council that his disarmament task force in May 1980 wrote a joint letter to Dr Philip Potter, secretary-general of the World Council of churches.

For it was the World Council which during its assembly in Nairobi (1975) had created an anti-militarism program which summoned Christians to live without the protection of arms. In this letter of the IKV and the task force both parties appealed to their states to consider "unilateral first steps, even if a risk should be attached." Further, the letter writers stated that they "would not participate in a war which would be waged with such (nuclear) arms. We understand this pronouncement as the now unavoidable consequence of a peace testimonial which is based on the liberating gospel of God's acting through Jesus Christ.

The letter was an implicit answer -- which can be called unique in the official documents of churches in Eastern Europe -- to the so-called Heidelberg Theses which had started to prevail in the FRG and which stated that Christians could fight for peace either with or without nuclear arms (see last week's ELSEVIERS). However, the World Council of Churches did not understand it as such and limited itself to a polite thank-you note. We might say: in contrast to the religious press in the GDR which published the letter in detail.

Meanwhile the Reformed Synod in our country had adopted the so-called "pastoral letter" with regard to nuclear arms, with which this synod aligned itself behind the IKV campaign entitled: "Nuclear Arms out of the World, starting with the Netherlands." The Synod also sent this letter to the earlier mentioned Theologic Study Division in Berlin, which in turn sent it to the eight regional churches in the GDR, as well as to a number of parishes and groups. In an accompanying letter the division wrote: "Through this statement we feel encouraged to do our utmost for our churches' again taking up this question after much hesitation and for the seeking of a solution which is based on belief and obedience." The Study Division moreover adopted a statement last March in which it argued in favor of the route of the Dutch Reformed Church and in which it stated very concretely this time: "We are of the opinion that an initiative taken in consultation with the allies of the Warsaw Pact to abandon arms systems with nuclear tasks in the GDR must be aspired to as a step toward the denuclearization of Europe." The intention of the statement was to give an answer to the Dutch synod and simultaneously to provoke a type of parallelism or symmetry with it: a church initiative toward a unilateral step in Eastern Europe as a reaction to a similar sort of initiative in Western Europe. However, the statement clearly went too far for the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR. It accused the theologic division of having created the impression that the entire Federation was behind the statement and of having created concrete political expectations which for the time being had no basis. "Before we endorse this, there will have to be a lot more discussion," one bishop said. On the other hand, the statement found strong resonance during a religious peace consultation in Berlin-Brandenburg at the beginning of April. Was the government just as enthusiastic? A collaborator: "Probably not. On the other hand, the government knows very well that the ecumenical discussion on disarmament is becoming a European fact. And I suspect that it is possible to swallow the political context, in spite of its critical elements. Moreover, it moves at a certain level; it is not an issue of the common man." Not an issue, or /as yet/ not an issue?

It may be obvious why the Dutch IKV has made neither the BK nor the CFK an ally -- as the Christians for Socialism desired and aspired to explicitly -- but has, however, made the above mentioned Theologic Study Division an ally.

Dr Mient Jan Faber [secretary of the IKV]: "Organizations such as the BK or CFK have adopted too much of the black-and-white thinking of the ruling systems in the Eastern bloc countries to be able to look at the matter critically. Therefore the evangelical churches in the GDR are not participating either. Those churches accept the fact that they are churches within socialism; they do not resist it, but they do not accept everything from it either. They are one of the very few not too highly structured mass organizations in the Eastern bloc which are taking an independent position. They have attained that position because they often kept quiet in the past. But now they feel that they can no longer be silent on certain issues. Certainly not in matters of security and peace which often are determined by the state in a strongly ideological manner. Of course an institute such as the Theologic Study Division must take much more time in making decisions than we; they are much more vulnerable. We cannot simply transfer our position to theirs. But through that we learn a lot from them also. For example, their joy over a sentence in the pastoral letter in which it is recognized that one can be a Christian in any system. That was terribly important to them, precisely because many people think that one can be a Christian only here."

It is difficult to record the initiatives taking place within those churches in the creating of consciousness and other areas. This is, thus a religious official explained to me, because there are few cross connections between the groups who take those initiatives. The ties are primarily vertical, between the church leadership of a province and the membership. That church leadership must be as informed as possible in order to be able to account for as much as possible. The latter they often do courageously and persistently. Thus, in May this year a number of young Christians from Saksen appealed to their parishes in seeking a so-called /social peace service/ [in italics]. Already since 1964 the GDR has been acquainted with the function of Bausoldaten [construction soldiers] for those who have to join the army but don't want to bear arms. These Bausoldaten wear uniforms and are kept busy with military projects. In the past the latter were often military construction activities; at present they usually are functions in an infrastructure, such as provisions etc. The social peace service, which wants the young people mentioned, is a civilian duty, however, and is supposed to take place in health and welfare care. Bishop Johannes Hempel of Dresden, in whose diocese the young people live, listened to them, named their calling entirely evangelical and promised to bring up the matter at the next session of the synod. Before that took place, however, Secretary of State Klaus Gysi announced publicly that there was no possibility for that type of substitute military service. Nevertheless, the synod of Gustrow, which took place the week before last, supported the request of the youth by a great majority.

Already 3 years ago the Federation of Evangelical Churches fiercely opposed the introduction of military education which currently threatens to be expanded to secondary education. And last September the Federation unanimously adopted the statement of a peace seminar in which the military education of the East German youth was fiercely attacked. In the same statement a 1965 pronouncement of the evangelical churches was recalled in which the Bausoldaten service and conscientious objection were pictured as "a clear testimonial of the peace commandment of our Lord." The protests of the Federation had -- and still have -- a profound effect on the parishes, where military toys were recently burned during services as a symbolic action against the military education.

Of course some evangelic bishops in the GDR are more frank than others. Thus Bishop Werner Krusche of Magdeborg, who last week succeeded Bishop Schonherr of Berlin-Brandeburg as chairman of the Federation, gave a speech in Frankfurt am Main last December which not only must have been heard with bewilderment by the governments of both Germanies, but also by the majority of the [West] German bishops, both Roman Catholic and Evangelic. After a short analysis of the military-political situation in the world, comparable to that of the IKF, Bishop Schonherr [as published] asked whether the churches must let themselves be led exclusively by that which seemed politically feasible. "Is that which is realistic really only that which the government considers feasible? Is a rational policy only that policy which emanates from the ruling standpoints? Or should we, being the church, make it clear how realistic a peace policy could be which sticks to the promise of Jesus that the weak -- thus those who don't build on a policy of strength and threats -- will inherit the earth?" Bishop Heinrich Rathke of Schwerin recently even went so far as to accuse those who use the word "pacifist" as a swearword. "Pacifists must prepare for peace; we need such people," said Rathke.

Even if bishops of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR cannot always adjust to the tempo of their Theologic Study Division, it is fairly certain that they help propel the peace movement inspired by that division by word and deed, and that in so doing they exhibit a clearness which not only provides Christians in the Eastern bloc with some prospect, but also Christians in the West who find it difficult to believe that a peace movement is possible on the other side of the curtain. The spirit of peace blows where it wants to.

8700
CSO: 3105/22

KANT'S PHILOSOPHY VIEWED AS 'SOURCE OF MARXISM'

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 18 Sep 81 'WIR' Supplement p 2

[('Past and Current History' feature article by Prof Dr Siegfried Wollgast, Technical University, Dresden: "Prepared the Way for Dialectical Thinking — 200th Anniversary of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason'")]

[Text] Appearing in Riga in 1781 was a work by Koenigsberg philosophy professor Immanuel Kant, who had labored over the text for nearly 10 years. This "Critique of Pure Reason" seems to have appeared too "erudite" for many a reader of the time, so the author decided in 1783 to publish an interpretation of his principal work ("Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics"). Thus the second edition of the "Critique of Pure Reason" (in 1787) was the one that led to world renown for Kant, whose name commands the greatest respect to this day.

'German Theory of the French Revolution'

In terms of the philosophy of enlightenment, human reason is for Kant the standard by which (irrational) reality is measured. Kant critiques reason itself, examines its capacity, its limits.

Kant treats of bourgeois reason, which was directed against feudality in general and its ideology in particular. His interest therefore lies in a "free and public examination" of religion and its feudal laws.

In the process he comes to this conclusion: The existence of God cannot be proven. Kant refutes once and for all the so-called ontological proof of God in which theologists and philosophers had invested so much sagacity. This proof holds that the concept of the absolute being must of necessity embrace the existence of same; otherwise the absolute would be imperfect — would thus not be absolute. Kant destroys this sophistic argument by demonstrating that existence can never be "picked out" of the concept by itself. A hundred real talers — taken as a concept — cannot possibly comprise more than 100. But it makes a big difference whether I have them only in my head or in my pocket. Thus, the existence of God cannot be deduced from the existence of the concept of God; but God does not exist in our own experience, so his existence cannot be proven. It follows that theology, the doctrine that has made him its object, can make no claim to being scientific in nature.

Kant's attack on the altar also shook the throne, since the feudal rulers based their sovereign rights on the grace of God. Heinrich Heine held Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" in high esteem precisely because of its religious criticism.

Karl Marx paid tribute to Kant's philosophy as a "German theory of the French Revolution," thus emphasizing the basic social and political orientation of the Kant critique. By characterizing it as a specifically German theory, he gives expression to the limits and inconsistencies — caused by Germany's backward conditions — of Kant's critique of religion and feudality, for this criticism remained confined to the framework of the theoretical and ideological. In clear contrast to the French materialists of the 18th century, the revolution in this instance is declared only for the world of ideas.

Power of Human Knowledge

The fundamental problem of classical bourgeois philosophy — the philosophy that ranges from F. Bacon and R. Descartes all the way to Hegel and Feuerbach — consists in this question: How can man gain a rational grasp of nature and society? This philosophy is based on the thesis of man's ability to grasp objective reality by virtue of his reason. And Kant, proceeding on the basis of mathematical knowledge but also differentiating from the philosophical rationalism and empiricism of his predecessors, sought in his "Critique of Pure Reason" a solution to the aforementioned fundamental problem, first in the theoretical sphere and then, in his "Critique of Practical Reason," in the practical realm.

Kant's theoretical philosophy is mainly concerned with developing his theory of knowledge. In the "Critique of Pure Reason" he breaks down the main question — how is scientific knowledge possible at all — into three subcategories: 1. How is pure mathematics possible? 2. How is pure natural science possible? 3. How is philosophy as a science possible?

Kant's intention here is to transform philosophy into a true (exact) science modeled after the mathematical sciences and to establish a correspondingly secure base for its presuppositions with regard to knowledge. Kant thus develops a series of dialectical determinants of the process of knowing and terms contradiction a necessary determinant of reason (knowledge).

Using these dialectical insights, Kant puts behind him the metaphysical methods of thinking, thus paving the way for development of the idealistic dialectic within classic bourgeois German philosophy. Marx noted in his "Feuerbach Theses" that it was to the credit of classical bourgeois philosophy that it had focused on the problem of man's activity in shaping his natural and social environment. Kant consciously initiated this process with his dialectical rendering of the problem of knowledge. For him there is no doubt that all knowledge begins with experience.

But what is experience, and how is it possible? Kant differentiates between observation and experience. Observational judgments have to do with individual, fortuitous and unconnected moments, while the empirical judgment expresses a causal relationship in which the observational moments appear to be linked. According to Kant, however, this linkage cannot already be existent in the observation itself; only understanding is able to connect the moments of observation. The way in which

they are linked depends not on things, but solely on the forms of our perception. Kant declared these forms as existing "a priori." He thus assumes a "pure" knowledge that precedes any sensient experience, that makes it at all possible. Space and time are a priori, as well as concepts of understanding (categories).

Kant's Philosophical Compromise

Kant thus broke down man's power of mental comprehension and expressed it philosophically as a dialectical process. But for him, things in themselves cannot be known; if objective reality remains ultimately unknowable, reality is always perceived only in the way it looks to us through the prism of our forms of perception and understanding. Then, however, human understanding is also dictating its laws to nature.

Although Kant's analysis of the process of knowing revealed in a splendid way the active role of man's understanding, he was unable to grasp the true origin and the essence of these categories because of his ahistorical rendering of the subject of knowledge. Kant is forced to take refuge in agnosticism — in a (partial) state of the unknowable. This became a rallying point for criticism of Kant "from the right" and "from the left." V.I. Lenin gave a convincing explanation of this in his "Materialism and Empirical Criticism."

"The main feature of Kantian philosophy," noted V.I. Lenin, "is the reconciling of materialism with idealism, a compromise between the two, a linking of different kinds of contradictory philosophical schools of thought to one system. When Kant acknowledges that our ideas are something outside of ourselves, some kind of thing -in-itself, in this respect he is a materialist. When he declares this thing-in-itself to be unknowable, transcendent, otherworldly, he emerges as an idealist. By acknowledging experience, the sensibilities, as the sole source of our knowledge, Kant directs his philosophy toward sensualism and, under certain conditions, beyond sensualism to materialism as well. By declaring the a priori nature of space, time, causality, etc, Kant steers his philosophy in the direction of idealism."

Those Who Misrepresent Kant and Those Who Preserve His Legacy

This battle of ideas over the philosophical legacy of Immanuel Kant continues to this day. By way of Bernstein and the revisionism of the turn of the century, idealistic Neo-Kantianism made its way into the workers' movement, where it was used in an attempt to join Marx with Kant, or to replace Marx with Kant. These attempts have experienced a growing revival in the FRG since the 1960's. A prime example of the misrepresentation of Kant has been provided by Helmut Schmidt, the FRG chancellor, who boldly claims Kant as the theoretical basis for his politics and philosophy. Following in his tracks are influential ideologues of social reform (like P. von Oertzen, J. Steffen, K.D. Voigt and others) who seek to establish theoretical grounds for a "democratic socialism" using Kant and an — amputated — Marx.

As far as Marxism-Leninism is concerned, Kant belongs among the great figures in the history of the dialectic. It initiated the progress in philosophy that led from Fichte and Schelling to Hegel — in other words, to the development of the idealistic dialectic within classical bourgeois German philosophy. Indeed, this dialectic constitutes one of the three sources of Marxism. From this aspect, we too study and pay homage to Kant's principal work, the "Critique of Pure Reason."

7458
CSO: 2300/40

INTENSIFIED IDEOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA IN EDUCATION URGED

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Oct 81 p 4

['Gz' report, datelined Berlin, 25 October: "Hard Line in GDR Education Policies." A translation of the relevant part of the education ministers' communique cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The weekend edition of the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND features on the frontpage, by text and pictures, Erich Honecker as the SED general secretary and Margot Honecker, minister for public education and chairperson of the now concluded fourth conference of the ministers for public education of socialist states. In the central committee building Erich Honecker acknowledged the report submitted to the Central Committee on the occasion of the 5-year anniversary of the central youth project, "FDJ Initiative Berlin." Within the scope of that initiative, reportedly, 355 construction projects were completed, more than 20,000 dwelling units among them. "A more and more beautiful Berlin," Honecker said, should continue to be the GDR's calling card, and only socialism could solve the housing problem.

The hard line in the GDR's educational policy, championed primarily by Margot Honecker, was expressed clearly in the concluding communique of the education ministers conference. The conference, so says the communique, resolutely rebukes all attacks on the socialist school and its principles; it condemns any attempts to depart from Marxist-Leninist school policy and replace it by bourgeois pluralism.

A teacher in the socialist school should be deeply imbued with the consciousness that he himself was a coshaper of a piece of the revolution. The ideological function of the socialist school in the revolutionary struggle was growing constantly. A teacher should have to be a resolute propagandist for the cause of the workers class and an implacable contender for Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist morality.

Education Ministers' Communique

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Oct 81 p 3

[Excerpt from final communique issued by the socialist countries' education ministers at their fourth conference, East Berlin, 20-23 Oct 81]

[Excerpt] It now was the turn of the GDR capital Berlin to hold the fourth conference of the socialist countries' education ministers, from 20 to 23 October 1981.

That new states attended the fourth conference of the socialist countries' education ministers was eloquent testimony to the development and consolidation of the forces of socialism in the world of today.

The centerpiece of the deliberations on the subject, "the teacher and the socialist school today," held in a fraternal, frank and constructive atmosphere, lay in the following unanimous standpoints, realizations and conclusions:

It can be stated with satisfaction that the school in all the states attending the conference has become a fundamental coshaper of the revolutionary development of society. In our time, when the ruling circles in the United States and other imperialist countries for the sake of an insane arms race increasingly constrict their peoples' educational opportunities and peoples in many countries in the world are still denied their right to education, in all the states attending the conference a truly democratic educational system is developing, accessible to all children--even if, for historic reasons, still on unequal levels.

Experiences confirm the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist realization that in the process of the socialist revolution educational matters become critically important and their role grows to the extent that society develops further.

The struggle against illiteracy and for an educational system that is open to all citizens is a decisive step in the transformation of all society, in eliminating the consequences of colonialism and in establishing the socialist society. In this, the obligatory elementary school with a high general education level is an indispensable prerequisite for preparing all pupils for life, work and more advanced education. The form and duration of this obligatory elementary school depend on the given social conditions in any one country.

The teachers in our countries are summoned to solving a task of truly historic importance: to preparing the young generation well for fulfilling its revolutionary [illegible]es, the construction of socialism and communism, the defense of the socialist achievements, and the struggle for the happiness of the people and for their right to live in peace and not to be exploited. A teacher of the socialist school must be deeply imbued with the consciousness that he is coshaping a piece of the revolution.

The conference participants underscore that the ideological function of the socialist school in the revolutionary struggle is growing constantly and that a teacher has to be a resolute propagandist for the cause of the workers class and an implacable contender for Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist morality in all fields of life.

A successful solution of this task is possible only if a teacher of the socialist school himself has a thorough Marxist-Leninist knowledge and is full of rich ideas, the power of conviction and the sense of a high social responsibility for the fate of a generation that is constructing socialism.

The education of school youth in our countries is a task that demands high civic consciousness, technical expertise and pedagogical skill of a teacher. On the political education and the quality and level of teacher training the successful advances of the socialist school depend. For that reason has the study of the social sciences a special rank in the education and training process at the teacher training institutions. Through social science study the future pedagogues are equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and enabled to approach the manifestations of public life on a scientific foundation. It is indispensable for a teacher to grasp Marxism-Leninism as a key to an understanding of the world and not shy away from openly advocating his standpoint and work actively for peace and social progress.

The consolidation and further development of the educational system on a Marxist-Leninist foundation demands of a teacher to fight aggressively against any theories and practices of bourgeois ideology, anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, revanchism, neocolonialism and revisionism. That is particularly necessary in view of the increased attempts imperialism is making in gaining an ideological influence on the young generation.

The socialist school cannot stand apart from politics. The conference resolutely rebuffs any attacks against the socialist school and its principles and condemns the attempts to depart from Marxist-Leninist school policy and to replace it with bourgeois pluralism. The conference participants express their fraternal support for the Polish communists in the struggle for the defense of the socialist achievements and the further consolidation of a school genuinely socialist in type.

The growing tasks the school has to solve place higher demands on the pedagogical, methodological and technical training of the teachers. Along with the social science disciplines, an important role in solving these tasks attaches to pedagogics, psychology and methods training. The concern by the public education organs for further improving the teachers' training and advanced training levels in Marxism-Leninism, the technical sciences, pedagogics and psychology is increasingly becoming a key issue for the further successful development of the educational system.

From the high social responsibility of the teacher for successful socialist construction, for forming the new man, for the consolidation of peace and the friendship among the peoples stems the special attention the conference participants paid to the everyday political and social work of the teacher and his active participation in the political events and class struggles of our time. A teacher has to educate his pupils in the spirit of patriotism, of the love for their homeland, and of the respect for all peoples and their contribution to the progress of mankind, in the spirit of the mutual understanding among the peoples.

5885
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NEW REGULATIONS ON SCHOLARSHIPS OUTLINED

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 8, 1981 p 42

[Article by Imre Vegvari, deputy chief of the KISZ CC's Department of Universities and Colleges, "College Scholarship."]

[Text] Since the 10th KISZ Congress, many questions have been received regarding the planned increase of university and college scholarships. Most questions deal with the reasons for the increase of scholarships. Many asked how the available 150 million forints would be distributed. (This sum also includes the increase of scholarships for both Hungarian students studying abroad and foreign students studying in Hungary.) The basic principles of the still valid scholarship system for full-time students at institutions of higher learning were laid down in 1967 and was introduced during the academic year 1969-70. The essence of this is that the financial support of university and college students depends on two factors. Social support is determined by family circumstances, income of the family wage earners, and the size of the income per capital family member; its monthly rate is 100 to 600 forints. Academic scholarship, which is also 100 to 600 forints, is determined mainly by grade average, and its exact sum is recommended by student collectives. In making their recommendation, they look at the relationship between the student's grades and his ability and the degree to which the student has taken part in communal, public, scientific, professional and social activities which are integral part of socialist professional training.

For good measure, we must mention the other large field of support, the so-called benefits in kind, meaning reduced rates for room and board. The present measure does not include this, since state subsidies here were compensated at the time of price increases. Returning to monetary support, the amount available for this purpose has not changed since 1970, reducing that amount by the additional costs resulting from the larger number of students. Even so, while in 1970, 70 percent of the students received social support, now only 50 percent of them do. A study, which would yield similar results, could also be conducted in the case of scholarships.

These were some of the facts which recently have led to the situation where more and more students have assumed jobs during the academic year. Since this work is often temporary (unloading freight cars, delivering newspapers, construction work) and is not related to their area of study, it can in no way be considered desirable. In addition, because of the decrease in real value of the scholarships, the differentiation among the individual students was very small, the local KISZ basic were

not very serious in doing this kind of comparison, striving for egalitarianism. (There was no possibility and thus sense for differentiating between various student accomplishments.)

The KISZ called the attention to the problems several times, also initiating various solutions. The present increase in scholarships was planned for the second half of the Sixth Five-Year Plan; it was because of the KISZ that the measure was moved up by one or one-and-a-half years.

Regarding distribution, let it suffice to say that practically every student may express his opinion on this topic at this year's youth parliaments; final regulation will be based on this extensive debate, and practical implementation will begin in February 1982. Through the involvement of university and college KISZ leaders, the KISZ's own position will be also worked out; of course, this will also be put to an extensive debate.

9414
CSO: 2500/28

XIII NATIONAL ZNP CONGRESS REPORTED

ZNP Statute

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 44, Nov 80 Insert pp I-XVI

[Text] This Statute was passed at the XIII National Congress of ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] Delegates on 14 October 1980 as a provisional Statute in force, in accordance with its article 82, until such time as congresses of both member union delegates are called together during the upcoming 6 months.

STATUTE OF THE POLISH TEACHERS' UNION

I. General Resolutions

Article 1. The Polish Teachers' Union is a self-governing professional union which under federated principles unites education and upbringing employees as well as employees of higher schools and scientific institutions. The Union acts in two autonomous member unions:
the Polish Teachers' Union--Education and Upbringing Employees;
the Polish Teachers' Union--Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees.

Article 2. The Polish Teachers' Union is a Union independent of administrative authorities and political organizations.

Article 3. The Polish Teachers' Union serves Socialist Poland and bases its activity on the Constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and on international conventions and pacts ratified by the Polish People's Republic.

Article 4. The Union possesses legal status.

Article 5. The Union's area of activity is the territory of the Polish People's Republic. Its seat of authority is the capital city of Warsaw.

II. Goals and Tasks of the Union

Article 6. Specifically, the Union:

1) is an agent of employee interests and protects the rights of education and science employee interests, agrees upon legal acts with the proper organs of authority which define the rights and resonsibilities of employees and their working

and wage conditions, negotiates and terminates collective labor contracts, supervises over the civil observance of law and order and the observance of work legislation, cooperates with national executive authorities and administrative agencies in matters relating to employee hiring;

2) aims for a systematic improvement of the material and social situation of education and upbringing employees and also of higher schools and scientific institutions employees, cares about matters concerning their well-being and offers assistance to them in obtaining rights and services to which they are entitled;

3) supervises over working conditions, the state of industrial safety and hygiene [bhp]; counteracts against on the job accidents and occupational diseases;

4) cooperates with the proper authorities and with public health service institutions in matters regarding the systematic improvement of employees' state of health, improvement of medical care, health-resort and rehabilitative therapeutics, organizing various kinds of employee vacations and relaxation after work;

5) acts for the improvement of housing conditions, in particular, it presents proposals on the issue of providing for the housing needs of employees, conducts social control over the observance of their rights, comes out with demands and suggestions in regard to housing construction, participates in the administering of the institutional [place of employment] housing fund, cooperates with national administrative agencies and housing cooperatives in assigning living quarters to active education and science employees and to retirees and pensioners;

6) develops various forms of mutual assistance among fellow-workers, organizes and oversees employee assistance-loan funds;

7) exerts efforts for the constant increase of participation of members and their families in all forms of social services, codetermines the managing of the social fund for employees;

8) cares for retirees and pensioners as for members with full rights in the Union, cooperates with the proper national authorities in matters pertaining to the building of social assistance homes and retirement homes;

9) looks after widows and orphans of deceased members, lends assistance to members in the form of statutory grants-in-aid and benefits, ensures care for children of Union members in times of crisis;

10) participates in the development of social insurance and influences the proper and prompt implementation of insurance services by ZUS [Social Security Agency] and its agencies;

11) conducts various forms of union training for youth preparing to enter the teaching profession and beginning to work in this field, strives to incorporate union goals into the realization of this profession;

12) inspires and organizes research on Union history;

13) develops extensive activity which aims to raise the social status of the teaching profession and that of the science employee.

Article 7. The Union participates actively in the shaping of the progressive aspect of Polish education and science. With this goal in mind, it specifically:

1) cooperates in defining policies in the field of education and science and in plans for their development and the outlays connected with this endeavor;

2) strives for the unrestricted development of creative thinking in the field of education and science; strives to provide for education and science employees, conditions necessary for the carrying out of scientific research which serves social progress;

3) works to raise the level of education, science and upbringing; expands activity for the sake of improving the quality of work in schools, institutes and scientific establishments in order to properly prepare cadres [personnel] for the benefit of the national economy and culture; takes special care in the productive search for education and science employees with the aim of raising the level of instructional-upbringing and scientific work in schools and scientific establishments;

4) strives to strengthen and intensify the principles of upbringing in the spirit of tolerance and respect for human dignity;

5) focuses particular attention on matters relating to the training and professional advancement of teachers, development of the young academic cadre; takes part in working out a system and programs of training and advancement; organizes, within its own capacity, various forms of increasing general and professional knowledge as well as pedagogical excellence of its members; acts on behalf of shaping conditions essential for the systematic raising of the professional qualifications standards;

6) instructs its members in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism to be the nation's cognizant comanagers;

7) cooperates with appropriate ministries in conducting work in the area of culture and education, tourism and related studies as well as sports among education and science employees;

8) participates in carrying out social-educational and popular-scientific activity within the community.

Article 8. On all organizational levels, the Union:

1) acts on behalf of unified goals of the professional movement in Poland and assumes interunion cooperation and, in particular, negotiates agreements with other unions and takes up joint action for the protection of employee interests and the proper functioning of working institutions;

2) acts on behalf of strengthening international solidarity of education and science employees, participates in the work of the International Federation of Professional Teaching Unions and the World Federation of Scientific Workers, implements the principles of the Teacher's Charter and the Academic Employee's Charter.

III. Measures and Forms of Union Activity

Article 9. To achieve its goals, the Union makes use of the following means and forms of activity:

1) develops, publishes and presents to the proper authorities, plans, proposals and opinions on matters concerning education, science, culture and upbringing and also on matters involving working and living conditions of education and science employees;

2) calls together academic congresses, conventions and conferences for the purpose of discussing issues relating to education, science and upbringing as well as professional, social-existence and cultural matters;

3) inspires and conducts scientific research on the teaching profession, participates in the carrying out of such research, announces competition for studies dealing with teaching and upbringing, science, education and culture of employee matters;

4) delegates representatives to conventions, scientific, pedagogical, educational and professional congresses in the country and abroad;

5) cooperates in working out acts which normalize all work and living matters and, in particular, employment matters; gives its consent to these acts [laws]; intercedes in an attempt to settle conflicts between employee and employer;

6) organizes and facilitates self-education for its members;

7) participates, through its representatives, in making decisions about matters concerning education and science;

8) carries out publishing activity; influences publishing policies in the field of science, education and upbringing; cooperates with appropriate institutions for the purpose of shaping planning policies in the field of films, radio and television in accordance with the needs of schools and upbringing;

9) has its own press organ. "Glos Nauczycielski" [The Teachers Voice]; its planning activity is supervised by the Social Council made up of representatives of chapters [sections] from outside the membership of the main boards; the editor-in-chief of the "Glos Nauczycielski" is appointed and removed by the Union's Supreme Council;

10) manages sanatoria, therapeutic-rest centers and training centers;

11) together with education and science executive authorities, it develops physical education and sports; organizes tourist and area studies excursions for ZNP members and their families;

12) develops cultural-educational work together with education and science executive authorities; manages teachers' centers, clubs and community centers' organizes and manages performers troupes and creative groups;

13) conducts its own Cost of Living, Wages and Working Conditions Survey Center and publishes the results of these surveys;

14) offers organizational assistance and legal counsel to members on matters related to work, organizational activity or community work;

15) manages a Pedagogical and Social Services Center;

16) voices objections to decisions of management in working establishments which are in violation of the employees' basic interests and rights, implements all other permissible measures for the realization of its goals including the right to strike;

17) assures union echelon members that at the end of their term of office, they may assume the work of their previous or equivalent position.

IV. Organizational Principles and Union Structure

Article 10.

1) the federated status of the Union depends on:

a) independent, self-governing and self-sufficient activity of each member union;
b) equality of member union representation in Union management;
c) each member union's possession of its own authority;
d) each member union's independence from the decisions made by the other member union;

2) resolutions of Union executive authorities--as authorities of a federation--are binding to both member unions;

3) the Union is founded on democratic principles. In accordance with these principles, Union executive authorities:

a) come to be as a result of democratic elections and submit reports on their activity to Union members;
b) are elected by secret ballot whereby the number of declared candidacies is determined by an assembly (conference);
c) are accountable, in all union related matters, only to Union members in whose name they hold representative mandates;
d) pass joint and self-governing resolutions, make decisions on all union matters--within the range of their power--taking demands into account and seeking the opinion of Union members in the process of consultation.

Article 11.

1) the union authorities are the national delegate congresses of both member unions. National congresses are held once every 3 years;

2) the executive agencies of the Union are the main boards of both member unions and the Union Supreme Council made up of the presidiums of these boards; each member union has the same number of votes in the Supreme Council;

3) the controlling body of Union activity is the Supreme Audit Commission [NKR].

Article 12.

1) It is in the power of the Supreme Council:

a) to coordinate member union activity;
b) to represent an agreed upon position of member unions on education and scientific policy matters as well as on financial matters before supreme national and political authorities;
c) to manage Union finances and conduct investment policies;
d) to appoint a Union treasurer from among the Council members to manage Union financial holdings;

2) The Supreme Council submits an account of its activity to both member unions.

Article 13. The work of the Union Supreme Council is directed by the chairman. This position is held consecutively for a period of 1 year by each chairman of the member unions; the chairman of the other member union fulfills the function of vice chairman during that time.

Article 14.

1) The Supreme Audit Commission of the Union is made up of the presidiums of the main audit commissions of both member unions whereby each one of them is allowed one vote;

2) the work of the Supreme Audit Commission is consecutively managed by the chairman of the audit commissions of both member unions for a period of 1 year;

3) within the Supreme Audit Commission's sphere of activity is controlling statutory activity, Union management and finances;

4) the Supreme Audit Commission presents findings from the results of this control at congresses and to the Union Supreme Council.

V. Members

Article 15.

1) Employees of all types of schools, educational, scientific and tutelary-upbringing establishments, may become members of each of the unions as well as those employed in school administration and by institutions cooperating with education and science who accept the ideological-programmatic assumptions of this Statute;

2) membership in the ZNP rules out membership in another professional union.

Article 16. Acceptance into the membership body takes place upon submission of a written declaration of joining one of the member unions.

Article 17. Proof of membership in the Union is a valid membership card.

Article 18.

1) The following time periods count towards union membership:

a) a period of membership in another professional union before transferring to one of the member unions if the time interval between union memberships does not exceed 6 months;
b) period of time spent by a member in basic military service;
c) period of membership in student unions and time spent working in Volunteer Labor Brigades if the interval between membership in the mentioned organizations and joining one of the member unions does not exceed 6 months;
d) period of membership in professional unions abroad if the interested party joins one of the member unions during a period of 6 months from the date of becoming a permanent resident of Poland;
e) a member may maintain continuity of union membership for a justified period of unemployment--on the basis of a decision by the institutional council;

2) mothers on upaid leave who are not receiving any compensation as well as members of one of the member unions who are performing military service--do not pay membership dues during the period of time;

3) the period of membership is counted in after the member pays dues for the entire interval period from union membership, with the exception of the members mentioned in rule 2, in an amount appropriate to the remuneration received for the first month of employment after the interval.

Article 19. Loss of membership occurs as a result of:

1) resignation from union membership;

2) being stricken off the membership list because of unjustified delinquency in paying membership dues for 3 consecutive months;

3) expulsion from the union.

VI. Members' Rights

Article 20. A member has the right:

1) to elected and be elected to all union management positions;

2) to evaluate member and union management activities at meetings, conferences and congresses;

3) to participate in meetings at which union management makes decisions which concern him personally;

4) to take advantage of social, cultural and sports equipment which is at the disposal of the Union and also of all services and organizational-legal assistance envisaged by the Statute and regulations;

5) to turn to the Union in all matters concerning working and living conditions, especially matters involving the rights to which he is entitled.

Article 21. A Union member may be presented with national, ministerial and regional awards and honored with a Gold ZNP Award or other form of recognition for exceptionally active union, social and professional work.

Article 22. Upon retiring or receiving a pension, Union members continue to retain their membership in affiliation with basic organizational elements proper to the place of employment or permanent residence or in affiliation with retirees' centers formed on the basis of general principles.

VII. Obligations of Members

Article 23. A Union member is obliged:

1) to comply with the decisions and resolutions of the Statute, to participate in Union life and to strive for the realization of Union tasks and goals;

2) to protect community property as the common good of working masses and to fight all signs of bureaucracy, corruption and other harmful activitiy;

3) to observe workers' obligations, to raise his own professional qualifications;

4) to observe principles of social coexistence;

5) to pay union dues regularly; dues are not repayable.

Article 24.

1) In the event of violating resolutions of the Statute, binding laws, professional ethics or principles of social coexistence, the union management may take the following action:

a) reproof;
b) reprimand;
c) reprimand with a warning of suspension of membership rights;
d) temporary suspension of membership rights;
e) explusion from the union;

2) the decision of using the action mentioned in rule 1 against a member should be made in his presence; if despite having been notified, a member does not present himself at the meeting without good cause--then the decision may fall in his absence; a member has the right to appeal the decision to a higher union echelon within 30 days of the date of receiving the decision.

VIII. Organizational Principles and Structure of the Union

A. Polish Teachers' Union--Education and Upbringing Employees

Article 25.

1) The following structure of elements and boards (councils) is binding in the Polish Teachers' Union--Education and Upbringing Employees:

1) union group--delegate;
2) departmental union organization (element)--departmental council (element council);
3) plant (interplant) union organization--plant council;

4) district union organization--district board;
5) Main Board.

2) Union authorities of appropriate levels are: the National Congress; district conference of delegates; meetings (conferences) of plant (interplant) and departmental organizations and union groups.

3) During the period between congresses, conferences and meetings, the Union's executive agencies are boards (councils and representations) mentioned in article 25, paragraph 1.

Article 26.

1) the plant union organization is the basic organizational element; departmental union organizations (elements) and union groups may function within its sphere;

2) the plant union organization unites members from one or more institutions, from the area of a town, district, rural parish, or town and rural parish;

3) the formation or dissolution of a plant union organization takes place on the basis of a district board decision;

4) the governing body of the plant union organization is a conference or meeting and during the time between conferences and meetings--the plant council;

5) delegates elected by departmental union organizations (elements) or union groups participate in the conference of delegates of a plant union organization with a casting vote; the number of delegates as well as the principles on which the conference is to be conducted is determined by the district board;

6) a conference of delegates or a report-election meeting of a plant union organization is called together by the plant council at the end of a term of office; it is within the power of a conference or meeting:

a) to accept a plant council's audit commission's activity reports;
b) adopt guidelines for the next activity period;
c) elect by secret ballot, plant council members, audit commission members and members of the peer court [arbitration by fellow workers] whose number is determined by a meeting (conference); delegates to the district conference of delegates, the number of which is determined by the district board; and delegates to the National Congress whose number is determined by the Main Board.

Article 27. An extraordinary conference or meeting of a plant union organization is called together upon the suggestion of the plant council on the basis of a resolution of higher Union authorities or upon the request of one-third of the members, within 30 days of the date of filing the request or legally valid resolution. An extraordinary conference (meeting) confers upon matters present on the agenda.

Article 28. The plant council is responsible for the implementation of statutory Union tasks and also inspires and organizes union work within the scope of its activity. But above all:

1. a) it represents the interests of employees at their place of employment and before proper national authorities and administrative agencies;
   b) it supervises over the observance of employee rights and the just allocation of social services, participates in the distribution of the institutional social and housing fund and the health and award fund;
   c) it takes a stand on matters concerning the termination or change of a working relationship;
   d) it intercedes in resolving conflicts between the employee and the management at the place of employment;
   e) it supervises industrial conditions, safety and hygiene;
   f) cooperates in the development and implementation of plans for the improvement of working conditions;
   g) together with the Retirees and Pensioners Chapter, it organizes care for retirees and pensioners;

2. a) it determines the structure of the plant union organization;
   b) implements the resolutions in articles 24 and 71 of the Statute;

3. a) develops ideological-upbringing, cultural and educational activity;
   b) strives to raise work standards;
   c) expands initiative and the best work experiences;
   d) supports and facilitates professional instruction, self-improvement and self-education;
   d) strengthens congeniality among fellow employees and in life through cooperation and mutual assistance,

4. cooperates with the proper political and social authorities and with national authority and administrative agencies in solving the problems of schools and institutions and in all work related matters;

5. the resolutions contained in article 67 apply accordingly to the presidium of the institutional council elected on the basis of article 66;

6. the plant council may authorize its presidium to express its position on matters pertaining to the termination of the working relationship with employees.

Departmental Union Organization

Article 29.

1) Departmental union organizations (elements) are appointed by the plant council;

2) the authority of the departmental union organization (element) is the meeting and during the period between meetings--the departmental council (element);

3) a report-election meeting is called together by the departmental council (element) at the end of a term of office; the following responsibilities lie within the authority of the meeting:

   a) acceptance of the council's activity reports;
   b) acceptance of tasks for the next activity period;
   c) election by secret ballot of council members and audit commission members, whose number is determined at the meeting, and election of delegates to

the report-election conference of the plant union organization, whose number is determined by the plant council;

d) election of a chairman by separate secret ballot;

4) a meeting of a departmental union organization (element) is called together periodically by the council according to the work plan; once annually, a meeting is devoted to the presentation of the activity report of the departmental council (element).

Departmental Council (Element Council)

Article 30.

1) the departmental council (element) implements statutory goals within the sphere of its activity, specifically, it carries out social control over the observance of employee rights and working conditions; it comes out with well-founded demands on matters pertaining to professional, social and cultural work; it strives to increase union input into the raising of work standards in schools;

2) Statute resolutions pertaining to plant union organizations and plant councils are applied accordingly to departmental union organizations (elements) and their councils with the exception of matters reserved by the work code to be within the jurisdiction of plant councils.

Union Group

Article 31. Union groups may be created within the sphere of the departmental union organization (element) and the plant union organization; the union group elects a delegate, his representative as well as a community work supervisor; the delegate is a liaison between the council and group members; he organizes union work resulting from the council's activity plan in the group.

District Union Organization

Article 32.

1) the district union organization includes plant union organizations acting within the territory of one province;

2) the authorities of the district union organization are: the district conference of delegates and the district board during the period between conferences;

3) the following participate in the district conference of delegates:

a) with a casting vote--delegates elected at meetings or conferences of plant union organizations and union chapters;

b) with an advisory vote--district board members, members of the audit commission, representatives of the Main Board and chairmen of union chapters;

4) a district conference of delegates is called together by a district board at the end of a term of office; the following belong spcifically to the range of activity of the conference:

a) acceptance of the board's and audit commission's activity reports;
b) adoption of guidelines for the next period of activity;
c) election of board members and audit commission members in a number determined by the conference;
d) election of delegates to the National Congress of Delegates in a ratio of 1 delegate for every 2,000 members and an extra delegate if the number of members is greater than 2,000 by at least 1,001.

District Board

Article 33. The district board

1) represents working interests and the position of plant councils towards authorities at the provincial level;

2) inspires and coordinates activity of union elements, maintains constant ties with them, supervises the implementation of resolutions and plans of action, strengthens union responsibility and independence of elements and gives them indispensable assistance in the fulfillment of tasks;

3) approves the budget, accepts financial reports;

4) cooperates with other union organizations and social organizations, strives to create conditions conducive to the realization of ZNP goals.

National Congress

Article 34. The highest Union authority is the National Congress of Delegates.

Article 35.

1) The delegates who participate in the National Congress of Delegates are elected at:
a) report-election conferences of plant union organizations with over 2,000 members;
b) district conferences of delegates;
c) conferences of union and professional chapters;

2) the National Congress of Delegates is legally valid if at least two-thirds of the delegates participate in it;

3) at the National Congress, members of the outgoing Main Board, the Main Audit Commission and chairmen of professional chapters participate as non-delegates with an advisory vote;

4) the National Congress of Delegates is called together at the end of a term of office by the Main Board; specifically, the following belong to the range of activities of the Congress:

a) evaluating and deciding upon the ideological and planned course of Union activity as well as basic guidelines for the realization of its [the Union's] goals and tasks;

b) acceptance of the Main Board's and the Main Audit Commission's reports;
c) election by secret ballot of members of the Main Board; the chairmen and members of the Main Audit Commission--by separate ballot in a number decided upon by the Congress;
d) passing and changing of the Union Statute in open voting; the passing of a resolution on this matter requires two-thirds of the votes of the authorized to vote Congress participants;
e) deciding upon the design of union badges;
f) deciding upon the amount of membership dues and the method of distributing it.

Article 36. On the strength of the decision of the Main Board or upon the request of one-third of the Union membership, an Extraordinary National Congress of Delegates may be called together. The Main Board should call together an Extraordinary Congress within 3 months of the date of filing the legally valid motion. Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress are elected by secret ballot. The Extraordinary Congress deliberates over only those issues for which it was called together.

Main Board

Article 37. During the period between National Congresses, the Main Board is the Union's agent.

Article 38. The following belong to the sphere of activity of the Main Board; specifically:

1) implementation of resolutions of the National Congress of Delegates, formulating of Union activity programs on the basis of extensive union consultations and appropriate research;

2) in relation to this, defining of the role, tasks and rights of echelons and elements;

3) assisting union echelons;

4) representing before political and national authorities, the Union position on issues of education and upbringing and work-related needs and demands;

5) submitting of reports on the realization of Union tasks;

6) interpreting the Statute, passing of resolutions and acceptance of regulations of union agencies and institutions;

7) passing of budgets and financial-economic programs, ratification of balances and financial reports of the Union and its branches, making decisions regarding finances;

8) electing the Presidium of the Main Board and evaluating its activity;

9) carrying out changes in the structure of the Union in terms of Statute resolutions;

10) passing of resolutions which regulate specific areas of Union activity and also those which concern all other matters of the Statute.

Presidium and Secretariat of the Main Board

Article 39.

1) Specifically, the Presidium of the Main Board:

a) implements the program of activity and directs the work of the Union during the period between meetings of the Main Board; represents the Union before authorities, agencies, unions, organizations and other corporate bodies and officials;
b) directs the work of the Main Board's agencies;
c) plans the budget and the financial-economic program as well as chapter regulations and presents them to the Main Board for ratification;
d) ratifies commission regulations and those of the Union branches;
e) manages the Union's financial resources;
f) appoints editors-in-chief of union newsletters and managers of departments of the Main Board;
g) confers upon the Secretariat of the Main Board full powers for managing the Union's financial holdings and drawing up legal acts and agreements; the work of at least two persons appointed by the Presidium of the Main Board is required for the drawing up of legal acts and financial agreements as well as the confering of powers of attorney;

2) between sessions of the Presidium, Union work is directed collectively by the Secretariat of the Main Board which is composed of: the chairman, vice chairmen and secretaries; the Secretariat implements current tasks and represents the Main Board.

B. Polish Teachers' Union--Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees

Article 40.

1. The following structure of elements and boards (councils) is binding in the Polish Teachers' Union--Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees:

1) union group--delegate;
2) departmental or faculty union organization--departmental council (faculty council, institute council);
3) plant union organization--plant council;
4) regional union organization--regional board appointed upon the proposal of plant union organizations;
5) the Main Board.

2. Union authorities of appropriate levels are: the National Congress, regional union conferences, meetings of plant, faculty and group union organizations.

3. During the period between congresses, conferences and meetings, the union authorities of appropriate levels are represented by boards (councils and representations) mentioned in rule 1.

Plant Union Organization

Article 41.

1) The plant union organization is the basic element of the Union. Departmental (faculty, institute) union organizations and union groups may function within the Union;

2) the plant union organization unites members from one particular place of employment; in higher schools branches, sections of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] and local scientific-research institutes, separate plant union organizations may be created;

3) creation or dissolution of a plant union organization takes place on the basis of a resolution of this organization;

4) the plant union organization's authority is a conference or meeting and during the period between conferences and meetings--the plant council has the authority;

5) in the conference of delegates of a plant union organization, delegates elected in departmental (faculty, institute) union organizations or union groups participate with a casting vote;

6) a delegate conference or report-election meeting of a plant union organization is called together by the plant council at the end of a term; the following belong to the responsibilities of a conference or meeting:

a) receive and accept the plant council's and audit commission's activity reports;
b) adoption of work directives for the next period;
c) election by secret ballot: members of the plant council; audit commission members; members of the peer court, delegates to the regional conference of delegates, the number of which is determined by the regional council and delegates to the National Congress whose number is decided upon by the Main Board of the Union.

Article 42. An extraordinary conference or meeting of a plant union organization is called together upon the suggestion of the plant council on the basis of a resolution of higher Union authorities or upon the request of one-third of the members within 30 days of the date of submitting the request or a legally valid resolution.

An extraordinary conference (meeting) deliberates on issues present on the agenda.

Plant Council

Article 43. The plant council is responsible for the implementation of statutory tasks of the Union and instigates and organizes union work in its region of activity. But above all:

1. a) it represents employees' interests in the place of employment before proper national authorities and administrative agencies;

b) it has permanent representation in the collegial organs of higher schools and scientific institutions;
c) supervises over the observance of employees' rights and the proper distribution of social services;
d) participates in the distribution of the resources of institutional funds: social, housing and award funds;
e) expresses a position on issues of hiring, terminating and changes in the working relationship;
f) intercedes in the resolving of disputes between the employee and the place of employment;
g) supervises industrial safety and hygiene conditions;
h) cooperates in the development and realization of programs for the improvement of working conditions;

2. a) determines the structure of the plant union organization;
b) dismisses and suspends plant council members;

3. a) develops ideological-ypbringing, cultural-educational and scientific activity;
b) strives to raise work standards;
c) disseminates initiatives and the best work experiences;
d) supports and facilitates education, professional self-improvement and self-education;
e) strengthens comradeship at work and in life based on cooperation and mutual assistance;

4. cooperates with the proper political and social authorities and also with national authorities and administrative agencies in solving problems involving higher schools and scientific institutions as well as in all work related matters;

5. the resolutions contained in article 67 correspond accordingly to the presidium of the plant council elected on the basis of article [number illegible];

6. the plant council may authorize its presidium to pass resolutions which express consent or an opinion in instances of terminating the working relationship with employees.

Departmental Union Organization

Article 44.

1) Departmental union organizations are appointed by the plant council;

2) a departmental union organization may be formed when there are at least 10 members;

3) the authority of a departmental union organization is the meeting and during the period between meetings--the departmental council is in power;

4) a report-election meeting is called together by the departmental council at the end of a term of office; the following are within the authority of the meeting:

a) acceptance of council activity reports;
b) adoption of working guidelines for the next period of activity;
c) election by secret ballot of: council members and audit commission members whose number is determined at the meeting; delegates to the report-election conference of a plant union organization whose number is decided upon by the plant council;

5) a meeting of a departmental union organization is called together periodically by the council in accordance with the work plan; one meeting is devoted annually to the departmental council's activity report.

Departmental Council

Article 45.

1) The departmental council implements in the region of its activity, statutory goals of the Union and in particular: conducts social supervision over the observance of employees' rights and working conditions; presents legitimate demands in regard to professional, social and cultural employee matters; on the principle of constantly instigating social-professional incentives, it strives to increase union input into the improvement of work in higher schools and scientific institutions; it influences the shaping of principles of social coexistence in the place of employment, responsible and conscientious work, professional ethics, cooperation between the management and employees; works to provide for needs in the area of culture, relaxation and health;

2) Statute resolutions pertaining to plant union organizations and plant councils are applied accordingly to union organizations and their councils with the exception of matters restricted by resolutions in the labor code to the jurisdiction of plant councils.

Union Group

Article 46. The Union groups may be created within the sphere of the departmental union organization and the plant union organization; a union group elects a delegate, his representative and a social work supervisor; this delegate serves as a liaison between the council and members of the group; he organizes union work within the group, which results from the council's program of activity.

Regional Union Organization

Article 47.

1) A Regional union organization includes plant union organizations of higher schools and scientific institutions acting in the area of one or several provinces;

2) the administrative authorities of a regional union organization are: the regional conference of delegates and in the period between conferences--the regional board;

3) those who participate in a regional conference of delegates are as follows:

a) with a casting vote--delegates elected at meetings or conferences of plant union organizations;
b) with an advisory vote--members of the regional board, the audit commission and representatives of the Main Board;

4) a regional conference of delegates is called together by the regional board at the end of a term of office; the sphere of activity of the conference is as follows:

a) acceptance of the board's and audit commission's activity reports;
b) adoption of guidelines for the next period of activity;
c) election of board and audit commission members, the number of which is decided upon by the conference;
d) election of delegates to the National Congress of Delegates with a ratio of 1 delegate for every 250 members and an extra delegate in case the number over 250 amounts to at least 100 members.

Regional Board

Article 48. The regional board:

1) is responsible for the implementation of an all-union program of activity; finalizes and supplements it on the basis of local capacities, initiative of union elements and employees' needs, in the region included in its sphere of activity;

2) represents employees interests and the position of plant councils before provincial authorities;

3) inspires and coordinates the activity of subordinate elements, maintains a permanent bond with them, supervises the implementation of resolutions and programs of activity, strengthens union responsibility and independence of elements and offers them indispensable assistance for the accomplishment of tasks;

4) cooperates with provincial union and social organizations, strives to create favorable conditions for the implementation of Union goals, the observance of its rights and the development of professional and social activity of elements and members.

National Congress

Article 49. The highest administrative authority of the Union is the National Congress of Delegates.

Article 50.

1) Delegates participating in the National Congress are elected at:

a) report-election conferences of plant union organizations with over 250 members;
b) regional conferences of delegates;

2) the national Congress of Delegates is legally valid if at least two-thirds of the delegates participate;

3) members of the outgoing Main Board, Main Audit Commission, chairmen of union chapters of the ZG [Main Board] take part in the National Congress as non-delegates with an advisory ballot;

4) the National Congress is called together at the end of a term of office by the Main Board; specifically, it is within the capacity of the Congress to:

a) evaluate and set up an ideological and planned course of Union activity as well as vital guidelines aimed at the implementation of its goals and tasks;
b) acceptance of the Main Board's and Main Audit Commission's reports;
c) election by secret ballot of members of the Main Board and the Main Audit Commission, the number of which is decided upon by the Congress in keeping with the principle of a complete as possible representation of professional groups and districts;
d) passing and changing of the Union Statute in an open election; adoption of a resolution in this respect requires two-thirds of the vote of the Congress participants who are authorized to vote;
e) determining the amount of union dues.

Article 51. On the authority of the Main Board's resolution or upon the request of one-third of the Union membership, an Extraordinary National Congress of Delegates is called together. The Main Board should call together an Extraordinary Congress within 3 months from the date of filing a legally valid proposal. Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress are elected by secret ballot according to the guidelines set by the Main Board. The Extraordinary Congress deliberates over only those issues for which it was called together.

Main Board

Article 53. The by-laws of articles 36-38 are applied accordingly to the Main Board, the Presidium and Secretariat of this member Union.

IX. Audit Commissions

Article 53. Audit commissions are elected at national congresses of delegates and also at district, regional and plant conferences of delegates or membership meetings of plant union organizations for the term of office of a given Union echelon. Members of audit commissions cannot simultaneously be members or employees of the same or higher-level echelons.

Article 54. Main audit commissions elect presidiums from their own midst including chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries. The number of members of a presidium is determined by main audit commissions.

Article 55. The tasks of the Main Audit Commission are:

1) supervising over the work of the Main Board and its branches and, in particular, controlling the economy and finances in terms of legality, efficiency, purposefulness and honesty;

2) informing the Main Board and its Presidium about the effects of control and the presenting of proposals;

3) evaluating drafts of budget estimates and reports on the implementation of budgets; presenting proposals to the Main Board;

4) setting of guidelines for the work of audit commissions;

5) initiating and together with lower ranking audit commissions supervising union branches;

6) submitting a report on its own activity to the National Congress of Delegates and assuming an attitude towards the economic-financial activity of the Main Board.

Article 56.

1) Members of the Presidium of the Main Audit Commission have the right to participate with an advisory vote in sessions of the Main Board and to inform about the effects of monitoring;

2) the commission chairman or a member of the Commission Presidium delegated by him has the right to participate with an advisory vote in sessions of the Presidium of the Main Board.

Article 57. The resolutions of articles 52-55 have a corresponding application to lower-level commissions.

Article 58. In the case of determining mismanagement of Union funds and assets, violating the Statute or general rules, the audit commission has the responsibility to inform a higher-level audit commission about this.

X. Peer Courts

Article 59.

1) Peer courts settle all disputes and conflicts between Union members;

2) the scope of activity and procedure of conduct of peer courts is described in the by-laws passed by the Main Board.

XI. Union and Professional Chapters

Article 60. Union and professional chapters act within the Union in order to ensure the Union members conditions conducive to productive Union activity; an indispensable sphere of autonomy; proportional representation with union authorities; effective representation and protection of employees' interests.

Union Chapters

Article 61. The following are union chapters:

1) the Union Chapter of Management and Administrative Employees which through its work encompasses management, service and administrative employees of schools, eudcational-upbringing institutions, higher schools and scientific institutions, administrative units and education and science institutions;

2) the Union Chapter of Retirees and Pensioners which through its work includes retirees and pensioners.

Article 62.

1) the Union Chapter of Management and Administrative Employees elects its representatives to union administrations and audit commissions at its report-election meeting (conferences) of the proper level, by secret ballot and in relation to the number of members:

a) representatives to the plant council and its presidium: the audit commission of the plant union organization as well as to the presidium of this commission;
b) to the district board (regional board) and its presidium; district (regional) audit commission and its presidium;
c) to the Main Board and its Presidium; the Main Audit Commission and its Presidium;

2) representatives elected by a chapter are automatically included in the membership of union and audit commission authorities mentioned in paragraph 1;

3) a Chapter's report-election meetings (conferences) choose its agent [organ]:

a) a conference at the plant union organization level: plant board of Chapter;
b) district conference: district board of Chapter;
c) national conference: National Board of Chapter;

4) Chapter boards:

a) function alongside union echelons of appropriate rank, cooperate with them in the implementation of Union goals and represent employees' opinions and demands before Union authorities;
b) direct the work of a Chapter in accordance with the Statute and resolutions of main boards;
c) adopt resolutions and decisions within their own capacity which are intra-union in character;

5) proper ranking union authorities assure the financial means of their budgets for Chapter activity;

6) specific details of Chapter activity are described in its by-laws passed by main boards.

Article 63.

1) Upon retiring or receiving pensions, ZNP members retain their membership and affiliation with the basic organizational elements proper to the place of employment or permanent residence or to retirees' elements created on general principles;

2) retirees and pensioners who are grouped in the elements of the aforementioned rule 1 are encompassed by activity of the Union Chapter of Retirees and Pensioners;

3) at its appropriate level meetings (conferences), a Chapter elects by secret ballot and in a number proportional to the number of members--its representatives to:

a) the plant council and its presidium; the audit commission of the plant (interplant) union organization and the presidium of this commission;
b) the district board (regional board) and its presidium; the district (regional) audit commission and its presidium;
c) the Main Board and its Presidium; the Main Audit Commission and its Presidium;

4) Chapter elected representatives enter automatically into the membership body of union agencies and audit commissions mentioned in rule 3;

5) report-election meetings (conferences) of a Chapter elect its agency;

a) conference at the plant (interplant) union organization level: plant board of Chapter;
b) district conference: district board of Chapter;
c) national conference: National Board of Chapter;

6) Chapter boards,

a) function alongside union echelons of appropriate rank, cooperate with them in the implementation of Union goals and represent demands of members;
b) direct Chapter activity in accordance with the Statute and resolutions of the Main Board;
c) pass resolutions and decisions within their own official capacity which have an intraunion character;

7) revenues from membership dues of retirees and pensioners form the basis for a Chapter's budget;

8) the specific principles of Chapter activity are defined in its by-laws adopted by the main board of unions.

Professional Chapters

Article 64.

1) ZNP echelons may create professional chapters which represent employees of certain kinds of schools and scientific institutions;

2) chapters function under the direction of echelons by which they were appointed; they present their opinion before them on vital issues of a given professional group, particularly before a position is taken by the echelons towards national administration agencies or other institutions; through the union echelons, they present their position before authorities, official departments and institutions; upon the authorization of the echelons, they [chapters] cooperate with union and social organizations and creative unions;

3) within the framework of the Polish Teachers' Union--Eduation and Upbringing Employees, the following chapters may be appointed: Liberal Arts School System;

Professional, Agricultural, Special Education; Pre-School Education; Child-Care and Out of School Upbringing Centers and Adult Education for Librarians; in valid cases and with the approval of the Main Board other chapters may also be appointed;

4) chapters elect a chairman, vice chairman and secretaries from among their members;

5) chapters acting alongside the Main Board each elect three delegates to the ZNP National Congress of Delegates;

6) the exact scope of chapter activity, the principles and procedures of its formation and dissolution are defined in the by-laws approved by the Main Board.

Article 65.

1) The following professional chapters may be organized within the framework of the Polish Teachers' Union--Higher Schools and Scientific Institutions Employees: engineering-technical employees, scientific information employees, lecturers, archivists and physical education studies employees;

2) in valid instances and with the approval of the Main Board, other chapters, committees and problem teams may be created;

3) chapters elect chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries from among their members;

4) chapters acting alongside the Main Board each elect 3 delegates to the National Congress of Delegates.

XII. Union Echelons

Article 66. National congresses, conferences and report-election meetings:

1) elect, in accordance with the Statute, union echelons which represent employees' interests before national and administrative authorities of the proper level;

2) elect and recall a chairman of an echelon in a separate secret election;

Union echelons are: the Main Board, district boards and plant councils which:

a) inspire, coordinate and supervise the functioning of union elements;
b) adopt plans of work and budgets and also ratify financial-management plans;
c) examine and handle the recall of lower level elements;
d) appoint union and professional chapters as well as the problem committees;
e) implement tasks which result from Statute decisions and resolutions of higher level echelons;
f) submit reports on their own activity.

Article 67. Union echelons and audit commissions should be formed directly following the elections, within 14 days at the very latest.

Article 68. A union echelon elects the membership body of the presidium from among its members, by secret ballot; it includes the following: vice chairman/men,

secretary/ies; plant councils with smaller memberships do not have to elect a presidium.

Article 69.

1) The Presidium manages union work during the period between echelon sessions and represents it [union work] before authorities, institutions and organizations, legal and physical bodies and acts upon all tasks resulting from statutory activity of appropriate organizational elements;

2) invited chairmen of professional chapters and problem solving commissions participate with an advisory vote in presidium sessions if the agenda anticipates the examining of matters pertaining to the merits of their activity; between sessions of the presidium, chairmen, vice chairmen, and secretaries collectively direct the work of appropriate organizational elements, carry out the tasks at hand and represent their own echelons.

Article 70. Chairmen of chapters and presidents of lower organizational level elements may be invited to echelon sessions.

Article 71. The term of office of a union echelon is 3 years.

Article 72.

1) Members elected to positions of chairmen, vice chairmen and secretaries of union echelons, audit commissions may fulfill a mandate successively in the same echelon or commission for no more than two terms;

2) ZNP members who occupy executive positions in school administration agencies, in educational or scientific establishments and institutions as well as in political organizations cannot simultaneously perform elected functions in union elements of the same or lower rank.

Article 73.

1) Members elected to a union echelon are responsible for the implementation of statute tasks and are obligated to carry out the responsibilities assigned to them;

2) an echelon member is obligated to represent the interest of his community with dignity, to maintain contact with this community and to keep it informed about the activity of a given echelon;

3) an echelon member may be recalled from his function in the case of not performing it, acting contrary to the Statute, violating binding union resolutions, committing acts discordant with the principles of social coexistence or failing its electors in other ways; recall may take place on the basis of the given union echelon's decision made by secret voting;

4) an echelon member's mandate expires before the end of the term of office in the case of:

a) a justified resignation from the mandate;

b) resignation or exclusion from the Union;
c) recall from union function in accordance with article 71, paragraph 3 of the Statute;
d) dissolution or unification of union elements preventing the holding of a mandate;
e) leaving the country for permanent residence abroad;
f) loss of public rights;
g) termination of the working relationship or change in the place of employment which made it possible to carry out the function until that time;

5) if the membership of a plant or departmental council or audit commission decreases by over one-fourth during a term of office--supplementary elections will be held.

Article 74.

1) All resolutions passed at national congresses, conferences and meetings as well as sessions of union echelons, require the obtainment of a simple majority of votes from persons qualified to vote if the Statute does not stipulate otherwise:

2) resolutions of union echelons may be repealed or suspended by superior union authorities if they are in conflict with Statute resolutions.

XIII. Union Financial Assets and Funds

Article 75.

1) The financial assets of unions are made up of: chattels, shares, rights, cash and valuable papers;

2) union funds are created from:

a) membership dues;
b) endowments and donations accepted by main boards;
c) special membership fees introduced on the basis of resolutions made at national congresses;

3) the basis for financial activity of all the elements of each union are budgets passed by echelons; the budget period is the calendar year;

4) the basis for the distribution of membership dues among main boards, district (regional) boards and plant councils is determined by national congresses; financial activity reports of unions are made known to the members annually;

5) district boards and plant councils conduct activity within the range of their own budgets; any agreements or financial commitments entered into by them require authorization from the presidium of an appropriate main board.

XIV. Financial Assets and Funds of the Union (Federation)

Article 76.

1) The financial assets of the Union are: immovables, movables, shares, cash and

valuable papers of member unions computed through 31 December 1980 and drawn up according to the opening balance;

2) each union's shares are determined on the amount of contributed assets according to the financial state for 31 December 1980;

3) the financial costs of union activity are covered in equal parts by both member unions;

4) the central budget of the Union is composed of the budgets of both member unions, the financial plan of the Union, financial-management plan of its branches and the investment fund plan;

5) a plan of investment financing for a term of office is approved by the Supreme Council of the Union. It informs national delegate congresses of member unions about the realization of such a program;

6) in a situation where one of the member unions leaves the Union, the financial assets which were discussed in point 1 are divided as follows:

a) immovables, movables and contributions from union branches--in proportion to the amount of submitted shares according to the state of financial affairs on 31 December 1980;
b) cash, valuable papers and shares in other institutions--according to the state of the balance of liquidation.

XV. Final Resolutions

Article 77.

1) The Supereme Council of the ZNP uses a round seal bearing the following inscription inside the rim: "Polish Teachers Union--Supreme Council--Warsaw"; inside the seal is the ZNP stamp;

2) Examples and principles of using the seal of member unions by their boards (councils) of all levels are described in the instructions of main boards.

Article 78. The Polish Teachers' Union has:

a) a banner;
b) a union stamp;
c) Gold ZNP Symbol [Badge].

Article 79. A name change or dissolution of a membership union may take place on the strength of a resolution of the national congress of delegates. A two-thirds vote of the delegates authorized to vote is necessary to deem this resolution valid.

Article 80. Matters not settled by the Statute are decided by the main boards according to the principles of this Statute.

Article 81. Whenever there is reference in the Statute to employees who are Union members, then this also applies accordingly to retirees and pensioners.

Article 82. The Statute goes into effect upon being passed. It is binding for ZNP members until the time of calling together congresses of delegates which should take place within the immediate 6 months of an appointed time.

ZNP Program for 1980-1983

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 80 pp 4-6

[Text] The Polish Teachers' Union, as a general, independent, autonomous and self governing professional organization of education and scientific employees, is a representative, spokesman and defender of professional, social and economic interests of teachers, university teachers and education and science employees as well as retirees and pensioners and their rights to a continual improvement of living, working and wage conditions.

In acknowledging the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) in the nation, the Union participates in the planning and implementation of the development of national education, science and culture and acts on behalf of national unity, strengthening of a common educational front and a front for the development of social democracy.

The Union stands on the groundwork of unity of fundamental goals and tasks of the professional movement in Poland and recognizes the need for ideological-programmatic and organizational unity within it. It [the Union] will initiate and develop comprehensive cooperation with other unions and branches on issues concerning the working majority and will strive to create a platform of cooperation between independent and self-governing branch trade-unions. In continuing the praiseworthy traditions of its 75-year old history and on the basis of achievements made until now, the Union acts as an ideologically involved organization, serves the realization of goals and social-educational and moral tasks consistent with the ideals of socialism, law and order and democracy.

Concern over a high social standing of teachers and scientific employees and creating of conditions for them so that they will have the authority, recognition and respect to which they are entitled is the basic goal of the ZNP.

The Union will constantly stand up for:

--complete enforcement of legally guaranteed rights in terms or presenting opinions and the defense of wide ranging employees rights and intersts;
--the effective development and observance of intraorganizational democracy as the basic principle of activity;
--respect, in echelons and elements, for the principle of wide representation of professional and social-existence interests of all professional groups, retirees and pensioners;
--strengthening unified activity of education, higher schools and science employees;
--expanding the social character of the movement.

I. Working and Living Conditions of Education, and Science Employees and Retirees and Pensioners

1) Financial Situation

A problem of basic importance is structuring salaries on a level which would correspond to the status of education and science employees in the country. The Congress is demanding from the government the preparation and implementation of a new system of salaries starting 1 September 1981, which would take into account the following principles:

-- the average earnings in the field of education are equal to the average earnings nationally;
-- the average salary of teachers is equal to the average salary of the engineering-technical cadre;
-- the average salary of university teachers and scientific employees is equal to the average salary of the engineering-technical cadre and management in industry;
-- the average salary of engineering-technical, administrative and service employees in the field of education and the higher school system and science equals analogically the average remuneration of groups employed in other divisions of the national economy.

The Congress insists on:

-- the development during 1981 of a principle of compensating workers' salaries and retirement and pension benefits in proportion to the increase in the cost of living;
-- starting January 1981, the introduction of the practice of continual computation of pensions and retirement benefits of former employees parallel to the salary increase of education and science employees and in proportion to the cost of living increases;
-- starting January 1982, the inclusion of all education and science employees in the institutional remuneration fund with the introduction of its computation starting January 1981.
-- by the end of 1980, working out a schedule for the introduction of anniversary rewards and bonuses for service performed by teachers and university teachers,
-- development, by the end of August 1982, of a concept of reducing the waiting period, for teachers and university teachers, of obtaining a higher and the highest level of principle pay.
-- from September 1982, including all teachers with over 24 years of professional service in a system of additional advances until the attainment of retirement age;
-- introduction, by the end of June 1981 of a system of priorities and financial incentives for teachers working or assuming work in rural areas;
-- introduction, at the beginning of the 1981/82 academic year of discounts on travel by PKS [State Motor Transport] for teachers commuting to work.

The Congress obligates the Main Board to a decided enforcement of:

-- binding decisions concerning the number of children in classrooms and pre-school sections;
-- better principles of granting bonuses for work performed under difficult, strenuous or health hazardous conditions (by the end of 1982);
-- decisions regarding the shortening of teachers' working time and that of teacher-educators and other employees (by the end of 1981);
-- new policies for overtime payment including education upbringing institutions which constitute a base for instruction and training in the system of teacher

education (by the end of March 1981); -- introduction of reimbursement for hours of overtime during vacation periods according to a 10-month averagee (starting July 1981);
-- a record of all additional work and activities performed by teachers which are assigned by the employer as well as determining which of these services and the amount which should be reimbursed (by the end of 1981);
--introducing into practice of regulations which would standardize the outfitting of teachers with programs of instruction, textbooks, dictionaries and encyclopedias, writing supplies, tea, protective clothing, articles of hygiene (by the end of June 1981);
--the legal regulation of the matter of outfitting new teachers with a so called send-off kit, which would include, among other things, a set of teaching programs, manuals and methods guides.

ZNP echelons should demand the use in practice of the policy of promoting long-time employees to the highest salary level of the position held and, in particular, employees of pre-retirement age.

2) Housing Situation

The housing situation for education and science employees as well as for retirees and pensioners, especially teachers in rural areas and young scientific workers, requires quick, integral solutions. For this reason, development by ministries and acceptance by the government of a plan of providing for housing needs for the years 1981-1985 is necessary as is its consistent and full implementation. ZNP echelons are obliged to make a commitment regarding their participation in the development of integral solutions in this area and to enforce the monitoring of their implementation.

By the end of June 1981, a policy should be introduced whereby teachers, university teachers and scientific employees will be recognized as specialists vital to the economy and culture.

ZNP echelons and elements should together with administrative authorities care for:

-- the full and proper implementation of housing construction plans within the realm of national investments and particular care should be assigned to ensuring such a number of dwelling accomodations, wherever new education-upbringing institutions are being built, that would provide for the housing needs of employees;
-- strict observance of the policy of allotting premises vacated by education and science employees only to employees of such branches waiting for the allocation of housing as well as regulating of housing management with premises belonging to ministries of education and science;
-- increasing financial interest in and assistance for employees, retirees and pensioners who are purchasing or undertaking the building of one-family houses, by enabling them to obtain building lots and construction materials in short supply and by granting long-term credits in the maximum amount;
-- giving assistance in obtaining cooperative apartments and also in transacting agreements with provincial housing cooperatives in regard to assuming cooperative construction in small towns and rural parishes;
-- undertaking activity for the purpose of reassessing the policies of high, bank credit rates granted to education and science employees, retirees and pensioners for housing construction;

-- extracting reserves found in the possibilities of adapting former school buildings, purchasing and renovating of other buildings for housing and increasing the number of rotational houses under construction and apartments for academic faculty members and scientific employees.

3) Social Services

The Congress recommends the increase and better management of the social fund resources and in accordance with the needs of particular working communities, those of retirees and pensioners and also in accordance with a social sense of justice, the Fund ought to be used for the most socially justified purposes and the extent of assistance dependent on, among other things, the income level of one person in a working family. In particular, aid to the lowest income families should be increased, to mothers raising their children alone, young married couples, retirees and pensioners and to members of families of deceased employees.

The Congress obligates union echelons to increase supervision over the management of the institutional social fund with concern for its fair and efficient use. It obliges the Main Board to induce the adoption of the policy of computing the social fund on the basis of not two but five percent of the earnings of employees, postgraduate students, royalties as well as retirement and pension benefits of former education and science employees, starting from January 1981.

The Congress resolves:

-- to acknowledge from 1 January 1981 the right of every ZNP member to statutory benefits regardless of a spouse's analogical right and to increase statuatory benefits;
-- to create a special centralized, fellowship intervention fund for assistance to Union members;
-- to increase the amount of the union membership fee remitted by plant councils to departmental councils;
-- to obligate the Main Board to continue the policy of creating permanent capital expenditure values through the joint efforts of all ZNP members, especially in the form of sanatoriums, relaxation centers, teachers' centers;
-- to maintain the capital expenditure fund portion of the membership fee at the current level.

In accordance with the needs of employees, appropriate resources from the social fund should be allocated for the development of various forms of relaxation and recreation, for the continued expansion of a permanent and seasonal vacation base, and to ensure the improvement of standards as well as modernized and better equipped vacation centers.

The Congress is demanding the functional organization of employees', retirees' and pensioners' forms of relaxation and the reduction of its costs by among other things, decreasing to a minimum, service charges of intermediating travel enterprises and recommends the making of efforts to grant union branches appropriate authority in this area.

The implementation of services and providing for the social needs of employees, retirees and pensioners should be the responsibility of employee services acting

under the collective control of the Union. In the instance where there is a lack of these services, the Main Board is obligated to induce their appointment by the end of 1980. Among the responsibilities of employee services should be the assuming of efforts for the improvement in supplying teachers, retirees and pensioners, primarily in rural areas, with articles of primary importance, heating and formation of communal nourishment on the principle of employee dining halls.

The Congress obligates the Main Board to constantly analyze social conditions on the basis of research results from the Union Center for Research on the Structuring of the Pay Scale and Costs of Living and to present proposals to appropriate agencies of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm and also to government authorities.

4) Legal Status and Protection of Law and Order

The Congress obliges the Main Board to submit by the end of 1980, proposals of changes in the Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher and also to participate in amendment work and to strive to make favorable legal decisions, from the point of view of employees' interests.

Union echelons and elements should make full use of their legal and statutory rights in the area of controlling the interpretation of rules and law and order in working relationships, to oppose the breaking of law and order and interpretation of rules which is harmful to employees.

The Congress recommends:

-- expansion of various forms of legal assistance to employees, retirees and pensioners as well as improvement--especially at the fundamental level--of the system of investigating grievances and proposals reported to union and administrative authorities;
-- conducting periodic analyses and evaluations of the observance of agreements and in the instance that they are not observed--taking decided counteraction until personal consequences against those guilty are obtained.

5) Industrial Safety and Hygiene

The Congress obliges ZNP echelons to:

-- take definite stands with employers on issues of industrial safety and hygiene and also on the elimination of accident and health hazards;
-- increase their concern over the technical state and accomodations of buildings;
-- induce that employees be fully provided with means of protection and hygiene and also that uniforms be provided for school custodians free of charge;
-- constantly enforce, in practice, the principle that the managerial staff as well as all employees are equally responsible for safety and hygiene in the place of employment;
-- develop the activity of branches and the people's labor inspectorate and expand the supervisory functions of plant councils in this field.

The Main Board's Work Inspectorate will offer effective assistance to councils and to the People's Labor Inspectorate and will also consistently use its rights with the aim of exacting binding regulations from the administration.

6) Health Protection

The Congress obligates ZNP echelons and elements to a decided dvelopment of cooperation with appropriate ministries in the area of health care improvement for employees, retirees and pensioners.

Union activity should concentrate itself on:

-- supervision over the implementation of rights in the area of medical services; granting of sick leave; preventive-therapeutic services and a policy of compulsory, periodic physical examinations of employees;
-- cooperation in planning and controlling the use of the fund, for health assistance to all education employees;
-- assistance in conducting tests of the state of health of teachers and determining from the results indications of occupational diseases;
-- cooperation with local authorities in the creation of provincial specialistic outpatient clinics for education and science employees, retirees and pensioners on the principles of institutional health services;
-- striving for a significant increase in the number of referrals for health resort treatment, improving social conditions in its own medical centers, improving work organization in medical establishments and improvement of the quality of services performed.

7) Care for Retirees, Pensioners and Children

The Congress obligates school administration elements and ZNP echelons to:

-- be constantly concerned about the living and health conditions of retired employees, pensioners and their families;
-- continue efforts for the construction of retirement homes as well as for social assistance in the case of the chronically ill;
-- make proper allowances for the needs of retirees and pensioners in the area of social services;
-- take up efforts for the awarding of government and union distinctions;
-- create conditions for continued professional and social activity of retirees and pensioners.

Ensuring of care and relaxation during holiday vacations for children of education and science employees and assistance in admission to schools of all kinds should be of constant interest to ZNP echelons and elements. The resolutions of the Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher should be strictly adhered to in the matter of following the principle of admitting children of teachers to schools, boarding schools and dormitories. Union departments are given the responsibility of systematically organizing various forms of assistance for children of ZNP members who are preparing to take examinations.

II. Professional Problems of Education, Higher Schools and Scientific Employees

1) Improvement of the System of Education and Upbringing

The Congress is demanding the following from governmental authorities:

-- creation of optimum conditions for continuous, general raising of the level of knowledge, culture and education of society;

-- urgent description of planning-organizational premises of the national education system, corresonding to the present and prospective social, economic and cultural needs of the country and the educational aspirations of our society;
-- creation of a uniform educational system which would assure complete permeability between particular types and levels of education in close association with continuing education.

The Congress obliges ZNP members, echelons and elements to active and partnership-like participation in consultations and the working out of optimal solutions for the educational system corresponding to the needs of society and the convictions of teachers in our country.

Education concerns the entire nation as well as elements of a socialist society and for this reason the Congress is insisting that appropriate financial, personnel and organizational conditions be ensured along with the projected changes.

Along with continuing work on a model of national education, the Congress considers the following to be essential:

-- making high standard kindergartens common for all 6 year-olds in urban areas as well as in rural communities and considerably accelerating the construction of pre-school centers in order to lower the number of children in departments and to encompass all children with pre-school care in accordance with social needs;
-- rapid construction of schools in new, urban housing communities, continuation of the construction and expansion of collective rural parish schools and elimination of overcrowding in school departments;
-- solving the problem of transporting students to school by the end of 1981 and ensuring proper care for them;
-- ensuring highly qualified teachers for all institutions and especially for rural areas through, among other things, the introduction of appropriate financial and moral incentives;
-- increasing the number of awards of distinction and orders for education employees;
-- guaranteeing students and teachers sufficient amounts of textbooks and reading material as well as educational equipment;
-- the effective increase of means for the current functioning of schools and education-upbringing institutions;
-- considerable support and creation of conditions by education and union authorities for the effective development of innovation, expediency and pedagogical progress.

The Congress obliges the Main Board to organize a Teachers' Sejm [Parliament] in order to establish the Union's position on the issue of a national education system.

The Congress obliges ZNP echelons and elements to participate in the creation of the most favorable conditions for the functioning of education and science as well as ensuring optimal capital investment solutions, effective staff and funds management and conducting constant social supervision over them.

The Main Board is obligated to induce the carrying out by the Main School Inspectorate, of a study on the situation of collective rural parish schools in

terms of the base, equipment and working conditions and present the obtained results to the Union.

2) Training Teachers and Improving Their Professional Skills

The Congress is demanding the urgent development, by the ministries of Education and Upbringing as well as Science, Higher Schools and Technology, through close cooperation with the Polish Teachers' Union, of the system of educating and perfecting teachers, which [system] will correspond in its form and substance to the needs of schools and teachers.

The Union is in favor of:

-- educating teachers in two specializations and making it [education] more practical;
-- increasing the proportions of enrollment in day studies, extension courses, evening courses in the field of beginning teaching and pre-school instruction;
-- developing a system of orientation and recruitment of youth into the field of teaching through, among other things, the proper guidance of liberal arts secondary schools;
-- an unequivocal definition of rights and benefits for teachers attending school (reduced working hours, paid vacations, rewards);
-- linking teacher enrichment with a system of moral and financial incentives (e.g., levels of qualification);
-- the rapid implementation of teachers' demands concerning changes in the substance, methods and forms of pedagogical counseling;
-- working out of objective criteria for the evaluation of teachers' work;
-- continuing cultural-educational Union activity conducive to the integration of districts, creating varied forms of developing teachers in their profession, their hobbies and artistic talents as well as satisfying their needs in the area of recreation, sports and tourism;
-- improvement of ideological-pedagogical union activity;
-- developing methods of adaptation for young teachers and scientific workers in their profession;
-- ensuring proper social conditions of colleges for teachers taking extension courses and providing them with sufficient textbooks, lecture material and educational material;
-- inclusion in the process of teacher education and improvement of the most valuable teaching staff in colleges and, particularly, outstanding teaching professionals and methods instructors of particular subject areas.

3) Science and the Higher School System

Science and the higher school system exert a vital influence on the development of the national economy and culture. Taking this into account, the Congress is demanding:

-- more complete adaptation of scientific research, higher school system activity and scientific-research institutes to the needs of socio-economic development of the country and, in particular, of industry, agriculture and culture;
-- systematic updating of the higher school system with consideration given to all conditions which determine its prospective structure;

-- modernization of teaching methods in higher schools based on the constant use of activating methods, entrusting pedagogical functions in colleges to exceptionally talented individuals, using a multifactorial system of evaluating university teachers, supporting research which improves teaching methods;
-- assigning high importance to the teaching functions of the university teacher;
-- increasing the educational role of the teaching process and self-educating work of students;
-- developing a system which would ensure candidates for scientific work of the obtainment of high essential and methodological qualifications;
-- raising the qualifications of adults on the basis of non-institutional, self-educational forms of this process;
-- making the use of higher school cadres and the scientific-technical base of industry, a common practice in teaching upbringing work;
-- popularizing new forms of academic instruction, tested in practice, which make it possible to join theory with practice;
-- working out through consultations with the Union of regulatons: in regard to the higher school system, the Polish Academy of Sciences and scientific research institutes, which would restore the proper rank and independence to higher schools and scientific institutions;
-- improving and updating higher school management, which expresses itself through, among other things, the referral of school matters to selected rectors and deans as well as giving back greater authority to school self-government.

4) Guidance of Education and Science

The Congress considers the following to be essential:

-- forming a system of coordination and management of the liberal arts, professional and higher school system;
-- reactivating and utilizing, in practice, the principle of autonomy of scholars, particularly, in terms of appointing, by way of election, rectors, deans and institute directors;
-- carrying out of an appropriate staff policy, especially when entrusting managerial positions in schools and scientific-research institutions to highly qualified persons with organizing capabilities, an involved civic attitude, high authority and respect in the community;
-- creating for the management of educational establishments, colleges and institutes, better conditions and opportunities for carrying out their basic functions by, among other things, counteracting excessive reportorial-administrative and other responsibilities not related to the process of education and organization of scientific research.

The Congress obliges the Main Board to urgently make its appearance before the chairman of the Council of Ministers with the proposal of eliminating the limit on full-time positions for teachers, engineering-technical workers, school workshops and administration in educational establishments as well as the adoption of a policy which would define the extent of employment in relation to the number of departments and compulsory amount of scheduled teaching hours.

III. Organizational Activity

1) Union Self-Government and Democracy

The basic obligation of echelons and elements is to strengthen independence and self-government of union organization as an indispensable condition for effective activity. The Union assumes an autonomous position, independent of administration and one which expresses the opinions and interests of members, in all professional and employee related matters.

The Union obliges all union echelons, as spokesmen and champions of employees' rights and interests, to decidedly make use of, in their work, the rights to which they are entitled and in justified cases to take advantage of the right of dissent towards decisions of administrative authorities in the form of a statute guaranteed by regulations regarding trade unions.

The Congress is in favor of:

-- expanding and strengthening the function of intraunion democracy;
-- observing the democratic process of electing trustees to fulfill union functions;
-- introducing a fixed rate of remuneration for social chairmen of plant councils;
-- evaluating the work of echelons by members;
-- creating organizational structures enabling particular groups to represent their opinions and defend their interests;
-- guaranteeing of proper representation with union authorities for all working groups and for retirees and pensioners as well;
-- expanding and strengthening consultative and advisory functions of union chapters and ensuring for them the opportunity of functioning in accordance with statutory rights;
-- strengthening the autonomy and responsibility of plant councils as comanagers of education and science in the region of their activity;
-- expanding the role of union echelons in making decisions on issues of education and upbringing, settling employee related matters, assigning of tasks, evaluating, distinguishing, awarding and distributing of services;
-- strengthening the program and organization of ZNP echelons and elements;
-- creating conditions conducive to the effective work of problem solving committees and professional chapters in union echelons;
-- expediting intraunion information as an indispensable element for the recognition of issues and problems pervading particular working environments and retirees and pensioners, an element for the proper formation of opinion and making optimal union and administrative decisions;
-- a more effective use of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, of union periodicals and publications in presenting the opinion of ZNP members;
-- futher continuation of favorable traditions of ZNP's cooperation with social organizations, the Polish People's Army [LWP] and institutions interested in matters of education, science and the teaching profession.

2) Finances and Management

Financial and management activity of ZNP echelons and branches should ensure financial conditions for the realization of goals and statutory tasks.

The Congress obliges:

-- efficient and economical management of union funds with particular consideration given to the needs of plant councils in rural parishes and smaller communities;

-- improving the activity of the ZNP Pedagogical and Social Services Center (by, among other things, calling together of management on the central level and improving local branch systems) as well as reinforcing its function of providing for professional and social needs of education and science employees and retirees and pensioners;
-- efficient management of assistance-loan funds and ZNP credit assistance funds, with particular consideration given to the needs of large families, young married couples, retirees, pensioners, teachers attending school and persons beginning professional work.

The Congress obliges ZNP echelons to:

-- protect and augment financial holdings and also to reclaim union possessions [objects] taking into account deadline dates determined by legal rules;
-- development of social investments, especially those intended for sanatorium and preventive treatment, relaxation after work, sports, tourism, pedagogical self-improvement and cultural-educational activity;
-- development of a long-range plan of investment activity and monitoring its implementation.

3) Research on the Teaching Profession and the Teachers' Union Movement

The Congress obliges the Main Board to assume initatives and definite action concerning the carrying out of research on crucial problems of the teaching profession, its needs, aspirations and social functions.

Research on the history of the teachers union movement should be continued and expanded, especially in terms of covert education and science and the martyrdom of teachers and education employees during the Nazi occupation and also Union activity during World War II. The bringing about and publication of a synthesis of ZNP events and history between 1905-1980 is indispensable.

ZNP echelons and their historical committees should inspire, support and propagate research work on the history of teachers and educational unions, development of science and education in Poland, participation of teachers in creating national culture in the past 75-year period, as well as encourage academic employees to take up this subject matter in students' Master's theses and doctoral as well as post-doctoral degree dissertations.

It is indispensable that extensive popularizing action be carried out, which presents to society the history of the struggles and work of teachers, of education and science employees and union activists on behalf of Polish schools and its [history's] progressive and democratic form.

4) International Activity

The Congress is in favor of active participation in the international teachers' and academic movement which should serve the exchange of information and experience and the strengthening of the solidarity of teachers and science employees.

It is the obligation of the Union to actively participate in the world peace movement, to support initiatives of eliminating tension and conflicts and strengthening peaceful coexistence.

The Congress obliges all union echelons and elements, on the basis of the above program and proposals submitted during the report-election campaign and the postualates of particular working communities, retirees and pensioners presented during the pre-Congress period, to develop a detailed plan for its [the program's] implementation.

The Congress concurs that this program is open in character, thus making it possible for ZNP echelons and elements to take into account initiatives and local proposals which enrich its substance and forms of implementation.

Warsaw October 1980

Resolution of XIII National ZNP Congress

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 80 p 4

[Text] The XIII National Congress of ZNP Delegates is proceeding under conditions of intense renewal of our socio-political and economic life. It marks new meanings, forms and methods of Union work which lead to the strengthening of independence and self-government of echelons and elements, decided protection of the rights of employees, retirees and pensioners, their right to the continual improvement of working and wage conditions, supervision over the observance of law and order in working relationships, involved activity for the improvement of working conditions in schools, learning institutions and scientific-research establishments, raising the authority of teachers and scientific workers in society.

The XIII National Congress of ZNP Delegates concurs that teachers, despite severe shortages and neglect in the areas of education, upbringing and science, participated unselfishly in the realization of their professional and civic responsibilities.

The Congress extends words of deep appreciation to education and science employees who, in support of the just goals of the working class, kept vigil by workshops in the care of children and youth.

In acknowledging the constitutional role of the Polish United Workers' Party in the nation, the Polish Teachers' Union is decidedly in favor of continued consistent expansion of socialist democracy, development of irreversible guarantees of truly socialistic forms of democracy and preservation of ideological unity in the professional movement.

The Congress is turning to all ideological-upbringing organizations, to teachers' union organizations, ministries and institutions for the joining of efforts on behalf of improving the preparation of youth for life and work in service to the country.

After hearing a report-programmatic paper of the Main Board and following extensive discussions, the XIII National Congress of ZNP Delegates:

-- accepts the report and lecture paper of the Main Board and the Main Audit Commission on ZNP activity during the years 1976-1980;

-- approves the program of activity of the Polish Teachers' Union for the 1980-1983 period;

-- decides upon a temporary statute of the Polish Teachers' Union.

The Congress obliges the Presidium of the Main Board, on the basis of an approved program of activity, proposals submitted during the report-election campaign and also the demands of working communities, retirees and pensioners, presented during the pre-Congress period as well as proposals of echelons and members referred to the Congress, to work out a detailed plan of its [the program's] implementation and to present it for approval to the ZNP Main Board.

The XIII National Congress of Delegates resolves:

-- to hold another election of plant and departmental councils in accordance with the wishes of Union members and the ZNP statute;
-- to hold elections of delegates to district ZNP congresses and elect district ZNP boards;
-- to elect delegates to the next XIV ZNP National Congress which should be held in a matter of 6 months;
-- hold elections in chapters functioning alongside ZNP echelons;
-- organize and conduct a discussion on the provisional ZNP statute.

The ratified program may be reassessed by the XIV National Congress of ZNP Delegates.

The Congress is turning to all education and science employees, retirees and pensioners; to all union echelons, elements and branches; to members of the Polish Teachers' Union with the appeal that they not spare efforts for the implementation of the adopted program, in the name of the earnest implementation of vital social-existence and professional issues of all education and science employees, retirees and pensioners.

ZNP Main Board Officials Listed

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 44, 2 Nov 80 p 2

[Text] ZNP MAIN BOARD OF HIGHER SCHOOLS AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS EMPLOYEES

Boguslaw Baranowski, Romuald Bauer, Maria Baczek, Henryk Bidga, Kazimierz Borkowski, Zygmunt Drabent, Kazimierz Dzialocha, Konrad Firlej, Janina Glanowska, Wieslawa Gmiterek, Barbara Grudniewska, Jan Honulak, Wieslaw Jasiobedzki, Marta Jeziorkowska, Andrzej Kaluzinski, Wlodzimierz Kalita, Zdzislaw Kordel, Tadeusz Kotik, Teresa Kozanecka, Marek Koziara, Tadeusz Krzoska, Juliusz Kulikowski, Andrzej Kwiatkowski, Robert Leszko, Antoni Lopata, Andrzej Malanowski, Ziemowit Mikolajtis, Roman Mroczkowski, Jerzy Napiorkowski, Ryszard Sangajlo, Henryk Sokol, Romana Steczowicz, Henryk Szarras, Andrzej Szewc, Jan Trynkowski, Hanna Uniejewska, Lidia Wakuluk, Maria Wikariak, Eugeniusz Wnuczak, Jacek Zimny, Tadeusz Zwierzchowski.

Presidium

Wieslaw Jasiobedzki, Andrzej Kaluzinski, Wlodzimierz Kalita, Juliusz Kulikowski, Antoni Lopata, Andrzej Malanowski, Henryk Sokol, Romana Steczowicz.

Audit Commission

Jan Kielbasa, Stanislaw Koperski, Eugeniusz Lapinski, Jerzy Pioch, Andrzej Sygut, Maria Szomanska, Grzegorz Urbanczyk.

ZNP MAIN BOARD OF EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING EMPLOYEES

Waclaw Abramowicz, Bronislaw Baclawski, Janina Barszcz, Michal Bielawski, Jozef Bienias, Maria Biernat, Tomasz Blecharczyk, Jan Bogdziewicz, Teresa Bogacz, Mieczyslaw Boruch, Andrzej Budzbon, Zbigniew Cierpka, Janina Chmielewska, Leopold Czekalowski, Eugeniusz Czerkies, Adam Czyz, Edward Czuchaj, Antoni Dalba, Krystyna Drabot, Kazimierz Duszczyk, Maria Fabisiak, Stanislaw Fabisiak, Edward Gajda, Kazimierz Geppert, Franciszek Ginter, Jan Guz, Lidia Gorniak, Bronislawa Gorska, Zofia Grabczak, Stanislaw Grzesniak, Zdzislawa Gnoinska, Krystyna Hajduk, Tadeusz Haranczyk, Kazimierz Hawro, Marian Jablonski, Kazimiera Jastrzebska, Maria Jaszczuk, Tadeusz Jazdzewski, Zygmunt Jesionowski, Krzysztof Kamienski, Stanislawa Kaminska, Jozef Kaminski, Irena Karkosik, Danuta Kaszubowska, Mieczyslaw Kazmierczak, Leokadia Kempska, Eugeniusz Kostekiewicz, Zofia Kucharzyk, Janina Kupiecka, Romuald Kurowski, Czeslawa Kusnierek, Krystyna Kwasniewska, Michal Langowski, Wladyslawa Lewandowska, Danuta Lukowska, Janina Maciejewska, Henryk Majos, Mieczyslaw Marczuk, Jadwiga Mendakiewicz, Roman Modrzejewski, Miroslaw Moraczewski, Stefan Myszczynski, Genowefa Mucha, Wojciech Musial, Ryszard Musiol, Maria Nowak, Jadwiga Olejniczak, Marianna Olszewska, Maria Otroszczenko, Danuta Pandowska, Mieczyslaw Piatkowski, Zofia Piechowiak, Maksymiliana Pieta, Kazimierz Pilat, Wladyslaw Pluta, Jan Porebski, Stanislawa Poznanska, Gabriel Rzysko, Slawomir Rutkowski, Maria Rybarczyk, Jadwiga Sadowska, Helena Slugocka, Eugeniusz Szczygiel, Roman Szewczuk, Aleksander Szymanski, Anna Siwik, Marian Slusarczyk, Stanislaw Slimko, Irena Twarog, Jan Walkowiak, Krzysztof Wasilewski, Ludwik Wieczorek, Adam Wojakowski, Gabriel Wozniak, Henryk Wojcik, Teresa Wojcik, Zygmunt Wysoczanski, Janina Zarebska, Antoni Zeglen.

Main Audit Commission

Presidium: Kazimierz Makowski--chairman; Jozef Pilinski--vice chairman, Maria Jedryczkowska--vice chairman, Zdzislawa Gebska--secretary, Wlodzimierz Lozinski--member of Presidium.

Members: Irena Augustynska, Eugeniusz Bak, Halina Cywinska, Teresa Domeracka, Janina From, Mieczyslaw Gorecki, Genryk Hryciuk, Stanislaw Jaroszewicz, Boleslaw Karwowski, Tadeusz Koloziejczyk, Bogdan Kossman, Maria Kwiatek, Henryk Matczak, Josefa Mielniczuk, Wanda Mrugala, Wieslawa Olszewska, Tadeusz Peter, Tadeusz Piwowarski, Stanislaw Plocharczyk, Wieslaw Sasin.

9853
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PLAN FOR FUTURE POLISH SCHOOL DESCRIBED

Warsaw AYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Bubien: "The Wroclaw School of the Future"]

> [Text] Eight years ago, a group of young college graduates from Wroclaw led by the now, Docent Dr Habilitatus Ryszard Lukaszewicz, decided to develop a comprehensive plan or a school of the future--a school whose graduate would not be merely a passive "seeker of acceptance", a person accepting only that which is acceptable and accepting only those who are accepted. A graduate of the Wroclaw school of the future will be an individual raised in the spirit of cooperation, convinced of the personal effect on the course of events with an independent personality which is capable of thinking alternatively. It is cooperation and not competition which is one of the characteristics of the Wroclaw school of the future. The second guiding principle is to study to be educated and not to have an education.

The Wroclaw plan is one of the possible visions of a school of the future; a vision 15-20 years ahead of the recently planned reform whose "quiet burial" we witnessed several months ago. Research studies on the plan are being conducted by a 15 member interdisciplinary planning group in constant cooperation with approximately 60 representatives of many academic disciplines from the entire country.

How, then, will the school of the future differ from a "traditional school"? There will be many differences. I can assure those who perhaps will not agree with the "madness" of the plan, that its originators are not charlatans but scholars who have devoted eight years of volunteer work to this end, attracting many outstanding representatives of the Polish academic community. The fact that their plan was being met with minimal interest from former education dissidents is, I believe, related to its present state.

The plan envisages abandonment of the classroom-lesson system which implies abandoning the constant division of student work into units of lessons, stages, years; abandoning the division into similar in age classroom groups and the principle of teaching monodisciplinary subjects. Instead, they propose:

-- that the division of student work be flexible and the time norms varied depending on the assignment being worked on. A student taking on an assignment

will know how much time he has to complete the assignment. The amount of time will not be rigorously enforced. As a result of such division, annual grade promotions will be eliminated and replaced by the concept of task [assignment] promotion; i.e., the crediting of assignments will determine academic progress;

-- in accordance with the assumptions of the plan, a student's workplace ought to be easily modified depending on the presented assignment;

-- the separation of students into groups should be based on the assignment being worked on at the given time. These groups will have a cooperative character. Those with a common interest will be united in the work of one group under the guidance of an instructor specializing in the given field of study.

The selection and structure of the teaching content is already in the final phase of realization; it will be based on two principles. The first is the system of main concept categories rather than the traditional ones. For example, the subject of transportation will contain elements from previous subjects such as physics, mathematics, chemistry, etc. Concepts of those academic disciplines which will integrate knowledge of this subject, will find a place in this subject category. Therefore, a system of concept networks will develop from which it will be possible to isolate in an, as if to say, recurring manner, a complex of information corresponding to, for example, a physics program up to and including the class of secondary school certificate candidates. The second principle: in the realization of each topic, students should be aware of the goals for which knowledge is acquired. Thus, the teaching program will be made up of assignment blocks which will integrate the essence of various academic disciplines.

Naturally, a situation may occur where, for one reason of another, a student will have to change schools. Therefore, a certain parellelism must be maintained with traditional schools in the work speed and teaching content.

According to the concept of the Wroclaw school of the future, children will commence studies in this school already at age 5. They will come to school on their birthday. This is not meant to be some sort of a ritual, although, it might be pleasant for the child to have this day marked by a celebration. Something else is of importance. A lot of attention needs to be devoted to 5 year-olds and it can be managed even when 40 children suddenly appear in school. Each child should be acknowledged, evaluated as to what he already knows, what he is like in terms of social contact, what his cultural shortcomings are. This is possible when a teacher has a group under his care of no more than 15 children. Why from age 5? This is psychologically substantiated. Approximately at this time, a new phase in the development of the child begins: in his thinking, actions, in social processes. During the sixth year of life, a certain regression takes place in the development of all children, a so called, bottomless pit of 6 year-olds.

This first period of time spent in school will have an adaptational character and will last approximately 2 years. The youngest students in the school will enjoy a certain autonomy expressed in such an arrangement of space so as to permit them to find their own place for playing and rest and which will guarantee them a feeling of security. These will be interior open spaces. During this first phase, creative activity is stressed around three concepts: sound, motion and word.

The second phase, called play-learning will last 3 years. The creators of the plan believe that the transition from play to studies must occur naturally. There will

be no classroom but rather class management--the transitional form between kindergarten and school.

The third, lasting several years, and last phase of school will be a learning-productive period. Learning, based on solving presented tasks is a continuation of studies from the two previous periods. However, the term, productive, needs to be explained. The authors of the plan feel that young people should have the opportunity for longer or shorter trials of becoming familiar with or even of assuming work in various places: factories, hospitals, offices, etc. The point here is to avoid making a choice of specialization or work "in the dark".

The period of adaptation and play-learning will be based on the natural, so called, primitive bonds of students. In time, purely task groups will form as a result of the type of task performed.

A separate problem is the construction of a school whose architecture would correspond to the plan as a whole, to the methods and goals of upbringing and education in the school of the future. This is not a matter of something super modern, of the glass and aluminum type, but of a school which would be universal and not only meant for this project. Architects cooperating with the Wroclaw planning group have already developed such a plan. The school building will not be fenced in. In the school of the future, there will be an information-instruction center: library, reading-rooms, places for individual work, catalogs, thesauri of information, audio-visual aids, duplicating machines. Around the center, seminar rooms will be situated in various spots, which can be made smaller or enlarged by connecting with others. Each of these rooms can accomodate 10-15 persons. In place of the old assembly hall (locked in many schools and opened on "special occasions") a forum is proposed--a meeting place for the entire school and a place for the exchange of ideas. The school forum with back-up facilities and an amphitheatre will be a place for showing films and presentations of drama students.

As in some traditional schools, so in the school of the future, there will also be a series of laboratory-workshops: art, music, physics, etc. The school hall will be a place for the exposition of artistic work of not only students but also of guest artists. Members of school organizations will find a place for themselves in club rooms. A swimming pool, gym as well as a place for large construction of, for example, sailboats, complete the list of school accomodations. Around the school, there will be a "battle field", in other words, a playground with a difference however, in that it will not be cement or asphalt.

The preparation of teachers for work in this school is also a constituent element of the new vision of a school of the future. There will be about 50 of them [teachers] for approximately 420 students. Specialized subject teachers--mathematicians, Polish language and literature teachers, physicists, etc. will go through a 2-year program of post diploma studies after college graduation. At that time, they will learn work methods of this school and at the same time, they will participate, in a practical sense, in the entire series of plans which are already being implemented in part in some Wroclaw schools and kindergartens.

The second method of preparing teachers for the needs of this school would depend on isolating the experimental process of pedagogical studies and including a specially

written plan of studies also containing information from the field of general pedagogics. If the first group of subject teachers fulfills the assumptions of the substance of teaching, then the fundamental task of the second group would be upbringing.

The third group of teachers are practitioners--persons for whom teaching in the school is really going well, who obtain excellent educational results. As a rule, these are teachers who are extremely popular with their students.

Is this in the near or distant future? Up to the present time, instructional and general educational assumptions have already been worked out for the Wroclaw plan of a school of the future. The detailed concept of teaching methods is in its final phase while the system of its contents [tresci] is half prepared.

Overlooking financial considerations, although these are also important, the practical implementation of this plan could already be started in 4 years under favorable conditions. During 8 years of work, not a single consultation to discuss the merits of the plan took place between the ministry representatives and the planning team. A lack of clear-cut decisions by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing in regard to the undertaking of this experiment hinders work on the school of the future. "Originally I had thought that"--remarks the planning group leader, Docent Dr Habilitatus Ryszard Lukaszewicz, "if the ministry is not saying no, then that already is significant and many things can be done." But in the moment which we are approaching, some sort of decision must be made because this structure which will be built in the area of Wroclaw, within the framework of a normal school network, requires approval for an individual plan as well as approval for the experimental implementation of the school plan.

Until December of last year, the education authorities referred to the plan of the Wroclaw school of the future with skepticism. According to the authors of the plan, the misgivings of the education authorities result from a fear of losing comprehensive control over the school system as well as from a reluctance to experiment.

Many persons interested in the problem of education have doubts whether the plan for the school of the future stands a chance of success. Several elements in this plan whose principles I have presented in a very general manner, can only be proven through their practical implementation--something that the authors themselves admit. In this sense, this will be a school-laboratory. Unfortunately, an answer to the question--to what extent this experiment will be successful, cannot be determined by any academic discussions.

9853
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SOCIOLOGY FACE TO FACE WITH SOCIO-HUMAN REALITIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 81 pp 7-12

[Article by Petru Panzaru of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "Sociology Face to Face With Socio-Human Realities;" written with regards to Achim Mihu's article in ERA SOCIALISTA No 12,1981 "Values and Limits in Current Romanian Sociology"]

[Text] We can finally say that "the ice has been broken." A serious and long-awaited and needed discussion about the status and current duties of Romanian sociology began with ERA SOCIALISTA's publication of the articles signed by Achim Mihu and Vasile Miftode.

Thus, we have taken the repeated advice of the party and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who said that "science can only develop through a free confrontation of opinions and ideas. Certainly, especially in the field of the social sciences, there are and there will inevitably appear theses and opinions that can be discussed and criticized. We should not be afraid of this; the main fear and main danger are in not carrying out research activities because of the fear of making a mistake, just copying what others do."

It is clear that a subject of research, reflection and discussion can be the status, level of development and the values and limits of a science itself, in this case with regards to sociology and psycho-sociology, with the discussion capable of bringing about a more adequate understanding of their place and mission in Romania's economic-social, political and cultural affairs. It can also bring about an increase in their contributions, together with all the other sciences about man and society, to the achievement of the truly complex objectives of the new stage of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society, as they were defined in the documents of the 12th Party Congress and in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils (June 1981). And, in the center of all economic-social activities during the current stage, which also requires the contributions of the social sciences, the party has placed the achievement of a new quality in work and life, the broad application of the advances of technical-scientific revolution, the powerful development of science and education - fundamental factors for creating the new order, and the raising of the professional and cultural levels of all the workers.

It is not risky or "pro domo" to say that, especially during the last decade, as a result of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress regarding "the reinstatement" of sociology's natural rights and the resumption of the rich and original research from the pre-war era on a new level, sociology in Romania (regarded as having an inseparable and organic relationship with psycho-sociology) has had appreciable results which, when speaking of theoretical, methodological or purely didactic contributions, are still awaiting an intrinsic evaluation, and, when speaking of the conclusions of certain specific regional investigations or investigations in industrial economic units, agricultural units, cultural institutions and so forth, are still awaiting implementation. It is worth noting that in the last decade in the quasi-totality of the country's counties, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations or at the request of different economic-social and cultural units, specific sociological and psycho-sociological research was carried out on a greater or lesser scale that was partially or not at all given publicity and, thus, sufficiently unknown on a national scale.

It is truly the time to concentrate our attention and analysis, as Achim Mihu and Vasile Miftode did, on those elements and factors, be they "within" sociology and psycho-sociology or outside of them, which unjustifiably delay the full use of these possibilities, the growth of their contribution to the understanding and resolution of the problems facing our society and their employment in essential areas that have been avoided until now, such as, for example, the area of literary and artistic creative work, literary critique and the area of international relations.

In order to more clearly outline the need to discuss the "status" of sociology and psycho-sociology in Romania, as a condition for the proper flow of future research, I will paraphrase a statement of a renown literary critique: when sociologists argue, sociology moves ahead; when they are all in agreement, sociology stagnates.

Certainly, sociology cannot be constructively critical (one of the conditions for being a science) without being constructively self-critical (one of the conditions of being aware of the times).

Sociology "is carried out" in laboratories, research centers, in faculties, in the field among human collectives in industrial, agricultural, commercial, transportation, cultural-educational units and so forth, and there should no longer be any need "to discuss" sociology in the pages of magazines and books - a possible and probable objection implicitly and explicitly convincingly rejected by the preceding articles. The climate in which sociology lives and coexists with other sciences, the specific functions that it has to carry out in the family of social-political and humanist sciences and the chances for development and broader social use of its products, both the theoretical ones and those stemming from specific regional, local or microsocial investigations, are real subjects for discussion which themselves dispel any objections or frequently encountered reservations of certain institutionalized sociologists regarding a confrontation

of open, broad, multilateral and specific opinions on the manner in which sociology "is carried out" today in Romania, regarding the stage that it has reached and regarding the mentalities, views and attitudes that nourish it, "undernourish" it, favor it or put it at a disadvantage.

In order to have a full validation of the functions of sociology and a scientific understanding and explanation of the new social phenomena on the national and international levels and of its tasks in contributing to the practical achievement of the programmatic objectives of the new stage that socialism has entered in our country, it seems of primary and maximum importance to me to exactly circumscribe its subject matter and its allied relationships with the other social and political sciences. This means, on one hand, not confusing or substituting, either in didactic activities or in actual scientific research activities, sociology with sociological theories and doctrines or with sociological investigative methods and techniques and, on the other hand, understanding and using them, not for the purpose of being intellectually "photogenic" or avoiding reality, but exclusively for the purpose of creating a theoretical-epistemological and methodological "arsenal" necessary for investigating national social realities at the global, regional and local levels within the context of current international relations.

To clearly distinguish the subject matter of sociology as a science of current social realities and as the subject matter of the history of sociological doctrines, systems and theories, means placing yourself on the path of directly studying social affairs and not the proposals of diverse authors regarding a radical social existence and accepting the synthetically-formulated just idea put forth by Achim Mihu that sociology "studies the social actions of people who constitute the existing society" and that the subject matter of sociology is "the analysis of the notional peculiarities of the social fabric." Vasile Miftode similarly presents the problem when he writes correctly that "the social evaluation of a science - and this fact is even more valid in the case of sociology - depends upon the manner in which it is involved and makes its presence known in the solution of certain problems stemming from the affairs and the practice of developing our society." Finally, with good reason Grigore Zanc asks our sociologists and the specialized sociological and politological magazine VIITORUL SOCIAL "to become more directly and efficiently involved in the solution of the problems facing socialist society and the contemporary world" (TRIBUNA, No 28, 9 Jul 81, p 5).

When sociology is predominantly presented as a succession of sociological theories (doctrines), then it appears as a "science" that summarizes that which is known and the sociologist appears as a "talking bibliogrpahic index." Clearly, contemporary sociology, as a science that wants to have the most complete view of social realities, cannot exist and cannot achieve its gnosiological, explicative, predictive and practical functions except under conditions where, to begin with, its professionals critically assimilate and selectively use the valuable earlier national and foreign theoretical findings. And, "to carry out" sociology means

studying current social realities and not leaving yourself to merely present sociological theories and doctrines, as is frequently done in so-called "Introductions to Sociology." Therefore, we must have a resulting distinction between the research sociologist who carries out sociology and the sociologist who teaches sociology: the first gives priority to making statements about surrounding social events and realities; the latter normally composes statements about the pronoucements of other authors, quotes them, comments on them and so forth, spreading the knowledge of them or teaching them.

The purpose of a so-called sociological text is not to communicate to the reader how many books the author read or wrote, but how he presents and interprets, with the help of different authors, immediate social-human realities and the affairs of people, groups and society. "The review," or more precisely, the scientific analysis of life and not literature about social affairs must decisively be given first priority, and, I repeat, without creating an artificial opposition between the text and the context. The specialized bibliographies must be critically reviewed through and by the "bibliography" of real life.

We must firmly and explicitly reserve our consideration and public respect only for those sociologists who effectively broaden the limits of scientific knowledge about our society, offer valuable suggestions for the improvement of social activities, produce thorough, substantial books, studies and research papers containing original elements and having broad interdisciplinary openings in which the ideas and points of views of the authors in Romania are discussed with interest and on a priority basis, complete specific investigations in their own or collective works, communicating the most significant results in adequate and accessible forms, make efforts so that the majority of these works can be transformed from works "for internal use" into works "for foreign use" and participate in discussions and confrontations regarding ideas, being true agitators in the country's cultural and spiritual affairs, generally through their continuing presence in journalism.

There is an abuse of the terms science and scientific. Let us be clear: Is (it must be) scientific sociology or the science of sociology (as well as other socio-human sciences) anything else but a group of statements having a certain degree of coherent generality from a logical point of view referring to a specific historical social reality and especially having a high degree of truth and correspondence with the reflected realities and their essence? These statements cannot and must not be foreign to or removed from the review and checks of all the representatives of the social sciences and especially the reviews and checks on behalf of the daily social practices of millions of people.

The truth is the superordinate category of the sciences in general and, as a result, of the sociohuman sciences, including sociology and psycho-sociology. It would be a mistake to underestimate the particular nature and difficulties of discovering, formulating and socializing the sociological and psychological

truth. The subjects of these sciences are human subjects and the activities and relationships between them under objective, specific historical social conditions. It is said that "the truths lies in deeds," but we must immediately add that "the truth lies in recognizing events," keeping in mind that it is basically the connection between statements and complex and contradictory social-human realities. On the path from objective (overall, bare) social events to the truth (statements) about them, many dangers crop up.

Today, the sociologist, as well as the persons who sincerely want to benefit from the results of his work in research and discovery regarding the social truth, must be warned that in the social-human sphere there are many types, degrees or "stages" of reality and events that directly or indirectly serve as subjects for scientific research (sociological research) and that cannot be confused without the risk of avoiding or falsifying the truth: 1) the existence of an objective, so-called social-human (and natural) reality in the strictest acceptance of the term, a primary, fundamental and essential factual reality, a reality of the "first degree;" it is social life itself as such with all its components and determining factors; 2) the existence, then, of a specific social reality, let us say of a "second degree," an objectively subjective reality (secondary) composed of words (statements) about the primary reality and about events; it is a cognitive reality created from the language at the level of social and individual awareness, scientific knowledge and common awareness, with its variable degrees of adequacy for objective reality; 3) finally, the existence of a socio-intellectual "reality" of the "third degree" ("tertiary") created from "words about words" (statements about statements, opinions about opinions, theories about theories and so forth). Not confusing (substituting) and not isolating these types and degrees of social-human "realities" allow us to see the skill and rigors of sociological and psychological investigations in their entirety and their values of truth.

In conclusion, I must state in a preemptory manner that the subject matter of scientific sociology, in general, is living, specific, current social-human REALITY itself viewed in all its dimensions and correlations in a systematic, integrated and dynamic manner. And, the subject matter of Romanian sociology represents the study of social realities (activities, relations, events, phenomena, processes, contradictions, institutions) in our country in the context of the contemporary era and the "in vivo" study of micro- and macrosocial interations and all the areas of our social affairs.

The problems of contemporary Romanian sociology are the problems of our socialist society on the way to multilateral development, under especially complex international conditions.

There are confusions and reductions that should be dispelled instead of being maintained. Not infrequently sociological and psycho-sociological research or investigations are identified and reduced to the elaboration, application and

processing of certain questionnaires sprinkled with dozens of questions having hundreds of response variations. Between the researcher and his subjects thousands of words intervene, words that are recorded on standard mailbox forms, which frequently mortify or schematicize living, diverse, particular human reality, a reality that is difficult or impossible to reflect in the columns of the questionnaire.[1] Those persons who delve into or merely take advantage of this segment of sociological or psycho-sociological research are inclined to attribute scientific rigors and objectivity only to those investigations based upon this procedure and to eliminate from the realm of sociological research the analyses and reflections, even profound and truth-bearing ones, that are not accompanied by statistics, tables, percentages, correlations and so forth.

There are tendencies and phenomena that should displace the ruthless nature of polemics: "the theoretical delirium," as well as the narrow-minded empiricism; the documentary torrents, as well as factual anemia; the bland tone of supposedly objective findings, as well as the application of adjectives to realities; the accumulation of platitudes and ambiguities, produced in "specialized" terminology designed to encipher the banalities, as well as the academic "arrogance;" boring texts and works of a murky technical nature lacking the tensions of life and the gift of inspiration and imagination and lost in the desert of methodical mediocrity, to use the expressions in the exciting book (and for a sociologist) by Lucian Raicu ("Reflections Upon the Creative Spirit"). So as not to be removed from the truth of life, the investigative methods and techniques must "be subordinate to scientific theory" (V. Miftode), must be the expression of a view of man and of human nature and essence in their living actions in a social-historical space and time or, at least, it must be subjected to a control on the part of just such an authentic and consistent humanistic view.

Social investigative methods and techniques are not themselves sociology, as some practitioners of the discipline appear to understand, but rather its instruments, its working "tools" and the paths of access to the subject matter, which remains, again and again, social-human realities. In having a functional organic unity with sociological theory, epistemology, methodology and research techniques have as a unified purpose the knowledge and understanding of real social processes, the uncovering of latent tendencies and an opportunity to express technological skills.

A judicious evaluation regarding sociology and its mission has been formulated by Basil Bernstein in one of his studies entitled "The Sociology of Education - A Summary Report," in which he writes: "Contemporary sociology offers a poorly coordinated group of theories and practices, but it is extraordinarily prolific in its methods and analyses. Sociological imagination should make visible that which is made invisible by the institutional procedures of society and the daily practices of its members."[2]

It is not absolutely necessary for us to await the establishment of a "sociology of sociology" (and we already have a sufficient number of sociologies) in order to admit that sociology as a science is either (also) reflexive or it is neither sociology nor science. Only through the intermediary of the reflex can sociology and psychosociology achieve that "go-come" relationship between the macrosocial and the microsocial, between overall society, with its specific instutitions, laws, values and norms, and the microgroups that form it, and between social events and human stories.

Scientific reflection (why not also philosophical reflections?) saturated with significant events of life and reflexivity, in general, are strictly necessary to sociology not only to avoid sociography, factography and "flying at low altitudes," to avoid the tax paid to circumstances and to "cut" the tangled knot of prejudice and comfortable appearances, but also to fulfill one of its most important functions: that of the future, that of being predictive.

For sociology, there is no "better" way by virtue of being marginal, "provincial" or becoming subordinate, except by the arrogant break from philosophy and the other social sciences, especially from the economic, political, juridic sciences and the science of social management, except by limiting its functions to that of "an annex" or a technical-methodological "adjunct" to the other social sciences or to the disciplines of high education having a casual access to the specific research of economic-social realities.

The destiny of sociology "as a part of scientific and spiritual affairs of our society," as is well said by Achim Mihu, and the blending of its gnosiological and praxiological functions, as well as its political and cultural-educational ones, are directly tied to the preservation and improvement of the statute of a theoretical-applied discipline with its specific nature and appreciable contributions to the general effort of the social-political sciences for improving, rationalizing and humanizing social relations, organization and management in our society.

The logic itself of the specific subject matter of sociology (social reality in its entirety with all its dimensions: economic, political, juridic, institutional, cultural-artistic, religious and so forth) requires the sociologist and the psychosociologist to assimilate a multilateral philosophical and scientific culture, requires them to be open, receptive and informed regarding a great number of fields of knowledge and culture, and requires them to reject what Mircea Malita calls "the slavery of specialization" (narrow), mono-thematicism and living within the shell of a sub-branch. Certainly, especially today under the conditions of the proliferation of the family of sciences and "its members" and of the information "explosion," the sociologist, as well as the economist, to use a bit of Galbraith's wit, "cannot know everything, but he cannot omit anything" essential that is occurring in the society in which he lives, from demography,

economics and ecology to the arts and literature. Only if the "intellectual fortress" of sociology keeps its doors and windows wide-open to all the other social sciences and only if it expresses an authentic interpluri- and trans-disciplinary spirit will it be able to "cover" the subject matter and make a specific contribution to the understanding and improvement of the macro- and microsocial conditions of man.

Like any other field of scientific knowledge, the field of sociology and psycho-sociology also requires competency and specialized, professional training. It is natural and necessary to plead in its favor and for us to be concerned about the new personnel. But, sociologists and psycho-sociologists should not isolate themselves from other specialists and professionals or from the broader public, within which they should be intensively active, including within the press, radio and television.[3]

No matter how paradoxical it might appear, sociology and the sociologists carry out their specific social mission not only to the degree in which they produce specialized studies and research, which are eventually read by their colleagues, but also to the degree in which the spirit, vision and methods of sociology and psycho-sociology are assimilated and applied by non-sociologists and are regarded as indispensable in the work carried out by economists (theoreticians and practitioners), engineers, managers in ministries and industrial centers, collective leaderships in units involved in industry, construction, transportation, trade, agriculture, in institutions of education, culture, press, radio, television, public health and so forth.

In a socialist society programmatically centered on man as an active, productive, creative, participative and consolidative factor and as a principal user of economic-social, technical-scientific and cultural progress, the triumph of the humanist view over the technocratic, productivist and narrow-economist view depends to a great degree upon the penetration of the sociological and psycho-sociological spirit in all the social-human sciences and in all the spheres of social leadership, organization and activity. This is even more true since, as is pointed out by the authors of the valuable work on applied sociology and psycho-sociology "The Human Development of the Industrial Enterprise" (Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1981, coordinated by Catalin Zamfir): "The human factor becomes, under the new conditions, an ever more important source of efficiency for all activities that are organized and especially for work," with there existing "ever more powerful pressures in the direction of humanizing work as a component part of improving the quality of life" (p 502).

A separate importance for increasing the degree of sociology's functionality here in Romania on all three of the connected levels where it simultaneously carries out its efforts (theoretical-epistemological, technical-methodological and praxiological) is the understanding and correct treatment of the relationships

between sociology and psycho-sociology, sister disciplines so closely bound that not infrequently they either continue to lose their specific nature and relative autonomy or to attempt to absorb and artificially subordinate one to the other. And, in this case, the solution to the dilemma and the conclusions to the uselessly extended dispute can be formulated by firmly beginning 1) with the data of social realities themselves, which are not either sociological (objective) or psycho- (socio-) logical, but a complex and integral structure (subjective), which are not merely macrosocial and impersonal, but also microsocial and interpersonal and so forth; 2) with the experiences and results shown in the collective and individual works published here in Romania and in other countries.

And, what do these works demonstrate? By virtue of the fact that social reality (life) is the dynamic unity between strictly objective factors and subjective ones and is the living interaction of social and individual existence and awareness, be it theoretical or applied, it is at the same time (and it cannot otherwise be) of a psycho-sociological nature. In according to the objective facets the essential and determining role and place that it has, the sociological explanation cannot ignore the components of a mental, psychic and psycho-social nature in social affairs and the motivational, primarily psycho-social, factors.[4] Similarly, by being concerned with the study of the social structures and the evolution of these structures, social institutions and organizations and their functionality (or, especially, their dysfunctionality) during a given historical period, the study of the influence and collisions of the values-norms systems that guide the human community and the study of the social classes, categories and strata that intercondition each other in a national society, sociology will necessarily associate itself with the views, methods and techniques of psychosociology and it will give equal attention to the social structure, the collective and the personality.[5] Only in this manner does it avoid the risk of making an "inaccurate reading" of the social-human realities that it subjects to investigation. In brief, metaphorically speaking, sociology without psycho-sociology is just like an organism, like a body without eyes, without arms, without legs...

Along this line of thinking, I cannot but express my surprise and, furthermore, my regret that both Vasile Miftode and Achim Mihu in the articles to which I have referred (but not in their works and research) ignore psycho-sociology "as if" it were not the twin sister of sociology, "as if" one could make a valid statement about social activities and relations and about a living, specific-historical society without the psycho-sociological categories. That is why, in filling in this - I am convinced involuntary - gap in the articles of these previous writers, I feel it is necessary to insist upon the correlation between sociology and psycho-sociology as an expression of the organic unity between the objective and the subjective and between social existence and social awareness.[6]

Why, in the current stage of both science and social practice, is it appropriate to give special attention to the psychological and psycho-social components of social activities and relations of all types and at all levels?

First, given the specific nature itself of these activities and relations (belonging to people, aware and active beings), because the psychological and psycho-social factors are socio- and omnipresent and, even if in society not everyting is of a psychological and psycho-social nature, in fact without them nothing is truly social and human. In a practical sense, the activities and relations in all the vital sectors of social affairs (from the economic and political to the scientific, technical, organizational, cultural, educational and so forth) cannot be carried out and achieved without the decisive participation of psychological (general-human) and psycho-social (specific-historical) factors which directly and indirectly reflect the objective conditions of the natural-social existence of people engaged in interactions (see the article "Social Responsibility and Action," published in ERA SOCIALISTA No 13/1980).

Second, because these factors, as constitutive elements of the social fabric and although important and significant, are normally ignored or placed on a secondary level and dealt with in a view inversely proportional to the role that they play in social dynamics, to the point of damaging social science and practice. Along this line of thinking, we should note the lack of consideration given to the psycho-social effects of certain insufficiently considered measures, certain abnormal states of affairs or certain styles of work and leadership that are opposite to the declared principles of socialist democracy.

Third, because the sociological, economic and politological analyses themselves find in most cases that in the current stage of our socialist construction, when objective conditions have been created (material, economic, institutional, juridic and organizational conditions) in accord with the essence of socialist society, the cause of certain difficulties, unequal performance (under equal objective conditions) or the repeated failure to achieve certain established objectives and tasks are frequently of a psycho-social nature (concepts, mentalities, behaviors, attitudes, opinions, morale, climate and so forth, and the lack of agreement with the requirements for certain socialist social relationships).

Fourth, but not last in importance, because the changes (we would even want mutations) in the so influential area of individual and social psychology (by group and collective) do not have their rate and depth in synchronization (even less instantaneously) with the radical and relatively rapid transformations in the sphere of economic-social and objective organizational realities. The changes in social and individual awareness, with awareness by definition being a psychological and psycho-social fact, are subjected to other laws, rates and procedures than those transformations in the objective social existence of people.

It is sufficient for us to give as an example the resistance to change and the repetitiveness of the private and individual psychology in order for us to understand how important and current is the task established in the Party's Program, and frequently repeated in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, of not adopting a fatalist attitude regarding shortfalls in social, and psychological, awareness concerning the new socialist social existence, and of working so that the efforts with the people and their education will be one of the central concerns of the party organizations and an essential facet of their political-educational activities, as well as all their activities.

Certainly, the accent placed on the organic unity and lucrative cooperation (gnosiological, methodological and at the level of field research) between sociology and psycho-sociology should not lead to either the psychologization of sociology (and other social-human sciences) or the sociologization (in general) of social psychology. The problem was clearly settled by Miron Constantinescu in his "Introduction to Sociology" (1972), in which he wrote, among other things: "Social psychology in the general system of the social sciences and in a just correlation with sociology has its important role in scientific research. We will maintain the need for collaboration between sociology and psychology... Social psychology is a precious ally of sociology, a main component of the orchestra of social sciences; ...therefore, recognizing the legitimacy of this science, we cannot identify it either with sociology and, even less so, admit to an inter-changeability of positions, substituting social psychology for sociology" (pp 156-158).

Just as we cannot favor one of the methods and techniques available to us over another, sociology and psycho-sociology cannot refuse a single source of information, be it primary or secondary, regarding the social-human realities that they study. Above and beyond the statistics, numbers and percentages, they must find and see the people, their deeds, their motivations and their mentalities. To this end, not only can the mathematical methods and techniques serve them, but also, for example, the careful and reflexive study of the daily press and the annual collections of decisions by the Supreme Tribunal, real sociological and psycho-sociological "novels" for those who know how to read them, as well as the study, from a sociological and psycho-sociological perspective, of contemporary Romanian fiction in literature which, in its better aspects, has offered truths about our society and its people that the social sciences did not uncover, although they were and still are charged with doing just that.[7]

Certainly, fictional literature and scientific literature cannot be substituted one for the other, but with each serving in its own way the same purpose, they must remain joint communicators in the efforts to discover, state and socialize the truth and make us take the step ourselves in the society in which we live in the effort to improve and make more beautiful the daily life of all people. The writer and the sociologist who live in a space saturated by the specific and by events have a common creed and a similar restriction, as stated long ago by Ion Ghica: "I do not permit myself to write except when I can tell the truth."

And, the conclusion of the writer and the sociologist will also be the same: yes, life must be changed! Since not just life must have an effect upon sociology, but sociology together with psycho-sociology are called upon to have an effect upon the evolution of social affairs.

With good reason, the authors of the articles about sociology in ERA SOCIALISTA came out in favor of the priority formulation and research of certain priority themes and for their listing according to the importance that they have in relationship to the current and broader future concerns (therefore, the problems) of our socialist society. This value selection represents an antidote for the routine spirit of dealing with certain themes that, over time, become marginal in nature and importance, as pointed out by Achim Mihu, and for the tendency of grinding out research, as well as for the mirage of exhaustivity. With regards to this, the question can be clearly asked, one which also contains a straightforward answer: What should be of priority concern to the sociologist and the psycho-sociologist if not that which is of priority concern to our society itself, its living and real people, by the socio-professional, residential and age categories?

In the perspective of the furthering socialist workers' democracy, of broadening the channels of social communication from bottom to top and of the masses participating not only in the achievement, but also in the elaboration and adoption of decisions, there must be a continuous broadening of the idea of "social instructions" addressed to the sociologist and the psycho-sociologist in the sense suggested by Achim Mihu: "Sociological investigations should also be carried out at the suggestion of those "on the bottom," that is, those who directly carry out the activities in production."

In applying the sociological and psycho-sociological methods themselves, it would be appropriate to "inventory" not only that which is being studied more or less frequently and thoroughly in the specialized studies, research efforts and projects, but also (or especially) that which is not studied at all or is dealt with in an auxiliary and timid manner. Among these themes - of maximum importance keeping in mind both their incidence in life and behaviors in the concerns of the great human masses and especially in the physical time and psychic energies they consume in the non-duplicatable lives of human individuals - I would list: the degree of satisfying, under normal and rational conditions, the material (consumer) needs of the different categories in the population, as well as the needs of a spiritual and cultural nature that are subjected to criteria other than the first needs, necessitating a vast and permanent effort to stimulate, orientate and channel; the real means of improving the quality of life (of work, civic, family and leisure life) for the different categories of workers; the substantial improvement of interhuman and intersocial communications at the micro- and macrosocial levels and the establishment of true "communication groups" that will block or gradually decrease the current giant loss of social and personal time, time that is taken up by redundant communications in long meetings and other

forms of material consumption of time and in reporting sessions having a bureaucratic or formal nature, as well as in ritual verbal behaviors and so forth (this is a case precisely for the sociologist and the psycho-sociologist to acutely state the problem that the efficiency and productivity of economic-social, political-ideological, educational and other activities depend not only on the level of technical-material equipment, but also to a decisive degree upon the "productivity" of communications, the conciseness and precise of these communications and their accuracy); the prevention of anti-social phenomena and negative behaviors, including relapses and tendencies of proliferating individualism and privatism (so rooted in the psychology of private property); the energetic and efficient combatting of bureaucratic mentalities and behaviors in their "classic" forms and also in their "renovated," modernized and cloaked forms of the language of "socialist" terminology; the means of educating and generalizing democratic trends and behaviors, knowing that the democratic forms and institutions created by our society do not become functional and do not achieve their purposes except under conditions of a psycho-social climate favorable to the free formulation and expression of opinions and constructive criticism from below and of respect in the daily life for the norms and precepts of participative, responsible and creative socialist democracy; the means of promoting the authentic values, creative initiatives and new things in the sharp struggle against the routine and the conservative, against imposition and incompetence.

Of major importance is the "alliance" between sociology, psycho-sociology and the science of managing the socialist society. This alliance alone is responsible for a greater sensitivity in the collective decisionmaking organs at all levels regarding the key problems of immediate, social-human consequences, as well as long-term consequences, for different measures and decisions and the rates and correctness with which the adopted measures are achieved or not, and upon the validity and opportuneness themselves of some of these measures. Sociological and psycho-sociological research carried out in advance or during activities, including public opinion polls, could offer the opportunity to prevent or to make anticipated corrects to certain draft decisions or measures who effects do not agree with the programmed purposes or intentions that motivated them. Thus, there could be a decrease in the number of resolvable, but unresolved problems that repeatedly end up on the daily agenda of the meetings of collective leadership organs, and there could be more rapid progress in all fields.

Sociologists could provide an immense, practical and effective service to our socialist society if they could get their sociological technique of content analysis to penetrate and become a current work method in the system of mass communications, as well as in those institutions that receive and must annually resolve thousands, tens or hundreds of thousands of letters from citizens. Through this, there would be a more precise and effective understanding of the concerns and opinions of the masses and the areas in which social problems and tensions appear in an incipient or latent manner, offering the competent organs the opportunity to provide a timely solution of these problems and to prevent the transformation of certain contradictions into disturbing conflicts.

No discipline of the spirit, and sociology belongs to the region of the spiritual, with its specific rigors, ever developed anywhere without discussions, and not occasional, sporadic ones of a "campaign," but rather permanent ones as a natural component part of the process itself of achieving the theoretical and practical objectives of science. That is why, in presenting several points of view in the discussion hosted by ERA SOCIALISTA, I expressed my hope that one of its specific valuable effects will be the establishment of a permanent critical discussion by sociologists and non-sociologists - in the different publications, including social-cultural and literary ones, but especially in VIITORUL SOCIAL - on the state of affairs and morale in the sphere of socio-human sciences, especially on those published and unpublished works, on research that has been completed, finalized and publically communicated and on the realities themselves that these investigations are trying to work to uncover the essence, dynamics, difficulties and contradictions and to formulate optimum solutions in all the fields of social affairs.

FOOTNOTES

1. It should be no less ignored or minimized the evaluations and conclusions of certain sociologists having a vast experience in scientific research; H. H. Stahl recently wrote: "Direct contact with the tragedies and joys of the people as a man and not as a researcher frequently overshadows greatly theoretical efforts. For that reason, I feel sorry for those "researchers" who go about in a world that is broad and strange to them armed only with a miserable "questionnaire" drawn up at home that is dry and weak, with the empty illusion that they will obtain answers through a "yes" or a "no" to all their questions. In this manner, they think they have been very successful, when in reality all they have is a collection of dead items greatly removed from what life itself is" ("Reflections and Thoughts From the Old School of 'Sociological Monographs'", "Minerva" Publishing House, 1981, p 62).

2. B. Bernstein, "Studies on the Sociology of Education," the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1978, p 37 and so forth.

3. It is good when the daily press reproduces (unfortunately it is sufficiently infrequent) through the writing of its reporters the results of certain socio-psychological research efforts in economic units, but it is not good that the sociologists and psycho-sociologists themselves cannot get permanent columns in all the types of publications that they could continually supply with the results of their investigations or their reflections under their own by-line. I believe that the staffs at the newspapers, magazines, radio and television would be receptive to such initiatives for a systematic, permanent cooperation with competent sociologists and psycho-sociologists having the experience and the writing ability.

4. A recent remarkable work dedicated to this central theme in the social sciences is from Catalin Mamali: "Motivational Balance and Co-evolution" appeared in "The Library of Sociology" from the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, which publishes in a salutary manner books that fortunately can be classified with difficulty as "pure" sociology or "pure" psycho-sociology. The title of the collection could even be expanded to: "The Library of Romanian Sociology and Psycho-sociology."

5. It is true, certainly, writes Gordon Allport in his classical work "The Structure and Development of the Personality" (1937, 1961, Romana Publishing House, 1981) that the personality is molded by the social environment and is itself expressed within the framework of this environment. Nonetheless, "it is a system in itself and deserves to be studied as such... Currently, we do not have the right to wall ourselves in and discourage any path for conducting an investigation into human nature. Narrow dogmatism is improper... Specific human life... represents the only manner in which human life is lived" (Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, 1981, pp 8, 9).

6. Directly considered together, sociology and psycho-sociology do not have, as V. Miftode unfortunately states, "principal" techniques (which involve "merely" the investigation of social existence) and "secondary" techniques (which involve "merely" the investigation of social awareness), but only techniques (and methods) that are adequate or inadequate to the subject matter being researched. How this subject matter is represented by the human subjects and the activities and relationships between them, and how the objective social existence is not social if it is not conscious, while awareness is not real and authentic either if it does not reflect the existence and active influence of the social fabric, produces the result that the segmentation and hierarchical listing (in principal and secondary ones) of investigative techniques into the affairs of the human collective (which is a dialectical unity between the objective and the subjective, and a natural-social existence and social-human awareness) are at least artificial and inoperative. All serious sociological and psycho-sociological research proves this, including the already-mentioned volume "The Human Development of Enterprises," whose first chapter is significantly entitled: "The Contribution of Sociology and Psycho-sociology to the Human Development of Enterprises;" or the book, "The Analysis and Prediction of Human Performances," by Ionel Dorofte, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1981.

7. In the article "Cedars Without Thorns" from the group that appeared under the title "Literature and the Politician" in STEAUA (No 5/1981), Achim Mihu presented pertinent findings and stated a significant question: "Under the conditions in which the socio-human sciences have remained behind the spirit of the politician, nearly suffocated by complex circumstances and bowing to dogmatism, literature became the most faithful expression of new policies. More than anything else the

situation appeared where the representatives (it would be better to say the officials) of the socio-human sciences not only delighted in the rose-colored world, but also reacted nervously regarding the courage of literature... What will happened, however, with literature in the case when those in the socio-human sciences rid themselves of the mistakes of dogmatism and become daring to the degree of the essential meaning of Marxist ideology, presenting realities with a natural courage from over the recent decades, as well as the realities of today?" (p 17). And, other participant in the discussions noted with good reason: "Even for the historical periods that have just passed, the novels that made "discoveries" and conducted "discussions" can no longer forever replace objective historical-social studies, realistic reporting, documents and testimony, and deep philosophical analysis" (p 15).

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CSO: 2700/62

BRIEFS

ALBA IULIA AUXILIARY BISHOP--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the priest Ludovic Balint is recognized in the position of auxiliary bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Alba Iulia. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 63, 31 Aug 81 p 2]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS, REMOVALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Cornel Pinzaru is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the machine-building industry. Comrade Ilarie Munteanu is appointed deputy minister of the machine-building industry. Comrade Vasile Chivulescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials. Comrade Vasile Baltac is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine-building Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 64, 1 Sep 81 p 4]

MINISTERIAL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Pretor Popa is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Gheorghe Ciolanescu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry and chief of the Department of State Agriculture. Comrade Mihai Arghir is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. Comrade Mihail Tenea is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee and appointed deputy minister and director general of the General Directorate for Constructions and Installations in the Department for Foreign Constructions. Comrade Ion Militaru is appointed deputy minister in the Department for Foreign Constructions [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 65, 3 Sep 81 p 3]

FOREIGN TRADE BANK CHIEF--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Vasile Voloseniuc is relieved of his position as chairman of the Administrative Council of the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade. Comrade Nicolae Eremia is appointed chairman of the Administrative Council of the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 67, 7 Sep 81 p 2]

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END

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24 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1944

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24 November 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1944

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Josef Plojhar Dies 1

POLAND

Taped Walesa Statements, Worker Reaction
(LISTY, Aug 81) 2

ROMANIA

Communists Ethics, Social Practice Examined
(Constantin Raducu; CONTEMPORANUL, 16 Oct 81) 11

YUGOSLAVIA

Historical Survey of Albanian Settlement in Yugoslavia
(Viktor Meier; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 22 Oct 81) 14

Milovan Djilas Cites Emigre Threats Against His Son
(Christine von Khol; DIE PRESSE, 2 Nov 81) 23

BRIEFS

JOSEF PLOJHAR DIES--The Honorary Chairman, Czechoslovak People's Party and Deputy, Chamber of People, Federal Assembly, Josef Plojhar died suddenly on 5 November at the age of 79. [Prague PRACE in Czech 7 Nov 81 p 1]

CSO: 2400/58

TAPED WALESA STATEMENTS, WORKER REACTION

Rome LISTY in Czech No 5, Aug 81 pp 30-33

[Tape Recording of Lech Walesa's Remarks At the Warsaw Iron Works, 27 March 1981--Translated by Ela Ledererova]

[Text] It was Friday, 27 March 1981. From 0800 until 12.00, there was a warning strike throughout Poland, in response to the Bydgosc incident in which the Polish police seriously wounded three officials af the Solidarity trade union. The warning strike was intended to force the government to come to an agreement with Solidarity representatives. It had been decided that if such an agreement is not reached, Solidarity would on 31 March declare a general strike without any time limit.

These were the worst and most dangerous days since last August. Days full of general tension and impatient expectation. People were living from day to day, hour to hour. The threat of Soviet military intervention loomed over Poland.

During the hours of the general strike, Lech Walesa visited some of the large enterprises. Everywhere, he called for determination but also deliberation. His words were spontaneous without prior preparation.

Our recording is from the meeting in the Warsaw Iron Works which was Walesa's fourth stop that day. The tape can obviously not capture the atmosphere of tension and determination. Rather than a church-like silence, there was constant commotion. Only in moments of extraordinary seriousness when the workers' leader spoke of the principal problems of the day, did the crowd settle down, only to burst into laughter or applause soon thereafter.

The meeting ended exactly at noon, at the time when the 4-hour warning strike was coming to a close. As a last act, the assembled workers sang the Polish national anthem.

In order to illustrate the substance of the proceedings and the mood of the audience, we add three worker contributions. These were exciting words which attest to the basic stance of the Polish workers during these decisive moments in contemporary Polish history.

Lech Walesa:

"We did not say goodbye the last time I was here; therefore, we need no welcoming ceremonies now. We are still the same. We are meeting at a difficult time, in a precarious situation which must be well understood. You know that in 1970, without any special knowledge or training, I led the strike in a shipyard. Since then you and I have learned many things. In 1956, 1970, and 1976, we made mistakes which we must not repeat right now at this particular moment. If we gave in now, if we only continued to reform the old way, everything would be the same. Obviously, we must act with deliberation. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked, since provocation already exists. What's more, they are firing at our functionaries. Consequently, we must be very careful, very cautious, and not let ourselves be provoked. Naturally, the people who are being removed from office and will continue to be removed, will do everything possible to drag us into a fight which we do not want. You must demand that us, functionaries avoid endangering people, seek deliberate ways without retreating. The proposal we heard at the last all-state commission meeting was staggering, for it meant an immediate general strike. I did not agree with it, and someone may perhaps accuse me of being wrong. I believe we functionaries must not proceed in this manner. We were not ready for a frontal confrontation and the struggle cannot be waged without preparation. We do not want to subvert the government, the party, our alliances, or socialism. If we had driven the situation to the point of a knife, it would have been risky, and I don't know whether we would be meeting here today at all.

"Even the world has come to understand that we, in fact, do not desire to strike at all. We know that the strike hurts us most of all. Look, I go through the city, I observe what is happening, the waiting lines are longer and longer. The fact is, however, that today we cannot act differently. We have made mistakes in the past, especially in 1970, when we again trusted because they told us 'trust us and we will make improvements.' But we know that those plans of theirs for renovation can hardly bring nothing, at least not for 5 years--because from now on events will move faster, we will be in a very difficult situation, we will really be threatened by revolution, but the kind in which we will destroy each other. For in 5 years no one will trust anybody, not even the church which has joined in the events, or a crafty fellow like me and others. People will say 'they were too soft and what did it bring us, what have they accomplished.' We will smash heads, fight, and this is not what we are all about.

"We already have an almost complete victory. It is only a question of making secure that which we have achieved. Naturally, some say that this should have been done as early as last August, or on another occasion, or even during the first memorable strike. I believe that this would have been a mistake. We had to wait until everything was ripe. Look, at that time in August, no group, be it party, parliamentary, or municipal, was supporting us. And what is happening now? Entire regions, Gdansk, Bydgosc, entire organizations support us and claim that it was all a mistake, that there are violations of law in our country, and that this must be done away with.

"Thus, it was necessary to settle strikes and prevent actions which would have made us go too far. Even what has happened now was something I proposed should wait at least a month, but events showed otherwise.

"We must view the problems a bit differently and maintain a certain direction in basic policy. Obviously, we are not naive. You know that some time ago, I also said 'we will help.' Two years later I was without job, arrested, in jail, etc. This time, we denounced illegality, while not attacking any organization, not even the party, as a whole; not even the security forces as such, because every country needs security, even state security, and other officials. We have attacked illegality, violations of laws, and individuals who are guilty of such violations. This is what we are against and we must act accordingly.

"Naturally, many people don't like it and they will fight against us. They thought they could sign any number of agreements, that we would allow ourselves to be fooled, that our enthusiasm would ebb, and that we would return to their innovation, that everything would be as before. Now they see that this will not come about. So, we will catch one regional boss after another, just as we would catch rats. They will have to go, they will no longer steal from us, deceive us, they will no longer be allowed to call us antisocialists. They are the antisocialists, they are the ones who led this country into bankruptcy.

"For few people really knew how bad the situation was. Even parliamentary deputies and some highly placed people did not know what kind of morass we found ourselves in. By now they have found out, today they know that private farmers unions are necessary. They know by now that we do not need gradustes of 2-year courses, but rather really knowledgeable, openminded people.

"I don't want to digress. This is my fourth meeting today and I don't know if I have told you everything. I would like to tell you many things so that you can understand me. The struggle is hard, difficult, and under no circumstances must we allow ourselves to be divided. At the same time, we must remember that we need prudence. There are functionaries who think that everything can be had immediately, that all we have to do is to demand and the opponent will collapse. They are among you, I know some of those who would like to solve problems in this manner. Well, that will not do, we are responsible Poles, we must remember that this country is our Poland, we must not destroy anything, not a single broken window pane, because it is we who pay for the damage, not the minister, we do. I am also opposed to exchanging one thief for another. We should set up cells within our organization which would make sure that no one is enriching himself at our expense. Such cells must appear where there are cases of individuals living off other people and stealing from them. Even when such as individual leaves his position, we should find out what he owns, and if it is too much, tell him that he has a choice of either contributing to the union or to the poor. It is precisely in such a situation that a game of musical chairs begins. You remove one man from office, they then transfer him to us, while our villain goes elsewhere. What does this lead to? The problem is to eliminate the root causes of this process through which they deceive us and, after a time, return to the same old ways. This is what we have to think about.

"At the same time, we must remember that it is not certain how it will end. Judging by what has already been achieved, we can hope that it will end well. But let us

not forget the provocations. Let us remember that we must avoid them and that we must stand together, against opinions demanding that we be tougher and others that we be more moderate. Despite this, let us stand together or else we will lose. And if we lose, we solve no problems and things will get tougher. If we can now describe the score as one all, it will then be two to one against us. They will watch us so that we cannot rise again. And even if we managed that, we would not trust one another. There are some countries where when two people talk and a third one approaches, the two speakers fall silent in fear of a witness, an informant, and such. We will not allow such a situation to arise here, but let us remember that if we must pay, we will pay with honor, for we have no other choice. I hope it will not come to that because things are beginning to shape up somewhat differently. Obviously, at this moment we will not achieve 100 percent, but we will not retreat on the most important issues, because retreat is out of question.

"So much for that. Perhaps there will be some questions, but I am tired, this is my fourth assembly, as I have already told you. Perhaps I repeated myself and did not speak well. I would like to explain certain urgent problems which concern my person. There are some who try to trip me up. I would like the opportunity to look in their eyes. I have nothing to hide and if you have doubts, that is your privilege. I will say only one thing, we functionaries have no right to place you people in jeopardy. We must seek ways which would be least costly to you. You gave us your trust and it is our duty to fight, but we must first inform you on the situation and let you decide. Let us consult together and choose the way together. We shall not retreat. That is the way I see the problems, others see them differently. There are different opinions. Now, please, the questions."

We selected from the discussions some of Lech Walesa's replies. He spoke of the attack of Solidarity officials in Pulawy, which is being investigated by the police. "We cannot be surprised, there are people who really have a lot on their conscience. They are not very comfortable at this time because all their dirty dealings are coming to the surface, and they are defending themselves. We must proceed step by step, bring down the pillars, make a small opening and enlarge it more and more. Up to a certain point, we have succeeded in this. The Bydgosc situation, however, has forced us to enter the worst, most difficult phase. August was not so terrible. Even those who signed were thinking 'All right, we will sign and tomorrow we will liquidate you.'"

L.W. speaks of his positions and addresses his critics: "Some thought that I have lost ground, that I estranged myself from the people. No, I have not done this, but you cannot break down a wall by banging your head against it. I do what I do in order not to endanger the people who trust me. For it is easy to shout 'let us march!' But what will happen then? We will lose our women and children. And why should we act like that when we can win without the slightest losses. So far, we are winning. And people agree with me, while others are achieving quite the opposite effect. For example, the first speech of Deputy Rakowski evoked the opposite effect. I told him afterwards: 'Mr Deputy, you read a prepared speech in which you attacked us. I am only a worker and was not prepared; therefore, it was not very polished.' But I had to react to the salient points of his speech. And apparently I replied well enough (applause) and I didn't wait until the following day as they do."

L.W. describes his cooperation with his advisers: "Some would like to drive a wedge between me and those who counsel me. Educated people have a lot to say but we cannot follow their advice in everything. However, I need them and their diverse opinions which help us. Obviously, they cannot rule us. Others are trying to drive a wedge between those who are advising the primate and who are honorable people and want nothing from us. We do not pay them anything. Advisors are useful but they cannot make the final decisions."

L.W. gives his views on workers self-government: "Let us remember that workers self-government, workers councils, are not the same as trade unions. As Poles and trade unionists we can, of course, send the best people into them. But as trade unionists we are not rushing blindly into responsible positions, into sharing in decisions and management. This is not our cause. In this respect, we would be making the same mistake as in 1956. We would again climb somebody's back and that somebody would pretend that we made the decisions and went against policy. Let self-government make sure that there is maximum production at minimum cost, but trade unions will continue voicing demands, albeit prudently. Naturally, if the plan is fulfilled 150 percent, we want 50 percent higher wages. It is in this manner that we will fight for what is ours. For example, a machine is delivered to the factory, we paid for it and it is already producing. It replaced three people, consequently, we want money for two. We will continue presenting demands, but when someone tells us that there are no resources left, we will take that into consideration. But trade unions are here exclusively for the protection of the workers, not sharing in decisionmaking and management. Let the workers bear responsibility through the self-management system, but not in the unions which are a different matter altogether. Let us not make the same miskake again! That mistake has cost us enough in the past. Therefore, let us this time preserve the independence of the trade union, independence from the church, as well as others. Let us keep our advisors, our hearts, and our conscience. We, ourselves know best what we should do. They can help us but no one will supervise us." (applause)

L.W. on the meeting between Premier Jaruszelski and Primate Wyszynski: "The situation is rather dramatic. We know that the antisocialists are pressing us at home and, in order to preserve their troughs, they would also like to invite someone. The conversation between the primier and the primate was private; therefore, it is difficult to say anything. You all know the communique. One must know how to read such communiques. They certainly talked about all sorts of things but one of these clearly emerges. We are capable of solving our problems ourselves, without help. We are not threatening anyone, not the party, not the system. We only wish to see slogans become reality. We want to live and work. The primate undoubtedly wished the same. As you surely know, I cooperate very closely with the primate, we know each other quite well; consequently, he knows what I think, what I want, what we want. He said he will always be with us. And he will be. After all, even the Holy Father is informed and watches over us. Therefore, we believe that we can avoid all pitfalls. The primate touched upon all the important questions, everything we can imagine. The conversation lasted 15 minutes less than 4 hours, that should be enough. So, we believe that there will be understanding, that we can avoid the tragedy with which they threaten us. They threaten us also to force us into retreat, so that they can do the same things again. For this reason, we will not retreat and we will win, but we must act prudently and we must not allow ourselves to be provoked. Even if there should be shooting, even if one of us dies,

we must go on. We surely find that or another gangster. But we must not immediately go into the streets, into an open fight, because then we would be finished. We cannot attack the entire security apparat, not everyone in security is bad, there are voices even there saying they would like a Solidarity and other things. Even there we find people of different opinions."

L.W. on being awarded a foreign prize: "I don't want any prizes. You know well that the prize will be given to Solidarity. We will be richer. I did not come into the trade unions for prizes or anything else. Eleven thousand dollars, that is something. Maybe we will build something with it, or buy something, perhaps grain or bread. (applause) In some other country they also awarded a prize for a photograph of the year. We will be even richer, I hope we have time to spend it all. (applause) I came into the trade unions with nothing and I will leave the same way."

L.W. on the workers' strike : "Kuwaj sits here with us because we are close to the peasants. We are in one delegation. The peasants must have their trade union. If there is a strike, they will join us with a small group, We will be striking and they will be bringing us food, they will sow, harvest and husband resources so that we have something to live on."

L.W. on the question of whether Solidarity's work has a political character: "This is difficult to say. When we demand the replacement of a regional administrator or secretary who is a criminal, it is difficult to say whether this is a political matter. Obviously, when someone ignores the facts, he will say that it is indeed a political matter because Solidarity wants its own man in that position. But when we know that it is not a question of a secretary but of Mr X who is a criminal, then it is not a political matter but one of removing a criminal. Or it can be an individual who no longer enjoys the confidence of society and should not be occupying a certain position. We will not say that we are removing a secretary but a Mr X who has such and such things on his conscience. We are striking against the building of new police stations and they hold this against us. But we can say, look, we want the same amount or even more money for hospitals at the same time. Then they could not say that ours is an attack against police stations which started sprouting up like mushrooms at the cost of millions."

L.W. on a question of whether he had suffered moments of depression during the long negotiations with the government delegation: "No, I never collapsed, not even when I learned that my wife was in the hospital. I had made up my mind that I would not retreat no matter what, even if they decided to chop me up into little pieces. However, I was also determined to be prudent and not smash my head against a wall. But I would not retreat. (applause) Since I am a religious believer and have, for a long time, held firm convictions stemming from past experiences, that is my character. Perhaps it's a deviation, perhaps a disease, but such is my character."

L.W. replies to a question on what will happen with Gierek and Jaroszewicz, and others: "We shouted at them too much and they became sick. And sick people cannot ....(laughter, applause) If we rise up organizationally, we will tell these gentlemen 'you did not want to give us free Saturdays, so we will not give them to you either. We will give a sidewalk to each of you to take care of, you will work according to how much you have on your conscience. We will not feed you for free. Later, you will return to normal life but you will no longer be officials because you have not been rehabilitated.'" (applause, laughter)

L.W. responds to a question on whether it was not a mistake to announce the date of the general strike ahead of time: "It was not, it is a matter of psychology. Let someone's knees tremble in his pants. We are prepared in any case, even though some say that it is not precisely psychological, that we are destroying people, that such long preparations are not good. We are in principle for fair play, we are prepared to stop events, as well as set them in motion. We are prepared to wait. Even world public opinion lauds our prudence. We are giving them time--go ahead, get ready, talk it out among yourselves, collect competent people, and then sit down at a table. This method is logical and correct. We are guarantors. Because even after nonaggression pacts and similar things, we can still get a knife in the back. For this reason, it is essential that our stance, organization, its flexibility and solidarity be good. If they are, we will achieve everything. Whether it happens tomorrow or the day after is not important. The decisive thing is that we are not resigning, that we maintain prudence, and that we avoid tearing everything down and setting the torch to it. Obviously, we will continue replacing officials until such time as the right people occupy the right positions.

L.W. explains the position of Premier Jaruzelski and his views of Solidarity: "Based on a private conversation which I cannot publicize, I came to the conclusion --and you will too--that this is one man in uniform who can be trusted a little. Despite the fact that there is an overall lack of trust in this country, this type of soldier had it. Naturally, we cannot say 'We trust you 100 percent.' No, we are giving you a chance. We do not want to make you nervous, Mr Prime Minister, just go about your work, tell us who stands in the way and we will take care of it. You will not dirty your hands. (laughter) Of course, this is not an indication that we wish to help you remove the people who do not want to change, those who have reformed themselves four times already and always remained the same. Same as chameleons, once green, then red again. We want you to understand that we do not wish to subvert the party, nor do we want to become a party, we do not wish to be in the way or cause commotion. But we do want to pull of their seats those who hinder you and us. I believe that the premier will do it, he has already taken the first steps, however he lacks the strength, as I do. I know about those who try to trip me up and do things to spite me. These are people placed among us--perhaps not among you--but in the leadership of our unions, there are people who are paid provocateurs. I cannot get rid of them, they engage in popular politics, because he who shouts louder, appears bolder. In a struggle we need courage, but there is also a time for prudence when we cannot allow ourselves to be placed in jeopardy, when there is need for compromise and planning.

"We fear only God. If we lose, we will lose our heads in any event. But as long as we have them, let us use them to achieve the maximum. How often have they threatened me. I was to perish yesterday and I did not. In Gdansk they told me to get some protection, to be careful. We obeyed, but that is not the point. When I am in a crowd, any fanatic "volunteer" can stick a knife in me. They begged me to have at least minimum security, so we obeyed. I don't believe in it, I am a fatalist, but I obviously don't stick my head under a streetcar. I am not overly worried. The government did not intimidate me. I have no fear and I will march as I have marched before. They tried to intimidate me earlier but I did not retreat and will not do so because that is my only choice. If I should ever retreat, they would liquidate me immediately."

L.W. on the question of martial law: "This not an idle threat, it is possible. If the provocateours drag us into a fight, people will become angry, and well march on the police station, especially if someone is killed. Then we may have a situation when we will be against each other. Then it would be salvation if they pulled us apart. We will fight so fiercely that a third party could divide us. Therefore, should fighting ever break out, let us return to our plants. It is bad, one of us has already paid, and we will find them. But it is not possible to allow it to go to full confrontation because then we would lose. We would lose and pay dearly. Therefore, we need caution and prudence. Let us not retreat, but let us be the ones to chose the place of the battle. Not in the streets where they are stronger, not at the police stations where they are also stronger, but rather in our plants. There we will wait, wait even with those pipes in hand. (applause)

"Today is really the time for national reconciliation, for a common road. If we quarrel, if we seek conflict among ourselves, it will not be good and we will achieve nothing. Let us forgive each other today, really forgive. It is a historical landmark, a historic moment for us all. If we make good use of it, Poland will again be Poland. If we don't, we will be beaten cruelly, in a manner our children will not forgive because victory was within reach and we were unable to dot the 'i.' Consequently, let us make that dot and everything will go well. It must go well, because otherwise we will be running away from here as fast as we can."

Several workers at the meeting, men and women, presented their contributions. We have picked the following:

A woman worker: "The government is not one with the working class, if it were, they would tell us the truth. They say nothing. All along they have been deceiving us, so let them make a decision, let them stop threatening us with fratricidal war. They are the ones who declared war on us even before the strike."

Another woman worker: "First of all, why are they extending the Soyuz 81, the maneuvers? When the situation in Poland is so terribly tragic that we have nothing to eat, we are supposed to feed whole armies? For them there is food and for us there is none? And only the strikes are supposed to be the reason that there is nothing to eat, because there is a strike and was a strike, this is the reason that there is not even some miserable mustard in Warsaw? There is no soap, no detergent, there is nothing. This was caused by the strikes? More likely, the strikes saved us. If there hadn't been 1980, if the shipyard workers had not gone on strike, there would have been a horrible fratricidal war in January because there would have been nothing to eat. Only the strikes held the workers back from going in the streets and fighting each other. Let's assume there is no strike. The government punishes a few people but the food will still be stashed away. We all believe that this is all being done on purpose. It is impossible for Poland to be so poor. As late as July, they were shouting that we do not drink enough milk in Poland. When did the milk disappear? Now people get one liter of milk, small children have nothing to eat. The older children are given bread by the mother, maybe a little butter and sugar, because she has nothing else. And all this after 35 years of hard work by the people? They told us, comrades, help us, give to us! People worked, party meetings were held, there were brigades, voluntary and involuntary. Day after day, the men worked, the women never saw them, and now the wife says 'you lazy bum, you have worked for so many years, what exactly did you do?' So that we

can go hungry? All this talk about the strikes leading us into brankruptcy is just a pretext, just silly prattling. No doubt, some percentage of loss is there. But we have only one weapon--strikes, because no one wants to listen to us. In the EXPRES WJECZORNY, they printed a beautiful conversation. Some professor was saying that for the government it was s surprise that the worker finally raised his head and, as we say, will never bow it again. And he will not, that is a fact. Let them murder 36 million people! We have nothing to lose and, at this moment, none of us will retreat. There is unity and strength in Solidarity. We will not allow ourselves to be humiliated. Everyone is supporting us and we will not retreat. I also have children, and when I was leaving home, I told them that no one knows what the government may come up with. I told them that I was going to work but that I may not come back if the tanks appear. And if I have to stay here a month, so I will stay, even without knowing what is happening at home. I will not retreat. Because if we retreat, they will start dragging us from our homes like rats and they will murder us. It started in Bydgosc and it will end up the same way in every town. If we retreat, it will mean our defeat because, at that moment, the Polish worker and Poland will cease to exist."

9596
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COMMUNISTS ETHICS, SOCIAL PRACTICE EXAMINED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 16 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Dr Constantin Raducu]

[Text] Man, as a creative subject who is active in the revolutionary transformation of society, thinks and acts in close connection with the laws of social-historical determinism. However, not being a mechanical product of the laws of determinism, man judges and evaluates critically, selectively the values, including moral ones, and makes his choices consciously and responsibly with the prospect of fulfilling certain interests, goals and ideals. At the same time, the real values of socialist morals are totally opposed to the specific manifestations of voluntarism, subjectivism and individualism. As Lenin wrote, "Morals serves human society in order to raise higher and to become liberated from the exploitation of work."

Integrated into the party program, the code of communist ethics promotes honesty, modesty, correctness, collaboration and mutual help, solidarity, friendship, humanism, courage, a spirit of initiative and constructive boldness and responsibility for the communist evolution of the country.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes, at the basis of educational activity are "the communist principles on life, considering that they are one of the basic duties of our party toward society. These principles mean social equity and justice, humanism, respect for and concern with man and with raising his material and spiritual well-being and, of course, they also mean combatting certain negative manifestations, certain mentalities which conceive of man as a means of exploitation." In conformity with the principles and standards of socialist ethics and equity, it is necessary consistently to promote a critical spirit in general and self-criticial in particular, intransigence toward shortcomings and to take decisive action against inertia, routine, conservatism, self-thanks, egoism and individualism, favoritism, negativism, self seeking, old mentalities of a bourgeois or petit bourgeois nature and customs and habits which bear the imprint of bourgeois life, of the tendencies of some to get rich illegally, without working, and to gain public goods, that is, against everything which in one way or another harms the principles of our society.

The organic assimilation of a revolutionary ideology and of scientific socialism at the level of our entire society, the growth in the contribution to its creative development are the constitutional and formational nucleus, the theoretical basis for a socialist moral-political awareness. The principles of communist morals are subject to a permanent renewal in accordance with each historical stage. As a phenomenon of awareness, morals involves, along with the emotional aspects, also the volitional and those depending on knowledge; there is an indissoluble link between the elements of morals and the scientific ones. For that reason, Marxism combats neopositivist

theories which reduce morals to emotions or to an analysis of ethical concepts just as any theory which promotes hypocrisy and falseness, moral liberalism, bigotry or moral-religious fanaticism.

Mastering the principles and standards of socialist ethics and equity, their transformation into departments of life and work, however, is not done merely by simply knowing them, by isolated and formal actions, but by consistent, scientifically organized activity with specific methods and forms. Life shows that isolated, festive-like and circumstantial actions do not have the educational effectiveness desired; such effectiveness can only be achieved by ensuring a qualitatively superior content, a continuity and diversity in strict agreement with the specific nature of each area of activity and social life. In this work of shaping man in the spirit of communist morals, special value lies in promoting a positive example.

A condition sine qua non of the effectiveness of educational activity is the creation and consolidation of a healthy collective moral-political climate, a powerful public opinion which is intransigent toward any kind of violation of the standards of socialist morals. This intransigence in turn is formed in the common effort to build the new society and for that reason it characterizes the big working collectives, steadfastly promoting correctness and combatting any form of manifestation of backward concept. The effectiveness of educational activity also does not depend merely on knowledge of certain documents, principles and standards but on carrying out diversified activity with regard to having workers understand the need for respecting the standards of socialist morals and of formation of convictions and behavior which agree with the socialist model of life. I have mentioned all this since there still are acts violating the standards of social life which reflect an insufficient level of understanding of the exigencies of social progress in Romania. Clearly, the most difficult aspect in combatting manifestations of immorality, amorality, cupidity, self seeking, egoism and so forth is not simply publicizing them or even blaming them in public but prevention of them. For this very complex moral-political and civic activity is needed. The person carrying it out must himself be a model of work and life so that he can succeed in influencing his neighbors.

The basic value of ethics and equity must be evaluated both as a principle of human relations as well as as a value which carries out justice and equality. But for us equality and justice have a deeply political determination and are based on socialist ownership of the socialist resources, on day-to-day work to increase the treasury of material and spiritual values, on striving to continually raise the material and spiritual standard of living of all the people. Equity, as a value of socialist ethics, expresses in general the relationship between the personal and general interests and the necessary balance between rights and duties.

Application of the principles and standards of the communists' life and work and of socialist ethics and equity is a problem of high communist awareness, of dignity, of militant responsibility. But this awareness is not formed by itself but rather through a prolonged and winding process of education, through converging, daily efforts, through the ability of each communist and each worker to dedicate himself with passion and selflessness to the cause and ideals of the party, of society, of the people and to struggle with the difficulties still appearing in the effort at fulfillment and self-fulfillment.

The quality of life dedicated to moral education, this main demand for the stage we are going through represents a reference point and determining condition in carrying out the complicated process of the formation and development of socialist awareness. Clearly, in most locations and in the social-economic units and collectives a large number of actions are being organized with a pronouncedly moral character. But

there still are many activities of this kind which are too general, abstract, stereotyped and lacking in preciseness and militant combativeness, which do not promote effective educational solutions. There also still are people who, by failing to understand the unity of socialist awareness, neglect or underestimate the implementation of standards of socialist ethics firmly; such attitudes permit the appearance of phenomena of deviating from the standards of socialist morals.

The recent Council of State decree on preventing and combatting acts which affect good supply for the population, received with total adherence by the workers as an important normative act, also has major significance at this level: respect for the principles of socialist ethics and equity is ensured with greater firmness by punishing certain attitudes which are in total disagreement with the civic spirit of our society.

Among all the initiatives whose central point are actually the promotion and application of the principles and standards of socialist ethics and equity, the model collectives in the highest way represent the basic features of communist morals. These progressive workers' collectives, which are carrying out an express task received from the local party and state organs, take unified action to fulfill the social-economic, political-educational, general cultural, spiritual and sports goals. The model collectives circumscribe their activity around the principles and standards of communist work and life and socialist ethics and equity, in the spirit of the docugram documents of the party, representing through their way of thinking and acting vital nuclei of the communist style of life and work.

Harmoniously combining production work with the activity of moral-political and cultural-scientific activity changes each social-economic unit into a laboratory where the new man is formed with a broad horizon of knowledge, with a moral-political behavior worthy of the person who has assumed consciously his responsibility to create the continually more humane society.

8071
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HISTORICAL SURVEY OF ALBANIAN SETTLEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Oct 81 pp 10, 11

[Article by Viktor Meier: "A Dagger Poised To Stab Yugoslavia in the Back?--Albanians in Kosovo Want a Republic of Their Own"]

[Text] Representatives of the Yugoslav regime rightly regard the fact that 550,000 Montenegrins are entitled to form a republic of their own in socialist Yugoslavia as evidence of tolerance and respect for conditions that have developed in the course of history. However, when almost 1.5 million Albanians in Kosovo, or close to 2 million Albanians in Yugoslavia as a whole, likewise demand the status of a republic of their own, this is regarded as "counterrevolutionary," "hostile" or an "attack on Yugoslav territorial integrity." Youngsters who daub walls with the slogan "Kosovo Republic" at night, if apprehended, have to go to prison for 2 or 3 years. This contradiction shows the great extent to which Yugoslav nationality policy has come to flounder. The country's reputation of having found pragmatic solutions of complex nationality problems appears to be a matter of the past.

There are quite solid arguments against Kosovo--which, like Voivodina, has constituted an "autonomous region" within the Republic of Serbia since 1945--being turned into an independent Yugoslav republic. One of these is consideration for Serbia and the Serbs living in Kosovo. That area constituted the center of the medieval Serbian empire. Not far from Prizren lies the mausoleum of czar Dushan the Powerful (around 1350) devastated by the Turks. Pec is the seat of the old Serbian partriarchate with its multinave churches. And at Kosovo Polje near Pristina there occurred, in 1389, the battle against the Turks which meant the end of the medieval Serbian realm and the beginning of Turkish rule, which was to last for centuries. The Serbs who have been in Kosovo all along, still constituting about 20 percent of the population of the region and, under pressure of Albanian nationalism, showing a tendency to emigrate, would be pushed into a difficult position. And the second, just as valid, reason is that an Albanian republic within Yugoslavia, which after all according to its name constitutes a state of South Slavs, probably would want to maintain only loose ties with the overall Yugoslav state, which under the pressure of the interests of the various republics is losing cohesion as it is. Instead relations with Albania, and thus the question of the unity of all Albanians, would soon become a question of top priority. These are things that have nothing to do with "counterrevolution." It is difficult for the regime in Belgrade openly to give the real reasons. At least for the moment, the cheap labeling of "counter-revolutionary" is simpler; the only question is how long that will so.

Like it or not, one is confronted with the question of the unity of the Albanian nation. Among Yugoslav politicians and writers who have written about Kosovo in the past few months, so far only Croatian Minister of Education Stipe Suvar, in the Belgrade journal NIN, has admitted as much. He also warned against the present "differentiation campaign" creating, on the one side, many martyrs and, on the other side--among the security forces-- "popular heroes," as during the partisan war.

Today's Kosovo Region, divided by a mountain range into Kosovo proper in the east (with Pristina and Kosovska Mitrovica) and Metohija in the West (with Prizren, Djakovica and Pec) has not always been structured that way as far as its national character is concerned. Serbian and Albanian historians agree that in Metohija--toward the west and today's Albanian border--Albanians have lived together with Serbs since the early Middle Ages, and thus also at the time of the medieval Serbian empire. In Kosovo proper, however, a Turkish economic census which has been preserved, conducted soon after the conquest of the area in the early 15th century, shows that the villages were inhabited almost exclusively by Serbs, together with some Vlachs or Arumanians. Albanian names appear only sporadically. Most local chronicles then show that roughly toward the end of the 18th century or in the early 19th century Albanians migrated into the villages from the Albanian mountain areas--in many cases being settled there by the Turkish feudal lords. Of the Serbs, a certain number moved north, into Voivodina, after the Austrian-Turkish war of 1689-1690. The Albanian immigrants in some places assimilated to Serbian clans, particularly those who had converted to Islam. A countermovement became apparent when Kosovo became Serbian again after the First Balkan War of 1912. From then on and particularly after World War I, new Serbian settlers arrived in Kosovo. The authorities of the first Yugoslavia did everything possible to push the Albanians back. During World War II it was again Serbs and Montenegrins who had to pack their bags. Then, after 1945, came the repression of the Albanians under Minister of the Interior Rankovic, a Serb, about which the Belgrade papers are now maintaining such a stubborn silence when they ponder the causes of the revolt in Kosovo. After 1966 and particularly after the 1968 demonstrations, when a younger generation of Albanian communists assumed power in Kosovo not in name only but in actual fact, the rapid spreading of the Albanian element in public life, due both to a higher birth rate and to a strengthened nationalism, caused many Serbs and Montenegrins to emigrate. First it was those who had compromised themselves under Rankovic, then those who had been retired, and finally, to an ever-increasing extent, those who were evading hidden or open pressure. In the mixed Serbian villages the harvests of the Serbian farmers caught fire, their cattle died, or one morning an Albanian flag had been hoisted as a warning on the farm. While from 1971 to 1981 the number of Albanians in Kosovo increased by 311,000 to 1,227,000 people, that of the Serbs decreased by 18,000 to 210,000.

The origin of the Albanian people is not clear and therefore has given rise to mystifications. In his standard work "Geschichte Suedeuropas" [The History of Southeast Europe] (Vienna 1950), the German historian Georg Stadtmueller mysteriously mentions "proto-Albanian wandering shepherds" who in the Mati Mountains in today's northern Albania resisted Romanization and then, first in the 11th century, then a second time in the 13th century, and a third time in the 15th century, spread like an explosion over large parts of the Balkans. Modern Albanian historiography maintains that it can be shown that the Albanians are direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians.

Whereas a current piece put out by the TANJUG news agency directed against so-called "Albanian nationalism" makes fun of this, there are no solid grounds for rejecting this interpretation. Today's Albanian accordingly would be a language which succeeded ancient Illyrian, with Latin loan words, having bogged down in the process of Romanization, as it were. It also appears likely that the area of Albanian settlement originally was bigger than the Mati area, for it apparently has been shown that at least in part Metohija was included in it.

Later migrations, often voluntary and often the result of Turkish rule, took the Albanians not only into Kosovo but far into Greece, to islands and to the lower part of Italy. Some leaders of the Greek revolt--for example, Kondouriotis from Hydra--were Albanians as far as their language was concerned. In the central Balkans the borders of settlement were drawn by and large in the second half of the 18th century: In addition to today's Kosovo, in present Macedonia the areas of Struga, Debar, Gostivar and Tetovo were inhabited by Albanians, and in today's Montenegro the coastal town of Ulcinj and the mountain areas of Plav and Gusinj were populated by Albanians.

In the area they had settled in, the Albanians lived separated by mountains, split into clans, tribes and tribal groups and professing three religions. About 60 percent were Muslims, primarily residing in central Albania and in Kosovo. About 30 percent were Orthodox, primarily resident in south Albania and in Epirus. And 10 percent were Catholics, centered in Shkoder and in the Miridite Mountains. The Albanian language is divided into Gheg, north of the Shkumbi river, and Tosk, south of it. In the north the tribal constitution persisted, with its strict blood feud in its original form, while in the south and in today's Kosovo it melded with the Turkish feudal rule.

Under such circumstances it was hardly possible for an Albanian national consciousness to develop. In the Greek freedom struggle numerous tribes of Albanian tongue, such as the Himariotes in today's southern Albania and the Suliotes in today's Greek Epirus, fought on the side of the Greek rebels and, not least because they belonged to the Orthodox Church, felt at one with the Greek language. There also, however, existed Albanian traditions, such as the memory of the medieval hero Skenderbeg, who in the 15th century had resisted the Turks for 20 years from his fortress of Kruje north of Tirana.

In the early 19th century the Albanian area witnessed some special developments. One of them was the spreading of the Muslim Bektashi Order, and another was the evolution of semiautonomous dominions, such as that of Ali Pasha Tepelena in Ioannina or the Bushati family in Shkoder. One almost gets the impression that the togetherness of the Albanians manifested itself at that time in several parallel attempts to gain autonomy from the weakening Turkish central power, with individual tribes never having really been subjugated properly. This movement prevailed to a large extent in the decades following the success of the Greek insurrection (1827), with the Albanians' interests then apparently "saturated" for the time being.

Disruption came from outside, not from the Turks but from the Christian Balkan peoples which, as part of the development of modern nationalism, were striving to bring one piece of the Ottoman Empire after another under their control--the Greeks from the south, the Serbs and Montenegrins from the north. To this were added the aspirations of the European powers. These trends threatened to change the status quo. to restrict the area of settlement of the Albanians, to disrupt trade ties and

to create new dependencies. The Muslim Albanians were threatened to be ruled by people of a different faith, while non-Muslim Albanians, at least, faced the danger of being incorporated into national states with which they could not identify. In the struggle against these trends there developed the beginnings of a joint Albanian interest--beginnings which, under the influence of western national ideas geared primarily to common language, evolved into the beginnings of an Albanian national consciousness.

This development manifested itself for the first time in concrete terms after the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878, when the Peace of San Stefano was to provide for a "Greater Bulgaria" comprising also Albanian territory in Macedonia. Thereupon the chiefs, feudal lords and other representatives of all Albanian areas assembled in Prizren in June 1878 to appeal jointly to the great powers and to prevent the ceding of Albanian territory to the new Balkan national states. This "League of Prizren" is regarded by Albanians as the beginning of their modern national movement. Today's Kosovo Region and the neighboring areas of Debar and Tetovo, which by virtue of their geographical position were most vulnerable to actions by the new Balkan states, also displayed the greatest interest in a joint Albanian policy. It logically followed from this that Kosovo became one of the most active centers of Albanian nationalism, and this in turn explained many of the future developments.

Immediately after the events of March and April 1981, one could read official statements by Serbian communist officials according to which the League of Prizren should be judged by the fact that during World War II there existed a kind of "Second League" of Prizren in which the "fascist" notables of Kosovo had joined to fight the communist partisans. The celebrations on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the League of Prizren, one could read further, had been organized from Albania. Over and above that, the above-mentioned TANJUG piece notes disparagingly that the League of Prizren had been of no use to the Albanians anyway. It did prevent the Montenegrins for years from taking possession of the territories awarded it by the Congress of Berlin, and they even needed the support of the powers to occupy Ulcinj. One of the main concerns of the Yogoslav officials who at present are responsible for exchanging schoolbooks for the Albanians in Yugoslavia appears to be to deprecate the significance of the League of Prizren in the new books.

Yugoslav historiography has reproached the Albanians, and thus also the League of Prizren, for having allied itself with the authorities of the Ottoman Empire and advocated the continuation of Turkish rule. What they actually wanted, however, was to maintain a status quo which had guaranteed cohesion of the area of Albanian settlement and freedom of movement for its inhabitants. In light of the dim prospects of their founding an Albanian national state of their own, there hardly existed another way under the circumstances.

In the Balkan wars, precisely what the Albanians had feared and tried to prevent did in fact occur. In 1912 Serbia and Montenegro divided Kosovo between themselves, and the small independent Albania, created in November 1912 more as a result of intervention by the powers than as a result of the Albanians' own efforts, incorporated only about half of all the Albanians. The Albanians of Kosovo suddenly found themselves under the harsh rule of young Balkan national states and cut off from their usual markets. They rebelled but were beaten by force of arms. It turned out that the Albanians, who had been the last of all the Balkan peoples to adopt the modern

national area and the concept of a national state, had come off worst among all of them. From now on, in the course of their further national emancipation, the idea of a united Albanian nation, both in the cultural and in the political respect, was bound to move to the foreground of the Albanians' desires. While this was and is only natural, it just as naturally was bound to lead to conflicts with their environment.

Serbia and then, the Serbian-dominated first Yugoslavia took possession of Kosovo in the sense of retrieving the sacred places of the past which had to be purged again as much as possible of their undesirable ethnical changes. Albanian refugees from Kosovo thenceforth formed part of the picture of Tirana and other towns of independent Albania. Before long those foreign powers which aimed at expansion in the Balkans became aware of this configuration and looked on Kosovo as the second neuralgic point besides Croatia from which Yugoslavia could be unhinged. Primary among them was Fascist Italy, which first brought independent Albania under its influence and then occupied it militarily on 7 April 1939.

Only a few days after the occupation, Foreign Minister Ciano, the architect of this operation, wrote in his diary: "Talks with Stylla, our former ambassador in Belgrade. I discuss particularly the problems of the people of Kosovo--850,000 physically strong and morally staunch Albanians who view the idea of unification with their motherland with enthusiasm. It appears that the Serbs have a terrible fear of that. Today, however, one must forgo the impression that the problem is arousing our attention. On the contrary, the Yugoslavs must be lulled to sleep. But later one should embark on a policy of lively interest in Kosovo. That way an irredentist problem will be kept alive in the Balkans on which the Albanians themselves will concentrate their attention, and it will be a dagger poised to stab Yugoslavia in the back." (Diario, entry of 21 April 1939) And again, in connection with a plan to create a separate Croatia tied to Italy: "Mussolini is quite taken with the idea of smashing Yugoslavia and annexing Croatia. He considers this undertaking to be a fairly easy one, and in light of the situation I think he is right. In the meantime I propose to improve the organization of the Albanians in Kosovo, who may represent a dagger on Belgrade's flank."

The trap the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had set for itself with its treatment of its Albanians was shut in World War II. Whereas in Albania proper the resistance against the occupation increased steadily and nationalists, communists and tribal warriors alike resorted to arms, the majority of the Albanians in Kosovo and in western Macedonia felt the collapse of Yugoslavia as a liberation from foreign rule. After the defeat of Yugoslavia, Mussolini in April 1941 ordered the unification of these areas with Albania proper in a "Greater Albania," which had been the subject of such longing on the part of the Albanian nationalists. Not all Kosovo was part of it, however, and the Albanians certainly would have preferred to have attained their national goal under different circumstances. But even so the communists found it difficult to build up a partisans movement in the Albanian-populated areas.

Vukmanovic-Tempo, a former high Yugoslav communist leader, whom Tito charged with this task, wrote very candidly about this in his memoirs (Belgrade 1971). Reporting about his trip through western Macedonia in spring 1942, he says: "With the annexation of these areas to Albania, the position of the Albanian population had changed fundamentally. The power in villages and towns was in Albanian hands. In the schools,

vis-a-vis the authorities and in the street, people freely spoke Albanian. True, the real power was in the hands of the Italian occupiers, but this was not that obvious to the masses. They only saw that a lot had changed compared with the old Yugoslavia; they used to have no rights there, but now they were in charge. It was difficult to enlist this people in the struggle for a change; they were afraid that the conditions in old Yugoslavia would then return. Nor do they accept a new Yugoslavia. They find it easier to support what the occupying power did when it annexed these areas to Albania." It appears worth mentioning that now, almost 40 years later--that is, on 2 September 1981 in Kicevo--four Albanians have been sentenced to 1 1/2 years' imprisonment because they allegedly had changed their names from Macedonian into Albanian.

After the surrender of Italy on 8 September 1943, Vukmanovic-Tempo, with predominantly Macedonian units, managed to take possession of large western Macedonian areas, such as Debar and Kicevo, but immediately got entangled in national questions. He writes: "The Germans managed to win the support of the Albanians forming the majority of the population in this area. There was a danger of a fight to expand the liberated territory in the direction of Gostivar and Struga taking on the character of an accounting between Albanians and Macedonians, all the more so because the Albanians who were fighting in our forces would not have turned against fellow Albanians who were exercising power in the name of the occupiers." Vukmanovic-Tempo reports similar things from Kosovo proper. Only gradually, he says, primarily under the influence of international developments, did part of the Albanians and elements of the intelligentsia join the communist side.

What Vukmanovic-Tempo fails to say explicitly is that Kosovo at that time virtually constituted the main base of the nationalist camp among the Albanians, together with the "Balli Kombetar" (National Front) movement, which had been founded by some notables from the area of Valona. This movement fought against the Italians and then against the communists, also trying as long as possible to keep its distance from the Germans. People from Kosovo played a big role in the politics of the nationalist camp in Albania. Their rule in Kosovo, like the revolt of today, displayed violence also against Serbian monuments as symbols of the Serbian claim to dominion. The monument commemorating the Battle of Kosovo Polje was destroyed, and the abbot of Decani was able to prevent the blowing up of his monastery by an Albanian squad only by secretly hurrying across the mountains to Pec and alerting the local Italian garrison. The fighting in Kosovo continued until long after the end of the war.

In Albania, in addition to international developments, it was primarily the support by the Yugoslav communists that was decisive for the victory of the communist partisans movement. But just as the Ustashe in Croatia had to buy their being installed in power by ceding Dalamatia to Italy, so Enver Hoxha was forced to abandon all claims to Kosovo as the price for Tito's support. Albanian communists who had different ideas in this matter--and there were quite a few of these--were rigorously deprived of any influence. Today the Yugoslav papers are full of bitter attacks against the regime of Enver Hoxha and against the conditions prevailing in Albania. There is no reason to doubt the truth of these Yugoslav reports, any more than there are grounds, however, to doubt the fact that these conditions probably would never have arisen if the Yugoslavs had not made their active contribution at the time. Actually, the Yugoslavs from the start strongly distrusted the intellectual Enver Hoxha and also told the Soviets so. Their man was the later Minister of the Interior Koce Dzodze, who after 1948 was executed as a "Titoite." He was not much better,

however. The brutality with which the Albanian population was repressed in the postwar years was about the same on both sides of the border. On one side as well as the other, there was starvation as a result of the pressure against the farmers, and in both countries the authorities tried to force the Albanian population primarily to give up two things--arms and gold. Of the latter, there was quite a bit also on the Yugoslav side of the border. About Debar in Macedonia, they used to say that if the emperor's city of Istanbul were to be destroyed one day, Debar would be in a position to rebuild it.

The regime in Albania consistently continued on its course of self-isolation and repression. It has collectivized its agriculture, is keeping its standard of living low and is shutting off its population from the outside world. Through consistent mixing of the population, it is trying to destroy the old family and clan bonds, and some years ago it prohibited any religious practice. In Yugoslavia, and thus also in Kosovo, things have taken a different course. Since 1966 the Albanians in Kosovo have again been able fully to profess their Albanian nationality. The situation of the Albanians in western Macedonia has improved as well. The Autonomous Region of Kosovo has increasingly been treated as a republic of its own and has received ample development aid. Why, then, many people both in Yugoslavia and abroad wonder, did that revolt occur in spring 1981--a revolt which noncommunist Yugoslavs as well often interpret as ingratitude?

In Belgrade, people today tend to put a substantial part of the blame on alleged "subversion" by the Enver Hoxha regime in Tirana. Whoever does not embrace this thesis, in the eyes of certain Yugoslav propagandists, is a supporter of that regime and an enemy of Yugoslavia. This, however, would then also have to apply to member of the Yugoslav Presidium Stane Dolanc, who in early April before foreign correspondents stated explicitly that Tirana did not play the role of instigator. Dolanc was probably correct in saying so. Contacts between Albania and Kosovo are limited to a small intellectual segment. It was clearly the Albanians in Kosovo who took the initiative, while the regime in Tirana, with its extreme fear of contacts with abroad, went along only reluctantly. The Albanian professors who came to Pristina shut themselves off there, maintaining only slight contact with their colleagues. There is every indication that the regime in Tirana was surprised by the outbreak of the revolt in Kosovo, and it also showed itself poorly informed in the reports of its press. In the beginning Tirana clearly sought to dampen matters, and only after Belgrade had started its press campaign and after repression had begun in Kosovo, did Tirana sound a harsher tone and put out material with emphasis on national concerns. All this probably confirms again the fact Kosovo represents an independent center of an Albanian national idea and, secondly, the fact that in its self-isolation the regime in Tirana would hardly be able to take in hand such a risky business as the starting of irredentist revolts abroad which might also have repercussions at home.

Particularly vis-a-vis Western diplomats, Yugoslav circles in Belgrade try to suggest that pro-Soviet elements might assume power in Albania one day and that then Moscow as it were, would take up that "dagger poised to stab Yugoslavia in the back" which the communist partisans at the time wrested from Count Ciano's hand. Albania, these people say, "pro forma" continues to be a member of the Warsaw Pact (actually it has canceled its membership), and Bulgaria continues to adhere to a mutual assistance treaty with Albania. Apart from the fact that a great many developments are

possible not only in Tirana but also in Belgrade, such microcosmic ways of looking at things can hardly be taken at face value. The fact that Albania militarily is a vacuum is also known to NATO. As the visit by the U.S. secretary of state to Belgrade showed recently, the balance in the southeastern European area in the final analysis is likely to depend on other factors.

In Albania, incidentally, all purges of the past few years have affected people who pleaded for a prudent opening up of the country toward the West, and this mood also seems to prevail among the younger part of the apparatus. For years nothing has been heard any longer of any activity by pro-Soviet elements in Albania. With Yugoslavia, however, the present regime in Tirana is hardly like ever to want to make friends; there are too many things from the early years that are still having their effect. This, however, is rather to Belgrade's advantage, for nothing could cause Yugoslavia a greater headache in the Kosovo question than a takeover in Tirana by a reasonable democratic-nationalist regime. In that case the Kosovo question would really become serious.

Being convinced that Yugoslavia at present is not exposed to any real enmity from abroad, the regime in Belgrade apparently relies in Kosovo primarily on police repression and even military repression without giving much thought to political solutions. Even in the confrontation with the Albanians, it is giving free rein to Serbian and Macedonian nationalism; never since the end of the war have such generalizing hostile notes been sounded officially in socialist Yugoslavia against an individual national entity or nationality of the country. True, some "mistakes" have been admitted, particularly economic ones, it being stated that instead of agriculture the heavy and basic-materials industries have been promoted and that a "bureaucratic-budgetary structure" was handed too many funds for free use, and the like. But even here limits are apparent. Despite the fact that 80 percent of the population is active in private agriculture and that there does not even exist a system for buying up its produce, it is not private agriculture but primarily the socialist sector that is now to be promoted. No thought whatever is being given to promoting private crafts and services, which are being neglected in Serbia as it is. Instead of new leaders who would enjoy the confidence of the Albanian population, one has called again on the old cadres from the "administrative" period, such as party Secretary Veli Deva.

Thus Yugoslavia since April has donated almost 300 martyrs to the Albanian national cause, and since there are almost 2 million Albanians in the country, there are still great reserves left on that route. Belgrade can also continue to revile Skanderbeg and the League of Prizren, thus allowing the whole conflict to become a normal conflict of nationalities in the best Balkan tradition. The authorities of the Serbian Republic can continue to try to limit the autonomy of the Kosovo Region again and to subject it both politically and economically to the Serbian dictate. There are officials in Belgrade who are downright proud of the fact that Yugoslavia, like the progressive Occident, now has a Northern Ireland or Basque problem of its own. After a few years, if not sooner, the fruits of such a policy will be reaped. Even now Serbians under the very nose of their own police, as it were, continue to migrate from Kosovo because they are afraid.

It would be better if Yugoslavia took the opposite road and tried to make it a point decisively to put across the advantages its system can offer to the Albanians in Kosovo compared with the system in Albania. That, however, would require again respect of the Albanian nationality and, in the economy, if only to create jobs, would call for a decisive, even radical, move away from socialist dogmas. It would also require a new leadership stratum. One could definitely conceive of an Albanian national movement which seeks to realize its aims in cooperation with the multinational Yugoslav state, but in light of the way the Yugoslav leadership thinks such ideas appear utopian.

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MILOVAN DJILAS CITES EMIGRE THREATS AGAINST HIS SON

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 2 Nov 81 p 3

[Report by Christine von Kohl: "Milovan Djilas Anxious About His Son--A Critic's Dramatic Appeal"]

[Text] Belgrade--Milovan Djilas is concerned about the life of his 28-year-old son, Alexa, who now resides in London after having concluded his studies in philosophy in Graz, Vienna and London. Djilas has received letters from the United States, which he regards as part of an intrigue of Yugoslav intelligence, containing threats to murder his son. Djilas thinks that the recent increase in public attacks against him in Yugoslavia also indicate that he is correct in his assessment. A short time ago, for instance, Vladimir Dedijer, official reporter of Tito and the partisan war, in connection with the publication of new historical materials, called Djilas a "fanatic murderer." And on Friday [30 October] Kolj Siroka, chairman of the Socialist League of the Working People, said it was necessary for Djilas to be "deprived of the right to make antistate declarations."

A total of 9 years' imprisonment notwithstanding--to which he was sentenced by Tito's judges after 1954--Djilas has been able to publish his political views in the West fairly freely during the past 15 years while Tito was alive. Djilas does not have a passport, however. It is known that today there are circles within the party leadership who advocate a public "dialogue" with critics such as Djilas in Yugoslavia but that other circles are downright livid about the "liberties" permitted to someone like Milvan Djilas, particularly since his biography of Tito published immediately after Tito's death. Below in slightly abridged form is a statement which Djilas has transmitted to representatives of the Western press:

"On 26 April 1981 Mr George Urban telephoned me from London to tell me that he has received a letter from Chicago containing a threat to murder my son Alexa. My son would be killed unless I was prepared to 'cooperate' and--in an interview with Mr Urban--reveal all 'secrets' about the murder of Serbs by the communist animals.' The deadline of 31 December of this year was given. The letter also contained a threat against Mr Urban--in the event the contents of the letter should become known to the Yugoslav secret police....

Mr Urban told me that he had sent me a copy of said letter 5 or 6 days earlier, but I did not receive the letter until the following day, despite the fact that airmail from Great Britain normally does not take that long.

The letter, postmarked Chicago, which Mr Urban had transmitted to me in fact contained what he had told me on the telephone. In addition (Mr Urban was so tactful as not to mention it on the phone) it contained the twaddle about my having 'participated' in crimes with which I was totally unfamiliar. In my public memoirs I reported all that I know about the good and the bad things I did in my revolutionary communist past.

Not for that reason, though, not to purge myself, but rather as a father, I find it appropriate, albeit reluctantly, to step before the public abroad.

Why, and why at this particular time, are such letters, such threats delivered? And why in particular against my son? I am not sure about everything, nor can I be, and therefore I cannot give a complete answer.

But the following facts are significant: The request addressed to me in the mentioned letter to cooperate with emigres and reveal 'communist crimes' would at least provide a pretense for preferring charges against me if I write what I think and what I know from my time.

I consider that to be of minor importance, however. It is not by chance that threats are being voiced against my son at this particular moment, because since last year he has critically analyzed the situation in Yugoslavia in political articles in London which have been published in a number of foreign journals.

It is not by chance that my son is being threatened immediately after top Yugoslav officials (Dolanc, Bilic) have attacked publicly him as a 'Chetnik' and 'emigre'- despite the fact that he is 28 years old, completed his military service in Yugoslavia about 1½ years ago and has a Yugoslav passport. Nor is it a coincidence that an article attacking terrorism (VJESNIK of 3 October) mentions my son--in order to make the public more amenable to a crime against my son!

The emigres, without any doubt at all, include murky and irresponsible figures. The critical writings by my son, however, assuredly are apt to disturb such people much less than the Yugoslav regime and its political offices.

I repeat: My son is not a member of any public or secret organization. He does not advocate any kind of extremist ideas or violent methods; my son professes democratic ideas and supports peaceful methods. Undemocratic discrimination and pressures he has experienced since he was a child have shown him the way to freedom--to critical analysis of undemocratic phenomena.

Any father could be proud of a son like mine, and that is one of the reasons why I want to inform the public about the threats against him--threats based on alleged guilt on his father's part!"

(Signed) Milovan Djilas, Belgrade, 17 October 1981.

8790
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END

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1945

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27 November 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1945

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Sik's New Economic Model Described
(Jan Isa; NOVE SLOVO, 3 Oct 81) 1

Pastoral Letters by Cardinal Tomasek
(KATOLICKE NOVINY, 16 Aug, 20, 27 Sep 81) 5

Praise of Pope John Paul II
Need for Greater Morality
Beatification of Czech Bishop

Briefs
Trade Union's International Aid 10

POLAND

Resolution on Scope, Activity of District Censorship Offices
(DZIENNIK USTAW, 30 Sep 81) 11

Higher School Crisis Discussed
(Jan Kluczynski Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 29 Sep 81) 17

ROMANIA

Role of Military Balance in International Peace, Security
(Corneliu Bogdan; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Sep 81) 21

Problems of Providing Medical Care in War Zones
(Alexandru Gr. Popescu; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, Jul-Aug-Sep 81) 30

Medical Care for Soldiers in Broad Front Defense Operations
(Eugen Spataru; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, Jul-Aug-Sep 81) 39

Symposium on Medical Assistance to Troops in People's War
(P. Chertic; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, Jul-Aug-Sep 81) 45

Material, Professional Needs of Writers Discussed
(ROMANIA LITERARA, 5 Nov 81) 47

Briefs
Caras-Severin, Timis Appointments 49
New Joint Companies 49
Cooperation in Pharmaceuticals, Cosmetics 49
Cooperation in Maritime Trade 49

YUGOSLAVIA

Commentaries, Petitions on Djogo Trial, Sentence
(Various sources; various dates) 50

Stress on Poetic Ambiguity, by Nada Popovic Perisic
Open Letter by Intellectuals
Petition by Authors
Second Petition by Authors
Third Petition by Authors
Author Kis to Stambolic
Open Appeal to Judges
Comparison With Mandel'shtam's Fate, by Jovica Acin
Against Trial in Principle, by Milorad Vucelic
Analogies With Earlier Conflicts, by Ratko Petkovic
Earlier Attacker Regrets Outcome, by Stevan Stanic
University Paper's Satiric View

Advocacy of 'Strong Federal Cabinet' Researched
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, Aleksandar Novasic, 4 Oct 81) 78

Pre-Congress Discussion of LCY Statute Changes
(Milivoje Tomasevic; KOMUNIST, 9 Oct 81) 89

SIK'S NEW ECONOMIC MODEL DESCRIBED

Bratislave NOVE SLOVO in Slovak No 40, 8 Oct 81 p 9

[Article by Doc Eng Jan Isa, CSc, Economic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences: "From Revisionism to Utopia? New Forms of Sik's Anticommunism"]

[Text] Since departing for exile, Sik has been unusually active in the publishing field. He writes for various Western periodicals, gives interviews (among others, to PLAYBOY), makes television appearances, and publishes books. The evolution of his views, characterized by a shift from rightist revisionism to bourgeois ideology and anticommunism, may be clearly noted in his three main works: "The Third Way," "The Communist System of Power," and "Humane Economic Democracy."

In "The Third Way," he still employs Marxist terminology; explains his attitude toward Marx and Lenin; and, in the spirit of the revisionist "tradition," he strips them of any class content. The main "scientific" conclusion which Sik reached in "The Third Way" is, for example, the assertion that Marxist justification for the inevitability of socialism allegedly "cannot stand up to the scientific confrontation with reality." His "study" of Marxism after many years has led him to the "discovery" that Marx's main conclusion--justification for the inevitability of the rise of socialism--is incorrect. It is true that a similar conclusion, by a somewhat different route, also was reached by Löbl who also disputes the inevitability of the socialist revolution and considers Marx's exhortation to "expropriate the expropriators" a "great historic blunder." It is especially characteristic of Sik and Löbl that they are examining Marx's concept of ownership and trying to prove that the problem of ownership does not have the importance in political economy that Marx ascribes to it. However, they themselves contradict one another on this question because their practical proposals and recommendations refer precisely to social ownership of the means of production which should substantially weaken or completely lose its socialist character.

Even though it is impossible to pick out a single theoretical concept which would be common to the various representatives of modern revisionism, there are certain common features here. One of them is the transition to the concept of the so-called third way. Of course, this concept does not appear by accident, because the idea of a third way emerges in history as a rule whenever elements of social unrest accumulate. Its various interpretations always represented the oscillations of the middle classes between capitalism and socialism and served exclusively ideological defense purposes. The third way, in reality, does not represent the reform program of

any genuine social form but is only a shield to defend modern capitalism and reject genuine socialism.

In their overall approaches toward true socialism, modern revisionists have in common the object of their criticism--directed planning, state ownership, or the economic role of the state in general. Although their points of departure differ, Sik and Löbl alike uncritically glorify the market mechanism. Naturally, we do not encounter here the concept of a developed socialism. They claim that, according to the definitions and criteria contained in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the present stage of development in socialist countries cannot be characterized as a socialist order at all. Their criticism and rejection of true socialism at the same time contain various, often mutually contradictory, "arguments." On the one hand, they claim that, in the Soviet Union and other countries of the world socialist system, when political power was seized by the working class conditions were not ripe for building socialism (and that these conditions also are not ripe even now in developed capitalist countries). On the other hand, they show that, in socialist countries, Marx's theory is being applied in a biased and distorted form, which allegedly should serve to "conceal the antisocialist essence of the system." Sik sees this bias and distortion in the fact that only those theses are selected from Marx, Engels, and Lenin that justify the dictatorship of the proletariat, collectivization of the means of production in the form of nationalization, and central national economic planning in the form of directed plans. After he had thus "defended" and "purged" Marx, he finally reached the surprising conclusion that neither Marx's, Engels's, nor Lenin's concept of socialism is actually correct.

From this it follows that, in the theoretical concepts of modern revisionists, the scientific conception of socialism is completely lost. Thus, they actually took up again the old revisionist "tradition" according to which socialism is something very remote, vague, and lacking any real features. But, then, that means the Czechoslovak revisionists are gradually beginning to abandon even the idea of various models of socialism which, in the past, was one of their chief tools in the struggle against true socialism and its universal legitimacy.

As far as the relationship of Czechoslovak and international revisionism goes, it can be said that, "thanks" to the Czechoslovak revisionists, there also is a temporary revival of revisionist tendencies on an international scale. Their specific "contribution," which is not original at all, refers chiefly to economic theory. For some time now, O. Sik in particular has tried to represent himself as the leading theoretician of Czechoslovak revisionism. He is wholly occupied with criticism of modern true socialism in his openly anticommunist work, "The Communist System of Power."

In addition to criticizing (or rather maligning) true socialism, he has developed his own model, reported in 1972 in his work, "The Third Way." This model (originally designated as a model of "humane democratic socialism") was supposed to be based on "a strong interest in collectivization of capital," which, however, is not to be implemented by "dogmatic attempts at nationalization." This naturally indicated that the prepared model dispenses with the basic feature of socialist economy--socialist ownership of the means of production.

The model advocated by Sik, which relegated to the background the question of ownership of the means of production, brings to mind the plans of rightist social democratic parties stemming from the need to reform at least some of the reactionary features of state monopolistic capitalism.

Sik finally carried out his promises in his recent work which he titled "Humane Economic Democracy" (subtitled "The Third Way"). In this work, Sik summarized and partially revised his conclusions from "The Third Way" and "The Communist System of Power." Although in "The Third Way" he still made formal acknowledgement of Marx, in "Humane Economic Democracy" we note a definite shift to bourgeois ideology. He examines the basic postulates of Marxist economic theory (especially the working theory of value and the theory of surplus value), employs bourgeois economic terminology, and he even dispenses with the concept of socialism. His "third way," that is, his model of the "new" society, he calls "humane economic democracy" which brings to mind Benes's concept of "humanitarian democracy." Of course, Sik's concept is much more utopian and reactionary. In this work, too, he "criticizes" capitalism (sometimes even with sharp words); but this "criticism" is always only a device leading to the criticism of true socialism. He admits that capitalism does not solve the economic problems of the present time; but, at the same time, he claims that genuine socialism leads to even worse consequences, retains exploitation, and intensifies misappropriation. That is why, he claims, a third "noncapitalist and noncommunist" way is needed, the development of which was inspired by "Czechoslovak reform ideas." He writes that the work for his plan was financed by the Swiss National Front for the Support of Scientific Research and the Swedish Arbetlivzentrum. In spite of the fact that he often represents his model as a universal one, that is, one designed for socialist as well as capitalist countries, his real objective is to effect a "reform" (i.e., in reality, elimination) of "the communist system."

By comparing his prior works, one can notice certain new ideas and approaches in Sik's latest work. It is, above all, his thesis that the critical problem "in all discussions on the further development of industrial societies is the future development of human needs." This thesis (which otherwise is very old in bourgeois economy) is new with Sik because, in the past, his ideas on market socialism were based on the conflict of interests. Another difference lies in the fact that he discounts his former idealization of the market mechanism and "discovers" the regulated market. A further "innovation" concerns ownership. Although in the past he inclined toward the ideal of "democratization" of capital, to be effected by means of a corporate form of undertaking, "humane economic democracy" is to rely on a so-called neutralization of capital. In Sik's "new" economic system, the interests of "capital and consumption" are to be united, classes disappear--a real contradiction--and ideal harmony reigns. From this point of view, it is a utopian plan of a "converging" society. Sik admits there are some "shortcomings" in the capitalist system--crises, inflation, mass unemployment, excessive personal consumption along with open poverty, inadequate satisfaction of needs, antagonism between the "South and the North," etc. The solution to the "capitalist dilemma" (which also should be a defensive measure against "communist development") is to be found in "democratization and humanization" of the economy, in overcoming the contradiction between the interests of wages and profit, in increasing economic responsibility by neutralizing capital, in linking plans with the marketplace, and "in establishing democratic, alternative planning of distribution with a regulated market mechanism."

Sik's model of a "new" economic system is supposed to be supported by three basic pillars: the "neutralization of capital," macroeconomic planning of distribution, and regulation of the market. The key element of the model is so-called neutralization of capital, which is supposed to represent a new, noncapitalist but also nonsocialist form of ownership of enterprises eliminating misappropriation. It emphasized that this form of ownership is developed without dispossession of the former owners. "Neutralization of capital" means transferring the constantly recreated financial and production capital into an indivisible fund of enterprise collectives, the administration of which is to be provided by elected directors. Conditions thus are created for genuine "democratization" and "humanization" of ownership but, also, that "miraculous" motive of profit is not lost since Sik also allows, in addition to compensation in the form of wages, acquisition of part of the profit by members of the enterprise collective. He designates the enterprises that operate on the basis of "neutralized capital" as cooperative companies. They are to develop gradually from large capitalist companies. Medium-sized capitalist enterprises, on the other hand, are to be converted into mixed companies which combine private and "neutralized" capital, while small enterprises remain in private hands.

It is difficult to consider this plan, which is not original at all, as other than naive, since it clearly embodies strong influences of the syndicalist concept of enterprise ownership which also is currently being propagated by revisionist and antisocialist forces in Poland. Moreover, Sik's model contradicts his own earlier promise that his theory of "the third way" would overcome the shortcomings of both contradictory systems. Meanwhile, however, we perceive that capitalistic ownership in his "humane economic democracy" does still persist, specifically in small and medium-sized enterprises. At the same time, he fails to say what kind of miracle in these capitalist (or part capitalist) enterprises manages to avoid misappropriation and exploitation and how the promised "humanization" is to be brought about. There is not a word referring to the fact that small-scale production begets capitalism and that concentration brings about a continuous shifting among individual groups of enterprises. According to his naive notion, a mysterious hybrid system should then evolve permeated with private and "neutralized" capital, but society as a whole would be noncapitalist. In his discussions of "neutralization of capital" (and generally in the whole utopian plan of "humane economic democracy") there appears--as in all his prior works--one basic "fault" and that is that he completely ignores one of the determining processes of this epoch--the scientific-technical revolution. Sik's ideas about "neutralization of capital" bring to mind the simplistic theory of effecting ownership by "direct producers" which was propagated here in various modifications in the years 1968 to 1969.

The utopian character of Sik's concept was fully recognized by bourgeois ideologists themselves who otherwise are not sparing of praise in evaluating the anticommunist qualities of similar "reformers." For example, A. Szöllösi, in an article published in 1978 in the SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, characterized Sik's model as a "reformist utopia." This naturally greatly embittered Sik and he compained of the "mean attack" of the rightist dogmatist. He apparently at the same time "forgot" that, in capitalist countries, they do not need him to dream up "reforms" of the capitalist system. The real interest that anticommunist circles have in his "theory" issues from the fact that he attempts, as he himself openly writes in "Human Economic Democracy," to contribute to bringing about a counterrevolutionary revolt in socialist countries and to prevent other countries from taking the road to socialist development. That is the real class sense of Sik's "third way."

8491
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PASTORAL LETTERS BY CARDINAL TOMASEK

Praise of Pope John Paul II

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 33, 16 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek: "In the Light of Faith"]

[Text] Every era has its peculiar problems which address and challenge each one of us: "What will you do in this instance?" In particular, individuals in positions of leadership are expected to make their attitude unambiguously known. The Holy Father is very well aware of that and, therefore, he clearly, frankly and convincingly announces his position concerning every problem of our times, especially the crucial questions.

Naturally, that involves risks particularly in the current era of terrorism all over the world. The Holy Father recognizes that risk, as was dramatically demonstrated on 13 May of this year during his general audience in St Peter's Square. It is evident that the pope knows no respite and is always eager to go out in the world so that he may share with as many people as possible some of the dynamism that moves him in the sense of St Paul's words: "The love of Christ impels us" (2 Cor 5:14).

His long and certainly very exhausting transcontinental travels, his journeys across Italy, or even around his diocese of Rome, and his general audiences in St Peter's Square in a way resemble the journeys of Jesus in His native land. The pope's cultured expression, his modesty, his quiet approach, his readiness to profer his hand and to listen--all that offers a basis for establishment of beautiful interhuman relations. Yet this public activity which is quite manifest has nothing in common with obsequious greetings; it touches upon something trancendental. Once, in a country convulsed in violence, such as Ireland, he courageously rejects any use of violence, at another occasion, in countries with the most advanced consumer society, he pronounces his frank and clearly stated warning against consumerism, then in a country which is proud to call itself "always faithful" he calls for faith and devotion to our church, or, for example, in Brazil, he bluntly scores the injustice committed against the poorest and most helpless people.

Perhaps to emphasize his words even more, this supreme priest had to be literally cut down in one of the calamities rampant in this final period of the 20th century--by terrorism. Even when thus confronted with the world to which he had raised his hand in blessing, the pope accepted his fate with gratitude for this opportunity to

face and experience this pain, suffering and finally, also humiliation. There is no pathos in this view of the Holy Father; these words express a simple fact.

We have to regard his pontificate of only 2 1/2 years as a historical event. The significance of such events affects us and challenges us to respond to them because they represent a part of our life as well. We often try to ignore them and would gladly forget most of them. Yet in every instance such events touch our lives and shape the history of each individual as well as the history of all mankind. There is no life outside history. Man simply cannot exist outside the framework of history; without it man can be neither loved nor judged nor saved. The Son of God Himself entered the history of this world and of mankind and sanctified it. Even in our days God exists in history, immersed in the course of events, and it is not always easy to discover His presence. Events are like the burning bush on Mt Horeb (Exodus 3:3) which is not consumed by fire. The phenomenon of the burning bush went on and on, until finally it climaxed in the greatest event, in Jesus Himself, in the event of His Incarnation, in the Word revealed as God's constant presence, in such sacraments as our Lord's Resurrection on Easter day, as a sign, as the word, as the revelation. In all those events, God speaks to us, sanctifies us and wants us to be sanctified by them.

We must view everything in the light of our faith. If our thoughts and contemplations often leave us depressed, resigned or only reconciled with the past, that certainly is not under the influence of the Holy Spirit. We must accept the mystery of the cross which pervades such a great part of humanity. It should never cease challenging us to wrestly with evil which Christ defeated on the same cross.

Need for Greater Morality

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 38, 20 Sep 81 pp 2, 5

[Section "Christian Realism" from pastoral letter by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek: "Appeal to Moral Superiority"]

[Text] Many people dislike being told what to do and what not to do not only in public but also by the commandments of God and of our church. Their defiance is often hypersensitive, even pathological. One cannot live without commands and restraints. Let us suppose that one day no orders and prohibitions would apply. We cannot even imagine what would happen on our highways under such circumstances. Let us think about the effect on people's lives--their marriages, family, school, occupation, social life--if everyone could do what they wished. From the same perspective we must look at God's commandments and prohibitions, at the Ten Commandments and particularly on the sixth and ninth commandments.

In His sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," and in the ninth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife," God orders us to live a chaste life. A chaste person is not selfishly wrapped in himself but gives himself entirely in the service of love to God and also of love to one's fellow men.

A chaste person is aware that mutual love between man and woman has its place and can fully grow only in lawful marriage. Only then may this mutual relationship find its fulfillment in a proper atmosphere and to inner satisfaction. Only then can a child receive what is his due and what he needs for his wholesome spiritual and

physical growth: a home where love and harmony between his parents offer the child an environment of affection and security, a haven for his future and an example of family life to emulate when the child grows up. Those who do not yet consider marriage or who do not marry at all must live a pure moral life and at the same time, be willing to serve with devotion those in need of help. Thus, motherly and fatherly feelings may be abundantly asserted and bring satisfaction in one's life. That is the spirit in which children should be taught love and care from their infancy. For that reason, we inspire in children interest in others at an early age and teach them to bring joy to others, to help others, to protect others and to serve others. This is the foundation on which pure relations of love will be based in the future. This is the foundation of happy marriages in the future. This is also the foundation of good relations elsewhere, in places of work and in the broader community.

Thus, moral purity has no negative or repressive implications; it is a positive expression of something in us that is truly humane and noble. The deepest moral foundation of moral purity rests on respect for man as God's image in us. That is neither taboo nor exhibitionism; thus both angelism and animalism are wrong and Christian realism is right. Not the dualism of soul and body contradicting each other but inner unity of the whole man correctly reflect the sixth and the ninth commandments of God. They are not restraining but supremely positive in their appeal for moral superiority. People who can understand this prove their spiritual maturity because they leave no room for egotistic consumerism, only for devoted service of love. Naturally, this required determination and self-discipline. Chastity means integration of the whole man, particularly of his love. It does not exploit, it is generous in a humane and noble way. Chastity is not the virtue of the weak but of the brave.

In His sixth and ninth commandments God urges us to have self-respect and noble dignity. It is therefore completely wrong if one says, "This is my own body and I can do with it whatever I wish." The Holy Cross made us members of the transcendental, mystical Body of Christ--our church, as St Paul emphasizes: "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?" (1 Cor 6:15). Moreover, in the holy communion we become a living temple of Jesus Christ. God is everywhere and thus, also in us. Therefore, we are like God's sanctuary always, everywhere, no matter what the place. Furthermore, the Holy Spirit sanctified us in an entirely special way when in our Holy Baptism we became participants in God's life by accepting the grace of the sacrament. Thus, we read in the Holy Scriptures: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are" (1 Cor 3:16-17). Those who are aware of this greatness cannot stoop so low as to defile their own body by themselves or with others and thus, to desecrate it.

Chastity is natural support of moral purity. To be chaste does not mean to be ashamed of one's body--that would be disrespectful of God because God created all that lives. He also created our whole human body with all its organs and functions. All organs and functions of our body are good in themselves if we do not defile them. A natural feeling of chastity is present in every human being so long as he or she develops properly. That feeling serves to protect man in relation to himself as well as in relation to others; it protects him against any attempt to violate his human dignity and rules also his conduct and his attire not only at home but particularly in public.

Regular prayers, holy confession with holy communion and great trust in our heavenly Mother, Virgin Mary, provide a transcendental support for chastity. Lord Jesus

arges us: "Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation" (Mat 25:41) [attribution should be Mat 26:41]. However, vigilance alone is not enough. We need aid and support from above and that is why Jesus tells us to pray. Our daily program should include regular prayer, particularly in the morning and in the evening. In our evening prayer we must search our conscience in repentance and prepare good resolutions for the next day. Yet even that is not enough: if possible, every month we must participate in the sacrament of reconciliation, in holy confession. Regular confession prepares us well for more frequent participation in the holy communion.

In the Old Testament we read the praise of Judith, a woman whose courage saved her people from the enemy and thus, she became national heroine. What was the secret of her strength? We read about it in the book of Judith 15:11 [attribution incorrect]: "Your heart was strengthened becuase you loved chastity." That is a challenge for all of us; "Love moral purity and you, too, will find the strength you so need in life." The most important, however, are the words of Jesus: "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God" (Mat 5:8).

Beatification of Czech Bishop

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 27 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek: "In the Service of Charity--the 60th Anniversary of the Episcopal Consecration of Archbishop Antonin Cyril Stojan"]

[Text] On 10 March 1921, Pope Benedict XV appointed Dr Antonin Cyril Stojan the 15th archbishop of Olomouc. Dr Stojan received his episcopal consecration on 3 April 1921. When Stojan was a young priest, Rudolf Talsky, priest in Silperk, said of him: "This fellow Stojan--he will set half of the world in motion." The truly humane and priestly Archbishop Stojan attracted and captivated everyone by his service of charity.

Charity is no theory--it is action, and Stojan was a man of action. He never weakened in his service of charity. He knew neither respite nor limit in the incessant bustle of his work. He exhausted himself working. His friends often feared for his health and warned him: "Take care of your health, rest a while." He would reply with a smile: "Sure, when I am in my grave!"

He literally consumed himself in the service of love to others because in his fellow men he saw Christ. Above all, he saw Christ as Christ of the poor. For that reason, as a priest, Stojan followed Christ, giving the needy his last possessions, and when he had nothing left, he would borrow because he could not bring himself to refuse a request. He would receive petitioners any time and any place--in the morning, at noon, and even late at night, weekdays and Sunday, often under the greatest pressures of his work, always with inexhaustible patience, kindness and often with humor. In an effort to expand this service as much as possible he founded the Union of Charitas. He would come to the aid of his opponents without a shade of bitterness. His motto was: "If people cast a stone at you, cast bread at them." He literally gave away all he owned, always and in all circumstances. He would say: "All I own is what I have given away for the love of God." He reached such depths of the highest commandment of charity that many people were incapable of understanding him.

The great heart of this priest could not remain indifferent to Christian disunity. In his love of Christ his brilliant intellect realized the timeless significance of the ideas promoted by St Cyril and St Methodius, ideas of unity in faith and love, particularly among the Slavic nations. To implement the ideas of saints Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs Stojan founded the Apostolate of Saints Cyril and Methodius, a mighty organization for prayer and devotion, which served as the basis for other meaningful programs and, as an example, encouraging the pioneering ecumenical movement long before the Second Vatican Council. His love was extended even to our countrymen overseas where he organized spiritual care for Czech emigrants.

Certain deeply expressive traits of the Moravian character in his personality gave him his captivating charm and made him near and dear to the hearts of the people. He loved simplicity, openness and sincerity. He was innocent of hypocrisy and falsehood. Empty formalism was alien to him. His unobtrusively convincing words never failed to inspire us. We shall never forget his unannounced visits in our seminary chapel where he would address us. On numerous occasions he also celebrated the Holy Mass in the chapel for us. As was his custom, before the holy communion he would say to us a few words full of his vital faith, humility and longing for our Holy Savior. Like a master he prepared our hearts for unity with our Lord. In 1922 he consecrated all 22 of us. His paternal glance rested on each of us with confidence and from his lips we heard the words of St Methodius, the great archbishop, addressing us.

The years of Archbishop Stojan's administration in the diocese of Olomouc were extremely complicated for our church. Stojan, by then with only fragments of his strength left to him and broken down in his service to others, exerted almost supernatural efforts to be, in the words of the Holy Scripture, "like a burning flame and like an incense burning in the fire" for all of us. You can read his testament engraved on his tombstone in the royal chapel of the basilica in Velehrad: "I have showed you all things, how that so laboring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20:35). Christ blessed our whole church with Pope John and the church in our country with Archbishop Stojan.

The process of Archbishop Stojan's beautification in the Olomouc diocese has reached its final stage and soon will be transferred to Rome for further deliberations.

9004
CSO: 2400/25

BRIEFS

TRADE UNION'S INTERNATIONAL AID--During the first semester of 1981, the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) International Solidarity Fund has collected from ROH members Kcs 33,672,547. This amounts to a contribution of Kcs 5.54 per member. The Solidarity Stamp contributions produced Kcs 33,249,735 and direct contributions Kcs 422,182. During this period Kcs 14.4 million were spent from this fund. Of this over Kcs 800,000 went for medical treatment and recreation of trade union functionaries from Syria, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Algeria, Lebanon, Jordan, the Palestine Trade Union Center in Damascus and other countries. Pioneer camps for children from foreign countries cost over Kcs 2.9 million. Seminars held for foreign trade union functionaries from Syria, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Philippines and other countries cost about Kcs 500,000. Material help worth more than Kcs 10 million was sent to Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Chile, Uruguay, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, Mali, Guinea, Nambia, Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Madagascar, Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Portugal, Italy and other countries. Although the contributions are to be voluntary, some ROH members have complained that they are forced by some district trade union councils to purchase set quotas and only certain stamp denominations. Some ROH plant committees also tell their members how many Solidarity Stamps to purchase. ROH functionaries have been told not to resort to these methods since it harms the ROH politically and discredits the idea of international solidarity. Instead, functionaries should increase their power of political persuasion. [Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 11 Nov 81 p 4]

CSO: 2400/59

RESOLUTION ON SCOPE, ACTIVITY OF DISTRICT CENSORSHIP OFFICES

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 24, 30 Sep 81 pp 278-280
in Polish No 24, 30 Sep 81 pp 278-280

Law on carrying out censorship control

DZIENNIK USTAW No 24 - 278 - (page) Position 125 and 126

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE
of 17 Sept. 1981
on headquarters and territorial scope of activities of district offices controlling publications and entertainment

On the basis of article 8, paragraph 2 of the law of 31 July 1981 on controlling publications and spectacles (Dz.U. No 20, pos. 99) the Council of State enacts as follows:

§ 1. Fifteen district offices for controlling publications and entertainment are established.

§ 2. Headquarters and geographical scope of activities of district offices for controlling publications and spectacles are defined by the attachment to the resolution.

§ 3. The resolution is placed in force on the day of 1 October 1981.

Chairman of the Council of State
H. Jablonski

Attachment to the resolution of
the Council of State
of 17 September 1981 (pos.125)

Locations and geographical scope of activity of the district offices for controlling publications and entertainment

No.	Location of the district office for controlling publications and spectacles	Geographical scope of activities of district office for controlling publications and spectacles	
1	Bialystok	Voivodships:	Bialystok, Lomza, Suwalki
2	Bydgoszcz	Voivodships:	Bydgoszcz, Torun, Pila, Wloclawek
3	Gdansk	Voivodships:	Elblag, Gdansk, Slupsk
4	Katowice	Voivodships:	Bielsko, Czestochowa, Katowice
5	Kielce	Voivodships:	Kielce, Radom
6	Krakow	Voivodships:	City of Krakow, Nowy Sacz, Tarnow
7	Lublin	Voivodships:	Bielsko Podlaskie, Chelm, Lublin, Zamosc
8	Lodz	Voivodships:	City of Lodz, Piotrkow, Sieradz
9	Olsztyn	Voivodship:	Olsztyn
10	Opole	Voivodship:	Opole
11	Poznan	Voivodships:	Kalisz, Konin, Leszno, Poznan, Zielona Gora
12	Rzeszow	Voivodships:	Krosno, Przemysl, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg
13	Szczecin	Voivodships:	Gorzow, Koszalin, Szczecin,
14	Warszawa	Voivodships:	Ciechanow, Ostroleka, Plock Siedlce, Skierniewice, City of Warsaw
15	Wroclaw	Voivodships:	Jelenia Gora, Legnica, Walbrzych, City of Wroclaw and vojvodship Wroclaw

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF 17 September 1981

on regulation for performing the control of publications and entertainment

On the basis of article 10, paragraph 1 of the law of 31 July 1981 on controlling publications and entertainment (Dz.U.No 20, pos.99) the Council of State enacts as follows:

1. The regulation for performing the control of publications and entertainment, which is the attachment to this resolution, is introduced.

2. The resolution is placed in force on the day of 1 October 1981.

Chairman of the Council of State H. Jablonski

Attachment to Resolution of
Council of State
of 17 September 1981
(pos. 126)

REGULATION
for performing the control of publications and entertainment

§ 1. Whenever in this regulation an expression is used:

(1) Main Office--it is to be understood as the Main Office for Controlling Publications and Spectacles;

(2) District Office--it is to be understood as the district office for controlling publications and spectacles;

(3) Law--it is to be understood as the law of 31 July 1981 on the controlling of publications and spectacles (Dz.U. No.20, pos.99).

§ 2. The regulation defines the detailed procedure for presenting for controlling and performing the preliminary control of newspapers, magazines, non-periodical publications, emoluments prints, entertainment, radio and television programs, films, exhibitions and other means of communication.

§ 3. Whoever applies for permission to:

(1) publish a printed text subject to preliminary control, presents two or, at the request of the district office, three copies of the text, in the form of a finished proof-reader's copy, or two typed copies with all the graphic elements of editor's notations, on which he receives permission to proceed, and presents six ready copies in order to check their conformity with the previously approved text of the corrector's copy or of the typewritten copy, one copy of which is to be returned with a note that it has been controlled.

(2) publish posters, prospectuses, or postcards that partly contain cartographic material, presents for preliminary control one copy of the draft;

(3) perform in public, before making rehearsals, presents for preliminary control two copies of the text and, with the permission of the district office--a scenario of the entertainment; then informs the district office of the time and place of the general rehearsal or of the show's premier, if it is not preceded by a general rehearsal;

(4) publish information that is not daily news nor works for radio and television, presents for preliminary control one, or at the request of the district office, two copies of the script of the radio or television program, and then, before broadcast, makes accessible the text of the program by reproducing it from a tape that has been recorded or filmed;

(5) disseminate information and productions by means of other arrangements that serve to fix and reproduce the sound and picture, presents for preliminary

control the recorded text and afterwards the final recordings in the quantity defined in paragraph 14, passage 1;

(6) publish films and other pictures, presents for preliminary control the working copy of the film or picture with the text of the dialogue.

(7) display exhibits gathered for exhibition--presents for the preliminary control the scenario of the exhibition and makes accessible the final shape of the exhibition before its opening.

§ 4.1 To obtain permission for publication, application is made by:

(1) in case of newspapers, magazines, bulletins, radio and television programs--the editor's office;

(2) in the case of other publications and recordings--the publisher;

(3) in the case of shows (exhibits)--the organizer of the show (exhibition).

2. The publisher presents for control non-periodical publications with a letter in which he gives the title, name of the author (if translated, name of translator, and language of the original), volume, format, issue, technique used, name of the printing institution, and he enumerates enclosures with the text.

3. The organizer of the show (exhibition) presents the controlling text of the show (exhibition) with a letter, in which he gives the name of the author and title of the text, type of show (exhibition), time and place of the show (exhibition).

4. The editor of a radio and television program presents to the controlling text of the program (recorded on tape), together with the document of emission, in which he gives the name of the author and title of the program data and hour of emission and the number of the program, on which the broadcast will be made.

§ 5.1 If the text that is subject to control is written in a foreign language, it is necessary to enclose a Polish translation in two copies, with a note from the editor that it is in conformity with the original.

2. The district office can exempt the editor from the obligation of enclosing a Polish translation of the text.

§ 6. In the case of presenting for preliminary control newspapers and magazines, among them dailies, a valid permit for publishing such a periodic should be presented, in order to establish the conformity between the facts contained in the permit and in the publication presented.

§ 7. 1. In the case of non-periodical publications being presented for preliminary control, and of the miscellaneous-printed matter to give the number of the position on the current editorial plan, approved by the Minister of Culture and Art, or the date and number of the permit given by the Minister of Culture and Art for publishing the position number;

2. It is not necessary to present the permit of the Minister of Culture and Art in the case of publications issued in less than 1,000 copies and whose volume does not surpass 16 pages of the format A-5 or B-5; with the exception of every kind of calendar and postcard, the publication of which each time requires the permission of the Minister of Culture and Art.

§ 8. When shows are being presented for control, the organizer of such a show presents simultaneously the permit for conducting an artistic activity, given by proper orgbody of the state administration on culture affairs, or confirmation of the earlier presentation of the show to that body.

§ 9. 1. Texts designed for printing and subject to preliminary control, should be presented to the district office in the geographical area of the editor's office or of the printing plant.

2. Shows should be presented for preliminary control to the district office --in the geographical area where that show will be performed.

3. Radio and television programs should be presented for preliminary control according to geographical definitions established in a separate resolution by the chairman of the Main Office for Publications and Entertainment and by the Chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs "Polish Radio and Television."

§ 10. 1. The district office granting permission for dissemination stamps the verified text with the notation: "permitted for publication," with the date and signature of the permitting official.

2. If the character of the texts or technical conditions presented do not make it possible to make the notation mentioned in point 1, the district office gives its permit on a separate piece of paper.

§ 11. The district office will refuse to accept publications and entertainment for control if they are not subject to preliminary control on the basis of article 4 of the law, or if the conditions defined in this regulation have not been fulfilled.

§ 12. 1. Publications that are not subject to preliminary control are transferred by the editor to the printing plant with a letter in which he refers to the rule of art. 4 of the law.

2. The printing plant will refuse to run off any publication that is not subject to preliminary control, if the publication was submitted by the editor without the letter, mentioned in point 1.

3. The printing plant will refuse to run off any publication subject to preliminary control, if the editor does not present the permit mentioned in paragraph 10.

4. Art. 3 is not applied in the cases mentioned in art. 13 of law 4.

5. In each publication designed for dissemination, the following must be written on the first or last pages the editorial data: editor and publisher, the size of the issue, year of publication. If the publication is subject to preliminary control, besides the above mentioned data, a symbol of official permit should be included.

§ 13. In order to mark an interposition in the printed text, in the line from which the cancellation of the text begins, a graphic mark should be put down /..../ and immediately after it, in identical square brackets, a passage should be written containing information about the legal basis of that interposition, as indicated in the decision of the controlling body. The above shown graphic marks and text of the information about the law on which the interposition was based should be printed in the same type face with which the text of the whole publication, in which the interposition was made, was printed.

§ 14. 1. The publisher, editor's office, or printing plant provides the district office, immediately after having made first copies, with:

(1) six copies of the publication, mentioned in paragraph 3 point 1, with the exception of miscellaneous printed matter and others, records and cassettes, which should be delivered in two copies;

(2) six copies of publication mentioned in art.4, passage 1, points 7, 8, 13 and 14.

2. In the case of publications (records) made abroad at the order of a Polish editor, he is charged with the duty mentioned in point 1.

§ 15. The organizer of the theater, caberet, circus spectacles, stage performances carried out in accordance with paragraph 13 of point 6 of the law delivers to the proper district office free entrance tickets for 2 persons for each spectacle of the given enterprise.

9654
CSO: 2600/44

HIGHER SCHOOL CRISIS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Sep 81 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Jan Kluczynski, director of the Institute of Political Science, Technological Advancement and Higher Education, by Andrzej Swiecki: "Higher School in Time of Crisis"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Much is being said about reform of the higher school; about changing the law which regulates its functioning; about the education of students and employment of graduates; about an over-abundance of cadres being educated; and finally--about model changes in the system of higher education. How are these and other matters viewed by the Institute employees during a time of general crisis and what suggestions are they presenting in this regard to the ministry for consideration?

[Answer] We are faced with a general dilemma: what will be the effects of economic reform on the higher school system; secondly--what will happen to the academic and cadre potential of this school system in the event of reducing higher school admissions and third--how should this school system develop in the future. This is a difficult matter. The higher school has, indeed, found itself amid a period of crisis. Everything should be done, therefore, to help it get through this crisis as painlessly as possible in every segment of school operations.

We have considerable experience, for example, in respect to the national economy's demand for qualified cadres and using them, briefly speaking, in the area of that problem which we commonly call methodology of higher school system planning. We have prepared a report, entitled, "Evaluation of Conditions of Development of the Higher School System in Poland." The results of the research were used in the work of the Government Commission which is involved with the problems of cadre planning; we have begun issuing a publication series, entitled, "Cadre Planning." Work in this area will constitute one of the fundamental research problems until 1985. A greater, than until now, development is projected of studies on the prospects and tendencies of the development of the higher school system in Poland and in certain countries of the world, in the light of international comparisons.

We have amassed a substantial wealth of research studies on the modernization of the educational system. They [studies] include various types of qualifications for college admission, systems of selection and recruitment, research on individual university study programs, as well as issues pertaining to the education of talented youth and research on systems of education, which combine studies with work. A

considerable portion of the research work is devoted to the modernization of methods and technical means of educating as a result of which technical solutions have become patented.

We are systematically conducting empirical studies regarding the attitudes and behavior of students of higher schools in Poland. As a result of these studies, a report, entitled, "Student 77" has come into being. They [the studies] will be repeated every 4 years, alternately with studies of the academic cadre.

On an international scale, we have undertaken empirical studies of higher school graduates. These will have a significant influence on the work of modernizing the education process and, particularly, on the teaching content and the future profile of graduates, in terms of their preparedness to fulfill professional and social roles...

All these studies are available to those who are interested and, I am glad to say, their use is increasing.

[Question] Let us go on to specifics. Is using cadres with a higher education right?

[Answer] No. This is confirmed by the graduates themselves as well as by their employers. Often these qualifications are wasted with detriment to the economy. And yet, as compared with other countries, we do not have an overabundance of this cadre. For example, in our country only one-third of the age-group of the demographic population completes secondary school and nearly 10 percent--higher education; but among those working for the State-controlled economy, there is 25.5 percent of secondary school graduates and 7.4 percent are higher school graduates. Therefore, these are not the highest of indexes and it would be in the interest of all of us to make the best possible use of these cadres. However, one hundred and one reasons make it so that this matter is not given the proper attention.

I would like to emphasize here that the present crisis and views concerning, for example, the surplus of educated cadres have nothing in common with prognoses. Years ago, we elaborated profound prognostic studies. This is the only and one of a kind material which to date, no one has been able to improve upon. Furthermore, the methodology of these studies was frequently used in other countries, through UNESCO, often in cooperation with us. Thus, our workers have the moral right to claim that they are experts of a high order in this field. As for the fact that these materials were not always utilized, that they created much controversy, particularly, in discussions with the Planning Commission--that is another matter.

I also believe that the subject cannot be analyzed separately because it is also linked to the organization of higher school system management, didactics, use of the scientific-research cadre and also to the problems of upbringing. All of this has a bearing on the preparation of a graduate for work.

On the basis of our studies, conducted for example, under the name of "Student 77," a not too optimistic outline is sketched of the graduate; and this not so much a question of his [the graduate's] preparedness for professional work, which is not as bad as generally presented, but rather of his views on the work itself and his

place in life--views, which were acquired, after all during his years at college. The accumulated knowledge about life does not always predispose feelings of optimism towards this work. The initial enthusiasm disappears. Skepticism begins to dominate these views. I believe that the aspirations of young people have not changed but that the outlook on life has become realistic. Even those, who would like to do field work realize that they will not have the proper conditions for it, if only housing conditions, special benefits, incentives and additional opportunities. This will concern, above all but not only, teachers, physicians.

[Question] You are a well-known scholar, author of numerous studies on the various conditions of development of the higher school system in Poland. I am interested in your personal opinion on these most vital of matters for the future of the higher school...

[Answer] I shall begin with a seemingly banal assertion that educational policy must take into account many perspective conditions: social, economic, academic, cultural and others. Educational planning should be strictly interrelated with it [educational policy] and based on verified prognoses. I believe, for example, that in the future as well, the human factor will decide about the success of the Polish economy's development or will be a considerable hindrance to it. Let us then, put our odds on qualifications. Proposal--the work market should be filled with qualified cadres despite immediate difficulties and implications because only such a market guarantees their [cadres] proper distribution, full competitiveness of qualifications and talents (and not of diplomas held), creates conditions for initiatives and new fields in the process of the development of national specializations.

Politicians and planners should also bear in mind, the fact that about the year 2000, the next demographic boom wave of the 19-year-old age-group may be expected, which will be equal to or even greater than the demographic boom wave of the 1975 period. Acceptance of this wave requires considerably earlier preparations in the higher school system; and the following question should already be answered now: is there perhaps not a need to make corrections in the structure of professional education? Such a need does, indeed, exist.

As for my opinion on the model of the higher school system--it is quite critical. It was formed during the period of the country's industrialization and did not succumb to changes for many years. Economic reform, I believe will result in a considerably greater economy in the management of cadres. Administrative excesses will be eliminated. At the same time, we will have to employ new age-groups of graduates. We know that their qualifications are not adequately utilized. On the other hand, it is generally known that the distribution of the qualified cadre in the country is not uniform.

In connection with this, a subsequent question arises: what should be done about the limiting of college applicants? I believe that a median should be found between the population's needs, in terms of education and at the same time, to teach over but within moderation of the so-called, planned demand because, after all, as I had mentioned earlier, the pressure put on the work market by qualified cadres, in a way, compels stimulation of innovations and replacing worse with better. Society should be told, however, that a diploma does not signify a managerial position but presents an opportunity before a young person who must monitor himself

throughout his entire active professional life. If we would depart from the privileges which to date have been associated with this formal certificate, then, I believe the higher school system would begin to play an unusually important culture-creating role: raising awareness and social standards.

It should also be admitted that a school cannot achieve this by itself without the assistance of the national economy. The economy should create cadre-receptive positions which would ensure the full utilization of potentially creative talents of higher school graduates. I believe that the economic reform will, to a certain extent, force enterprises to look upon the matter in that way. On the other hand, a school should educate with flexibility, adapting the teaching process to the present capacities and needs of the economy. The independence conferred upon schools should promote not only the creation of, so to speak, self-adaptive mechanisms within them but also constant self-improvement of the higher school. In this, I see a great opportunity to be used by every self-governing school body.

I also feel that during the period of transitional tensions and economic misfortunes, the intellectual capacity of working people may and should be a commodity used in foreign trade and international cooperation. Therefore, the possibility of the organized export of scholarly thought and work of the highest qualified people ought to be considered.

It should also be said that the country's industrial development caused, and this still continues to be the case, the educating of a surplus of technical cadres while devoting less attention to the area of education in the humanities. We are also noting a too slow passage of cadres with a higher education from the production area to, a so-called, service area. Undoubtedly, the maintenance in our country of a homongeneous system of college studies has a bearing on this. This is unjustified. The needs of the economy and the intellectual capacities of people are varied. They should be met half-way. This has a particular significance in our country. We are not, after all, planning for a period of a dozen or so years. We often make hasty plans. I am, therefore, in favor of short cycles of education in the higher school since, for example, must we offer a Master's degree in the area of hotel management and tourism? That is nonsense. However, an additional responsibility also presents itself here to the employer: he should see to it that workers' qualifications conform to current needs simply by making it easier for them to receive proper supplementary education through post-degree studies. It would be a good idea if the new law concerning the higher school system took into account all these problems of close contact between school and practice.

[Question] What sort of changes may be expected in the higher school system in the near future?

[Answer] That depends on the Ministry and in large part on the schools themselves. Higher schools have gained more independence. The role and significance of school self-government is growing. The schools' present depends, therefore, on the initiatives of those directly concerned. I would wish that the basic change would be in the process of awareness, that this school should be a little different from that which we have had until now and to finally pass from the mood of euphoria in the discussion about legislation, about school organization and its democratization--to a discussion of how to work better, how to adapt this work to the changing reality. The higher school should, after all, in large part initiate changes in the national economy...

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

9853
CSO: 2600/30

ROLE OF MILITARY BALANCE IN INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 5 Sep 81 pp 13-16

/Article by Corneliu Bogdan: "Military Balance and the Interests of International Peace and Security"/

/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu, in a speech at the festive gathering devoted to the 50th anniversary of SCINTEIA and the celebration of Press Day: "We firmly support disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament. We understand the concern for maintaining a balance of power and we are for disarmament, under suitable control, that would provide this balance, that would not endanger anyone's security. But security and balance must be achieved not by stimulating the arms race but by continually reducing arms. This is in the interest of all the peoples, in the interest of the Europeans! We, the European states, must do everything to obtain real disarmament!"

The necessity of maintaining or restoring the military balance in Europe and in the world represents today the main justification for a number of new programs of military preparations that are going to trigger an extremely dangerous spiral of the arms race. Therefore, an examination of the concept of military balance and the way in which it is applied has a not only theoretical but also practical significance, directly connected with the possibility of identifying the concrete ways and means to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament, to provide lasting peace in the world. Certainly, both time and power, and particularly military power, will continue to play a role in international relations, and military balance will represent a condition for international peace, security and stability. However, what cannot be understood and accepted at all is the tendency of some political and military circles to provide this balance by continually increasing arms, by raising them to higher and higher levels in terms of value. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in the speech at the Second Congress of Working People's Councils, "Nothing, no kind of theories about military balance can justify the growth of arms! It is understandable that in achieving disarmament it is necessary to provide a certain suitable balance that does not affect the security of any party. But this must be achieved not by increasing arms but by reducing them, by

continually and systematically reducing military expenditures and troops, by turning to the definitive elimination of nuclear armament under suitable international control."

A Chief Source of the Arms Race

As far back as in the most ancient times, from the beginnings of the existence of the states and the relations between them, the balance of power has asserted itself as one of the "classic models" for organizing these relations. Under the conditions in which, on the one hand, there was not--and there cannot be--an international central authority capable of organizing and administering the relations between states and, on the other hand, the states were based on social and/or national exploitation, on inequality--which, on the plane of foreign policy, found its expression in tendencies to extend the exploitation to other peoples too--the chief criterion for organizing interstate relations could only be that of relative military strength. Under these conditions, two main "models" of organization of international relations appeared. The first, in the situation in which there is a state or a group of states with a dominant military force: hegemony. The second, in the situation in which the international configuration includes states or groups of states that have equal or, in any case, comparable military forces: balance of power, and particularly military balance.

Military balance can appear as the result of an express understanding between states, but it asserts itself--even in the absence of such an understanding and in the absence of a power or a group of powers capable of imposing its hegemony--as a "natural state" of the interstate relations in an international system based on force, as a chief criterion for organizing these relations. From the very outset, however, the balance of power is affected by an objective reality: there is no objective criterion or no supranational authority that--on the basis of such criteria--can proclaim the existence of military parity and thus the necessity of stopping the arms race. The decision regarding the definition of balance and then regarding its existence or absence is made by each particular state, in conformity with its own strategic views and interests, on the basis of its own interpretations and perceptions of the military policy and preparations undertaken by other states.

There have been attempts at times--especially of late, through negotiations--to reach an agreement about a more objective, generally acceptable definition of military balance or parity. But the negotiations have not yielded results, and this failure is due especially to the international system within which the achievement of military balance is being sought. In a system based on force, as a chief factor in world politics, military balance becomes more and more a source and a justification for a policy of military blocs and alliances, a policy of spheres of influence and zones of domination. On the other hand, for the most part, military balance acquires a political and ideological dimension, pursuing the maintenance of not only the international military status quo but also the political and social status quo in the world.

In this context, the diplomacy of military balance becomes a diplomacy of soundproof doors, of secret talks, of agreements made behind the backs and to the detriment of the peoples, a diplomacy which not only does not create conditions favorable to the achievement of equitable agreements but which, in fact, nourishes and stimulates distrust. In this framework, the search for military balance means, in fact, the search for military superiority. The states--American Prof Inis Claude said--"give

evidence, usually, of the desire to possess forces superior to those of their rivals or potential enemies, whether for the purpose of attacking the status quo or out of the desire to increase their feeling of security against attack. In view of the difficulty of precisely making accurate appraisals of the relative strength, the statesmen rarely feel themselves to be in a comfortable state of security without having an additional reserve of forces. The system (military balance--our note) breeds competition; it is pervaded by a spirit of rivalry."*

The search for military balance has thus become--within the framework of the policy of force and dictation, of redivision of the spheres of influence and domination--a chief source of the arms race.

The Lessons of the Past

As a result of the tragic experience of the two world wars, attempts have been made to create a new system of security, in which the role of military balance would be reduced and gradually eliminated. For a certain time, the concept of collective security was the basis for these attempts. This concept started from the thesis of the indivisibility of peace, from the fact that an act of aggression against any country represents a threat to the general peace and, therefore, all the states must unite to prevent or put an end to aggression, using for this purpose even the collective military power of the international community.

The creation of an international organization seemed necessary for organizing this collective joint effort of all the countries. As is known, the first attempt of this kind--the League of Nations--failed in the catastrophe of World War II. The United Nations represents the second, and still active, major scheme for organizing the collective security. Cordell Hull, the U.S. secretary of state, who participated actively in the preparation of the Charter of the United Nations, asserted that, with the creation of the United Nations, "there will be no need for spheres of influence for alliances, for a /balance of power/ [in italics] (our italics) or for any other special arrangement by means of which, in the unhappy past, the nations tried to safeguard their interests." To what extent have the expectations of Cordell Hull, and of many others, been fulfilled?

The United Nations has undoubtedly made notable progress in world politics. Learning from the experience of the League of Nations, whose official documents did not illegalize war as a means of regulating disputes between states, the Charter of the United Nations, through the outlawing of war, through its basic principles--full equality in rights for the states, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, and cooperation between states regardless of their social system--has made a significant contribution to the creation of the indispensable legal base for a stable structure of peace and security in the world. The United Nations has made a positive contribution to the promotion of international understanding, to the avoidance or regulation of conflicts, to the hastening of the elimination of colonial domination. The system of specialized agencies of the United Nations has become an indispensable instrument for organizing international cooperation in essential fields of human activity: economic and industrial development, agriculture and food, health, environment and so on.

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* Inis L. Claude, "Power and International Relations," Random House, New York, pp 88-89.

However, the United Nations is far from having become that instrument meant, according to the charter, to save the future generations from the scourge of war. Despite the progress that it is making, the charter and the practical activity of the United Nations still bear the stamp of the realities, of the relative strength in the years of its creation, 1944-1945. At the same time, in the "cold war" years, the distortion of the very concept of security occurred, with the military blocs and alliances arising after World War II--the main element of the policy of force and of spheres of influence in these days--being presented as "embodiments of security."

On the other hand, when the position of the developing countries and the small and middle-sized countries in the United Nations became considerably stronger, there arose the tendency, present even now, to exclude the basic international problems from discussion in the organization. Naturally, the struggle to strengthen the United Nations, as an effective instrument for international peace, security and cooperation, is continuing, and even within the UN Charter there are in this regard countless possibilities still unexplored and unutilized.

But it is no less true that the postwar attempts to organize interstate relations have not managed to eliminate the shortcomings, in fact now widely recognized, of the policy of providing military balance by continually increasing arms, have not managed to provide this balance by the only rational means--that of continually reducing the level of arms and armed forces.

The reason for this situation must be sought not in the military-balance concept in itself but in the inability or the lack of desire, even of the critics of military balance, to break the umbilical cord that, in their view, connects this balance to the policy of force. As long as the balance of power is considered the pivot of an international system based on inequality and inequity, supported by force, and particularly military force, the search for this balance will serve only as a cover for a continual and accelerated arms race, with all the grave consequences that this has for the peace, security and progress of mankind.

The situation would be completely different if military balance were approached within the framework of a new view, a new conception regarding security, that would replace, in the relations between states, the primacy of force with the force of right. Defining the essence of the Romanian view regarding security in Europe, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "European security requires, in our conviction, a system of firm pledges by all the states and of concrete measures of a nature to lead to the exclusion of force and of the threat of the use of force in interstate relations, to offer to all countries full guarantees that they are safe from any act of aggression. Such a system will have to provide for the peaceful, unimpeded development of each nation, in conformity with its own will, in a climate of mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and full equality in rights for all states and peoples."*

All these principles are completely valid and must be extended to the scale of the whole planet. They represent the foundation of a new view regarding international security on the whole. This is, in fact, the sense of the new international economic

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* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" /Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society/, Vol 4, Politica Publishing House, 1970, p 933.

and political order that socialist Romania is consistently promoting. In the center of the Romanian view regarding the new world economic and political order there stands the thesis according to which force is not an immutable trait of international relations, but a result of the system of relations based on inequality and inequity between nations, a system that cannot be maintained, in the final analysis, except by force. Of course, we have in mind not those inequalities that find their explanation in objective situations (differences between states from the viewpoint of size, population and natural resources), but those which, using these inherent differences, create privileged situations for the stronger states from an economic or military viewpoint at the expense of the vital interests of the small states, the economically less developed ones or those with fewer resources.

In order to truly embark upon the path of achieving the new international economic and political order, it is necessary to start by attacking the main sources that nourish the above-mentioned inequalities and generate force as the ultima ratio of world politics. In particular, it is a question of stopping the arms race, which has become the main source of nourishment for the international system based on military force, a system that, in the final analysis, is a system of war.

The place and role of military balance within the process of achieving the new international economic and political order will change radically. It is clear that the transition from the old international system to the new one is a lengthy process that can advance only gradually, through the joint efforts of all the states. In the transitional period, when, inevitably, elements of the old system will coexist with the first structures of the new one, military force will continue to play a role and, therefore, the problem of controlling this force--but in order to continually reduce its role--remains an important concern.

The only rational, practical way to achieve such control, without creating feelings of suspicion and insecurity in any country, is the maintenance of military balance, but at a lower and lower level.

The very process of achieving the new international economic and political order creates favorable conditions for achieving an agreement regarding military balance at lower and lower levels of armed forces and arms. Indeed, the achievement and functioning of the new world economic and political order presuppose a continual process of negotiations between all the states, based on equality and mutual respect, in which generally acceptable solutions may be found to the more and more complex problems that the relations between them pose. Such a democratic framework of negotiation could reduce considerably the subjective elements of suspicion and distrust, which--as I stated above--have thus far weakened the discussions on military balance and have been one of the main reasons for the failure of the disarmament talks.

In this context, it ought to be pointed out that the concern for achieving military balance in Europe should be an argument for convening as soon as possible a conference for measures of trust and disarmament in Europe, within the framework of the process initiated by the Helsinki Conference, with the participation of all the states involved, and /not/ [in italics] an argument for a new race to install nuclear missiles on the continent.

In general, the development of the general process of restructuring interstate relations on new bases, ones of equity and justice, would create and consolidate

continually both the political framework and the atmosphere of trust needed for progress in the efforts in the direction of reducing the role of force and, ultimately, eliminating it from world politics.

The strategy of gradually eliminating force from interstate relations and achieving new international relations is not a product of abstract thought but is anchored in contemporary realities. Under the pressure of the scientific and technical revolution and of the social and national revolution, war is losing more and more its significance as a means of "solving" international problems. Today, in a global war with mass-destruction weapons, there can no longer be a winner.

"Limited" military interventions are, in their turn, more and more inefficient and dangerous even for their initiators. Even noted theoreticians of the old order, promoters of the revival of the policy of force, like American Prof Robert Tucker, warn that "it would be irresponsible to assume that interventions in the future will prove less costly (and risky) than those in the past. The Third World (which is usually the object of the "limited" interventions--our note) has not become more passive since 1960 on. On the contrary, it has become almost everywhere more resistant to the attempts of the great powers to exercise the control or the influence that was once part of the old order of things."* In these days, there have appeared immense social forces that are capable of completely eliminating the imperialist policy of redivision of the world into zones of influence and domination, of bringing about the cessation of the arms race and the resolution of economic, social and political anomalies that maintain and deepen the crisis, of imposing the promotion of a new, democratic policy in the world, based on social justice and equity, of providing peace on our planet.

The Imperative of a New Approach

The necessity of a new approach to the problems of military balance is imposed--beyond any considerations of an ideological, political or philosophical order--by the objective data that define the influence of the scientific and technical revolution on modern arms and the arms race.

The objective limits of the destructive capacity of the weapons have been practically eliminated, while it is becoming harder and harder to measure with a reasonable degree of accuracy the forces of the states. The differences between strategic and tactical weapons and between offensive weapons and defensive ones are being gradually erased and the possibility of a wide proliferation of mass-destruction weapons is being created through the involvement of not only a greater and greater number of states but also of nongovernmental entities in this arms race.

The probability of an accidental conflict increases in proportion to the improvement of the weapons, and if steps are not taken in time, the probability can become an inevitability. Indeed, the danger of an accidental nuclear conflict follows from, among other things, the growing, objective necessity of controlling by means of computers with more and more complex programs the huge stocks of arms accumulated. A computer can do in an astonishingly short time calculations that, done by hand, would take scores or hundreds of years, but the checking, the complete testing of a complex

* Robert W. Tucker, "The Purposes of American Power," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Winter, 1980/81, p 268.

computer program would take an even longer time. As a result, complex programs are in fact--and it could not be otherwise--introduced into the control and military-warning systems without complete testing. For the most part, false alarms are thus an inevitable consequence of the way in which the complex computer programs are composed and operate. In proportion to the improvement of the weapons and the shortening of the time for transporting these weapons to the target, the decisionmaking factor's possibility of dealing with these false alarms falls dramatically, and decisions regarding the launching of a nuclear counterstrike should be made in a few minutes. The danger that accidental war represents increases with the improvement of the weapons.*

Although these problems have been discussed very little in specialized publications and although, naturally, some official circles prefer to be discreet about them, confirmations of the above conclusions occasionally come even from official documents. In a report drawn up by the investigative agencies of the American Congress and published on 26 May 1981, it is stated, for example, that the computerized system for warning in the case of a nuclear attack against the American continent (NORAD) had caused five false alarms in the previous 18 months "due to errors of procedure, management and technical design." Although it states that all five false alarms did not go beyond the first warning phase, and three of them could have been prevented, the report nevertheless concludes, according to the UPI agency, that "erroneous indications could appear again, because /it is not possible to build a system/ [in italics] (our italics) that would cover all the exceptions."

Undoubtedly, this new situation in military technology requires--regardless of any other considerations--a new approach to military balance. The search for military balance by increasing the military preparations is becoming a blind race toward an imbalance and a catastrophe that threatens the life, the very future of mankind. What can come from, for instance, the decision of the United States regarding the production and stocking of the neutron weapon? Clearly, far from contributing to the military balance, the implementation of this decision will give a new impetus to the arms race, will create a new source of tension in international life, will introduce a new destabilizing factor into a situation already so highly complicated. The only way to provide military balance at all worthy of the name, capable of playing a positive role in international life, of helping to safeguard peace and human civilization, is that of stopping the arms race and reducing arms and armed forces.

In a speech given on 19 May 1981, in Washington, on the occasion of receiving the Albert Einstein Peace Prize, American historian and diplomat George Kennan said, among other things: "Anyone who does not understand that when it comes to nuclear weapons the whole concept of relative advantage becomes illusory, anyone who does not understand that when we talk of absurd and insane quantities, capable of killing many times over, the ratio between arsenals (of the states) does not have much significance, anyone who does not understand that the danger lies not in the possibility that someone else may have more missiles and warheads than we have, but in the very existence of these uncontrollable quantities of very deadly explosives and, in particular, in their existence in the weak hands...of human beings--anyone who does not understand all these things will not be able to get us out of this darker and darker

* In connection with these data on the control of stocks of arms by means of computers, I am indebted to Comrade Dr B. Bereanu of the Center for Mathematical Statistics in Bucharest.

and more and more menacing forest of contradictions in which we have gotten lost." To get out of this impasse, there must be--according to Kennan--"a bold action" that "cuts with a scapel into the exaggerated anxieties, into the nightmares that we have created for ourselves, into the refined mathematics of destruction," and in this spirit, he suggests, as a first step, the immediate and general reduction of the nuclear arsenal of the main powers by 50 percent, with the application of this measure being verified by the national means of the respective countries.

In the same spirit, Republican Senator Mark O. Hatfield, the chairman of the Allocations Committee of the Senate, after judging that the SALT process (the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) was not capable of braking the speedup of the arms race, states that the main nuclear powers have never been so equal from a strategic viewpoint as they are today. "The statements made by military experts speak of general parity.... Moreover, this general parity is occurring under the conditions of a nuclear ratio in which neither of the parties has gained the effective capacity of a first strike. The new arms race will shatter this balance. Consequently, now is a time that offers us a historical occasion to avoid moving through a precarious and unfamiliar minefield" and "to lay the foundations for our survival."* Hatfield also proposes a nuclear moratorium that would include the testing of missiles in the air, all types of nuclear explosions, and the placement of missiles or bombers beyond the number existing at the time of entering into the moratorium.

Of course, the above-mentioned viewpoints and proposals are still far from having become official or dominant positions in public opinion in the countries of their authors. But their appearance in circles that had and still have influence over the official policy, and the wide movement in western Europe and in other countries on other continents against the neutron bomb and nuclear weapons in general, point up the possibility of creating a wide and effective front of action for stopping the arms race and turning to real disarmament measures.

However, this possibility is not transformed into a reality automatically but only as a result of the continual activity and contribution of all the countries and peoples, of all the progressive, democratic forces throughout the world, of the responsible factors in all the states. Our country, too, is acting in precisely this spirit, starting from the consideration that today, in order to safeguard the peace and future of mankind, there is no task more important and more urgent than stopping the arms race and achieving disarmament.

The many and repeated proposals of socialist Romania and Chairman Nicolae Ceausescu in this regard are, in general, well known, including the reduction of arms expenditures (in an initial stage, the reduction of military budgets by at least 10 percent), the reduction of the number of troops and the stocks of arms under strict international control, the banning of military maneuvers and and of demonstrations of force on the borders of other states, the achievement of an agreement regarding the establishment of zones of 10-20 km within each state in which arms and armament would not be placed, except for those needed for guarding the borders, and other measures of a nature to contribute to strengthening the trust between states, to braking and reversing the trend of continual growth in military arsenals.

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* Mark O. Hatfield, "The Age of Anxiety: Emerging Nuclear Tensions in the 1980's," AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE REVIEW, Vol II, No 6.

Constructive, Realistic Proposals

In preparing its proposals, Romania has taken and takes into account consistently the necessity of maintaining the military balance and respecting the security interests of each state.

It can be said that this concern passes like a red thread through all the Romanian proposals. Not only the proposals regarding the substance of the disarmament measures but also the Romanian proposals regarding the democratization of the framework for negotiation of disarmament serve this goal. Indeed, such a democratic framework, based on the participation of all the states under conditions of full equality in rights, provides favorable conditions for formulating as objective judgments as possible for determining the parameters of a generally acceptable definition of military balance.

Naturally, while promoting its own proposals, our country welcomes and examines attentively the constructive disarmament proposals of other states. As is well known, Romania welcomed the recent proposals of the USSR regarding ballistic missiles with a medium range of action in Europe or the expansion of the zone of applicability of the measures that would come to be adopted by the conference for measures of trust and disarmament in Europe. These proposals are of a nature to contribute to the beginning of constructive negotiations for adopting generally acceptable measures for stopping the arms race on our continent, which would have salutary effects not only in Europe but also throughout the world. In the same spirit, our country and public opinion in Romania will welcome and support any other concrete proposal for disarmament, military disengagement, or growth of trust, wherever it may appear.

Unfortunately, the efforts of the peace-loving states and of world public opinion are still encountering much opposition. It is certainly not possible to understand at all the lack of action and interest, the passiveness regarding the imperative of disarmament and, in particular, the fact that the new arms plans are drawn up in the name of the necessity of maintaining or restoring the military balance. Such an attitude demonstrates a dangerous misunderstanding of the fact that in reality, in this field, we are in a race against time. The more the cessation of the arms race and the beginning of the arms-reduction process are delayed, the more precarious the military balance becomes and the more real the danger of military confrontation and destabilization becomes, with unforeseeable consequences for the future of mankind.

In these days, the struggle for a righter and better world, for an international climate of security and peace, in which each nation and each people can possess fully the right to a free and fruitful life, is inseparably connected with the struggle to stop the arms race and achieve disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament--a vital desire of all mankind.

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ROMANIA

PROBLEMS OF PROVIDING MEDICAL CARE IN WAR ZONES

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep pp 259-266

[Article by professor doctor Major General Dr Alexandru Gr. Popescu, doctor emeritus and a corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences, and doctor Colonel Dr Constantin Stanculescu: "Aspects Regarding Medical Care During a War for the Defense of the Country by All the People"]

[Text] The military doctrine of the Socialist Republic of Romania, drawn up and substantiated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, establishes the statutues for the defense of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as a task and cause for all the people. The leadership of the entire defense effort by the Romanian Communist Party, the vital center of our socialist nation, ensures the implementation of our military doctrine in all its basic facets and components.

In the overall group of constitutive elements of the national defense system, an important role in applying the requirements of our military doctrine in the area of medical care for the troops belongs to the medical-health formations and units. The organization and leadership of these units are achieved according to a unified plan, the result of collaboration with the central medical organs and the organs of the local defense councils. In this regard, even during peacetime they establish the possibilities of providing hospital care for the army and the national health network, the supply resources for all categories of health materials, measures for anti-epidemic care, the supply of evacuation materials and so forth.

Medicine in the Field

The military doctrine of the Socialist Republic of Romania, substantiated and drawn up by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our supreme commander, reflects to the fullest degree the policy of our party and state regarding the participation of all the people in the defense of the country and in the armed struggle to preserve national sovereignty and independence.

Essentially, from a structural point of view, the general national defense system involves the organs and forms of political-military leadership for defense, the combat forces and equipment and the organs and means of providing medical care to the forces participating in combat actions, as well as the organs and means of providing technical-material assistance. Each component represents a subsystem in itself with its own elements and structure, falling within the overall integrated national defense system.

The dissimilar characteristics of preparing for and starting armed conflicts, as well as the later waging of military actions, attest to the need for the timely organization of a group of activities and measures in the area of medical care. These are designed to attenuate the effects of such armed actions by an aggressor having frequently disastrous consequences upon the state of health of the troops and the populace, as well as upon the national health network, by limiting the opportunity to give specialized medical care and the opportune evacuation of the wounded.

The considerable destructive effects of modern armed conflict on people, as well as the complex conditions under which combat actions are carried out, conditions that are especially difficult, cause us to estimate that, in our view, the health losses in a confrontation involving all the people could exceed the percentages known to date. This evaluation is backed up by the documents regarding the armed conflicts of the last 3 decades, in which the declared losses of the belligerents were proportionally greater than in the past, if we consider them in relation to the number of participants and the length of the wars.

Similarly, the recent conflagrations have demonstrated the major importance played by promptly beginning the treatment and hospitalization of the wounded and taking the entire group of preventative measures in the shortest possible time, both for maintaining the troops' combat capabilities and their morale and for creating the opportunities for filling out the units with personnel who have recovered from their wounds and illnesses.

The organizational principles and the specific forms and methods of carrying out medical care activities are adequate for the requirements of our military doctrine.

The provisions of our military doctrine, the experiences accumulated to date and the studies conducted regarding the judicious use of the country's human resources both in combat and in the economy outline the participation of the army's medical forces and means in medical care activities, together with those of the country's health network and other existing reserves in the country that can be used for medical purposes, as one of the basic principles of the concept of providing medical care in the all people's war to defend the country.

Similarly, we can identify as basic principles of providing medical care the permanent collaboration in a unified manner of all the medical forces and resources that our country has, as well as the organization and carrying out of medical activities in accordance with the structure, purpose and scope of operations, the participating forces, the positions adopted and the weapons and equipment used by the aggressor, keeping in mind the characteristics and conditions under which the combat actions are carried out.

We can mention that the efficiency of the medical care measures is directly influenced by the medical-military training during peacetime of all medical-health personnel, having as its final goal the achievement in a short period of time, in the event of aggression, of the positioning of medical forces and equipment and the prompt fulfillment of their tasks.

From the study of the multiple situations and conditions under which combat actions can be carried out within the framework of the all people's war and keeping in mind that the premises of the strategic deployment of forces can be achievement on a timely basis, it is necessary for medical care measures to be appropriately correlated with these factors and to include the medical forces and resources within the armed forces, the patriotic guards, civil defense formations, youth formations and the Red Cross.

Medical care measures must be staggered over time. have an adequate scope, be successively carried out in accordance with the role and place of the forces within the general disposition of strategic cover and, continuing, the disposition of strategic defense, respond to the requirements of counterattacking the enemy's offensive actions and repelling its assaults, and, finally, be capable of satisfying the medical demands under the situation of gaining and developing the strategic initiative until the aggressor is driven from the national territory.

All these considerations with regards to medical care can be achieved with a maximum of efficiency in cases where the measures are initiated, prepared in detail and carried out during peacetime by all the military and civilian medical forces, both at the central level and the local one, in accordance with the probable situations for the deployment of the armed forces and patriotic combat formations, as well as the potential enemy's means of launching its attack. We must also keep in mind that the defender can prepare its medical care measures either completely before the attack or concomitantly with the attack or partially prior to the attack and the rest during the attack.

Under modern conditions it is difficult to presume that all the preparatory measures for providing medical care to the forces participating in a war to defend the country can be achieved just prior to an attack and, as a result, we have the principle of needing to foresee and organize this care during

peacetime. To this end, adequate measures are necessary regarding preparing the country for defense, which also include numerous activities and measures designed to resolve major problems of medical care and hospitalization for the wounded and sick and of supplying health and pharmaceutical materials both to the armed forces and the people's combat formations and to the populace.

In addition to the previously mentioned measures, included in this context are the health training for the populace and especially those persons serving in mass organizations and Red Cross organizations so they can directly contribute to providing first aid to the wounded, the evacuation of the wounded and the correct implementation of certain measures to prevent and combat epidemic illnesses.

Similarly, the construction and the most judicious national distribution of hospitals, sanatoriums and rest complexes, in general, and those facilities slated for the needs of the army, in particular, as well as the achievement and convenient dispersal of certain stocks of health and pharmaceutical materials and biological products and raw materials necessary to the production of certain medicines that are indispensible to the granting of medical aid, are also premises that ensure the optimum establishment of medical care measures. Among these, we must also mention those that refer to the design and construction of vehicles used in the economy, as well as means of rail, air and ship transportation, that can be used, with a minimum of modifications, in the evacuation of the wounded during the period of setting up the army's specialized formations and during the carrying out of combat operations.

The dominant features of medical care activities within the framework of a war to defend the country are the complexity, diversity, independence and resolution of the treatment and evacuation of the wounded and sick, sometimes using improvised means.

We note that these features do not assume the coincidental carrying out of medical care activities, but their organization within a unified concept under the direct leadership of the military medical organs in cooperation with the appropriate organs of the Ministry of Health and the local defense councils.

The complexity and diversity of the medical care activities are determined by the diversity of the forces participating in the combat operations: divisions or brigades and units of the army, security troops, partriotic guard units, youth detachments, civil defense formations and so forth. The heterogeneous nature of the forces participating in the war to defend the country determines the appropriate measures for providing medical care, depending upon the role and place of these forces in combat.

A special role is played by the national health network established to assist the armed forces during the period of raising combat capabilities and during the time of preparing and partially or generally mobilizing the troops and the

medical field formations. In cases where the attack is imminent, upon receiving orders the national civilian hospitals identified to receive and treat the wounded and sick from the units of the army will carry out preparatory activities according to the provisions outlined in plans for this purpose.

Further, we will also look at the organizational problems regarding medical care during the initial period of an all people's war to defend the country, considering these problems important in the later carrying out of activities to evacuate, treat and hospitalize the wounded and sick.

From the study of the manner of starting recent military conflicts, it is known that they can be initiated with surprise attacks by using certain air strikes, motorized infantry and airborne and naval assaults at the vital points of the defender even during the period that precedes the mobilization of medical field formations. In order to provide the medical care to the forces that absorb the weight of the first strikes carried out by a superior enemy force in all its aspects, it is necessary to plan special measures that can be gradually achieved and implemented as need be. Thus, formations (subunits) must be organized to evacuate the wounded using the specialized and non-specialized means of transportation available at the local level and, at the same time, establishing different national military and civilian hospitals to support the armed forces, as well as patriotic guard units and the other defense formations that carry out combat actions within the deployment of the troops.

Special attention must be given to providing medical care to the ground forces divisions and brigades, units and subunits, patriotic guards and youth detachments, as well as national air defense, air force and navy in the border regions, especially those forces deployed in the directions that channel operations toward vital objectives. For this, it is necessary to plan a differentiated staffing and equipping and the organization of direct support to the national health formations through the collaboration between the military medical organs and those of the local defense councils. The possibility of a mass attack, especially by air on important political-economic centers and even other locations in the main direction of the offensive, without previously having made too many preparations, influences the amount of support requested from the national health network since the network's opportunities to provide treatment and hospitalization can be diminished by the effect of an air attack and by the need to provide medical care to victims in the civilian population.

To the degree that there are gradual changes in the general deployment of strategic cover within the strategic defense disposition, medical care is organized for the divisions and brigades and units concomitantly with the arrival of new forces from the rear and regrouping of forces.

Medical care will be organized in relationship to the place, role, value and structure of the forces involved in defense and in relation to the concept for carrying out operations. Under these conditions, the measures for providing medical care will be carried out on a priority basis along the main direction of counterattacking the enemy's ground operations and in those regions where combat operations are being carried out to destroy an airborne (airmobile troops) assault, where it is estimated heavy losses will occur.

In order to provide specialized medical care, hospital bases (sections) will be available and will operate that have the role of receiving the wounded from the troops' medical formations, of providing specialized medical care and of providing health-pharmaceutical materials to the medical formations.

For the purpose of hospitalizing and treating the wounded and sick, which requires a long period of time until recovery, hospitals will be organized in certain region, preferably in baleno-climatic stations where the existence of certain developed hotel facilities will permit taking care of them.

As a basic principle of providing medical care in an all people's war to defend the country, we note that the patriotic combat units (subunits) will be provided with medical care in accordance with the place, roles and missions that they carry out. Thus, the patriotic guards and the other patriotic combat formations that carry out combat operations within the framework of troop deployments will be taken care of medically by the medical formations in the divisions, brigades and units of the army while those that operate independently throughout the country will be taken care of medically by the appropriate organs of the local defense councils.

The organization and carrying out of activities to evacuate the wounded constitute a major concern of the medical leadership organs at all levels, which, in cooperation with the local defense councils and the county health network, are required at an opportune time to evacuate the wounded from the hospital bases and move them to hospitals in the interior regions or in other regions established for the convalescence and retraining of those who can recover.

Keeping in mind that the patriotic combat formations are organized both on a nationwide principle and by place of work, we feel that the evacuation and hospitalization of the wounded and sick from these formations should be done as much as possible at the closest local hospital, which will make it easier to get them back to their own units and resume their activities in the economy in a shorter period of time. In cases where these formations are contained within the combat deployment of divisions, brigades and units of the army, the wounded will follow the evacuation procedures established for the troops.

Since combat operations in an all people's war to defend the country are carried out both on the front and behind the front, we could say throughout the entire country, the medical formations of civil defense, the patriotic guards and Red Cross groups, as well as the youth detachments, are in a position to carry out upon the request for assitance from the medical formations in the armed forces a series of activities of a medical-health nature, such as: removing the wounded from enemy fire, especially in combat in towns; loading and unloading the wounded into vehicles and trains and, if need be, trasferring them; organizing and serving in first aid stations at railroad stations, along evacaution routes and at required crossing points; setting up schools, houses, halls, hotels and villas that are to be used as hospitals for the wounded; sorting, packing and loading health-pharmaceutical materials onto transport vehicles; carrying out certain hygiene measures; participating in anti-epidemic actions, immunizing the populace and so forth.

The leadership of all activities is the responsibility of the medical organs of the army, which will organize and guide them in cooperation with the operations groups of the patriotic guards, civil defense and appropriate organs of the local defense councils.

Because of the additional demands on the national health network, as well as the disruption of operations of certain hospitals, blood collection and storage centers, medicine storage facilities and so forth, medical activities will be faced with certain clear problems, such as the parsimonious use of health-pharmaceutical material resources, the timely production of certain consistent, conveniently dispersed reserves, the judicious, successive use of medical field formations and the creation of certain medical formation reserves at the disposal of the supreme commander.

It is known that under the conditions of an all people's war to defend the country there are situations when the troops and the patriotic guards carry out combat operations while encircled in order to retain certain regions or localities of special importance or in free zones controlled by their own forces behind the aggressor's troops. For these forces, special medical care activities are organized and carried out that refer to the airborne delivery of health-pharmaceutical supplies, blood, analgesics, anesthetics or even medical-health personnel if the situation requires it. Certainly, under these conditions we will put to use all existing resources at the local level in order to provide medical care, frequently drawing upon other resources that are improvised and substituted for certain bandaging materials, disinfectants, sterilizers and so forth. Similarly, after the liberation of the regions (or localities) and until the reorganization of the local health network, it will be necessary for the medical formations of the armed forces to directly contribute to providing medical care to the forces that carried out combat operations behind the enemy lines, as well as to the populace. This measure is justified keeping in mind the scarcity of medical-health personnel and health-pharmaceutical materials and the uncertain epidemiological situation in the liberated region.

Within the framework of providing medical care, there is special importance in anti-epidemic activities brought about by the unsatisfactory sanitary-hygiene conditions inherent during wartime. The principal anti-epidemic measures will have a more complete nature and be extended to the entire population as a stringent requirement of preserving the state of health of the people and of correlating the medical formations of the armed forces with those in the national health network. They are especially necessary under conditions where the activities of enemy reconnaissance-diversionary groups can infect water sources, food supplies, the land and the flora and fauna, creating the premises favorable to the outbreak of certain epidemics or epizootics. In the context of anti-epidemic measures, there are also those regarding ensuring supplies of potable water and protecting water sources whose infection and pollution could negatively influence the carrying out of combat operations and prejudice the populace's state of health by producing waterborne epidemics.

With regards to providing health-pharmaceutical materials, we are of the opinion that this should involve decentralization and diversification brought about by the frequently changing and unforeseeable combat conditions and situations. Thus, the divisions and brigades within the army (operations groups) will be supplied in a combined fashion, both from the existing peacetime military health storage facilities and from the existing sources throughout the country, while under special circumstances directly from the medicines factories or chemical products enterprises. This same procedure will also be used to supply blood, oxygen and biological products in the amounts established by joint agreement with the appropriate organs of the local defense councils.

The success of providing medical care in an all people's war to defend the country is influenced by the permanent correlation of measures regarding the provision of medical aid, evacuation, treatment and hospitalization of the wounded and by the cooperation and support between the leadership organs and medical formations of the army and those of the national health network.

In concluding the discussion on the problems regarding the provision of medical care during an all people's war to defend the country, we feel it is necessary to point out certain more important aspects:

- the organization and leadership of medical care activities according to a unified plan drawn up on the basis of a detailed knowledge of the armed forces' medical forces and resources and the possibilities of the national health network regarding the capacities of hospitals according to medical apecialties, the amount of resources and reserves of health-pharmaceutical materials, oxygen, blood and so forth, the quality and quantity of means of evacuation, and the work capacity of anti-epidemic formations, as well as of the medical formations of the civil defense command;

- the collaboration with the central medical organs and those of the local defense councils for the purpose of drawing up the plan to provide medical care and implementing it in stages, through the establishment of specific missions for these organs and councils in certain regions or along certain evacuation routes, through the use of hospital bases and hospitals in interior regions and through the assignment of medical-health personnel and the definition of the tasks of the health formations of civil defense and the Red Cross;

- the inclusion in the plan for providing medical care of measures for the evacuation and treatment of the wounded coming from the ranks of the security troops and patriotic guards during the period when these forces are subordinate to the divisions and brigades or units with which they are carrying out joint combat missions;

- the organization of anti-epidemic care through the assignment of army anti-epidemic formations and those formations of the national anti-epidemic network to areas of actions and with the establishment of precise missions regarding the epidemiological supervision of the country, mass vaccinations, intervention into areas of contagious diseases, disinfecting and so forth;

- the supply of health-pharmaceutical materials through the establishment of sources of national supply (pharmaceutical offices, storage areas and so forth) in stages during the period of deployment of forces to carry out missions to counterattack the aggressor's operations, during the time of defensive operations and after our own forces take the initiative to drive the aggressor out of our country.

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ROMANIA

MEDICAL CARE FOR SOLDIERS IN BROAD FRONT DEFENSE OPERATIONS

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep pp 277-281

[Article by doctor Colonel Dr Eugen Spataru: "Competent Medical Care in Broad Front Defense Operations"]

[Text] The author stresses the importance of ensuring certain good conditions for treatment during the stages of medical evacuation, especially during the stage of competent medical care in a broad front defense operation.

Keeping in mind the possibility of having a concentration of a large number of wounded and sick at the level of a division or brigade, where for the first time treatment is given to the wounded and sick by medical specialists in a hospital environment, the importance of this stage is stressed in the recovery of these people.

This stage must be in the mind of the chief of the medical service, who is required to keep in mind the creation of certain good conditions for medical and surgical treatment, using for this purpose, in addition to the first line hospitals, the surgical hospitals, medical first aid detachments and even local hospitals.

Field Medicine

The medical-military literature in recent years has pointed out the concerns of military doctors in many countries for improving the system of medical care during wartime and especially the desire to have certain mobile and effective medical formations that can correspond to the current requirements of the battlefield.

The nature of combat operations, the improvements to military technology and the destructive capacity of weapons in the military units have brought about a considerable growth in health losses and essential changes in the structure of these losses, with a higher percentage of serious wounds and illnesses and even a new pathology specific to the weapons used.

The organization of treatment and evacuation under wartime conditions has in mind the fact that the results obtained after medical-surgical treatment are even better if this treatment is given more promptly, in the shortest possible time after being wounded, and that evacuation is a measure dictated by the situation on the battlefield, which is negatively reflected in the status of the wounded or sick.

The need to organize medical care in the shortest possible time after a person is wounded requires the placement of specialized medical formations as close as possible to the area of combat operations. Combat operations do not permit, however, bringing these formations close and carrying out medical care activities, a fact that has led to the adoption of a system of providing treatment gradually in a number of phases.

The system of phased treatment, also applied during World War II and the wars conducted in recent decades, is evaluated as a system capable of also resolving the complex problems of medical care under conditions of the appearance of a large number of wounded and sick in certain zones of military operations as a result of using weapons of mass destruction.

The system of phased treatment has in mind completing the entire amount of medical care necessary for the wounded and sick in a unified concept, but in a number of locations, called phases of medical evacuation.

Each of these phases is important in the status and recovery of the wounded:

1. The phase of first aid that is given on the battlefield using materials carried on the individual, in the form of self-aid or mutual aid. Its purpose is to apply elementary measures to save the life of the wounded party.

2. The phase of premedical care that is given at the battalion medical point or on the battlefield by average medical personnel; it consists of completing the measures of the previous phase, prophylactic measures and even a first sorting of the wounded and sick and their preparation for evacuation.

3. The first medical care is given by doctors of general medicine in the units, usually within the regimental medical point or the battalion medical point. In this phase, medical care is given to both the wounded and the sick, a presumptive diagnosis is established and medical priorities are set, establishing the urgency of evacuations.

4. The phase of competent medical care constitutes in fact the first hospital that the wounded and sick encounter along the evacuation route. At this level, medical-surgical care is given by specialized doctors of general surgery, internal medicine, toxicology and so forth. This phase is represented by the division

hospital equipped with the instrumentation and devices necessary to general surgery employing intensive anesthesia therapy and having an internal medicine section and a laboratory. At the level, the diagnosis and prognosis of the injury is established, surgery is performed, shock is treated, complications are prevented and conditions are primarily created for the evacuation of the wounded and sick to the specialized hospitals at mobile hospital bases or in interior regions. The period of stay at this hospital is estimated to be 2 to 3 days and sometimes even more.

5. Specialized medical care constitutes in fact the last phase of treatment, which is given in the specialized hospitals in the mobile hospital bases or in interior regions, hospitals having a broad range of specialists principally in the following specialties: neurosurgery, plastic and reparatory surgery, maxilo-facial surgery, thoracic surgery, orthopedics and traumatology, abdominal surgery, urology, cardio-vascular surgery, internal medicine, hematology, toxicology, contagious diseases and so forth.

Certainly, under the conditions of a broad front defense with the participation of a large number of patriotic guard units and other patriotic combat formations in military operations, the organization of medical care is more complicated since the medical formations of operational units and divisions and brigades are not sufficient in some situations even for their own troops, making it more difficult to deal with the greater personnel losses that can occur in some combat sectors. In this situation, we must also keep in mind the fact that the wounded and sick will not be able to systematically and obligatorily move through all the phases of evacuation, missing some of them.

One of the phases of medical evacuation, the phase of competent medical care, takes on a special importance in the action of returning as large a number as possible of the wounded and sick to the broad front defense operations, and it requires increased attention within the framework of the plan of organizing the medical care of the operation.

The medical formations slated to provide the competent medical care are: the first-line division hospitals, the first-line hospitals of the branches of services located in the area of the divisions and brigades, the detachments of medical-surgical first aid that are mobile surgical hospitals and other local or mobile hospital-like formations that can accept the mission of temporarily being in the phase of competent medical care.

These formations must be placed close to the evacuation route in the rear of the defense, in the areas of the divisions and brigades up to 20 kilometers from the forward edge of the contact with the enemy in order to be able to provide for the reception of the wounded several hours after they are wounded. The majority of

the wounded and sick from the combat units and formations converge on these formations. This is why there is need for more formations of this type to be set up in the area of the divisions and brigades.

The large personnel losses, both among the operational troops and the patriotic guard formations and youth detachments subordinate to the divisions and brigades or which fight in the area of the divisions and brigades, require the provision of a capacity for giving competent medical care for all fighting personnel.

Under the conditions of a broad front defense, the competent medical care can be the first and last phase for a significant number of wounded and sick, especially along the secondary lanes of the enemy's attack or in free zones where evacuation measures are difficult.

This phase can concentrate at its level the entire amount of medical care necessary to treat the wounded and sick and with some reinforcement during situations where it remains in one place for a longer period of time, can also provide specialized medical care. The difficulty of organizing competent medical care lies in the fact that the first-line hospital-type medical formations employed in this activity are insufficient, with the local hospitals being normally evacuated from the defense zone to a depth of 50 kilometeres, and that maneuvering with medical formations is also made difficult in defensive operations because of the possible interruptions in communications. In addition to this, we can add the fact that the large losses and the very large flow of wounded into the hospital-like formations from the areas of the divisions and brigades result in this phase being a maximum point of convergence for the wounded and sick. In addition to an uninterrupted medical-surgical activity and a very great volume of work to care for, feed and transport the wounded in these hospitals, it is necessary to have activities that require a large number of personnel for the cleaning of beds and clothing, sterilization, heating, providing water and light, and loading and unloading the wounded for evacuation.

The proper organization of the phase of competent medical care must have the following in mind:

- the placement of an appropriate number of first-line hospitals in the area of the divisions' and brigades' defensive deployment against the path of the enemy's principal attacks so that all the routes of evacuation for the divisions and brigades and for the columns of ambulances will encounter a surgical hospital during the phase of competent medical care;

- in order to augment the necessary number, the mobile surgical hospitals within the hospital bases will be used as formations for providing competent medical care by placing them along the evacuation routes, at the location of the first-line hospitals;

- the supplying of hospitals with medicines, bandages and consumable health materials at levels above the norm so they can operate for many days without making contact with higher levels or supply sources;

- at a point 20 to 30 kilometers from the forward edge of the defense local hospitals will be organized and maintained within the defensive disposition and staffed with medical personnel and surgeons, especially along the secondary points of attack in order to give competent medical care to patriotic guard personnel;

- within each county, in addition to the medical-surgery first aid detachments, mobile surgical teams will be organized having an adequate supply of equipment that can be set up in towns or in shelters so they can give competent medical care;

- in regions that are slated to be temporarily encircled by the enemy and transformed into free zones during defensive operations, medical formations will be maintained with personnel who can give competent medical care and with the necessary medical materials;

- all medical formations in the defense region, in accordance with the type of region they are in, will be assisted by the local defense councils in each county in order to be supplied with materials and manpower for the purpose of caring for the wounded and sick and providing services, food, water, equipment, fuel, heating, clothes washing, field operators, sterilization, transportation for the wounded, care and loading of the wounded into ambulances and trains and so forth. If we keep in mind the large number of wounded and sick that can be found daily in these formations (300-500 in 24 hours), we can appreciate the volume of work necessary to provide a continuing activity for the surgical teams, to which can be added formations from the Red Cross, youth detachments and so forth.

The proper organization of the phase of competent medical care must keep in mind the working conditions for these hospitals - the closest ones to the forward edge of contact with the enemy - by building shelters, first of all for the surgery sections, intensive therapy and hospitalization.

Similarly, the medical chiefs of the armies or operational detachments must give greater attention to ensuring the evacuation of the wounded and sick from these formations. We are talking about providing the transportation and stretchers necessary for loading the wounded and establishing the destination of the evacuation.

After they have received the medical-surgical care in the first-line hospitals, the wounded and sick are evacuated usually to the specialized hospitals in the hospital bases in the interior regions or to balneo-climatic stations for recovery. The destination of the wounded after the phase of competent medical care can also be, however, within the civilian population where they can be cared for both in the free zones and throughout the entire theater of operations.

Competent medical care is a very important phase in the system of medical care which categorizes, medically-surgically intervenes and treats the wounded and sick from the areas of the operational divisions and brigades. The proper organization of this phase clearly influences the recuperation of the largest possible number of wounded and sick.

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8724
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

SYMPOSIUM ON MEDICAL ASSISTANCE TO TROOPS IN PEOPLE'S WAR

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, Jul-Aug-Sep p 369

[Article by Dr P. Chertic regarding the symposium "Medical Assistance to Troops Under Wartime Conditions in the Defense of the Country by All the People," held in Bucharest, 18 Apr 1981]

[Text] Within the framework of the events celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party, a symposium was held on the theme "Medical Assistance to Troops Under Wartime Conditions in the Defense of the Country by All the People" and was organized by the Medical Directorate and the Department of Military Medicine.

Military doctors and pharmacists from the leadership of certain medical institutions in the army and from army commands, branches of service and military units participated in the proceedings of this event.

Problems of an urgent current nature were dealt with in the 36 reports and papers that were presented. An especially important place went to showing the concerns and actions of the military doctors and pharmacists to further study the content of the national military doctrine, whose author is comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the medical-health corps's directions for action in carrying out their duties at a high qualitative level along the lines of improving medical care in the army, both during peacetime and during military campaigns.

The proposed theme covered the following fields of more important concerns:

- The concept of medical assistance in an all people's war, with important contributions being made on this subject by: doctor Major General Dr Alexandru Gr. Popescu, doctor professor Major General Dr Iuliu Suteu, doctor Colonel Dr Eugen Spataru, doctor Colonel Dr Mircea Burmaz, doctor Colonel Dr Constantin Stanculescu and doctor Colonel Dr Petrea Naghirneac.

- Medical assistance to an army of combined services, the role of reinforcement medical groups and medical assistance to a mechanized division, with reports and papers on these subjects being presented by: doctor Colonel Dr Alexandru Calin, doctor Colonel Dr Mircea Botez, doctor Colonel Dr Constantin Ilie, doctor Colonel Dr Carol Varga and doctor Colonel Dr Grigore Mereantu.

- Medical assistance within the framework of the different specialties, which was covered by: doctor Major General Dr Traian Oancea, doctor Major General Dr Gheorghe Niculescu, doctor Colonel Dr Traian Bandila and doctor Colonel Dr Florian Ionescu.

Through the problems that were discussed, the symposium brought to light the positive experiences and concerns of the military doctors for the purpose of implementing the principles of national military doctrine with maximum efficiency in the area of medical assistance to the troops in the different forms of a defensive war and in the work to ensure the state of health of military personnel.

At the same time, it outlined the need to draw up certain methodologies based on the valuable experiences acquired with regards to medical assistance to the troops, in accordance with the place and role of the medical service within the framework of the national defense system.

8724
CSO: 2700

MATERIAL, PROFESSIONAL NEEDS OF WRITERS DISCUSSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 5 Nov 81 p 2

["Session of the Bureau of the Writers Union"]

[Excerpts] On 30 October 1981, a work session of the Bureau of the Writers Union was held in Bucharest. Secretaries of the writers associations and secretaries of the section bureaus who are not members of the Bureau also participated. The following items were on the agenda: a report on the activity of the Writers Union during the July-October 1981 period and on the current financial situation of the Union and the Literary Fund; the plan of action of the Writers Union for the 4th quarter of 1981; proposals for the membership of work commissions of the Bureau of the Union; the Literary Fund Committee, the 2-3 percent committee, the pension commission, the nationalities commission; the approval of the regulations for awarding the prizes of the Union and of the Writers Associations for 1980, the grand prize and the special prizes for 1980 and 1981, and the prizes for translations of Romanian literature abroad.

Also, concrete solutions for a number of problems which are in the center of attention of the new leadership of the Union were brought before the Bureau. These included: the continuation of the publication of the "Critics' Notebooks" feature in the review VIATA ROMANEASCA, the establishment of coordinates for the utilization of the literary heritage by means of "critics' editions", the resolution of some of the most pressing needs for housing for writers, with the assistance of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council; the facilitation of the participation of writers in various events on the international level.

Deputy chairmen Laurentiu Fulga and Alexandru Balaci informed the Bureau about the activities of the Writers in the domestic and foreign spheres during the period from July to October 1981 and administrative director Traian Iancu gave an account of the current financial situation of the Union and of the Literary Fund.

The speakers praised the realistic nature of the current work program which the leadership of the Writers Union has set and the efficiency with which the leadership is trying to resolve the problems of the writers' community. It was proposed that the most important issues, from among the problems raised at the National Writers Conference, be stressed. These are: the condition of the literary work, from manuscript to published work, with all which this process involves; the conditions under which the young writer makes his debut and asserts himself, in the journalists and

editorial spheres; the methods of penetration of the literary work in the world today as well as the contacts of writers in the international sphere; the status of the Romanian language and Romanian literature in the schools; measures to give jobs to writers, especially young writers, in accordance with their specific training; the most varied means of supporting the financial and economic effort of the Union and aiding the living conditions of the writer; the establishment of work commissions which will study each one of these problems and suggest solutions.

The proceedings of the Bureau were led by Dumitru Radu Popescu, chairman of the Writers Union.

CSO: 2700/72

BRIEFS

CARAS-SEVERIN, TIMIS APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as some positions of deputy chairman of the executive committees of the peoples councils of Caras-Severin and Timis counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Ciorman is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Caras-Severin County and Comrade Viorel Ciovica is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Timis County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 78, 12 Oct 81 p 3]

NEW JOINT COMPANIES--Romania has announced that it will establish three new joint economic companies with foreign firms. Productora Mexicano de Farmacos has been contracted for the production and sale of Vitamin C in Mexico; Sive Company of Abidjan will sell the Dacia car--manufactured in Romania with Renault license--on the Ivory Coast market; the Somaromimpex Company has begun to sell Romanian products in Morocco. At present Romania has 75 joint companies with foreign partners; 40 of them operate in Western countries, 5 operate in Romania and 30 operate in the developing countries. [Excerpts] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Nov 81 p 6]

COOPERATION IN PHARMACEUTICALS, COSMETICS--By Decree No 288 of 7 October 1981, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania has approved the participation of the Industrial Central for drugs, cosmetics, dyes, and varnishes, with headquarters in Bucharest, Blvd. Ion Sulea No 246, subordinate to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, in the ROMFARMSA S.A. company for the production and marketing of cosmetic and pharmaceutical products, with headquarters in Madrid, Spain, by the purchase of 840 shares of stock which represents 10 percent of the social capital of the company. [Text] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 78, 12 Oct 81 p 1]

COOPERATION IN MARITIME TRADE--By Decree No 299 of 7 October 1981, the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania has approved the participation of the NAVLOMAR foreign trade enterprise of Bucharest in the establishment--together with the E.G. LOUKEDES firm of Pireus, Greece--of the CROSSWORLD MARITIMA joint company for international maritime trade, a limited stock company with headquarters in Panama City, the Republic of Panama. The company has as the object of its activity the purchase, sale, construction and chartering of maritime vessels and other operations connected with maritime trade. The social capital of the company is 10,000 U.S. dollars and the share of the participation of the NAVLOMAR foreign trade enterprise in the capital is 50 percent, which is 5,000 U.S. dollars. [Text] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 78, 12 Oct 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/73

COMMENTARIES, PETITIONS ON DJOGO TRIAL, SENTENCE

[Roundup of materials relating to the case of poet Gojko Djogo, who was sentenced 17 September 1981 to 2 years in prison for his book of poems entitled "Vunena vremena" (Woolen Times) but then released pending appeal]

Stress on Poetic Ambiguity

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 81 pp 14-15

[Article by Nada Popovic Perisic, editor of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE]

[Text] Note From the Editors

The trial of the poet Gojko Djogo and his collection of poems "Vunena vremena" are the immediate occasion for the article "The Ambiguity of Poetry" by our editor Nada Popovic Peresic, in which she elucidates certain disputed poems in that book in the context of theoretical criticism. Controversial opinions concerning the "Vunena vremena" were heard in Gojko Djogo's trial: the book was proclaimed to be a piece of political pamphleteering, and poetry led into jeopardy by "erroneous reading." In publishing our editor's article, which is one of the possible interpretations of Djogo's poetry, the editors feel that in this case there is a need to hear the opinion of the literary critics, which ought to be more relevant than the views of judicial institutions. The editors are also of the opinion that literary cases like this ought to be investigated and resolved in an open debate in the context of social criticism, within the framework of our democratic, self-managing practice, and that the participation of administrative entities in issues of art and creativity is the last thing we need at this stage of our social development.

"The darkest place is always under the lamp"--Chinese proverb.

It is not easy today to be authentic. We no longer know how to play, we have forgotten how to fight conformity, the generally prevailing mode of thought, how to preserve that minimum degree of privacy as the sole realm of freedom to withstand the arrogance of the truth, public opinion and science. The speech which

menaces us the most today is Doxa, that is, public opinion, the spirit of the majority, consensus, the voice of Nature, the ferocity of prejudices, and the "truth-loving and orthodox" intellectual as a type.

It is this type of intellectual we will be talking about. They are, first of all, those intellectuals whose purpose is not to understand the world, who are satisfied with ready-made formulas, who reduce a world of infinitely diverse possibilities to equations which make it all clear. Since for them the world is full of suspicious and unreliable alibies, reflection should not be developed excessively. One should turn to divine simplicity: the tautology. The truth is the truth. They set out on the paths of knowledge without accepting any of the risks which any positivistic search for the truth inevitably presupposes. That is how poetry becomes pamphleteering without any sort of evidentiary procedure beforehand.

This is that type of intellectual who reduces everything unusual to the familiar equations, to symbols, who attribute a definite meaning to every situation, even though it be a situation of language, since then it is easier to keep an eye on. Most probably this is a specific defensive reflex in response to the uncertainty of new experiences. How otherwise would many of them have seen even what isn't there.

In essence we are talking about a mentality for which every differentness is alien and which therefore regards the other as a thing to be described, that is, to be furnished with attributes and at the same time condemned. His principal line of argument is to cast doubt on the subject as soon as possible. The "guilty party" must be dishonorable, immoral, perverted. How otherwise could a good poet become in a short time a "swindler," "black marketeer," "unprincipled political intriguer," "swine that slaughters, skins, and grinds up everything it encounters with its hog's teeth."

And finally, these intellectuals also have certain characteristics of true artists; they also use the procedures which we recognize in a true artistic text. We are referring to the distortion of meaning, to the reshaping of the material which in the text creates that surplus value of form which we recognize as an element of the artistic. Assembling a collage of incompatible passages, reading words and lines out of context (outside the text, that is), and erroneous quotations. A universal reading key which is equally valid for ordinary language and for poetic language.

Thus things appear at the level of description. But what has interpretation to say? All those concerned with the problem of interpretation of a literary text know how numerous have been the attempts to determine the nature of the relationship between the poetic language (subject language) and the language of interpretation (the metalanguage).

Interpretation Cannot Be Scientific

In his book "Sta je strukturalizam?" [What Is Structuralism?] Cvetan Todorov, speaking about the relationship between literature and criticism, says: "Nevertheless, the very process of reading itself is not without consequences: two

readings of one and the same book are never identical. Our reading is accompanied by a passive type of writing; we add what we wish to find in the text, or we suppress what is in it that we wish to avoid.... From the moment when he ceases only to read, but also writes something down, the critic is saying something which the work he is studying does not contain, even though he asserts that it says the same thing."

In practice this means that interpretation lacks epistemological consistency, and therefore cannot be scientific. After all, a literary text, and poetry in particular, necessarily enters into confrontation with the ambivalence of language, which is at one and the same time representational and nonrepresentational. As a semantic subject the text or poem is characterized, as indeed are all rhetorical discourses, by a tendency toward polysemy. The purpose of the poem as a work of art is totality of meaning, that is, a reduced model of the world. Every modern theory will hold that there is no poem in which an erotic relation between the reader and the poem has not been achieved. That accounts for the importance of the interpretation code. Today this is one of the fundamental epistemological questions: that is, one of those places of stress where ideology and semiology meet. The issue: how or by whom are our reading patterns, or, in a more general way, our perception patterns, created? Every reading tends to restrict the potential ambiguity of the poem. The reader selects hypotheses as he reads depending on the associations that exist, which have been quoted by the culture, by personal obsession, and by literary use. He chooses, then, his own textual strategy. That is why in the interpretation of poetry we can speak only of reading models which are operative for a certain cultural tradition.

Yet the disagreements that have occurred in the history of literature and that were aroused by this "interpretation code" we have mentioned, have not been minor. Let us not enumerate all the examples. We will cite one. A recent one. A collection of poems entitled "Vunena vremena" by the poet Gojko Djogo, that is, a poem from that collection entitled "Ovid at Tomi." We know how this poem has been read in our daily newspapers and in the indictment which was returned against the poet. We will quote the passage of the indictment which concerns this poem: "... in the poem 'Ovid at Tomi' also makes allusion to the cherishing of a symbol of our revolution, and says that everyone is celebrating 'his' birthday, that this was 'his' time, that the reader has been waiting for 'his' end, and then observes: 'And better you hadn't lived at all than to have lived in his time,' then asserting that those who lived and were happy in 'his' time were mutes and toadies, mouthpieces and primitives, ticks and nits, and he foretells: 'one day his star will also fall.'"

We will not comment on the "slip" presented in this context by the use of the word "reader"; we will leave that to psychoanalysis. Before passing on to an analysis of the poem, we will go back once more to theory. We have said that a poem represents a definite semantic field, that is, a lexical network which has been organized around a basic concept. That is why certain theoreticians, Levin for example, are inclined to say that "the text is its own code." That would mean that certain semantic units in the poem nevertheless restrict the text's possible polysemy. As for the poem we have mentioned, the basic concept around

which the semantic field is constructed has been given in the title. The reference is to Ovid--the banished poet. This procedure is quite familiar to modern poetry--the title or subtitle guides the reading of the poem. The importance of the title itself has been altogether neglected in the interpretations of this poem made so far. The direction of the poem's reading is determined not only by the title, but also by its form. There is reference in the poem to the relationship which the poetic speaker establishes with the banished poet Ovid: he addresses him using the pronoun /you/ [in boldface]. The poetic speaker, then, is not addressing the /reader/ [in boldface], but the poet Ovid. That the interpretation of this poem cannot be as arbitrary as many would like it is also proven by the poem's last lines:

> But what do you get out of it?
> Those who come after won't know
> that Caesar was shoed
> by a smithy.

The last line defines the context unambiguously. The time of the Caesars. Only with the last line is a coherent system of connotations established, so that only then every motif already mentioned in the poem takes on its meaning, this time determined by a time context (era).

Purely Literary Sources of Images

We would detract from the value of Gojko Djogo's poetic expression if we did not say that his expression also has that necessary degree of universality which every valuable poetry must have. The "theme" is perceived here only as a narrative structure (or archetype); the description of typical experiences whose repetition creates a true continuity of literary experience says something about universal destiny--in this case of the poet. Translated into expressions of poetic diction, this means that his method of constructing the poem fits into that part of the experience of modern poetry which uses the symbol and the allegory; images may represent objects from nature, but actually they have been taken from a purely literary source.

Since we are arguing for multiple meanings, that is, for polysemy, we will not assert that there are no other possible readings, since our interpretation codes differ. But it is certain that there are not infinitely many of them. Only those readings are valid which are not contradictory, that is, which possess homogeneity at the level of the connotations, in other words, semantic coherence. And all readings of this poem must inevitably "trip over" Ovid and Caesar.

We will give still another example. The poem "First Among the Beasts." Here is how it was interpreted in the indictment: "A 'beast, a big bear,' a self-styled emperor with his iron teeth and army, slaughters by the law of his bestial nature everything which gets in his way, strangles his best comrades in the dark and eats his own children, but is now lying dead, while his paws are being licked by frantic animals who do not believe that he has died, but that he has only become silent and who are afraid lest the beast revive and again sit on the 'throne,' which in turn represents a clear allusion to the late President Tito,

is a crude offense to his personality and to the sentiments of our peoples toward him, accompanied by the assertion that the respect for Tito was falsely extorted by terror."

We have already mentioned that interpretations of poetic language require a context so that the poetic value of every element can be discovered by the best possible approach. The perception of the poem as a whole requires that the elements not be evaluated solely as a function of their local value, but in their relationship to the elements which precede them or which follow. The context of this poem is defined by the subtitle: "... my dwelling, my own, is not the den of a bear" and by the citation of its source: "Slovo o medvedu" [About the Bear] by "The Physiologist."

In using the quotation as a guide to the source of the symbol, the poet has also determined its allegorical value. The bestiary mentioned states that the bear is a symbol of the peoples of the Caucasus. The interpretation code, then, should be sought at that level of connotation. With this in mind it is not difficult to recognize the allusions to Stalin. On the other hand, the use of definite symbols--in this case an animal--presupposes one meaning which is different from that which a particular word might have in ordinary language. Any dictionary of symbols will reveal to us that the bear is a symbol of bellicose aggressiveness, that it symbolizes the death of the cosmos, a voracious evil. So, then, its function should be sought at that symbolic level, and not at the level of ordinary speech.

Let us return to the indictment. An indictment is also a text. The indictment speaks about "clear allusions," about an "assertion." The indictment takes poems as discursive denotative language in which the meaning of the term and the symbol is clearly determined by uniform use. Certainly the initial and every subsequent disagreement derives its source from this. The indictment presupposes something which has never been competently proven anywhere. It takes the point of departure that in this case it is dealing with a "piece of pamphleteering." However, it is dealing with a book of poems. And the same criteria cannot be applied to a "piece of political pamphleteering," that is, something which belongs to the unambiguous and transparent language, and also to poetry--an ambivalent, nontransparent, dense language crammed with meanings.

But this we shall leave to the interpretations which we assume are yet to come. After all, this collection deserves interpretations, first of all because of the new manner in which it speaks of human destiny. In using folklore and mythology as a source of subject matter, as an arsenal of poetic imagery, it points to man's basic situation of peril in today's world, to his fears, to his powerlessness to resist the world, to the archetypal nature of his imaginary world.

Open Letter by Intellectuals

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 328, Oct 81 p 5

[Text] Prosveta Publishing Work Organization, Belgrade
OOUR "Publishing Activity"

Belgrade, 30 May 1981

Open Letter

> "Special Commission of the Workers' Council commissioned to destroy all examples of the book 'Vunena vremena,' which was published in a printing of 1,000 copies" (POLITIKA, 21 May 1981).

We have not been able to read the collection of poetry "Vunena vremena" of Gojko Djogo, which was issued by Prosveta, so that we cannot express any literary or conceptual judgment concerning it. Access to this book has been prevented by Prosveta in that it has withdrawn all available copies from sale and adopted a decision to destroy it. Since we feel that our rights as readers have thereby been drastically injured, we want to put the following questions publicly.

First, on what grounds did Prosveta consider that a book already printed and not banned by the courts dare not be submitted to the scrutiny of the professional literary and reading public? Are we to believe that that public is not mature enough or responsible enough to render a competent judgment, while the decision-makers in Prosveta and outside it are?

Second, what justification can be given for a self-managing decision to destroy the book, and how are the associations with the destruction of books of the same kind at other places and other times to be avoided? Is Prosveta, setting aside the author and the readers, the exclusive owner of the book, or can it still be regarded as a kind of public property? Finally, has the assumed goal truly been achieved by this act--eliminating the traces left in time by a book of poems!

We expect that Prosveta will offer us and the public clear and persuasive answers to these questions, which are not ours alone, nor is their importance merely momentary. In any case, this is in its own interest as well.

Copies of this letter have been sent to POLITIKA, to KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, to KNJIZEVNA REC, and to the Federation of Serbian Writers.

Boris Tadic, student
Dragoslav Mihailovic, writer
Zoran Avramovic, sociologist
Borislav Mihailovic, writer
Stojan Cerovic, associate university professor
Miladin Pavlovic, philologist
Zoran Licic, philosopher

Miodrag Premovic, student
Zaneta Sirovic, student
Dragomir Olujic, political scientist
Nebojsa Damjanovic, historian
Gordana Jovanovic, student
Radmila Stojanovic, political scientist
Velimir Abramovic, poet
Ozrenka Popovic, philologist
Milan Markovic, psychologist

Petition by Authors

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 328, Oct 81 p 3

[Text] To the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

We appeal to you to undertake to have the poet Gojko Djogo released from prison and relieved of criminal accountability.

Nada Popovic (signed)
Milorad Vucelic (signed)
Biljana Jovanovic (signed)
Aleksandar Petrov (signed)
Ljubisa Jeremic (signed)
Vida Ognjenovic (signed)
Lazar Stojanovic (signed)
Miroslav Ivanovic (signed)
Adam Puslojic (signed)

Second Petition by Authors

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 328, Oct 81 p 5

[Text] To the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

We appeal to you to undertake to have the poet Gojko Djogo released from prison and relieved of criminal accountability.

Miodrag Perisic (signed)
Milutin Petrovic (signed)
Vidosav Stevanovic (signed)
Vladislava Ribnikar (signed)
Rasa Livada (signed)
Dusan Vukajlovic (signed)
Jovan Radulovic (signed)
Slobodan Rakitic (signed)
Djordjije Vukovic (signed)
Dusko Novakovic (signed)
Jasmina Lukic (signed)
Bozo Koprivica (signed)
Novica Tadic (signed)
Bratislav Milanovic (signed)

Third Petition by Authors

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 328, Oct 81 p 3

[Text] To the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

Belgrade, 23 July 1981

We appeal to you to have the poet Gojko Djogo released from prison and not tried in court. Let the literary critics judge the poetry.

Stevan Raiskovic (signed)
Milka Ivic (signed)
Miroslav Pantic (signed)
Dragoslav Mihailovic (signed)
Predrag Palavestra (signed)
Dim. Bogdanovic (signed)
Antonije Isakovic (signed)
Pavle Ivic (signed)
Dobrica Cosic (signed)

Author Kis to Stambolic

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 328, Oct 81 p 5

[Text] Belgrade, 28 June 1981

Honorable Ivan Stambolic,

As the author of the book "Grobnica za Borisa Davidovica" [A Tomb for Boris Davidovic] (which is concerned with the mechanism of spiritual oppression) and as a man who has felt on his own hide, in publishing that very book, one of the perfidious forms of that same oppression and tragic loneliness of a banished and helpless creator--I feel it my duty to call upon you to stake all your prestige as chairman of the Executive Council of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia to avoid the court conviction of the poet Gojko Djogo. Destruction of his work has in and of itself been a harsh penalty.

With sincere respect,

Danilo Kis

Open Appeal to Judges

Harrow NASA REC in Serbo-Croatian No 328, Oct 81 pp 3-4

[Covering letters addressed to Judge Venjamin Pejovic and to POLITIKA and the open letter of appeal itself, written by Zivorad Stojkovic, Belgrade professor of literature]

[Text] To Comrade Venjamin Pejovic, judge of the Belgrade District Court

Belgrade, 30 June 1981

Honored Comrade Judge,

I have delivered copies of this appeal to your panel, which will try the poet Gojko Djogo, to the newspapers KNJIZEVNE NOVINE and POLITIKA, since the text is written as an open appeal to you and is therefore public.

Respectfully,

Zivorad Stojkovic
Professor of Literature
Belgrade

To the Editors of POLITIKA, Belgrade

Belgrade, 30 June 1981

Respected Editor,

I am sending you a text addressed to the judges of the District Court in Belgrade, which this Thursday, 2 July, will try the poet Gojko Djogo. As an open appeal, this text is a public appeal to the representatives of a public service like jurisprudence, and I believe that only good can be served if the enclosed pages were published in POLITIKA. Good because it is more than necessary right at this point that differing opinions on a poet's arrest may be heard in public in this community.

When at one time they arrested Osip Mandel'shtam, there were only unanimous opinions about the persecutions of poets in his country. And the time was to come, here with us in fact, when a book by the poet's wife, "Strah i nada" [Fear and Hope], would go through several editions and would offer to the reader here one of the most shocking eyewitness stories about the fate not only of that poet, but also of the conspiracy of silence that was not confined to that troubled time in our century. Whereas Vaclav Havel in turn is today serving his third year in prison, in a country similar to Mandel'shtam's with which Yugoslavia indeed has quite proper ideological relations, we have taken upon ourselves to exercise the cherished right to distinguish us from Havel's homeland by the very fact that our theaters at the moment are performing his plays. "The Audience" and "The Opening of the Exhibition," for example, are being performed to

an overflowing theater, and the author behind bars is receiving the kind of applause he would receive making a curtain call.

You will understand, then, dear editor, why I feel it urgent that at least one such difference from the comments published to date concerning the arrest of our poet appear in POLITIKA, our newspaper with the largest readership here at home and abroad, friendly and hostile.

Respectfully,

Zivorad Stojkovic

Open Letter of Appeal to the Poet's Judges

A book of poems has been burned for the first time that books have been printed in this language. By a duly appointed commission, more conscientiously than it was published, with an official record and official report by the publisher, the book has been turned into ash to the last copy of its small printing to placate the public. But since the notorious year 1929, when Jovan Popovic and Novak Simic were taken into custody because of "red collection" of social literature entitled "Knjiga drugova" [The Comrades' Book] (and soon released from prison by an acquittal!)--this is now the first case of arrest of a poet, and that because of a book which was published legally by the largest publishing house in the country. Were we only readers, and not as well people of all kinds who work with books and on the literary task, we would have to write such letters to the editors and to ask: What is this that is happening to us today, how far have we gone when the slaughtering of books and the persecution of poets is not only imaginable, but even possible in our time? For days, then, one has simply not known where to look or how to support his lack of words, his disbelief that anything can help the indicted poet; still less himself, the shamed contemporary. If the poet is such a dangerous criminal that he must await his trial in pretrial custody, then the rest of us who have been left to look after our own affairs could end up being suspects.

Last year proposals based on the constitution were written and signed to the effect that persons convicted of "verbal offenses" would be exempted from punishment, while a personal opinion, whatever it might be, could not in and of itself be regarded as a crime in our system. The responses, envisaged by that same constitution, did not come from the places where the proposals were sent. By way of response came only a political outcry in italicized editorials about there being citizens who dared to carefully read the laws of their country and who felt that the freedom of speech in public is not just a right of man, but indeed a human duty in a society.

But dialogue with the anathema was cut off, just like that, before in fact it had begun, and there is no persistence capable of writing and disputing with the things which are incomprehensible in its time, unless that becomes its sole job. But a poet has been in the Central Prison for more than a month now, and that is more noxious than anything that might be suspected in our literary troubles. And anyway, how many others there are.... So, the only thing that remains is

for us to appeal for something, in this case to adjure, if necessary! So, having had past experience with right addresses, the undersigned is sending this petition to those most responsible for the letter and spirit of the law--to you, the judges of Gojko Djogo's book.

You will be judging, then, a literary work rather than a criminal act; a poet who is "fulfilling his destiny," not the citizen who is otherwise irreproachably discharging his work and civic duties. That is why this petition in fact does not apply so much to Gojko Djogo himself; he, for that matter, is not a guilty party whose punishment needs to be pardoned. Like many others of his stamp, his guilt lies only in the fact that he is truly a poet. And such poets are apt to be both contrary and explosive; they are always suspect, and one never knows what they might get into, what they might dare, when they are led on by inspiration and they shout their verses out loud. At their highest moment, poets become removed even from their very selves, and the poems are not only their "alter ego," but something altogether their own, following their own will. No one can ever have the last word with poets, believe me! Understand if you can that poetry falls in the devil's work, but that the poem is "outside any evil," however it might appear to you as you look at the line of verse or turn what it says against it. Be suspicious, be suspicious of the poet Djogo, why not; anything might be found in the ash of his collection of poems, anything at all, but not something. But be suspicious, please, much more of those who as experts or witnesses will be interpreting "Vunena vremena." Pay close attention to them, since many interpreters of poetry cut the poet's world to their own measure and their motives. There are even those who customarily when they get out of their depth falsely accuse poets for this.

There is no need, as you see, to issue an appeal for the poet Djogo, but for your cautiousness, which must even be extreme, for your suspicion of everything and everyone, and not just the poetry which has been accused, but that you do not take that suspicion as something which has in any way been justified and confirmed; there is a need to appeal for your patience given your inexperience with the writing of poetry; for your vigilance in not rejecting something you do not understand, in which you are not alone. However, the basic reason for addressing these lines to you is an appeal to release people who have become anxious these past weeks from a fear and a shame: a fear, to be brief, that poets' books of poems, can it really be, are the greatest danger to this country at its present moment; a shame, to be still briefer, that books of poems are to be tried by criminal courts, and not by public criticism and a public accounting with the lies of poets, if they do lie, or with the self-deceptions of the time, if it is deceiving itself.

Finally, there is a special reason for this petition. The Serbo-Croatian language and the Yugoslav literatures are being taught today at many universities in the world. In just one of the European countries there are departments of Yugoslav studies at exactly 14 universities. All the newspapers of that country have carried news on several occasions and quite prominently concerning the arrest and upcoming trial of the poet Gojko Djogo. All foreign Yugoslavicists are aware of this case, and they are all, I am certain, expecting that it will end differently than in other places, since for them Yugoslavia always represents

"something else." Please do not allow their teachers, among whom I have counted myself for years, to avoid the questions of their students when they begin classes in the fall. Make it possible for teachers to give answers that will reinforce belief in the country whose languages and subject matters we learn best if we first learn to love that country. I have no right not to believe in the conscientiousness of your verdict, which will be liberating--not only for the poet who has been arrested! In any case, I would adjure you: do not shame the country, do not confuse its friends, do not bear its enemies out. The damage that could be done if justice is not vigilant cannot be made up by decades of patient and persistent work on the learning of the languages, the literatures and the history of this country, on its reputation and on its place in the cultural world.

The only other thing I beg of you is that you do not let your verdict go down as one of the examples in the history of the literature of this language, of which there have not been many in its legacy and history, not even from its black times, but they augur the worst.

Belgrade, 29 June 1981 Zivorad Stojkovic

Comparison With Mandel'shtam's Fate

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Jovica Acin: "Who Is Afraid of Poetry"]

[Text] At the beginning of the thirties various informers began to stop by the Mandel'shtams' more and more frequently. Knowing the whole body of Mandel'shtam's poems by heart, they recited them to the inexpressible rapture of Osip Emil'yevich, asking him out of feigned curiosity and conspiratorially what a particular line or a particular poem meant: Did it not refer to the failure of the 5-year plan which was then under way and whose successes the leadership was extolling in the name of the people, and so on. Mandel'shtam would shrug his shoulders in a laugh at these discoveries of the informers and at the meanings which were attributed to the various passages in his poetic opus. After one such meeting, Osip Emil'yevich's wife, Nadezhda, asked: "What will we do if they find a hidden meaning in everything?" "We will be amazed," the poet answered.

Impulsive and open, Osip Mandel'shtam never had even the least gift for diplomacy, and his answer--far from any sort of cleverness--cuts precisely into the very essence of a certain approach to poetry from the other side. In an instant he sketches for us the entire one-sidedness of the approach which begins and ends in meaning, sketches out for us the limitations and absurdities which the demand that poetry be totally understood stumbles over. And truly one can only be amazed at an understanding which betrays poetry in at least two ways. On the one hand, the poetic is not built up on meaning, while on the other the meaning one can speak of concerning poetry not only does not determine it, but cannot be understood in the sense one usually attributes to that term in speaking of everyday speech or some other form of speech whose purpose is communication. The

poet is amazed by an understanding which he knows to betray the truth of the writing of poetry, he is all the more amazed when the victim is his own work, but he is not always aware that the motives of this understanding are in most cases ideological or pathological in nature, which in turn only augments the tragic nature of the amazement, the tragic nature of the poet's destiny and the destiny of his work.

The Childhood of Language

The recent incidents with and around the book of poems "Vunena vremena" which seem to indicate that even today there is room for the relevance of Mandel'-shtam's reply. Even in those attempts of some seriousness which we will suppose there must have been to interpret certain poems and lines in the book and which were supposed to furnish arguments for so-called social criticism of the work, there is not even the palest trace of awareness that an understanding of a poetic text is only determinable as a possibility or an allusion. In a manner which violates both literary and hermeneutical principles, the self-assured interpreters have simply, without hesitation or reserve, substituted their own understanding as an equivalent for the poetic text, as though they were sitting on a divine throne and held all the meanings of this world and all the threads of poetry in their hands. The meaning they have decided upon is for them that "same"--and by no means could it be different--meaning which supposedly exists before every reading, objectively, in the poems contained in "Vunena vremena." It is unfortunate for these interpreters, when it comes to poetry, that there are no two texts which say "the same," the supposed equivalence does not exist between the poetic text and the text of the comprehension, looking at least to all the interpretive strategies that have been constructed up to the present time.

A poem does not consist of ideas and meanings, but of words, Mallarme said. Between the word and its sense, the poet's choice has been clear from time immemorial. Only by giving preference to the immediate material aspect of language does poetry come into being, live and survive the centuries. Poems written even hundreds of years ago are close to us, even quite up-to-date, but not because the meaning we might discover in them, because of statements which may be unimportant or even without any sort of significance, but solely because of the expression itself, because of the particular movement of the verbal material which arouses our satisfaction. You yourselves remember children's games with words utterly incoherent to parents, which instantly collapse, losing their charm, when an attempt is made at interpretation with some meaning. Just like those games, in the range from unending repetition of a single word to impossible combinations according to some unknown pattern, like sacred speech, mythical speech, the speech of ritual, poetry affirms precisely those poetic capabilities of the language which are suppressed in everyday communication, its material process, which has no connection whatsoever with understanding. What is more, understanding expends, tears down, that on which the poetic is built; with "parental concern" it bans the use of language as signs which mean nothing. If by interpretation we do not draw poetry out of the protection of the materiality of language, which in the case of the book "Vunena vremena" has been done in the harshest and most ruthless way, if we do not withdraw it from the protection

which every work builds according to its own syntax, rhythm, its lexicon, its figures, then we would be able to say, recalling a suspicion of Marx', that poetry preserves in itself the childhood of language, that it uses verbal potentialities in a way similar to that in which singing, music or dance uses vocal or sound potentialities or the potentialities of body movements, not concerned with their meaning.

The Promised Meaning

Nevertheless, if it does not play the essential role, it cannot be said that meaning does not play any sort of role in a poetic text. The only form of meaning which can be recognized in poetry is not based, however, on that concept of ready-made meaning which has been appealed to or has been only assumed by the mass-media interpreters of the poems of Gojko Djogo.

Let us take, for example, a few lines from one of Vasko Popa's early poems.

> It's a game of hide and seek
> You peer into yourself in every nook
> And search for any nails, for any thieves
> For any cuckoo eggs.

For what I want to briefly demonstrate, I could have taken verses of Oskar Davico, especially from his more recent poems, instead of Popa's. In so doing I would have made my job altogether easier, since the matter is obvious in Davico. Yet I took Popa as an example because often in his poems there is so much of the "storyteller" that meaning seems unquestionable. Yet, when it comes down to it, who could be so bold as to staunchly affirm that he absolutely knows what these lines mean. They do, of course, imitate a description of preparation for a child's game in which there are also connotations of some self-examination. Yet that is not enough. That means nothing, or very little. We can only have suspicions, since the meaning remains incomplete, and at the same time, the poet's "mode of statement" cannot be replaced by any other mode of statement without betraying the sense of the lines. You or I might complete the meaning, even many meanings, might give ultimate shape to the meaning. But this would not be the meaning or meanings which the poet was "thinking of"; it would not for the simple reason that the poet was not thinking of any particular meaning at all, not of any ready-made and accomplished meaning. Had he been so thinking and had he so written, then this no longer would have been a poem, just as a riddle that has been solved is no longer a riddle. (It is interesting to mention that in the fifties precisely the group of poems from which these lines were taken were fiercely attacked by the dogmatic "traditionalists" as a hotbed of meaninglessness. Quite logically, though they did not know how close to the truth they were!) What the poet did on the other hand "think of" is visible and incontestably audible in the lines. The materiality, the music of the language (which does not mean that the language is melodic or harmonic), which is manifested in the phonemic and lexical repetitions, in the turns of phrase, in the rhythm, in the evocation of pleasure in the game. On the other hand we come upon meaning in an unrealized form. The reader's attention is attracted and then left in uncertainty at the end. This is inherent in the play of poetic

language in which there are no final solutions, but only an interweaving of the music of the word and the promise of meaning. In promising meaning, in seducing the readers, poetry never keeps its promise. That is why it is impossible to truly arrive at understanding in everyday life, in science or in politics using poetic language. Its medium is a mystery behind which, for all its human craziness, there isn't anything, darkness, opaqueness, or only what we ourselves impart, seeking what we have already found, but then for us the poem no longer exists. Then we ourselves are to blame for destroying the poem, because we wanted to fill it with our own understanding, according to our own associations, according to a key which we have studied consciously or unconsciously, a promise which we felt as a danger aside from the poet's will, aside from the nature of poetic language. When finally the poem refuses to impart meaning, then let us give the meaning to it, let us find its "hidden meaning"; that, unfortunately, is the way one might state the decision of the interpreters of Djogo's poems.

Allusions and Associations

In spite of everything, you will perhaps ask whether I dispute that there are certain allusions in "Vunena vremena." Not by any means. Though as a rhetorical technique it does not belong solely to the art of poetry, allusion does exist in Djogo's book, as it does in every other poetic work. In the context of what we have said, its origin is quite definite: it is one of the effects of the promise of meaning. Depending on the place and moment, depending on the segment of the prevailing symbolic production to which the reader belongs, understanding does articulate an allusion and ascribes content to its subjective associations in an effort to realize and establish the meaning, thereby resolving unambiguously once and for all and terminating the metaphor on which the promise of meaning is based. Whereas on the border of the promise of meaning ambiguity of an allusion is part of the gesture of indefiniteness of the poetic text, its unambiguity and insistence on unambiguity can originate only with the violence of interpretive speech. For example, in the poem "Ovid at Tomi" the exile of the Latin poet by Caesar's order to the deserted shores of the Black Sea is reenacted. Using the heterogeneous lexicon which is today predominant in modern poetry, and by virtue of the point of view which the speaker of the poem takes, the author allows us to suspect a certain updating of the question of the poet's exile and--nothing more. If thanks to a possible allusion, one that is only possible, in that the title of the poem coincides with the title of a poem by another poet, we see in Ovid Osip Mandel'shtam, and in Caesar Dzhugashvili nicknamed Stalin, that is a question of our willingness, but it is neither possible nor necessary to go farther with the associations on the basis of the poem's text. The other poems in "Vunena vremena" also remain essentially open in that same way, not fully stated in their meaning, but complete as creations of poetic language.

The same line of verse may evoke differing associations in different readers. Our associations always spring up in such a way as to connect to one another, thus indicating what pains us in one way or another, what we perhaps would rather not speak about, either consciously or unconsciously. How is it, then, that practically all the interpreters have discovered the same meaning? The promised meaning of "Vunena vremena" is the relationship between the writing of

poetry and everything that can symbolize authority and might. That relationship is not localized in the book; its register is univeralized on the horizon of the promised meaning. One unfortunate moment made it possible to evoke associations which led by the shortest route to what was experienced in that moment as a memory of a certain collective grief, and thus with the help of fear of the opaqueness and "hidden meanings" of poetic language it led the interpreters to attribute to the book a political meaning related to Yugoslavia. Sacrificing the poetry, the critics--as though caught up by an epidemic--made of a book of poems a symptom of their own anxiety. Their undertaking in defense against poetry can be understood, though often its consequences to the culture and creativity of a society cannot even be examined. In any case, the politically undesirable meanings which they discovered have no equivalent in the book itself and cannot be arguments against its author. Otherwise, if it is possible that they are to become even legal evidence, all we can do is to be amazed.

Against Trial in Principle

Belgrade KNJIZEVNA REC in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Milorad Vucelic: "In Favor of a Judgment, Against a Court Verdict"]

> [Text] ... No one has struck out at the progressive writers, and he who has erred has to state in the press that what he has been doing is incorrect, since that writer is not well-intentioned.... He (Branko Copic--M. V.) has taken the entire society and portrayed it, from top to bottom, as negative, which means that it should be done away with entirely. We are not going to allow that kind of satire and let it pass without a response. There should be no fear that we will attempt to arrest him for this. No, he should be answered in public.... (Passage of Marshal Tito's speech at the Third Congress of the Antifascist Front of Women concerning Branko Copic's satirical story "A Heretical Story." The quote is taken from BORBA, 30 October 1950.)
>
> A penalty of 2 years in prison was pronounced yesterday in the Belgrade District Court against the poet Gojko Djogo, author of the collection of poems "Vunena vremena," which was published by the Belgrade publishing house Prosveta. The panel of three judges, with Judge Venijamin Pejovic presiding, found him guilty of hostile propaganda under Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code. The verbal statement of the grounds of the verdict said among other things that the allegations of the indictment against Gojko Djogo for untruthful and malicious portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in our country had been confirmed. (POLITIKA, Friday, 18 September 1981)

In speaking about the verdict against Gojko Djogo, we must, as in a number of similar cases earlier ("Arguments Against the Neutral," IIC SO Serbia [(?) Information Publishing Center of the Serbian Youth League], 1980) one must

emphasize again that we regard a socialist court to be absolutely incompetent and out of its jurisdiction in matters of literature and artistic creativity.

Great dangers to the freedom of creativity are undoubtedly concealed in the tendency to bring artistic content under the scope of legal formulations and the tendency to interpret it arbitrarily and extensively. One of them is the danger that multiple levels, multiple meanings and multidimensionality of the work of art and other forms of creativity (in this case of poetry) will be utterly reduced to mere information, agitation, the dissemination of rumors, "malicious and untruthful portrayal of conditions." These tendencies, which, consciously or not, do not retain overmuch of their relations to the humanistic projection of the future, are directed toward "bringing the public matter of opinion under the jurisdiction of the courts." That particular kind of legal reductionism would like to "formalize public discourse," to establish the rules of language and thought whose violation leads to the defendant's box and to prison. The public language of thought and speech would in that context be sanctioned by the standards of the cynical-manipulative spirit, baneful to any public activity and to the possibility of arriving at a critical grounding.

We cannot look upon the sphere of law and legal norms as something separate from the strategic goals of the socialist movement and the real socialist content of justice. Complete social power and social optimality is not and cannot be dissolved in a legal order which only needs to be precisely applied. The laws and the legal order are actually established as guarantees of freedom, and as guarantees of the freedom of artistic creativity, which is a basic and key achievement and value of any society which claims to be a humanistic community and which is struggling for socialist values. The socialist social forces which pass the laws are exactly mindful not only of satisfying current and momentary daily needs, but also of constant expansion of the possibility of freedom on the basis of uninterrupted critical scrutiny of the overall social situation and its emancipative potential.

To that extent all the decisions made by government bodies and agencies must also be subject to the letter of the law and the dominant conception of social justice and social optimality. "The solar trajectory of justice," as Marx would put it, must be the guide concerning actual enforcement of general legal norms and articles of laws to individual cases. In this case of the judgment of the poetry and of the poet Gojko Djogo we believe that the court in rendering its decision fell beneath the level of the letter of the law and beneath the level of the socialist idea of justice.

So that we might avoid the objection that we are defining or assessing in an extremely arbitrary way the idea of justice and the fundamental commitments of our society, we will cite, quite specifically, one of the fundamental contributions to formulation of the most general social goals and the means of achieving them.

I am referring to the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The LCY Program, which denotes the "essential characteristics of the development of creative cultural abilities of the people," defines them as follows: "freeing

of educational, scientific, artistic and cultural life from administrative interference by state organs and from state-absolutist and pragmatist conceptions of cultural creativeness, through building and perfecting a system of social self-management in educational, scientific and other cultural institutions and organizations."

We might enumerate a number of other examples (aside from the LCY Program, we have already mentioned the speeches of Comrade Tito related to a specific case) which patently and convincingly support the assertion that there have not been and there are no grounds whatsoever for the arbitrary interpretation of a work of art by a public prosecutor to be given the force and legality of a court verdict.

For the sake of truth and democracy, it should be said that the responsibility for the disproportionate sentence in this unnecessary trial is borne not only by the prosecutor's office and the court, but also by the witnesses. Is it really necessary for the public prosecutor in a culture which embraces the poet who wrote: "Let me be struck dead by a word that is too strong," to admonish the writers in a superior tone, because testimony was changed, "that it is each man's business to what extent he keeps his word"? Thus even the behavior of the writer-witnesses, aside from writing inglorious and Herostratic pages in the history of literature and culture on our soil, is indicative of the possible reasons why everything of ours that is democratic is still so brittle. The responsibility for democracy is not borne by politics alone, however democratically inspired and conducted, nor can the hotbed of undemocratic activity be solely in "politics."

Perhaps someone, who may even be right, will object to us that had they behaved differently, nothing essential would have changed, but for the sake of some supposedly weightier reasons we cannot neglect the elementary human and democratic norms by which everyone must bear a portion of his responsibility, at the behest of his own conscience and commitment.

We are not talking here about any sort of charity toward the poet and poetry. The domain of artistic and creative freedoms is by no means a detached and isolated space set off by someone's benevolence and goodness, which can accordingly be given or taken away. It is a question of the basic constitutive elements of socialism, which here are bound up with the very sense of survival.

But do the various interpretations of the government authorities in the domain of artistic creativity indicate something else as well?

Without questioning the actual formal and legal dignity nor intention of the court, we get the impression that through various administrative and court decisions, which are disproportionate to say the least, there is manifested a certain arbitrary, dogmatic, publicly unrecognized and bureaucratic interest which is being realized outside the domain of public formulation of the goals of society and outside the process of establishing social optimality. It is, of course, recognizable in all spheres of life, but as such, regardless of the strength with which and the places where it imposes itself, is historically and communistically illegitimate.

The emergence of this interest, if for no other reason because the conditions under which it usually appears are exceptional to some extent, leads as a rule to a clouding over of the real problem. Every topic is spoken about as something unimportant. The meaning of artistic creativity is spoken about in the eclipse of a court trial; in spite of the urgent need for us to talk about essential and vital issues (and they also include the freedom of creativity and the freedom of criticism of that same free creativity--which is only a clarification that is almost pedagogic), we speak, we "rack our brains," we squander our energies on staged problems whose retrograde nature is visible even to the naked eye. Instead of concerning ourselves with a staircase that is broken down and damaged, we are calling poets to account.

An ongoing process is taking place, one that is now altogether visible, of a constant minimalization of our historical program, a constant despoiling of the already scanty basis of civilization on which we concern ourselves with problems, which is accompanied by a strenuous battle that is always the same for the very premises of their intelligent resolution. The lowering of the level of our political tasks is taking place in such a way that we are carrying out an ongoing reduction of all the problems to their ideological and political aspect, often involving a very drastic breaking of a cane over the head of cultural and public criticism. The Marxist view--public criticism--is vacated even when it seems that various repressive interventions are furthering it. The handicap of repressiveness should not forever be placed on the back of the view which rightly understands itself to be Marxist. Much more trust must be shown in the creative intellectual forces of this society and in their power of critical discrimination and activity.

In one consequence, if we stop and think a bit more about the whole series of irrational and immoderate actions and solutions, this question seemed logical to us: Is someone unwittingly or deliberately going to compromise and humiliate us, above all before our own selves, and then before the world as well?

I know already that someone will perhaps say that appealing to the LCY Program, to stated principles and premises, to Tito and to communism is demagogy, rhetoric, concealment behind authority, cleverness in a specific situation, a muffled insistence on sacred principles--but that is really not the case at all. Let me, then, be forgiven and allowed this degree of responsibility (intoned perhaps with too much pathos and uttered without any sort of discipline necessary for what is called good writing): It is a question of conviction, of belief in the productive historical power of socialist and communist principles, of the struggle for their authentic realization and of criticism of everything which would vacate or degrade those premises and those high revolutionary principles, be it intentional or not. It is a question of a struggle for that socialism which we can equate with a free community of free people. There is absolutely no reason whatsoever why we should restrict the freedom of artistic creativity in this society in any manner whatsoever, and there is no reason whatsoever for us to critically recognize those who do so--critically recognize that as well--and oppose it with arguments. [sic]

We must speak about this openly and publicly, and that without amazement. After all, we cannot go on forever being amazed at the social mistakes (How did that happen? How was that possible? Who?), since at some point it may be by that amazement that the social reality in which we live will become recognizable or it will come to seem to us Kafkaesque with all the possible consequences.

This article is a small contribution to identification of a social situation and establishment of the reasons why a disproportionate verdict is intolerable. Since we must in the democratic spirit acknowledge the court the right to err, we have grounds for hoping that the higher courts will set aside the decision of the district court and free the poet Gojko Djogo of all guilt. And we hope that lessons will be drawn from all this and that the courts truly will not have occasion to meddle in the matters of public artistic expression, though they have no jurisdiction there. Let them leave literature to the judgment of criticism and to the test of time.

Analogies With Earlier Conflicts

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Oct 81 pp 9-10

[Article by Ratko Petkovic: "Against Short Memories"]

[Text] The disagreements which arose this summer over the "issue" of Gojko Djogo's new book of poems and which have taken dramatic turns, have given a particular topicality to the inevitable need to evaluate a kind of criticism which is usually based on the ideological question of poetry and which finds its point of support in the utilitarian conception of art. This need is imposed all the more irresistibly because of the paradoxical situation in which certain writers have found themselves, writers who were once ardent opponents of the utilitarian conception of literature and who themselves were once victims of dogmatic criticism, accepting at one point the possibility of readings of poetry which would not fit their declared poetics or theoretical commitments.

It is not the purpose of this article to define that type of criticism and assign it to its place in theory, but to show with examples from our recent past a model of it and its social scope when applied in practice.

Literary critics and historians have long ago established that during the period of the well-known conflict in 1948 our literary theory was in a delicate situation. It seems that it had been very easy for interpreters of literature up to that time. Art was placed at the service of ideology, it was the "teacher of life," and writers were the "engineers of souls." Literature was an integral part of party propaganda, and from it the "master--the people" demanded that it be a means of raising militant consciousness. According to the omnipotent recipe of socialist realism, as the official artistic direction, writers were instructed how to write, and on behalf of that recipe "fundamental judgments" were also issued, in which the following were the most frequent grade given: incorrect, devoid of ideas, decadent, subjectivism, formalism, pessimism, and so on.

To write decadent verse objectively meant committing oneself to the "expropriated traitors" and to being "tendentious in the negative sense." That is why the young writers were "guided" by their older colleagues, who benevolently "called their attention," "pointed out errors," in a word, protected them from their own selves, since almost as a rule many gifted writers, especially the poets, were inclined toward "formalism" and toward "views hostile to the people."

The literary authorities, backed up with ideological assessments and political power, allowed no one to stray outside the prescribed boundaries. Nevertheless, the political "heresy" of the Yugoslav communists, the new conceptions of socialist democracy, of freedom and morality, inspired creators to move beyond those boundaries. Young critics discovered that without the two basic values--without certain criteria and without morality--there is no criticism, and they wrote: "Where there is no freedom of creation (and we are referring to socialist freedom), there is no work of art either, there is no morality, nor is there any surge!"

But the poet, an old rebel and explorer, had been waiting for the moment which would allow him his surge. He proclaimed his conception of poetry and issued a challenge which included this passage: "Poets are the border guards of infinity, always one step beyond the stone marking what is allowed and everything that is possible. (...) Poetry is a picture of the impossible associated with the living past, a heresy associated with that past, the progress denounced by tomorrows which are still not dawning to unaccustomed eyes. A contemporary does not recognize himself in the portrait which the author offers him, is horrified by it, and this astounded nonrecognition is no wonder, the wonder is the art which has shaped the face...."

Publishing his manifesto in the name of the future, in the name of poetry, the poet, it seemed, had committed an unforgivable sin. For ideologist-critics every word of his smacked of intolerable heresy, of rebellion, after all, these critics, in their dogmatic consciousness, thought they knew everything. Thanks to their all-seeing logic, whatever was yet to be "examined, seen, shown, and yet to be proven" was clear--they had a scale which weighs absolute values, not to mention ideological templates! The latter are already sketched into spiritual creations, one needs only to fit things to them. But the poet confused them very much: What is this opening up the borders to infinity?! After all, all questions occur to them in their "full clarity"; in this they were forgetting Mayakovski's well-known witticism to the effect that the man who is "absolutely clear" is "absolutely stupid."

The Art of Adaptation

The democratization of social relations (and also of literary policy), the proclaimed freedom of creativity, the official rejection of the theory of art as a handmaid of ideology and of the practice of ideological-political arbitration within the domains of poetry, the victory of the conception of art as an autochthonous reality--confused them only for a moment. The dogmatists were waiting ready in ambush for their moment. Deprived of political power and of the opportunity to convict without being called upon, they involuntarily adapted to

the new conditions, and have therefore been listening and waiting. At one time all powerful bureaucrats, prosecutors and judges at the same time, may now become wakeful eyes and judges on duty for literary offenses, issuing a message to those who do not agree with them: "... A struggle between us is inevitable, and that a struggle without the administrative role of government prosecutors and lawyers, but on the basis of ideological arguments."

From time to time they issue admonitions that because of a lack of vigilance, under the new conditions, "ideological forces of the past" had revived and that those to whom the destiny of socialism had been entrusted were retreating step by step.

They obviously were not in the least naive; they were prepared for the situation to change in a moment: from the ideological front they sped to the esthetic front, forgetting all the while that it is no longer a question of differences in the style of writing, but in the manner of thought. For them art is still "the subjective reflection of objective reality." (And therefore a check has to be made as to how that reality is being portrayed.)

As is usually the case, the greatest troubles came from the poets. After all, these "border guards of the infinite" erase the differences "between the possible and impossible." The danger arises where it is difficult to discover a meaning cloaked in poetic language. Is this not perhaps an introduction to "nonsense and hopelessness"?! (After all, the flood of that nonsense appears "systematic and deliberate.") It becomes increasingly difficult to discover meaning when issues have become sensational, the metaphors obviously become the firearms of the ideological enemies of our reality. The poet, then, has fallen into a trap devised in time-tested workshops.

Artistic content is equated with objective reality, and the speaker of the poem with the author's I. A fetish is made of ideology, and characteristics are attributed to objects which they lack. (Thus poems in which there is mention of a dark night is nothing other than an expression of "decadent hopelessness" and "a protest against our socialist reality.")

The once powerful and protected investigatory agencies, prosecutors, judges and critics, who are at the same time dogmatists and ideologists, are not satisfied with firing single shots after small game. Their social appetites are much greater, and the results could also be much more spectacular.

A strategy exists, the opponents have been marked, but the detailed plan of the struggle has not been worked out. After all, as is their old habit, the critic-ideologists have a template sketched out in advance by which they have won all similar battles--only this template has to be applied at the right moment. The great teacher and the strategist, the victor in all battles, has already foreseen everything.

The Model Has Been Given

The trap is set, only the moment is awaited. And the restless poet (who has already printed several books which have been both praised and disputed) has crossed the border toward that "infinity," has naively and hastily "fled into it."

The anticipated moment has come--a very unfortunate one for the poet! It happens to be a delicate moment in politics: there is a conflict with advocates of unacceptable ideological conceptions and of a "new ideology." And precisely at that moment, unfortunately, the poet has published his book. The "border guard of infinity," the explorer of language, the creator of new metaphors, the extreme "modernist," the "heretic," the "bone stuck in the throat" of the critic-dogmatists has been writing a new kind of poetry--his book represents an imaginary dialogue with a comrade who died in the war, a revolutionary.

In his incomprehensibility and nonsensicalness the poet has nevertheless been clear to the members of the ideologized critical community: the poems in the book are about realizing the young people's ideal of freedom, about our reality. Polemically oriented, it sets forth "hostile views" in "an unusually strong subjective form," so that they are "completely identified with the author's I."

The poet is sketched in the well-known and time-tested pattern: Is his book not an expression of that "new ideology"?! Not quite as yet! The critics are not so incautious and hasty: the prey is not to be let slip easily, it is only necessary to apply the given template. They have learned in past literary battles that the methods of a priori ideological discrediting have been superseded and that there is a need to "dissolve the formation" on the ideological front and reform it on the esthetic front (at least at the outset). On the basis of the esthetic analysis, the poet is an innovator in language, overloaded with new metaphors; the book is "a flood of words which has no beginning or end, an eruption of verbal...." The conclusion inexorably imposes itself, then, that the book has no artistic value! But what does it represent? Once again the template is known: the spite of the pamphleteer and (as though by the way) an anarchistic frame of mind resound in it. What has then happened to the poet? Again a tried and true conclusion: the poet has retreated in the face of the "politician," "ideologist" and "standardbearer" of a--to give it a provisional name just for now--new "ideology."

Very clever: "a provisional name just for now"! After all, the charge has yet to be supported. There, of course, follows the rule from the set diagram: the day will be saved by a collage of quotations and translations of poetry into the language of journalism:

"The basic thesis, clouded over at the beginning of the book by the rather confused reminiscences of prewar and wartime reality, events and people, as well as by the condemnation of the Cominform, given in certain sentences of the author's introduction--is exhibited as gradually and certainly as an accurately and precisely fixed attitude toward everything and every kind of thing, toward the entire socialist reality of our country."

The poet's coherent system and his "premeditation" to discredit all values and sacred things is "discovered" by measuring the lines of verse and reassembling them. One poem is judged to be the "worst poetic piece of pamphleteering ever written anywhere," and that is quite enough for an indictment. The poet "cries out" (to use his own expression) his "anarchoid truths." "Everything falls under the poet's feet, and all is within range of his spittle."

Poetry as a Crime

The esthetic analysis, then, coexists together with ideological analysis, and the speaker of the poem is consistently equated with the author's I. The template leads to one and only one logical conclusion: "a twisted conscience and a twisted view of the world" speak out of these lines of verse; the poet has passed "to the other shore--into the realm of anarchistic nonsense and anarchistic fury."

The charge is drawn up cautiously, but surely, and the associations are (only now) imposed: where else can a poet (who has crossed "to the other shore") be put except--in the camp of bearers of the "new ideology." The goal has been achieved: the poet has been driven into a tight place offering him no way out! After the objective esthetic analysis came the ideological "expert evaluation" and the logical (according to the template) conclusion: he is an enemy of this society who in his verses has falsely and maliciously been portraying our reality.

If this judgment is also to take on the dimension of an actual social crime (in any case so as to meet the democratic principle as well), the scheme envisages additional efforts. There is a need to furnish the voice of the public and an answer to the question how the book could have been published. Of course, after the disqualification has been pronounced, everything goes much more easily. The readers confirm the words of the prosecutor in a large-circulation newspaper, and another newspaper publishes a statement by a reputable critic that the poet's book of poems, like indeed his previous novel, were published "without any sort of reader's report and discussion in the literary council."

The scheme has demonstrated its infallibility (for the umpteenth time). The dangerous poet and opponent of society has been beaten. All takes place according to a well-designed scenario.

Yet there is still that saving (or proverbial)--but! Though the critic-ideologists foresaw all the details and closed the circle, and though they knew everything in advance, they forgot certain elements which were not essential at all. One of them is called: time. In their ossified and dogmatic all-seeingness they (as a rule) forgot that time, inexorably and irrecoverably, had deposited their superseded conceptions in the lumber room of antiquities and that in the altered social circumstances their methods of intimidation and discrediting were like revivals of a superseded ideology that had been imported and was by no means glorious.

Enter the Spirit of Suspicion

To their surprise, in this hybrid marriage between ideology and esthetics, a third element emerged! No one other than--the "evil spirit" who suspects and puts questions, referring all the while to the sacred principle of equal, professionally competent, free and democratic dialogue. Deprived long since of their monopoly over public expression, the dogmatist-critics were involuntarily compelled to enter into the conversation. Whether this was an attempt at a new adaptation is not essential--it is just that they had to publish the words of the "evil spirit," along with their own comment:

"We are of the opinion that a free conversation of free people is the basic condition and pledge for fuller development of literary and artistic life and for more proper resolution of all issues." This preamble was followed by the reaction of the "evil spirit" (dissident-critic) who was clever enough to throw up in the face of the prosecutors their own words, asserting that the charge against the poet is a "piece of political pamphleteering of a very poor variety: the Zhdanovites were better at writing them." He protested "against a mystification, against an unprincipled attempt to distort, to twist into its opposite the meaning of a book," and he protested "that one of our greatest living poets is being indicted as a traitor and opponent of this country."

But the "evil spirit" also showed his good side. After he had discredited his teachers, he benevolently declared that it seemed to him that this verdict against the poet had nevertheless "been written in haste far more by revulsion than analysis," adding: "I would prefer to believe that an ordinary misunderstanding is involved, so that I do not have to think of any great baseness." Nevertheless, this "evil spirit" was a bit old fashioned and patriarchal: he did not miss the chance to say propedeutically how this attack on the poet was "in any case a cultural disgrace."

Realizing that the prey was no longer certain at all, the prosecutor (in accordance with the time-tested model) resorted to his last argument: he replied to the "evil spirit" that a bad opinion of this book is also held by "a whole number of intellectuals, and that very high-level intellectuals, literary figures, public figures, cultural figures and political figures."

Nevertheless, the poet, the "border guard of infinity" (whose name should finally be mentioned)--we have been talking about Oskar Davico and his book "Covekov Covek" [A Man's Man], published in 1953--managed to have his "offense" dismissed before his party organization; he was even offered the chance to prepare the publication of the new journal in which together with those of like mind he would publish his conceptions of poetry. To the criticism that his books had been published without meeting the legal regulations he offhandedly replied that a writer's books are not examined in detail when the publisher has already published four books by him. And to the critic who obstinately argued that the poet was leaning with his right wing on the left wing of the bourgeosie, he replied in few words: "I am not a bird. And even birds don't fly that way."

Some 15 years later (now a classic who, under the influence of the inexorable laws of biology, has been able at times to repeat the errors of his own prosecutors) he published his collected works in which the transcribed words of his defense stand as a warning against a short memory:

"No one has ever anywhere, here or in the world, in writing about books, used such esthetic descriptions, but, yes, Vyshinsky in his closing speech in one of the Stalinist trials. Except that Vyshinsky did not write literary criticism, but was looking for heads in his role as a bloodthirsty public prosecutor."

P.S. The various quotations, data and views in this article illustrating the particular theoretical conceptions were taken from the writings of Marin Franicevic, Radomir Konstantinovic, Zoran Misic, Oskar Davico, Dusan Matic, Boro Drenovac, Voja Rehar, Purisa Perovic, Tanasije Mladenovic and Eli Finc, published in the period between 1948 and 1954. Some of these authors have altogether or considerably changed their literary convictions in their later writings.

Earlier Attacker Regrets Outcome

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1605, 4 Oct 81 p 40

[Article by Stevan Stanic: "One Bitter Taste After Another"]

[Text] Quite a bit of time has passed since the trial of the poet Gojko Djogo, and 2 weeks since the verdict was announced in the District Court in Belgrade which proclaimed the author of "Vunena vremena" guilty of the hostile act of propaganda under Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code and sentenced him to 2 years in prison. By the established newsman's rules concerning freshness and topicality, this late comment ought not to appear. It ought not to have except for the certain taste of wormwood which lasts much longer, even in the author of these lines, who himself very fiercely condemned that book in the pages of this journal.

This was a hasty revulsion which the collection "Vunena vremena" evoked at once. A revulsion which in perhaps its initial ferocity drove many people to alter their inherent and natural style, and drove the author of these lines to be surprised himself when a few days ago he again read that he had written that the poet Djogo "with poisonous canine teeth rends everything, uses everything to scratch himself by rubbing against it, shakes everything, tears everything...," hoping to represent to Djogo himself what his style, in which he writes about others, looks like when the writing is about him. One bitter taste after another! Probably nothing more painful at this point.

But now everything is becoming quite different, when a young man, a poet, whom we have awarded and supported, is going off to serve his 2-year sentence, to be separated from his wife and children for 2 years, with all the other consequences.... That is stronger than anything. One always remembers the epilogue, the rest is forgotten.

But, couldn't we say--sorry, that was not the way we worked it out. At the moment when many very fierce and embittered lines appeared in the pages of many newspapers, including those which this author wrote for NIN, none of the authors of those articles probably had the intention nor supposition that it would end up in a court trial and prison. Hadn't an atmosphere more difficult for the young poet to bear than any conviction been created in the public without "mutual agreement"?

Why, then, did the official court make its appearance? In confirming by its own means what the public had already done, did it not express its lack of confidence in that public, did it not discredit that public in some manner? We see no other reasons it might have had. There was no need to ban the book, the publisher himself had immediately withdrawn it from sale, and certain editors had been discharged over the case. It could not have disturbed the public, since only some 30 copies or so had reached it.

Thus, instead of a possible polemics "about the possible polysemy of poetry" (if there was anyone left who doubted his first emotional condemnations of the collection) continuing in the public, the polemics began before the court and here it inevitably appeared in its distorted form. Isn't that why certain well-known editors, poets and reviewers, who in the trial gave different testimony from what they had previously given to newsmen and the investigators, risking even the outcome of their own hypocrisy and vacillation, began to withdraw and to openly contradict themselves, apparently without regret. Did they not do this out of a resistance to having their statements uttered for the public used now as evidence in court?

But if none of us can doubt the good intentions of the court even when the trial has already begun to influence the outcome, especially in order to mitigate that wormwood which we ourselves tasted--we must nevertheless say that it seems to us that we all unfortunately let slip what we might call a great opportunity to bring the case to an end in a democratic way, without participation of the court. Is there not a threat after this missed occasion that in some similar "case" to come we will only sit on as observers in the quiet: and all else is silence?

University Paper's Satiric View

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 7 Oct 81 p 11

[Article by Pavle Grubjesic: "Having No Siberia"]

[Text] Our daily newspapers often have a feature called the "black chronicle." These words are printed at the top of those pages where brave correspondents report on the inexhaustible wealth of everyday wonders, such as: rapes, patricides, infanticides, excesses of passionate jealousy, robberies of post offices and banks (though it is not altogether clear to us what there is in our banks to take), traffic accidents, and, of course, those few wayward, but "dangerous" enemies of the state. In warning the readers beforehand, it is the custom for the correspondents to express horror and put the age-old questions about the limits of human amorality.

We are persuaded that culture has for a long time been thirsting for a "black chronicle" feature, and in starting one, we have only a coincidence to thank for the fact that its first report, in the spirit of the tradition, deals with material from a meeting, shamefacedly takes a "case" which has already been dealt with in the annals of the "black chronicles" of the daily press.

The poet Gojko Djogo was recently sentenced to 2 years in prison for "hostile propaganda." In rendering that decision the court stated in concrete terms the opinion of the workingman, specifically and above all the opinion of that workingman in the Prosveta warehouse who "reported" the book "Vunena vremena" as suspicious. It is interesting that those "public figures" who were so touchingly horrified at the "cuckoo eggs" at the commencement of the affair did not react to this decision. Modestly concluding, we suppose, that we have no Siberia, that Deliblatska Pescara is small, that Perucica is tame, and Ivanjica fairly well developed; it appears that they are quite satisfied by those two miserable years.

Since we have not read the book, nor did we attend the trial, and we do not have the honor to know either the poet Gojko or the judge Venjamin, we do not feel an inclination to quote from Marx, Engels, Lenin or Tito: we are forced to put a few layman's questions on the basis of what we have learned from the mass media.

a) Is it a hostile act and an act of propaganda to offer a book of poems to a publisher? (From the standpoint of the government, and this Plato himself knew, all poems are hostile; from the standpoint of our constitution, it seems to me, no one can be called to account for verses which he has written in his notebook). Let us remember that the collection "Vunena vremena" was not published by Gojko Djogo, but by Prosveta, who, then, was responsible for printing and disseminating this "hostile propaganda material."

b) Did the indictment have a single witness who would confirm the charges it contained?

c) Would a court trial be instituted against, say, Miljkovic (on the basis of my report), who wrote that Yugoslavia is the Cape of Good Hope and in that line jeopardized our traditionally good relations with the African countries and cast under suspicion our policy of peaceful coexistence by an obvious claim to the territory of the cape that was mentioned?

d) Does the court share the opinion that freedom is a perceived necessity?

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ADVOCACY OF 'STRONG FEDERAL CABINET' RESEARCHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1605, 4 Oct 81 pp 9-11

[Article by Aleksandar Novacic]

[Text] The idea of "a strong executive council" generates a number of other important questions on the functioning of the Yugoslav system.

Mitja Ribicic, in an interview with VJESNIK a few days ago, again appealed for a strong government in Yugoslavia: "If today we were to ask self-management officials whether they favored a strong federal government, they probably would answer yes. But a condition would then have to be placed to that affirmation. A government would have to be created that would correspond to the interests of the Yugoslav economy's associated labor system, and not to those of individual republics, regions or narrow interests."

This is not the first time that Ribicic has raised this question, just as he is not alone in the initiatives that from time to time come out in public, particularly in situations such as the present. Most often they refer to one of the ideas that authors think will contribute to a more effective system, and that will make it possible to emerge from economic and other difficulties.

The thesis about a strong government was a direct opportunity for a conversation that we conducted about that and other questions with the presidents of the Executive Council of the Yugoslav Assembly, Stana Tomesevic-Arnesen, and of the Council of Republics and Provinces, Zoran Polic.

The Republics' Influence is Too Pronounced

"What does a strong government mean?" Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen asked herself. "To me, a strong government is one that performs its functions in a competent way. The areas of competency of the Federal Executive Council are determined by the Constitution, and there no changes are to be made. When I say a strong government, then, I mean a capable, qualified team, and I must state that, besides the majority of Federal Executive Council members who work capably, there are a number who do not measure up to these high demands. In quality, the Federal Executive Council must be on a higher level, but as far as competence and duties are concerned, there is nothing to be changed."

In the opinion of the president of the Federal Council, the Federal Executive Council as a whole must to the highest degree reflect the status of Yugoslav needs. The influence of the republics and provinces is still too pronounced, "but this is a period of maturing. This is perhaps the first time that such heavy responsibilities have fallen upon the Federal Executive Council, and as soon as it has to make the decisions, it will be able to make them."

Zoran Polic, the president of the Council of Republics and Provinces, agrees that "we need a strong government," but he immediately adds "and a strong assembly." To be specific, if it were demanded that the government be more authoritative, and the assembly were to stay as it is today, then the Federal Executive Council would somehow "be left hanging in the air."

Polic said: "It is now happening that the federal government is at times indecisive in approving certain regulations and measures, and comes to the assembly late or infrequently. Concerning the delegate assembly, it is not aggressive enough in approving the overall policy that is essential at the present time."

Question: It is not easy to answer as to what the causes are, for probably there is no single, exclusive cause, but rather a whole chain of factors. But where do you see the main problem?

Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen: "There are some objective factors, some faults. Why is workers' self-management in stagnation, and since it is in stagnation, does that mean that it is going backwards? What has led to the situation where now the delegate system in the opstina and the local community is not making itself felt? That is not from a lack of legal regulations; there are enough of them. I think that the basic hindrance is in slow and inconsistent implementation of resolutions. This is a sort of national malady, and the Federal Executive Council cannot be exempted from blame. As a society, we are weak in concentrating on implementation, in sticking to the contract, in insisting on it....

"It is essential that we eliminate parcelization. Every separate entity has its own bit of power, - the labor organization, the opstina, the region and the republic, the province. Two dangers emerge from this. The first is that every republic decides its problems without regard to the situation in Yugoslavia as a whole."

Polic: "It happens here that a republic exports raw materials to foreign countries while another republic buys those same raw materials abroad, at a higher price. This is because the materials are produced in one republic, while the processors are in another republic, and every one looks out for himself. The other danger is that parcelization spawns a terrible centralism. We can confirm that by looking at the list of measures that the Federal Executive Council has already approved, or which it will be considering. The republics and provinces should resolve all these issues among themselves. Instead of that, bit by bit agreements are being replaced by measures of the Federal Executive Council. Governmental agencies are becoming stronger and stronger."

Polic considers that the system for making agreements is not functioning effectively because "agreements are being sought about things that are not the subjects for agreements. For example, agreements are made on the distribution of foreign

exchange, but one cannot distribute foreign exchange without first earning foreign exchange income. In Yugoslavia we seek agreements about foreign exchange, but not about Yugoslavia's priorities."

In recent assembly debates, the delegates were much sharper in criticizing that, but now could they do otherwise: the data was presented that of 45 essential agreements, that should be put into the third part of the Yugoslav social plan, only two had been concluded. The fate of the rest is unknown.

A Long Journey Into Uncertainty

In the assembly debate Zvone Dragan, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, suggested several chief reasons for the failure of the agreement system to function. He said:

"When we are dealing with general policy, the system of reaching agreements still seems to work somehow, but when we come to concrete details such as who will produce everything and with what raw materials, with what money, an insufficient readiness to put obligations into concrete form emerges...."

It now appears that there is a long and complicated path from an idea to a social agreement. That path is also very uncertain, for often the original idea has very little similarity to its final form as a joint proposal. The winds that are blowing along the way stations of that route are at times so strong that the entire composition is knocked off the basic pathway. What is the path to an agreement? First, ideas are taken by specialists in federal, republic and province administrations. They process and formulate them. Since they are directly influenced by republic and province interests, they strive at this initial phase to put in as many of their own positions as possible in the future joint agreement. A remark that is often heard is that the proposal at this level are colored by technocratic interests, and the base has no influence on them.

In the second phase, inter-republic committees of the Federal Executive Council come onto the scene. Here the political interests of the republics and provinces are markedly more pronounced, but the group of people involved in the discussions is somewhat broader; it is dominated by politicians. Many ideas are stopped right here. Current practice has shown that this is the most difficult stage at which to reach an agreement. The work of these inter-republic committees is not only distant from the public, but also distant from the assembly delegates. Thus, Mustafa Sabic recently asserted: "I do not remember ever receiving any report from those inter-republic committees, and therefore I do not know anything concrete and I cannot affect an agreement in any way."

If the initial idea somehow manages to pass through this labyrinth (and often in the process it takes on the form of a compromise that everyone rejects), the negotiations continue in the so-called coordination committee of the Federal Executive Council. Here political appeals and persuasion are used to attempt to find a common language for details on which agreement has not yet been reached.

Finally, the formulated proposal reaches the Federal Executive Council. Although the greatest part of the route has been traveled, sometimes this is precisely where the idea gets stuck. True, the atmosphere should be different, for the Federal

Executive Council is supposed to be a unified team, but so far results of negotiations support those critics who, in pointing out the ineffectiveness of this body, assert somewhat ironically that the Federal Executive Council operates more as some committee for the economy of "some imaginary government."

Assuming the now thoroughly hypothetical notion that this obstacle as well has been surmounted, the proposal reaches the Yugoslav Assembly, where in task forces, committees and finally, in the Council of Republics and Provinces, a decision is made. Since the interests of the delegate base are more directly present in the Assembly, one can imagine the sort of debates that take place. But practice shows that a proposal for a social agreement seldom makes it as far as the Assembly. Usually, it is rejected before that step.

The fact that the system of seeking agreements is long and complicated under normal circumstances should not be regarded as a matter of particular interest. In the final analysis, it is a question of one of the essential characteristics of self-management and social property. Kardelj once warned that it is better not to reach an agreement than to accept it under pressure and hurriedly.

Unfortunately, the current situation in the Yugoslav economy can hardly be called normal. When we are sailing at full sail toward general insolvency, it is essential that agreements be reached about at least those things that constitute the material foundation of the Yugoslav community. Incidentally, so that the federation not be paralyzed precisely by that sort of disagreement between the republics and provinces, the Constitution provides for the Federal Executive Council, with the approval of the Presidium, to adopt temporary measures. Kardelj saw that as an expression of a political crisis, but today, under the pressure of accumulated difficulties, he regards that somewhat more loosely.

[Inset, p 10] Delegations and Republic Leadership

Zoran Polic: We do not have a strong Assembly.

At first glance, the delegations now seem quite independent. Nevertheless, they do not venture to oppose the political leadership in their republic or province, to take a stand that contradicts the political leadership's position. As long as the delegations are under the direct influence of the day-to-day current policy decisions of that leadership, and not guided by the long-term interests of their constituencies, it will be difficult to eliminate factionalism and affirm the role of the Council of republics and provinces.

[Main text] Should There be Temporary Measures or Not

Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen: "We have shunned temporary measures twice. Somehow they overburden us. But if the problems are not resolved, if active involvement is not maintained, then I will support temporary measures.

On the question as to whether we are presently about to approve temporary measures, she responded that that is probably the case, and that to do so would not be any tragedy. "If according to the Constitution the Federal Executive Council has that right, why not?"

Polic told us, "I fear that by constantly seeking temporary measures, we will strengthen the anti-self-management mechanism." He believes that precisely for that reason, the negotiation system should have one more possibility in the form of an arbitration body in the Assembly that, prior to the approval of temporary measures, would try once more to find an acceptable common solution.

At the comment that since 1974 temporary measures have been used only once, the president of the Council of Republics and Provinces waved his hand and said, "We have approved some regulations under the threat of those measures."

Polic continued, "I think it is a weakness that the Federal Executive Council works that way. I am opposed to those inter-republic committees. They should be held closely within the limits of their responsibilities, and those include implementing laws or other Assembly documents and acts, and functioning as an advisory body to the Federal Executive Council. The inter-republic committees should never be the body that has the obligation of examining agreements or documents that are going to the Assembly for final reconciliation and approval. That is the greatest mistake that has been made in recent years. The only body that should perform such reconciliation is the Assembly, and the Federal Executive Council proposals should go to the Assembly immediately. Then let the delegates negotiate over them there, in public view. Then the needs for temporary measures will really be reduced to the minimum. That is the only way to firm up the self-management policy line, and to restrict government to the functions and tasks given it by the Constitution."

Polic further stated: "The problem, however, is not only with agreements 'at the top.' There are thousands of agreements among labor organizations that should be eliminated. The public defender for self-management should oppose all those agreements that are fictitious, that cause confusion, and yet do not resolve the fundamental problems of our society. He must seek to have them annulled. It is impossible to have labor organizations making agreements on prices, on foreign exchange and directly connected trade, for such agreements are made to the harm of the basic principles of the Yugoslav system."

[Picture caption, p 10] Zoran Polic: "The essence of the problem is the parcelization of Yugoslavia."

[Picture caption, p 11] Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen: "I believe deeply in the system."

[Inset, column 1, p 11] The Djuranovic Example

Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen: "Those members of the Federal Executive Council remind me of--Christ. We are constantly crucifying them. Yet they are people of flesh and blood, who have their families, their hopes and ambitions. Let me see the genius whom you can divide in two and who will then say: 'Well, now I will sacrifice myself and my republic?' Apparently that could only happen during a war. "I agree with the idea that we should struggle for the positions of Federal Executive Council members that have their starting point in Yugoslav interests. But we should do that in the republics, and we should dispose of the notion that if someone in the government fights for the interests of his republic, he is bad and should be replaced. Objectively, such pressures do exist, and we cannot run away from them. We have enough of that as it is. There are few like Djuranovic for example, who

came out openly against Montenegrin interests in the discussion on assessing the damages of the earthquake. But he has the support, he could do that."

A System or a Policy

Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen: "Things really are not going as we foresaw. 'We have driven the czar to the wall.' In that, however, there is a positive factor. The process of coming to our senses has begun. A positive social climate is being created in which it is apparent that we no longer have resources to throw away, we cannot continue to do as we did before, we can no longer contract limitless debts, and there have been enough slogans....

"Imagine a family with six children. It knows how much income it will receive, how much it needs for food, how much a pair of shoes costs, and how many coats will have to be bought. But it also knows how deep the pocket is, and who will have to do without a coat this winter, and who will get none next winter. That is how a family does it, but as a society we are far from being a family, even though that sort of money management is precisely what is needed.

"The economists can argue this simple example in a thousand ways. Yugoslavia's indebtedness gets ever greater, and the payments deficit increases while exports fall and demand on domestic markets goes up, productivity declines and much money is spent outside the regular economy."

Under the pressure of these difficulties, we hear more and more often the question: "Is the system to blame, and how much, and how much is the implementation of the system at fault?"

Stana Tomasevic-Arnesen replied: "I am not among those who say that we live in the best of all possible worlds." She added, "I am deeply convinced that the system is not to blame. The present system needs some corrections. They are necessary, first of all, because of changing realities, and secondly, because of our new perceptions and better vision."

In her opinion, we are now in a transition period, although it has come rather late. "Now everything is pressing on us, including domestic difficulties and the international situation. We must keep our nerves under control and turn to accomplish our tasks. Not because I am some sort of romantic, but from long experience, I know what this people is prepared for and what it can be capable of doing. We are truly in a terribly difficult situation, but for me it is more significant not to talk about our difficulties, but to resolve them. The time of the 'easy does it' society is, I believe, gone forever."

Polic agrees with her opinion. He said: "The system is not to blame, the culprits are poor organization, inadequate measures and lack of responsibility, and poor policies. When I speak about the system, I think about the essence, and I do not swear by every paragraph or every word. For example, I think that the Law on Associated Labor has many complex facets, and it should be simplified."

It is characteristic that both discussants believed that the Yugosla public is not sufficiently aware of the gravity of the economic situation. They believe that data should be brought out into the open. Thinking of informing the public, Polic said, "Here in Yugoslavia everything is either all rosy or all black."

There is no clear conception about what should be done, and at this time, that is the crucial question, for people see new warnings practically every day, with criticism of large investments, overindebtedness, and expenditures. They do not, however, see who will stop it, who will say "enough."

Polic stated: "For me it is essential to conduct a decisive, political battle to create a unified perception of our prospects, a joint basis for a so-called stabilization policy. If we really want such stabilization, we must reach an agreement on the political structure. We must accommodate the social plan to it, and the republics will have to change their plans accordingly. We will have to expect certain material sacrifices."

We asked Polic about the type of political structure he had in mind.

Polic: "I see both presidia, the League of Communists, and the coming party congress as being needed. The political unity that is needed has not been fully achieved, and it will be required to determine the direction in which a stabilization policy should be sought. There the Assembly will also have its role as the constitutionally designated axis for social agreement. The task forces of the Assembly should contain representatives of the SAWPY, the Central Committee, the chambers and the trade unions.

[Question] Do they come?

[Answer] Very seldom, very seldom. I have been here for 8 years, and I could count the number of times they have come to the Council on my fingers. They come even more rarely to the committee meetings.

[Inset, column 3, p 11] How I See "A Strong Government"

Zoran Polic: "I see it in decisive implementation of the tasks that are entrusted to it by the Constitution and systematic laws. Without any vacillation, without long discussions, it should implement the acts for which it is responsible and for which possibilities exist.

"Further, a strong government should represent the collective, and here the special interests of the republic should not be seen at all. Naturally, their interests in a negative sense, i.e., I as a member of the Federal Executive Council should not propose only that which accommodates my own republic.

"Is that realistic? Yes, absolutely. I am speaking from experience, I have been a member of the Federal Executive Council. It never entered my mind in that position to do something extraordinary for Slovenia, to favor it. A person can join that collective, the government, only to the extent that he is sufficiently conscious of the meaning of the community and community spirit, to be capable of distancing himself from everything that is not in the interests of the entire community, of Yugoslavia.

"To create a strong government means to be decisive in the duty, as president of the Federal Executive Council, of telling a person who cannot behave in this way that his services are no longer required, thank you. I am firmly convinced that

the republics and provinces have a key role in the Federal Executive Council, but also, the president of the government or of the Assembly has the right to insist that individuals who do not respect and further the interests of the whole community, but represent their own republic or narrower political unit, should leave the Federal Executive Council. So far, we have not come to that, because the government has not been strong. That is its basic weakness, and the reason why it has been indecisive in approving certain measures."

12131
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PRE-CONGRESS DISCUSSION OF LCY STATUTE CHANGES

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 81 p 8

[Article by Milivoje Tomasevic: "A Look at the Party Summit"]

[Text] It is already quite apparent that the Statute of the LCY will undergo a number of changes in the forthcoming party congress. These changes are connected in a most basic way to Comrade Tito. One was brought about by Tito's death, because the office of President of the LCY no longer exists. In addition, a suitable solution which will provide for the implementation of Tito's initiative concerning collective labor and decisionmaking must be entered into the Statute.

Atticles 72, 73, and 74 of the LCY Statute, which refer to the historic role of Comrade Tito and to his election as President of the LCY without a limitation on the duration of his mandate, will, consequently, be omitted. The powers and duties of the LCY President will be transferred to the authority of the LCY. One of the most important innovations is the proposal to point out the historic role of Josip Broz Tito in the introduction, the preamble of the LCY Statute.

Judging by the proposals and discussions which have taken place up to now, in addition to the changes just cited, which will necessarily require the alteration of a number of articles (initiatives on collective labor should be interwoven into the majority of statutory regulations), one must also expect there to be several dozen more small changes.

More essential changes in the future organization of the forums and organs of the LCY are not expected. Namely, there will not be great changes in normative regulation (prescription), but the necessity of advancing and further developing the methods and the substance of the work of the organs of the LCY should be emphasized. The Central Committee, the Presidium, and all other organs and organizations, especially the basic organizations of the LC, must perform with greater efficiency; it is necessary to strengthen the active connection between the organs of the LC, to develop democratic relations and ties with the masses.

The Conference of the League of Communists Cannot Be a Permanent Form of Organization

However, let us take things in order. It has been proposed that the congress remain the highest organ of the LCY, that it be convened every 4 years, and that

it be composed, as it has been up to now, of delegates chosen proportionate to the number of LC members, and a certain number of delegates chosen in congresses, or in LCY republic and regional conferences, and in those of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army.

Since the LCY congress is preceded by LC congresses of the republics and by conferences of the LC in regions and in the LC organizations of the Yugoslav People's Army, it is not considered necessary to select a large number of delegates for the LCY congress, especially since it must have more of a working that a festive character.

The initiative concerning the possibility of convening LCY conferences between two congresses in order to deal with especially important problems was settled in the Statutory Commission of the LCY, as the Central Committee can no organize any form of communist meeting also, which means that it can convene LCY conferences as well. Therefore, as has been said, it is not particulary necessary to provide for conferences in the Statutes, especially considering that conferences should not be a permanent form of organization.

The Central Committee must continue to remain the "highest organ of the LCY between the two congresses." The number of members of the Central Committee (165) and the manner of their composition (20 from each republic and 15 from each province and organization of the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army) need not be changed. Meetings of the Central Committee of the LCY would be convened by the Presidium, and a working predisium consisting of five members, including the president and the secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, would preside over them.

A More Significant Role for the Central Committee of the LCY

In past discussions, it has been especially emphasized that one must strengthen the role and responsibility of the Central Committee of the LCY for the implementation of policy adopted in the congress because, in the present Statutes and operating procedures, more is said and greater detail is given about the duties and the role of the Presidium and less is said about the role of the Central Committee of the LCY.

Naturally, everything cannot be standardized, but the spirit of new changes demands that, in the future, the Central Committee consider current ideo-political and socio-economic problems more frequently; all members of the Central Committee must be more occupied with preparation for meetings; there must be more dialogue at meetings, and the Central Committee must take positions at the appropriate time concerning all problems important to the fate of the country, it must establish policy and initiate actions, and it must (and this is extremely important) oversee the implementation of policy.

It has been proposed that the role and duties of the LCY Central Committee members be determined more precisely. Although chosen in a republic congress, a provincial conference, or in a League of Communist organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, a member of the Central Committee first of all should be a member of the highest organ of the LCY, with rights and responsibilities to the entire

LCY. He must be independent in his activities and decisions, and he must bear responsibility for his work.

Against Federalism in the LCY

It is noted in the LCY Statutes that members of the Central Commiteee of the LCY are responsible to the Central Committee and to the LCY congress for their work. There are, however, proposals to include an additional formulation which would, in essence, mean that members of the LCY Central Committee be responsible to the forums which elected them and that they be obliged to consult with them on the occassion of taking positions and making decisions. This would, as evaluated in the Statutory Commission of the LCY, signify the introduction of the principle of delegate decisionmaking in the LCY, which would not be in accord with the principle of democratic centralism, which the League of Commnists does not intend to abandon.

After the role of the Central Committee becomes stronger, it would be normal to demand from its members a more active relationship toward problems of mutual interest and importance for the working class and for Yugoslavia. It is necessary, therefore, to affirm the right of members of the Central Committee of the LCY to come forward in the entire LCY, to seek information, and to attend meetings of the basic organizations and organs of the LC in all republics and regions.

It also has been proposed that a member of the Central Committee of the LCY should be given the right to set in motion an initiative for convening a meeting of the LCY Central Committee. Such an initiative and its justification might be considered by the Presidium; and, if it were not accepted, the reason would have to be given in a meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

The Central Committee of the LCY, at the proposal of a commission selected especially for this, chooses from its members its executive and political organ, that is, the Presidium. The number of members of the Presidium and its basic structure (three members from each republic, two from each province, and one from the Yugoslav People's Army) should be left as it is.

The dilemna as to whether the Presidium should be exclusively a political and executive organ of the Central Committee of the LCY or an organ of the LCY will probably be decided so that preference is given to the first proposal. It also has been proposed that the Presidium not "direct the work of the LCY Central Committee" (which was the duty of the president of the LCY) but "organize the work of the Central Committee of the LCY."

The authority of the president of the LCY to initiate discussions of current problems with the most responsible officials and to coordinate their work will probably be formulated so that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY can allow the idea of discussing certain current problems together with other organs. The political coordination of the activity of socio-political organizations should be carried out in the Presidium of the federal conference of the SAWPY instead of in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, and all of the most responsible officials of the Federation should participate in the work of that organ. It is understood that the coordination and the taking of

positions concerning open ido-political questions be carried out in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, and questions concerning state policy in the Presidium of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yogoslavia.

The Role of the Executive Secretaries

Impelmentation of the established policy and of decisions is one of the weakest points in the work of all organs in the LC. In past discussions, it has been stressed that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY in the future ought to be occupied to a greater extent with carrying out the positions and policies of the LCY. This, however, also depends upon the composition of the Presidium because, if enough members there also are, at the same time, officials in other organs, then they, objectively, cannot be completely occupied with the duties of the Presidium.

That is why, on order to accomplish the goal of increasing the effectiveness of implementing adopted positions, it has been proposed that the Presidium have a certain number of people who will be engaged in the operative implementation of the duties and resolutions of the Presidium, who will oversee the activity of the LC in carrying out those resolutions, and who will make certain observations from the base of the LC and the institutions of the system.

Consequently, it is considered necessary to preserve the function of the executive secretaries, along with the fact that there should be some changes made in the nature of their work because there are many divisional separations and exclusive operations and, here and there, also are overlaps in their work.

The question also has been raised as to whether it would be possible to proceed into an institutional organization of the Executive Secretariat of the Presidium. This would mean, however, the creation of two executive organs, so it has been considered that it is better to stabilize the working agreements of the executive secretaries (which ought to be organized more often by the secretary of the Presidium) in which their work will be directed and coordinated, to agree to and to coordinate the activities especially in carrying out positions which have been adopted. It is especially important that the executive secretaries use the communist aktivs to a greater extent and that they discuss the forumlation and implementation of LC policy there, which presents a real possibility to engage more personnel in the creation of this policy.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1946

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CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Biographic Profile of Scientist Azarya Polikarov
(OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 13 Oct 81)..... 1

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG Writers Invited To Attend East Berlin 'Peace Congress'
(DER SPIEGEL, 26 Oct 81)..... 3

Current Avant-Garde Art Phenomena Examined
(Karin Thomas; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Aug 81)..... 5

POLAND

ZNP Position on Draft of Self-Government Laws Expressed
(GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, 30 Aug 81)..... 9

ZNP Science Section Conference Reported
(GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, 26 Oct 80)..... 15

VII National Conference of Science, ZNP, by K. Rog
Resolutions of VIII ZNP Science Section Conference

PZPR Publication Reviews, Comment on Current Issues
(FAKTY I KOMENTARZE, 31 Jul 81)..... 23

Facts of the Week
Economic Situation After First Half-Year
Animal Production
Meaning of 'Anarchosyndicalism'
Remarks for Readers

ROMANIA

Author Accused of 'Slander Against Romanian Genius'
(Ioan Eremia Albescu, Stefan Ispas; FLACARA, 3 Sep 81)..... 33

Origin of Hungarians Living in Moldavia
(V. M. Ungureanu; FLACARA, 3 Sep 81)..... 38

YUGOSLAVIA

Origins of Kosovo Troubles Traced in Military Journal
(VOJNO DELO, May-Jun 81)..... 42

Lessons Drawn From Events, by Muhamed Kesetovic
Background in International Law, by Gavro Perazic

Slovenes' Attitudes Toward Newcomer Workers Surveyed
(Svetislav Spasojevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
27 Sep 81)..... 59

BIOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SCIENTIST AZARYA POLIKAROV

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 13 Oct 81 p 4

[Text] In a reality where antifascism was not a matter of speculation, but of vital conviction, Azarya Polikarov became a member of the RMS [Workers Youth Union] as early as 1935. In 1944 this youthful life naturally led him to the ranks of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

His scientific interests developed side-by-side with his sociopolitical maturing. When he was only 19 years old, he published his first book: "Introduction to the Theory of Relativity." An interesting fact from his scientific correspondence is the letter he wrote in 1939 to Albert Einstein, to which the great physicist replied:

Before graduating in physics from Moscow State University, Azarya Polikarov wrote the books "From Copernicus to Einstein," "In Defense of Science," and the two volumes of "The Atom and the Universe," after that, his work "Dialectical Materialism and Contemporary Physics" was published. As a scientific collaborator in the BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences] and an instructor in the University of Sofia, he prepared "Matter and Cognition," and later as a professor in the BAN (1962), his well-known monograph "Relativity and Quanta" was published and he defended his doctor's dissertation at the Academy of Sciences in the USSR.

In 1972-1973, Azarya Polikarov published the two volumes of his "Methodology of Scientific Cognition." It was this fundamental monograph that brought him a great recognition--the Dimitrov Prize.

The international scientific community knows him not only as a member of the International Institute of Philosophy, but also as a participant in numerous congresses and symposia as well as an author, translated and published in other languages: "Relativity and Quanta," "Problems of Scientific Cognition," "Science and Philosophy." He is on the editorial boards of several specialized scientific magazines: PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT (Bulgaria), EPISTEMOLOGY (Italy),

NATURE AND SYSTEM (United States). He has delivered lectures in the USSR, the GDR, Cuba, Belgium, and Denmark. For 10 years now he has been in charge of the Center for Scientific Information at BAN.

Together with his two new books "Science and the Contemporary World," and "Essays on Methodology of Science," 1981 brought to him a great scientific and civic distinction--the title of People's Scientist.

The creative, scientific quests and achievements of Azarya Polikarov are predominantly in the field of the philosophical problems of the natural sciences and mainly in physics, methodology of scientific cognition and its heuristics (Specific mechanisms of the discoverer's thinking and the creative process). The reader could find more detailed information about the jubilee's scientific interests and research on the pages of the magazine PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT, Issue 8, 1981. There, among the other things, it is said, "To his friends, Polikarov is a man with a subtle sense of humor, but this special feature of his character often finds expression in his handling of methodological problems."

Einstein considered the sense of humor as a part of genius, and according to many researchers, it is one of the qualities related to the creative process. I would add only that the sense of humor seems to be heuristic of longevity too if we consider the fact that the "laughing philosopher" Democritus was a centenarian and maybe the longest lived of the great ancient thinkers. Let us wish Azarya Polikarov a true Democritus' longevitiy.

9804
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FRG WRITERS INVITED TO ATTEND EAST BERLIN 'PEACE CONGRESS'

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 44, 26 Oct 81 pp 23-24

/Unattributed 'Disarmament' feature article: "Overriding Interests--Writers from GDR and FRG Intend to Get Together in Mid-November at the East Berlin Peace Congress"/

/Text/ The West German signers of the "peace appeal of European writers" got some mail from East Berlin in early October. Their GDR colleague, Stephan Hermlin, invited them to a peace congress of European authors in the GDR on 17 and 18 November.

Those invited are still trying to play down the political significance of the letter. "It is a private invitation," said the secretary-general of the West German PEN center, Martin Gregor-Dellin and Guenter Grass, too, maintains it is "a private letter."

But it is not only the locale of the meeting --the arts academy in East Berlin, a government building-- that speaks for the fact that Hermlin's peace initiative enjoys the backing of the GDR leadership.

The SED is also breaking a taboo. To be sure, there have been contacts between East and West German writers in the past; but these were restricted to the "private sphere," as the chairman of the West German writers' league puts it. Official gatherings involving the two associations have been forestalled by the East Berlin functionaries up to now.

Over the past few weeks, there had been a number of signs indicating a growing interest on the part of the GDR in literary contacts between the two Germanys.

All members of the presidium of the East Berlin writers' league, for example, signed the peace appeal of European writers.

And in late September, Hermann Kant, the president of the GDR writers' league, took part in the delegates' conference of the West German writers' league for the first time. Until then, the East German officials had turned down any such contacts by pointing to the absence of a formal cultural agreement.

When anxious colleagues at home asked Kant whether his participation was in the best interests of the GDR, he told them unequivocally: "There are such things as superior interests."

And as for these, GDR chief Erich Honecker made clear exactly what they were in a speech to graduates of the military academy last week. The GDR, he said, has nothing but respect and sympathy for "the citizens of the imperialist countries" who are protesting "against the planned stationing of new American medium-range missiles and neutron warheads in Western Europe."

It also appears that the GDR stands ready to make far-reaching concessions in order to strengthen the West European peace movement. Jurek Becker, the GDR writer who lives in West Berlin, puts it this way: "Things are being discussed that have not been discussed in this way in the GDR before."

Nor will the GDR leadership be able to avoid making concessions in the issuance of visas. Because the East Berlin authorities were miffed about the close contacts between Frank-Wolf Matthies, the young GDR writer whom they expelled early this year, and Guenter Grass, they have since refused to admit Grass into the GDR.

One thing in particular that speaks for the GDR leadership's interest in having the conference take place is the fact that the GDR writers' league does not figure as its organizer. The league's president, Hermann Kant, is not only heartily disliked by many GDR authors for toeing the party line; he also is considered to be one of those responsible for the expulsion of many writers critical of the regime from the organization.

But Hermlin, who was jointly responsible for the Biermann petition in 1976 in which GDR authors protested against the expulsion of the songwriter, enjoys the confidence of writers in both East and West Germany.

In deciding to accept Hermlin as the organizer of the conference, the SED leadership not only managed to avoid confrontation beforehand but has also left itself a way out. "If there is an awful lot of criticism," one GDR observer says, "they can still call the whole thing off."

9478
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CURRENT AVANT-GARDE ART PHENOMENA EXAMINED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 14 No 8, Aug 81 signed to press 24 Jul 81 pp 804-807

['Commentaries and Current Topics' feature article by Karin Thomas, consultant, DuMont publishing house, Cologne, author of work on avant-garde art: "In Search of an Avant-Garde Art in Today's GDR"]

[Text] In the spring of 1981, I had an opportunity to take a lengthy trip to the GDR to look at art and which was to provide me with information about the existence and the development of avant-garde tendencies in the present-day GDR art.

It seemed to make the most sense to me to start my trip in Leipzig, since that city had acquired the reputation of an art metropolis in the seventies while the celebrated art instructors Werner Tuebke, Bernhard Heisig and Wolfgang Mattheuer were active there. In recognition of the pioneer role the three Leipzig painters had played in modernizing the East German view of realitynot only in their work but also in the academic field, I first concentrated on the students of Tuebke, Heisig and Mattheuer to see whether there were any signs of painting in the GDR developing further along progressive lines. But, what I was looking for I did not find in the immediate sphere of the academy for graphics and typography.

The most striking thing about the work of the students at the Leipzig academy for a West German visitor is that they are reminiscent of Dadaist photo collages and abstract expressionism. A student of Hartwig Ebersbach's, an assistant professor for photography who rather likes to experiment and who just received permission to attend the Basel art show, expressed avid interest in the different directions in which Western photography is headed. As we were talking, it became clear that photographers in the GDR must forego many experiments into the various aspects of the medium for lack of the proper materials.

Beyond that, I was disappointed to discover that there is very little avant-garde activity among the younger generation of Leipzig professors. They are too much dependent on Tuebke, Mattheuer and Heisig to escape the danger of being mere imitators of theirs. As long as the contents of Leipzig realism had concentrated on everyday problems specific to the GDR by employing stylistic and thematic materials of traditional art, this style of painting could be looked upon as an indigenous and serious expression of the avant-garde despite or perhaps because of the fact that it was imitating traditional art. But ever since these painters began to succumb to the aesthetics of genre painting by resorting to still lives and historical subjects, yesterday's avant-garde takes on an air of academic

tedium which by now only rarely permits a spark of refreshing originality to emerge. I have had the impression that official painting in the GDR today does not look for the controversial aspects of everyday life in the GDR as it did in years past but instead takes refuge in traditional figural art. This was confirmed for me by the young Leipzig painter, Doris Ziegler, who I asked what kind of reception her 1975 painting "The Rosa Luxemburg Brigade" had had. It is a five-panel painting—one showing the brigade at work and the four others showing individual workers—which consciously tries to establish a link to the programmatic 1920's image of the working man. The reaction was positive at first; but later the women's brigade concerned turned thumbs down on Doris Ziegler's painting when their friends and acquaintances constantly told them that they were represented as being ugly and that that was not the true meaning of art.

This particular case made it crystal clear to me that there is a much stronger tradition among people in the GDR to look to art to fulfill aesthetic, decorative functions than that it should play a social role, although this latter position is the one officially upheld by GDR art policy. I find this assumption of mine unexpectedly corroborated right then and there during the busy preparations for the 3rd Leipzig art auction at the Sachsenplatz gallery. As I look around in the state-owned gallery for GDR art of today and yesterday, a veritable deluge of offers —oral, written and by telephone— is made to acquire the goodly number of turn-of-the-century art objects that are on sale. At the first two Leipzig auctions, the most desirable items for East German collectors were examples of critical realism and expressionism. But this year, people were crowding the decadent beauties of Franz von Stuck or Georges Minne and were ready to pay lots of money for examples of Western art which we would consider high-class wall decorations or would expect to find in the show windows of design-oriented interior decorating establishments.

There was little that was new in Halle; instead there was a good deal of stagnation there as well. Here in Halle, Uwe Pfeifer still is the outstanding representative of the younger generation of painters as he continues to portray life in the monotonous apartment blocks of Halle-Neustadt.

I received an unexpected shock of recognition when I viewed the Sitte retrospective at the Moritzburg state gallery here which documented the early works of this painter of the so-called "difficult" fifties in great detail. I was surprised to note that Sitte, who is the chairman of the artists' association today, undertook a large number of artistic experiments then which ranged from straight imitations of Picasso to formal experiments in the style of Miro, Max Ernst and Baumeister. By adopting this course, Sitte became enmeshed in the "formalism dispute" the upshot of which was that the artists were forced to adhere to the Soviet model of dogmatic socialist realism and were prevented from sharing in Western artistic experimentation for many years.

In Dresden, out in the rural suburbs, I met Willy Wolff, one of the undisputed godfathers of the GDR avant-garde, in his flower-covered retreat. Along with his 91 year-old former ASSO colleague, Hermann Gloeckner, Willy Wolff is the only

artist in the GDR who paid any attention at all to the formal experimentation in painting employing abstract structures and graphic elements of English Pop Art in the early sixties while staying clear of all art policy constraints, thereby becoming a model to emulate for the younger generation of Dresden painters.

On Willy Wolff's advice, I went to the Mitte gallery in Dresden to continue my search for the present-day GDR avant-garde and found that he had sent me to the right place. The small, but unusually active gallery on Fetscherplatz has a set of high principles both in looking "for the meaning of art in a socialist society" and in art itself. Taking a page from Kurt Weill, it expects the committed artist to be "as topical in his means of expression as in the content of his art." I looked through the catalogues of the most recent exhibits and found what I was searching for in the graphic series of photographs by Lutz Dammbeck which achieved a symbiosis of form and content. But I was impressed most of all by the works of Juergen Boettcher, whose exhibit was just being taken down and whom I knew to have been the most creative member of the unconventional, frequently disparaged Dresden avant-garde for a number of years. During his brief time as an instructor at the Dresden adult education center, Boettcher and Penck, who now lives in Cologne, as well as Peter Herrmann and Peter Graf, laid the foundation for an avant-garde outsiders' style that was at sharp variance from the view of reality of other schools of GDR painters in that it turned purely personal experience into a kind of psychogram-like art. For a number of years, Boettcher worked on film documentaries exclusively; but then, in 1978, he returned to the graphic arts, painting over photographs and using this synthesis of two media to develop a fresh and individual style which corresponds directly to the explosive ciphers of today's West European avant-garde.

The director of the gallery showed me a number of works she was assembling for a group exhibit entitled: "phantastic landscapes". Common to all the works was the formal play with surreal configurations and ambivalent meanings. Included among the artists was Peter Sylvester, a painter I already knew, whose landscapes are exhibited at Leipzig university. These paintings which are an expression both of paradisiac dreams and apocalyptic visions are among the high points of creativity on the Leipzig scene. Then there were the delicate collages of the pediatrician-turned-painter who signs his work "Dottore." I found them fascinating in their formal dynamics which attain to a symbiosis of the concrete and the abstract. I met the two other painters —Herzog and Ranft— who were represented in the exhibit a day later at the tiny Clara-Mosch gallery in the suburbs of Karl-Marx-Stadt. To my surprise, this gallery had assembled a crowd of almost 100 art connoisseurs from all parts of the GDR for the opening of an exhibit by Horst Bartnig, the only concrete painter in the GDR aside from Hermann Gloeckner who stuck to geometric forms in the fifties and whom the officials like to cite as living evidence for the existence of an avant-garde in the GDR during those dark ages.

As it turned out, this Clara-Mosch gallery in Adelsberg, which is being run by painters Carlfriedrich Claus, Thomas Ranft, Michael Morgner and Dagmar Ranft-Schinke, is a genuine focal point of the GDR avant-garde. To be sure, the four artists do share a common pictorial language in following the lead of Claus'

calligraphic code style of painting; but in their exhibit program they are open to a wide range of styles. Thus, the gallery does not devote itself to purist aesthetics only such as adheres to the works of these four. In 1980, for example, the gallery exhibited a large structural composition by Gregor Torsten Schulz, portraying psychic experiences with a distressing immediacy that was reminiscent of someone like Kienholz.

Let us hope that the jurors of the 9th Dresden Art Show due to take place next year will not refuse to include the works of the Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt avant-garde that operates outside the pale at present and that those responsible for cultural policy will let these nonconformists do travel to the West in order to confront themselves with Western art and to have their own works and their stylistic repertoire subjected to a quality test on the international plane.

That those responsible do tend to think along these lines was evidenced by a speech by Bernhard Heisig at a meeting of the central presidium of the League of Graphic Artists last February in which he dealt with the work of young artists in the GDR. He stressed the right of young people to "unreason" and thereby emphatically gave preference to creative non-conformism instead of "well-adjusted mediocrity".

9478
CSO: 2300/54

ZNP POSITION ON DRAFT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT LAWS EXPRESSED

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 30 Aug 81 p 9

[Text] The Enterprise and the Workers' Self-government

On 17 and 18 August 1981, the Sejm subcommittee for drafting of laws on enterprises and self-government in the enterprise met.

In the sessions presided over by Professor Adam Lopatka, Colleague Michal Sewerynski and Colleague Konrad Firlej participated as representatives of the ZNP /Polish Teachers' Union/. The ZNP representatives were critical of the government's draft of laws on enterprises and self-government in the enterprise, above all of the authority of work forces in management. They expressed concern that the government draft does not fundamentally alter the concept of one-man administration of an enterprise--by the director--with the role of the work force reduced to participation.

The ZNP view is that only genuine self-government of the enterprises by the work force answers current social aspirations and needs. Implementation of this concept entails profound transformations, consisting of the introduction of democratic management of the economy in place of an autocratic-bureaucratic system.

The economic consequences of self-government are likewise beneficial because, in assuring the influence of the workers on the operation of the enterprise, self-government integrates them with the goals of the enterprise. That is a fundamental premise for optimal economic results.

By basing the operation of enterprises on the principle of self-government, we attain a significant social objective, the creative participation of the workers in the affairs of the workplace, which permits full use of the workers' knowledge and experience. In such a situation, work conditions undergo profound humanization, as a person performs as an agent of economic operations and not as a servant of these operations, a particle in a technico-organizational force. Moreover, under complete self-government, the classic opposition of workers and employers disappears, its role being performed by self-government.

The multitude and complexity of problems connected with workers' self-government are an indication, however, that solutions must be flexible with respect to time,

place and form of the implementation of self-government, suited to the different enterprises, their economic situation and the conditions of their operation. Where suitable conditions for its operation exist, the total self-government of an enterprise by the work force can and should be established. In enterprises where the introduction of total self-government would be too risky, a choice should be possible from the weaker forms: various combinations of consultation, joint management and complete self-government. Then, as the situation develops, the scope of authority of the work force in these enterprises should widen, finally transformed into complete self-government. At the other extreme should be enterprises in which self-government has no logical place at all, because of their close connection with national defense or other vital needs of the nation. The appropriate determinations, regarding both the right model of self-government for a given enterprise including those enterprises excluded from self-government, should be made by societal agreements.

Particulars

In the operation of each enterprise, the following fundamental concerns may be distinguished:

--the structure of an enterprise and the order of work;
--the spheres of activity of the enterprise;
--the distribution of funds of an enterprise and of its profit;
--cadre policy, particularly considering top managerial positions (the director and his assistants).

In each of these areas, it is possible to isolate underlying decisions, establishing a basis and norms for executive decisions pertaining to the current management of an enterprise. The former have a rough and strategic character; the latter are derivative and concretize the current activity of the plant. The essence of the management of an enterprise is making underlying decisions, because the decision maker is assured of his authority for them. On the other hand, decisions made in the context of the operative management of a plant must meet strategic decisions, since they are subordinate to them.

Workers' self-government in the strict sense guarantees the workers complete authority to make underlying decisions in the key matters of the enterprise. What absolutely completes such authority is the exercise by the self-government body of total supervision over the execution of its resolutions and of control over decisions made to this end by the director, in conjunction with a veto power over his decisions.

On the other hand, operative management of an enterprise, or the exercise of ongoing direction in matters of organization, production and personnel, based on the binding law and resolutions of self-government, should belong to the director of the enterprise. In this sphere, the work force may have, however, a consultative authority and the right to make recommendations.

2. The principles of our structure are not an obstacle to according authority to the work forces in the form of complete self-government. Since the state is the the proprietor of the enterprises, it can confer complete self-government to an

actual social group. That is exactly what the 1956 law did, granting management of the enterprises to the workers' councils in the name of the work forces. The granting of self-government in itself does not lead to the establishment of group ownership, because the state continues to be proprietor of the enterprise, exercising supervision over the decisions of the work forces in the interest of society in general.

The assurance by the state of harmony between the decisions of self-government of the work force and the interests of society in general should be accomplished through economic mechanisms (for example, credits, taxes, duties). Similarly, in the face of tendencies toward the monopoly of production and the market by large enterprises or their associations, these means of economic reaction should be complemented by law (for example, antitrust legislation or the determination by the state of ceiling prices on basic necessities, especially those significantly influencing the cost of living).

The management of enterprises by the work forces strictly determined by market mechanisms will certainly cause a wide differentiation of income for workers in the various enterprises in proportion to profit. Consequently, some mechanisms are required to correct overly large differences in income--especially a state guarantee of a minimum income for workers in plants experiencing economic difficulties.

3. Workers cannot participate in self-government as an indeterminate mass but rather as a recognizable entity. Consequently, it is necessary to express this entity in appropriate legal and organizational form. The concept best corresponding to this goal is one making the work force of an enterprise an entity of self-governing powers. This formula guarantees the fullest participation in management to the workers themselves regardless of their affiliation with plant political and social organizations. The interests of these organizations may surface and be implemented indirectly in management through the activity of their members in the self-government. On the other hand, the possibility of subordinating the management of an enterprise to the interests of a single organization is excluded. Thanks to the uncontrolled encounter of various opinions and views in the self-government body, the management of the enterprise becomes more democratic and fosters the integration of the work force.

4. From the viewpoint of the exigencies of democracy, it would be best to ensure the work force of the enterprise direct participation in its management. Practical considerations, however, stand in the way of self-government exercised in this manner (considerations such as problems linked with assembling all employees and enabling them to participate in discussions, especially in larger enterprises). For this reason, the direct exercise of self-government must be limited to small enterprises, and in the others, to the undertaking of decisions of particular importance to the enterprise, involving a general meeting of the work force or a referendum.

The most convenient solution is the participation of the work force in self-government through its special organs (the work force council, workers' council). In conjunction with this, the way these come about is especially important. The

democratic context of self-government speaks for democratic elections of the organs of self-government (elections that are universal, equal, direct and secret) The designation of council members by individual plant organizations should be rejected; moreover, the interests of these organizations will not be threatened if they are guaranteed real participation in the electoral campaign for self-government.

The internal organizational structure of workers' self-government is of essential significance, particularly the level of organization of the enterprise where self-government organs should be created. Many arguments favor the maximum interaction of self-government among the rank and file, enabling conditions for the direct participation of workers in management and making self-government effective. This is particularly the case when matters are well-known to the workers and affect them closely, and on the course of which the workers can thus have a real, creative effect on their course, by using their qualifications and experience. Consequently, the legal regulations should allow maximum freedom for the statutory regulation of the internal structure of the self-government body and of the scope of powers of its particular organs, according to the organization and the needs of the enterprise.

A condition for the proper functioning of self-government is ensuring that the workers elected to its organs have special legal protection against dismissal from work, similar to the protection afforded members of plant union organs. On the other hand, the work force's guarantee of control over the activities of those elected to these organs is the limitation of the number of successive terms in these organs.

5. The cadre management, comprising the top managerial positions of an enterprises belongs to the essential scope of its functioning. Past management criteria applied in the past--i.e., the dominance of one's political views as criteria (the so-called nomenclature)--evoked society's disapproval. These criteria led to the violation of the principle of the equal treatment of workers for promotion, nor did they guarantee that persons selected in this manner would function properly. Thus, the cadre management must be based on principles of expertise and honesty. The guarantee of the proper application of these criteria is the appointment of directorial positions by the cadres of enterprises. This is one of the major driving forces in the workers' circles, motivating the tendency to introduce complete self-government, because on this basis the work force must have the right to appoint and dismiss the director of the enterprise, who should be responsible only to the work force.

6. The proper functioning of the self-government body demands that it have veto power over the illegal or unsound decisions of the director, and that the director have veto power to block similar resolutions of the self-government body. In conjunction with this is the problem of creating the necessary procedure for settling conflicts from the veto. It seems appropriate to eliminate such quarrels primarily through a mediated arbitration procedure, consisting of the proposal of a suitable solution by a neutral arbitrator, selected by both sides. Following the arbitration procedure, phases of the final settlement of the quarrel should occur. If the subject of the quarrel is the legality of the resolutions of the

self-governing body or decisions of the director, the quarrel may and should be settled by the court.

Neither the court nor--to an even greater extent--the arbitration commission may, however, be considered the most competent organ to determine the social or economic feasibility of resolutions of the self-governing body or directorial decisions. In this case, the possibility of resolving this type of conflict in a second phase should be considered; i.e., through its elimination by the organ of the local self-government (where local enterprises are concerned), by the people's council or by the Sejm, or rather by a chamber created in the Sejm for this purpose--e.g., a self-government chamber (to work with those enterprises of key economic significance to the country). In this way, socioeconomic conflicts in enterprises would be resolved by the most competent representative bodies, and the workers' self-government would be incorporated into the system on the basis of democracy.

7. Theoretically, it is possible to entrust to the self-government body those functions normally fulfilled by the plant union organization. However, it is also possible for the self-government body and trade unions to coexist in an enterprise. Their work does not need to be mutually exclusive but can and should complement one another. A condition of such coexistence is the clear delimitation of the spheres of operation and functions of the union and the self-government body.

Whatever the model of self-government selected, its goal is to ensure the work force influence over the management of the enterprise. The domain of the trade unions, on the other hand, should be individual work relations or, to be more precise, control over the application of the law in this sphere. Decisions on labor law and plant norms with regard to individual employees are made in the course of ongoing enterprise management. Thus, they are not made by the self-government body but by the director; for this reason the trade union would deal only with him in matters of intervention and claims. This makes it possible to prevent conflict between trade unions and the self-government body.

On the other hand, varying positions may arise due to the interest of unions in the decisions of the self-government body concerning underlying resolutions. While they affect the enterprise only indirectly, they directly influence the legal and social situation of workers, for this reason the trade unions cannot be deprived of the right to see that they are correct. To this end, they may use the presence of their members in the organs of self-government; when this means fails, they may exert pressure through typical union actions, excluding a strike. Such a protest action would signify the workers' rising against themselves. Thus, under conditions of total self-government, the ultimate method of rectifying the decisions of its organs should be the resolution of the general assemblage of the work force or the referendum.

Formal Considerations.

1. Matters of the enterprise and the self-government body should be regulated by one law, a "law on the self-governing state enterprise."

2. The current drafts of the two laws have proposed many exceptions (article 60 and 61 of the law on the enterprise and article 49 of the law on self-government) that severely limit the scope of the workers' self-government and the sense of the entire economic reform. The criteria of these exceptions are not clear nor precisely defined.

3. Both laws are accompanied by too many executory regulations that have not yet been appended to the basic drafts. This reduces the value of the legal regulation of problems of the enterprise and makes it impossible to cope with the correctness of the executory regulations.

8536
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ZNP SCIENCE SECTION CONFERENCE REPORTED

VII National Conference of Science, ZNP

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43 26 Oct 80 p 9

[Article by K. Rog]

[Text] The statement that the VII National Conference of Science Section, ZNP, which took place on the eve of the XIII Congress of Delegates, had a historic meaning, is not an imposed journalistic exxageration. Its character was not decided only by the fact that it took place at the turning point of our post-war history. Likewise, the zeal of the deliberations, their temperament, degree of commitment by the participants and freedom to discuss extreme views and opinions have not been seen for a long time. Of particular significance in the conference was also the fact that, during the course of the deliberations, tendencies and demands that have been growing for some time in the academic union community, and aim toward transforming the organizational structure and making it a true spokesman for the professional group and an instrument for participation by the citizen in joint governing of the country, were crystalized and finalized.

The need to call one's own union representation, a representation better oriented toward the essential problems of the community and capable of quicker and more adequate action in order to achieve expectations, has been felt more strongly among employees of schools and institutions of higher learning and signalled more frequently by their representatives. As has been emphasized and found expression in granting a vote of confidence to the outgoing administration, the Section Administration has done everything possible under existing conditions. Nevertheless, it could neither attain realization or place itself into the hiterto existing structure of ZNP or the union movement directed by the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ).

In the situation in which our country finds itself and especially as regards the riddance of CRZZ demands, the necessity of crossing over from those demands to decisonmaking has become unavoidable. This was obvious to everyone, which does not mean that everyone held the same view as to the organization's future shape. One must admit that the concept (the concept of two equal unions federated into one organization), whose ultimate expression was found in proposals presented to the XIII Congress of Delegates, was born not without opposition.

Many participants at the conference were of the view that a separate, autonomous union should be created (R. Mroczkowski, Lublin; T. Krzoska, Gliwice; R. Galecki, Poznan; G. Urbanczyk, Lodz; and others). In their opinion, arguments for this concept were convincing in that they were afraid that, in a federated structure, after a certain time, the problems of academic employees would be dominated by educational workers, who constitute the overwhelming majority; and, after the passing of several years, the new union's situation would not return to the ante

quo state; i.e., to the situation existing under the former Academic Section. Opponents of a federation also expressed the fear that the enormous union machine is too large to function properly. In arguments against, disappointment and discouragement also have played a certain fair-sized role in relation to the union's activities experienced by the union membership. A lack of faith in the "old" trade unions has succeeded in inspiring a new spirit. Pessimism exists, which is not difficult to understand, but it is something on which it is difficult to build.

However, the majority of participants at the deliberations, quoting decisions made by the representative communities, declared itself (120 out of 162 voting) to be for retention of the organizational unit ZNP under the condition, however, of acceptance of such structural dissolutions that would make possible the complete independence of a union of employees at universities and educational institutions; i.e., the concept of two federated unions having equal rights in one organization (S. Koperski, Krakow; M. Nawrocki, Warsaw; J. Madrala, Bydgoszcz; J. Krakowski, Katowice; Z. Wiatrowski, Bydgoszcz; S. Erbel, Warsaw; W. Rozwadowski, Poznan; J. Staszewski, Torun; J. Chrobaczynski, Krakow).

However, it was emphasized unanimously that the union's work must undergo significant radicalization, that the necessity exists for greater than hitherto existing perception and regard for the needs of all working groups (and not only teachers and professors), and that a more complete flow of information both from the bottom to the top and the top to the bottom is indispensable, since only good discernment of the situation makes possible joint decisionmaking by the organization's membership and administration as regards the union's activities; i.e., quick reactions to needs in the field.

Great pressure also has postulated the complete publicness of union life and the radical breaking with cases of the "internal" distribution of attractive vacations, places for trips abroad, places in sanatoria, and other similar situations.

Above all, however, changes in the style of cooperation by the union organization with the government and administration at all levels has been demanded. This cooperation finally must become authentic. The union has the right and obligation to participate actively in the formation of academic and educational policy, to demand the respect for workers' authority, to defend the members' interests, and also to guard the purity and high level of Polish education.

There is seemingly nothing new in these demands; everything already has been formally stipulated both in the organization's statute and in a wide variety of resolutions adopted during the past few years. However, the fundamental difference between previously raised postulates, postulates having a clearly declarative character, and currently formulated demands relies on the impetuous transformations that have appeared in the social consciousness. As J. Maziarski has written in KULTURA, "life demonstrates every day with painful tangibility that an atmosphere for honest democratization is the elementary prerequisite for good work." He also has stated, "attempts at introducing a nondemocratic model for relationships has had in Poland lamentable results, ending invariably with economic and political crises." It is already not possible to erase this truth that has taken shape in the social consciousness. It stands as the most valuable

guarantee that postulates and demands put forward by workers' representatives can no longer avoid being "heard."

The guarantee for implementing the workers' demands for better social and living conditions also should be inferred in the resolution calling for a permanent center for researching working conditions, pay scales, and the workers' social situation, a center designed to formulate the union's tasks. The union authorities are obligated to introduce understandings signed with the Government Commission, which define the mode and the deadline to implement the workers' demands.

But problems concerning living conditions do not exhaust the letters dealing with the academic community's deeply affected concerns. Academic employees consider it their obligation and right as citizens to participate not only in the shaping of academic and educational policy but also to participate in the working out of reforms in the national economy and the system or orders and functioning of the state (S. Waltos, Krakow; S. Kaleta, Wroclaw; J. Zalewski, Gdansk; A. Lopata, Krakow).

This has found expression in the resolution in which the following, among others, is demanded: "reactivation of the economic council composed of representatives from the economic and social sciences, who are known for their achievements in research, courage and activity." (The resolution is printed below.)

Authentic achievements, courage, activity, straightforwardness and academic honesty (i.e., those elemental values that should be distinguished in teaching and by those persons employed in it, and which recently have been debased) have constituted to some extent the motivation for discussion, in which the dominant portion has been devoted to the issue of academics and national education.

It is thus obvious that management of a sensible policy without the participation of people in academia, working out of an educational system, and also of a system to guarantee the assurance of a high level of and honesty in academic life, is not generally possible. Confirmation of this simple truth is the situation existing in our education and culture.

Questions dealing with these problems also were addressed at the conferences to the present Undersecretary of State for Science, Higher Education and Technology, Tomasz Biernacki. Many questions dealt with difficult issues, irregularities and complaints, which have arisen in academic life.

These included the shallowness of academic criticism, the lack of publicness and clarity in decisions made by the Central Qualification Commission (CKK) and mechanisms making possible unjustifiable academic careers, such as granting professorial titles to some prominent members of our political and economic life. This was discussed point-blank, citing concrete examples and specific persons. Also discussed was the influence these factors exert on the level of academic life and the establishment of "structures and dependencies" that halt not only the development of academic thought but decide not infrequently about ruining the most talented academic career and most valuable personnel.

Above all, however, the need for freedom in academic life, a freedom expressed both in the selection of subjects and directions for research and the autonomy of schools and academic institutions, was discussed.

The element that hamstrings this freedom is undoubtedly the too rigorously and dictatorially centralized guidance of research. Coupled with this is the definitive, financial policy that facilitates the conduction of research in unpreferred areas, which causes various types of manipulations having nothing to do with the authentic development of science. Not denying the need to conduct a definitive policy and aiming toward a better utilization of science's achievements in national life, the community demands a resolute increase in the influence of scholarly directions for selecting research issues and preferences.

At the same time, the restoration of autonomy for schools and academic institutions, and at least restoration of the pre-1968 law and complete application of the principle of eligibility for collective bodies, and also--as was formulated in the sections' resolution--"in every qualifying organ, including CKK" also was demanded.

The system proposed by the ministry for appointing rectors after consultation with the senate is--in the opinion of the conference participants--not acceptable.

Also emphasized was the necessity to revise the system for giving out academic degrees and professorial titles and to eliminate rotational mechanisms and, in their place, to install honest criteria for evaluating academic employees (W. Mackiewicz, Warsaw).

The conference acknowledged as extremely necessary the naming of the Founding Committee of the Academic Employees' Society to serve as the society for organizing academic employees at all schools and institutions of higher learning, no matter what their union affiliation.

Resolutions of VIII ZNP Science Section Conference

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 43 26 Oct 80 pp 9-10

[Text]

VIII National
Conference of the Science Section
of the
Polish Teachers' Association
adopted on 13 December 1980
recognized as the program of
action by ZNP Employees at
Universities and Academic Institutions

The social shock that has passed through our country during the past months was an unavoidable consequence of the growing crisis. This is, to a large degree, the result of deformation in the government's conduct and way of treating society as its object. It has not counted society's fundamental needs and aspirations. The deserving posture of the working class along the Baltic coast and in other areas of the country, which gave birth to admiration and respect during the days

of the crisis by proving political maturity, has shown how deeply incorrect were the policies practiced by this country's authorities. The fact must be acknowledged that the authorities have tried to become once again the government of society, and not above it. The VIII National Conference of the ZNP Science Section, which was brought about by the moral order to participate actively in restoring the country, wishes to point out the fundamental problems requiring immediate solutions. Their solution will depend on the state of learning, education and national culture; thus, the shape of society.

It is impossible to carry out effective reforms of social life and the national economy without restructuring simultaneously the government system, changing the manner of discharging governmental functions, and creating conditions for society's authentic influence on state operations.

We feel in particular that:

1) the need for immediate work on reforming the national economic system must take place, the result of which the following should occur:

a) conferment to economic law of the role of responsible regulator of economic processes;

b) conferment to state enterprises of independence and assurance as to the possibilities for creating an authentic partnership between personnel and management at the work place;

c) change in the manner of administration through decentralization of the economy by eliminating or consolidating branch ministries and significantly reducing the number of economic associations.

We declare ourselves in support of reactivation of the economic council composed of representatives from the economic and social sciences, administration, and other groups, who are known for their achievements in research, courage, and activity.

We ally ourselves with the opinions and demands put forward by workers and other active working groups demanding structural reforms of the state and economy, which are designed to avert future degenerations and abuses that cause collective anxiety among working people and incalcuable harm to the country, society, and system.

2) Science stands as an integral part of the national economy and is an inseparable element of national culture. Reform of the country's socio-economic structure therefore must embrace science and the national educational system.

3) The hitherto existing system of academic advisement was defective. Reliance on both decisions regulating the country's socio-economic system and complex, optimal variants for decisionmaking prepared by interdisciplinary academic groups is necessary.

4) The influence that academic employees have on shaping the country's socio-economic structure depends on their skill and moral posture. One of the Association's primary tasks is, therefore, the systematic attentiveness to constant compliance with ethical norms in the academic community.

5) The system of planning, administration, and financing of academic research requires a thorough rebuilding. The concept of governmental programs, crucial problems, and others has been distorted. In many cases, priorities for academic research have been established incorrectly, and a costly bureaucracy causes the waste of human effort and financial resources.

6) Society has the right to honest and complete political, socio-economic, and academic information. A law on censorship, in which the scope of jurisdiction is expressed uniformly, excluding an expanding interpretation of its authority, should be included. Decisions made by censorship organs should be prosecuted in court. The academic community should take part in drafting the law.

7) The alarming state of printing and publishing constitutes an immediate threat to national culture and academic development. The situation requires prompt, remedial action.

8) The quality of learning and higher education depends on the fulfillment of three conditions: self-government, publicness of academic life, and mechanisms for the protection of academic criticism.

Fulfillment of the condition for self-government demands at least the restoration of the tone of the pre-1968 law on higher education, expression within the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) of the eligibility principle for turning over administrative functions (including the Academy's academic secretaries, divisions, and PAN's presiding academic committees and other collective academic organs), and also the absolute use of the eligibility principle in every qualification organ, including the Central Qualification Commission.

Unacceptable are partial solutions, for example, to the minister's discussing candidates for rector with the faculty senate. Also unacceptable is delaying work on the project to amend the code concerning higher education and the Polish Academy of Sciences. The Conference declares its assistance in the work on the amendment and, following that, on the entire project, in order to make possible the sending of the recodification project to Sejm before the end of 1980.

Fulfillment of the condition of publicness in academic life denotes the publicness of every opinion in procedures for granting degrees, academic titles, and appointments to academic positions.

9) There is a need for an immediate examination and correction of all wrongs perpetrated on employees and students as a result of events in 1968, 1978, and 1976. The issue of suspending the professional advancement of academic employees for activities conducted outside the academic arena require urgent explanation.

10) The recruiting system for university studies requires essential reform. Antiquated point preferences and so-called rectorial pools should be eliminated.

Admission to university studies without an entrance examination should be guaranteed only to the winners of national competitions.

The size and proportion of students from higher society cause serious concern. The issue of an "open university" requires urgent investigation.

11) Institutions of higher learning should secure broad authority to formulate the concepts of shaping and composing teaching programs. Ministerial programs should have only a structural character.

12) Despite the "Report on the State of Education" and the many discussions and opinions from numerous specialists up to now, the model for elementary and high schools has not been worked out.

13) In the vital interest of Polish culture, it is necessary to raise the standing of persons employed in state archives, libraries, and informational services. We support the fundamental themes stated in the "Report on the State of Libraries in Poland" and the "Program for Development of Polish Library Science through 1990," and we demand the implementation of their stated demands for increasing the standard of equipment at libraries and the development of book collections.

14) Society's socio-economic and cultural development requires raising the standing and defense of the interests of academic employees. Facilities for the development of young academic employees through the creation of suitable living conditions are indispensable. Also necessary is opposition to the practice of granting degrees and academic titles beyond the normal mode of conduct guaranteeing the candidates' proper meritorious level.

15) Society's cultural and intellectual levels depend to a large degree on teachers. For this reason, raising the dignity and prestige of the teaching profession is one of the first planned tasks. Therefore, one of the conditions required to attract the best candidates to this profession is the creation of a reasonable existence for teachers.

16) The VII National Conference of ZNP's Science Section supports the federated structure of ZNP, which contains two independent unions composed of employees in education and upbringing, as well as of employees at universities and institutions of higher learning.

17) The birth and development of independent trade unions is in the interest of the entire society. This fact does not negate, however, the need for the existance also of branch trade unions, authentically independent and being professional representatives. The strength of the union movement does not consist of the exclusion of one of the branches but rather on the creation of a dialogue and cooperation.

18) The VIII National Conference of the ZNP Science Section declares itself for finding a formula for cooperation and joint action with every union organization and, especially, with the independent trade union (NSZZ) "Solidarity," for the good of the union movement among science teachers, science and research employees, and employees at libraries and archives, as well as administrative, technical, and service-oriented academic institutions.

19) The VIII National Conference of the ZNP Science Section demands the formation of the Academic Employees' Society to serve as the society for organizing academic employees without regard to place of employment or union affiliation.

20) The Science Section's VIII National Conference supports the demand for the calling of an exceptional, revisory commission to conduct a detailed investigation into the manner of administering ZNP funds employed by the Main Board, Secretariat, and Presidium, as well as by ZNP's Science Section Board during the last two terms in office (i.e., 1972-80), and to present the eventual conclusions regarding the legal responsibilities of the organs' members. Results of the commission's work should be printed in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI for public knowledge. We demand the appearance before the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) of the responsible functionaries from the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ) for the purpose of auditing the administration of the Association's funds.

21) On the basis of numerous conclusions made regarding working conditions, salaries, and social problems, the VIII National Conference of the ZNP Science Section demands the calling of the Permanent Research Center that will have the right to formulate tasks for ZNP. This obligates the Association's elected officials to bring about the signing of an understanding with the Government Commission, in which the methods and deadlines for implementing the workers' demands should be specified. The hitherto existing policy of salaries based upon the division of workers into production and nonproduction sectors provokes serious reservations. The Association stands behind the position embraced in the Teacher's Charter and collective agreements among all workers in educational and preparatory institutions, universities and institutions of higher learning, library services, and others hitherto not included.

22) The VIII National Conference of the ZNP Science Section feels that the above resolution should constitute the program for activity by the Association of Employees at Universities and Academic Institutions. We propose a penetrating examination of each individual conclusion to determine the enclosure to the resolution for the purpose of adding it to the Association's program of activity.

23) The Science Section's VIII National Conference obligates the Provisional Board selected today to present during the course of the XIII ZNP National Congress the project of the provisional ZNP statute that was resolved in support of conclusions made by delegates representing individual academic communities from throughout the country.

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PZPR PUBLICATION REVIEWS, COMMENT ON CURRENT ISSUES

Facts of the Week

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish, No 29, 31 Jul 81 pp 3-4

For the internal use of the Party

[Text] At the session of the Council of Ministers, the socio-economic situation of the country in the first half of the year was assessed and most urgent operational directions for the nearest future were discussed.

A quick and consistent implementation of economic reform measures was considered the most urgent action needed to diminish the crisis. The main task is to secure the productive possibilities of those plants and branches that play a key role in supplying the market and in producing for agriculture and export.

The strike of the PLL (Polish Airlines) LOT, proclaimed for July 24, was suspended after Prime Minister W. Jaruzelski accepted the soundness of determining the financial-economic independence of the LOT in the sphere of air transport. LOT economic-financial independence will be determined by a separate bill that will also regulate other activities of that institution.

The PLL LOT Aircraft AN-21 making its scheduled flight from Katowice to Gdansk was hijacked to West Berlin. The hijacker appeared to be Bernard Pientka. resident of Piotrowice, Silesia. After the hijacker's arrest by American police, the plane with all its passengers returned to Gdnask. Polish authorities entered a claim with the American authorities, demanding the hijacker's extradition.

In the period from 1 August to 31 December 1981 early retirement may be taken by workers who do not have more than 5 years left to full retirement and who have been employed for the necessary periods of time, i.e., men for 25 years, women for 20 years. More details are in the daily press.

The Prime Minister nominated Gen. Div. Czeslaw Kiszaczak the undersectetary in the Ministry of the Interior and made him the head of the office.

After an interval of several days, on 28 July 1981, hearings were resumed in the District Court in Warsaw against the members of the leadership of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

The Skierniewice District MO (Police) Headquarters detected those responsible for desecrating the monument to Soviet soldiers in the Catholic cemetery in Sochaczew, and for the demolishing the PZPR Municipal Committee headquarters. The acts were perpetrated by two 16-year-old boys--students of the high school and agriculture technical school, who live near Sochaczew. During the nights of 11, 18 and 30 April they painted over the inscriptions on the monument built to honor Soviet soldiers who lost their lives liberating Sochaczew in 1945. Moreover, the boys wrote anti-Soviet slogans on the monument. Twice they also attempted to demolish the building of the Municipal Committee of the PZPR and ZSMP (Association of Polish Socialist Yourth) in Sochaczew.

An attempt to set on fire the building of the Municipal Committee of the PZPR in Swinoujscie was investigated. On 22 July 1981, at 4:53 a.m., a curling cloud of smoke was observed coming out of the windows of the PZPR Municipal Committee building in Swinoujscie, Bohaterow Stalingradu Street. Friemen extinguished the fire in half an hour: damage was small. The investigation determined that arson had caused the fire. The perpetrator entered the building through the window in the toilet on the mezzanine and poured out several pints of crude oil that had been brought in bottles. After the fire was set, he left the building.

On 26 July a 3-day plenary meeting of the NSZZ "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission (KKP) ended in Gdansk. Within the framework of the Presidium, a permanent six-person Decision-Making body was appointed in Gdansk. The group consists of: Lech Walesa, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Andrzej Celinski, Andrzej Gwiazda, Bogdan Lis, and Ryszard Kalinowski. A decision was made that Solidarity in Lodz would supervise economic reforms, and Solidarity in Bydgoszcz would deal with food distribution problems. KKP NSZZ Solidarity took a negative view of bills proposed by the government regarding censorship, labor unions, and workers' self-government. The union would support price increases only as one of the elements of the economic reform.

On 25 July 1981, in Kutno, a march of the citizenry took place protesting the inefficiency of the distribution apparatus. Solidarity in the District of Lodz also protested against the shortage of food supplies, against food ration coupons without full coverage and against the announced reduction of meat rations in the August rationing system. In the afternoon of 27 July 1981 buses decorated with flags and posters and with lights on and horns blowing drove along Piotrkowska Street in Lodz, stopping for a moment in front of the town office building. The same action was repeated on 28 and 29 July. And a "women's march" was announced for 30 July.

Economic Situation After First Half-Year

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 29, 31 Jul 81 pp 11-13

[Text] Non-fulfillment of the economic production plan in the first half of the year 1981 was the main cause of further detoriation in the country's economic

situation. This increased the imbalance of the internal market and resulted in a reduction of exports, which slowed down the influx of foreign currency. Decreased production and deliveries of merchandise to the market and resulted in a reduction of exports, which slowed down the influx of foreign currency. Decreased production and deliveries of merchandise to the market here at the same time followed by considerable increases in wages and incomes, exacerbates the market in balance and causes long lines in front of the shops.

This state of affairs has been caused by many factors. The decline of industrial production in previous months was mainly the result of inadequate cooperation in supplying the market and raw materials shortages as well as a shortage of imported and domestically manufactured goods.

The second important reason for the decline in production has been the energy difficulties, such as lack of fuel, especially coal, and the poor technology of electric power stations, the repair of which requires too much time. All these conditions, so difficult to overcoming quickly, bring a continuous decrease in industrial output. In June 1981 the value of production was 48 billion zlotys, i.e., 16.9 percent lower than last year and in the whole first half of the year it decreased by over 211 billion zlotys, i.e., by 12.5 percent in comparison with the same period last year. It was accompanied by a decrease in employment of only 0.3 percent, when at the same time the increase in personal wages was 41 billion zlotys, i.e. 24 percent.

Almost every basic industrial branch showed a decline in production in June. At the same time further increases in wage costs took place.

In the first half of the year a serious decline in production of basic raw materials and other products took place, in comparison with 1980. And so:

production of coal declined by 22.6 million tons, i.e., by 21.8 percent; production of zinc by 24,600 tons, i.e., by 21.8 percent; lead by 8,000 tons, i.e., by 19.4 percent; aluminum by 9,700 tons, i.e. by 20.5 percent; copper by 20,100 tons, i.e., by 11 percent; tires by 1,154,000 pieces, i.e., by 24.1 percent.

In a similar way production of many other products declined, including market products.

Lost production time in industry has increased by 36 percent as compared to the period in 1980. Among the factors here are unexcused absences which have increased by almost 30 percent, paid but unproductive presence has increased by 24 percent and excused absences by over 6 percent. On the other hand, the number of overtime hours (beyond continuous regular working time) has decreased by 4.4 hours per worker, i.e., by 20.5 percent.)

Some improvement has appeared in implementing investments. In the first half of the year industrial construction tasks designated for exploitation under the plan for that period were implemented at the rate of 64.9 percent, whereas in the same period in 1980 the projected tasks were carried out at a rate of 51.1 percent.

Deterioration, however, took place in implementing housing construction. In the first half of the year, 82,100 apartments were constructed, about 30 percent less than in the first half of 1980. The present implementation of housing construction shows that goals will not be reached, and this means people will have to wait still longer for apartments.

In foreign trade, a difficult situation still continues. On one side exports were limited by the low level of production and by increased demand on the part of the domestic market, and on the other side, the low payments possibilities limited imports. Under these difficult conditions in the first half of 1981 there was a 17.4 percent drop in exports and a 7.4 percent drop in imports. In trade with the first payment area (socialist countries), exports were 13.5 percent lower and imports were 6 percent higher. The increase in imports from this area, especially of raw and other materials, contributed to some easing of the supply situation. But in trade with the second payment area (capitalist countries) exports dropped by 21.7 percent and imports by 21 percent.

The situation in agriculture has various aspects. On the whole, plant cultivation developed favorably. Estimates at the end of June 1981 showed that the condition of grain as a whole was better than in 1980. Among the grains in some regions, however, especially wheat and barley, there was more disease, and plantings of rye, mostly in the lights soils, were remarkably thin. The state of the root crops at the end of June was judged to be better than in 1980. On the whole weather has been good for growing potatoes, but frequent showers have made it difficult to cultivate them properly. In the second half of the June reports were coming in about massive appearances of the potato bug, mainly in the south-western and central regions.

A serious deterioration of the situation in contracting for slaughter animals took place. The number of swine contracted for delivery during the period of July-August 1980 as compared to last year was around 26 percent lower, and 24 percent lower for slaughter cattle.

Procurement of the slaughter livestock in June was 30 percent lower, and 18.4 percent lower for the entire first half of the year. Procurement of milk in June dropped by nearly 10 percent, and in the first half of the year by 15.4 percent; procurement of eggs in June was 5 percent lower, and 2.5 percent lower for the first half of the year.

In June shortages of spare parts in agriculture continued, particular shortages of rubber parts, batteries, spare parts for tractors and Leyland engines, wedge-shaped belts, belts for sheaf binders, string for collecting presses and many other elements.

According to CZSR 'Samopomoc Chlopska" (Central Agricultural Union of "Peasant Self-Aid" Cooperation) estimates, private farmers, will particularly feel the lack of mowers, tractor sheaf binders and rakes during harvesting and threshing this year. That is why, now more than before, especially during the harvest, much help is needed in agriculture from the youth and employees of institutions and enterprises. It is indispensable also that a larger effort takes place in

industry to produce small tools and particularly, of most-sought-after spare parts for agriculture.

The money market situation in June was characterized by the further deepening of the internal market's lack of balance. This was caused, first of all, by the remarkable increase in monetary incomes and by the low supply of goods for the market, deviating from the social needs.

The population's total monetary income in June 1981 was 162.8 billion zlotyz; In comparison to June 1980 they increased by 28.4 percent, and in the first half of 1981 they amounted to 960.7 billion zlotys, i.e., an increase of over 29 percent; the average wage was 6,780 zlotys, i.e., up 26 percent. But the value (in retail prices of merchandise, both domestic and imported, delivered to the market in June 1981 was 114.3 billion zlotys, i.e., almost 3 percent lower than in June 1980; and in the first half of 1981 the value was 704.8 billion zlotys, 0.5 percent lower in relation to 1980.

Comparing only these two indexes gives the whole picture of the market. Besides, however, present difficulties are aggrevated by the low quality of many products and by the fact that people are buying out some products and storing them up. One must also remember that the monetary resources of the people continue to increase, not only because of appropriate savings, but by lack of commodities to buy as well. According to data obtained frum GUS (Central Bureau of Statistics Statistics), monetary resources of the population at the end of July 1981 were 893.1 billion zlotys, of which savings deposits were 596 billion and cash 297.2 billion zlotys.

All that results in the fact that every bit of merchandise delivered to the market is immediately bought up.

The drop in industrial production and in slaughter livestock procurement caused decreases in market supplies. Supplies of meat and meat products in April were 153,800 tons, in May 146,000 tons, and in June 144,600 tons. Supplies of meat, meat products and poultry, compared to the corresponding periods in 1980, were lower in June by 14,700 tons, i.e., by 9.3 percent, and in the first half of the year by 129,900 tons, i.e., by 12.4 percent. In a majority of districts supplies of meat, meat products and poultry were insufficient to fully cover ration coupons.

In June 1981, the quantity of fats delivered to the market was 6 percent lower than in June 1980. Though supplies of butter were 14.6 percent higher, margarine by 4.9 percent, oil by 6.3 percent, demand for fats was not satisfied in full.

The situation with dairy products was a little better. In comparison to June 1980, milk deliveries were up 11 percent, aged cheeses by nearly 14 percent, cottage cheese by over 28 percent, and sour cream by 7 percent. In larger population centers, however, large shortages of all diary products still continued.

In the majority of districts, in the third part of June, eggs were not being delivered regularly, though in June as a whole, deliveries were 14.4 percent more than in June 1980. There was endless disruption in bread deliveries. In many districts vinegar was lacking, as were canned fruits and vegetables.

Supplies of regular and quality vodka were lower compared with the same period last year--in June 25.4 percent power and 15.3 percent in the first half of the year. Supplies of wine were 19.5 percent lower in the first half of the year.

Sharp deficiencies continued in cigarettes, matches, laundry and other detergents, shampoos, toilet soap, toothpaste. Supplies of light industry products did not meet demands of the market. Most notable were shortages of stockings, women's and men's underwear, cotton clothing, and footwear.

--There were shortages of many articles in the industrial branches producing domestic appliances as in the previous periods.

The lower market supplies of commodities and the increased sale prices caused reduction of stocks. On 30 June 1981 value (in current retail prices) of merchandise stocks in market trade was, in the food group, lower by over 43 percent and in the non-food group, by 15.9 percent.

At the end of June 1981, pit coal stocks in the commercial system were 316,000 tons lower, i.e., 63 percent, than at the end of June 1980.

That is why the economic crisis became so severe in the first half of 1981.

Animal Production

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 29, 31 Jul 81 pp 11-13

[Question] What is current situation in animal production?

[Answer] First, some facts and figures. The cattle population at present is 11.8 million head, which is 850,000 head (6.8 percent) less than in 1980. The number of cows fell to 200,000, i.e., by 3.3 percent, calves by 350,000, i.e., by 14.3 percent. The number of cattle decreased in all districts except Kalisz and Siedlce where 0.3 percent increase was noted. The steepest decrease (by over 10 percent) was in the districts of Chelm, Krosno, Przemysl, Zamosc, Bydgoszcz, Torun, Koszalin, Gorzow, Rzeszow and Zielona Gora.

In cattle breeding the following tendencies are observed:

The number of cattle dropped in the socialized farms (by 14.6 percent); this can be explained by the fact that those farms are in the course of adapting to a new system of management. In the past, in many PGR (state) farms production was thrust and forced upon them without taking costs into consideration. As a result, farms for 5,000 bulls were set up in areas where the land could yield fodder for only 1,000 heads. However, as long as imported fodder was abundant

and the costs did not matter, one could manage. Today the situation is different, and cattle-raising can be developed only in the places with favorable conditions.

The number of calves dropped sharply on most private farms because of first high procurement prices of milk with complete lack of milk substitutes and fodder mixtures, and, second, because of the high prices of meat on the free market.

At present there are 18.5 million head of swine on private farms, which is as much as 2.8 million head lower (13.3 percent) than in 1980. It is the largest decrease in the history of our agriculture. This present situation in swine stocks takes us back to the level of 1972 whereas there is a much higher human population today.

Decreases in the number of swine occurred in all districts, but the steepest (over 30 percent) was in the districts of Krosno, Rzeszow, Przemysl, and Zamosc. This situation was caused by: large decreases in the number of swine on socialized farms (19.2 percent). This tendency is continually growing.

There was a smaller than expected decrease on the private farms (by 11 percent), when in April 1981 the index still showed 16.2 percent. This indicates that the declining tendency has been curbed in this sector of the economy;

In the makeup of the swine population there was a large drop in the number of sucklings and piglets (by 10.2 and 18 percent, respectively) There was good news, however, regarding the number of sows, 2.2 million head, which creates the possibility of the reproduction, and the information about the increased number of inseminated young sows which reached almost 1 million on private farms. This shows that there is a tendency to maintain and increase the breeding of swine.

At present, there are only 3.9 million head of sheep, down 300,000 head (7.4 percent). This is mainly the result of limited husbandry on the socialized farms.

What conclusion can be deduced from the situation described here, regarding both the prospects of developing husbandry and the possibilities of improving meat supplies which becomes more and more difficult?

A further decline in pork production during the second half of 1981 and in the first quarter of 1982 is to be expected. The decrease in slaughter cattle procurement will continue for about 2 years. All this will influence market supplies and offers no hope for rapid recovery. The first signs of improvement in pork supplies can be expected no sooner than the end of 1982, as for beef supplies improvement can possibly be expected by 1984. This is because of the animal production cycle which cannot be shortened.

In order to keep the supply at the same level as it was in the first months of 1981 for the present and for near future it would be necessary to import 120,000 tons of meat. But due to the lack of foreign currency and of means of transport, this idea seems very unrealistic.

So it is necessary to increase animal production and rebuild the stocks to its indispensable level. Only when all productive possibilities are applied and good, or at least, average crops are obtained, can measurable progress in the production of meat and meat products be expected. This, however, cannot take place until 1984-1985, at the earliest.

It is imperative that action be taken to prevent the slaughter of calves. This can be achieved by improving the supply of milk substitutes, fodder mixtures, coal, to agriculture and by increasing the procurement of calves for breeding.

It is very important also to reestablish small pigsties on [household] plots on the fringers of small cities and towns and to help people to maintain them. In the past, small breeders of swine used to deliver to us at least 2 million head of fattened pigs every year; as fodder they used their own leftovers and, to their great advantage, used natural fertilizers on their plots.

Meaning of 'Anarchosyndicalism'

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 29, 31 Jul 81 pp 13-15

[Text] [Question] The definition of anarchosyndicalism was given long ago in the 1950s by the famous Polish economist, Oscar Lange. He wrote:

> "Two extremities can threaten the socialist capacity of an enterprise; one is the lack of trust in general social benefits. In this case, the ownership of the means of production, whatever its formal and legal character, ceases to be socialist ownership and becomes purely group ownership, void of any responsibility towards society. The second extremity which I call degeneration of bureaucracy lies in the absence of effectively operating workers' self-government."

The first part of this statement contains the evaluation of anarchosyndicalism. The second contains evaluation of the centrally governed system, so well known to us from its worst sides, which nonetheless still is in force.

It is known that preparation are being made to create a legal foundation for changing the existing economic system. Among others, in the Sejm (legislature) enactment of draft laws is pending concerning enterprises and on self-government of the state enterprise work force.

Those laws will initiate the introduction of the economic reform. In accordance with the assumptions of the reform, enterprises will operate on the principle of independence, self-rule and self-financing.

NSZZ Solidarity recently presented its own draft laws on "socialist enterprise," worked out by the NSZZ Solidarity Network of Plant Organizations. These drafts are convergent with, or close to the government's drafts in some points.

The Network's draft goes a little further in regard to the way the director is to be nominated, because it assumes that the exclusive right to nominate the director lies in the workers self-ruling body. This subject can be discussed, especially in relation to the small and some of the medium-size enterprises. But certainly, in the case of multiplant conglomerates and so on, a supervising unit must have its say in filling that post. This problem, however, has nothing to do with the political structure of the state and can be subject to negotiations and compromise.

On the other hand, the fundamental question concerning the principles of the political structure of the socialist state is involved in the way in which the draft of Network treats the property of the enterprise. They consider it not as national, but as group property. The draft says that the work force is the only manager of the enterprise's possessions. Such a statement agrees with the assumptions of anarcho-syndicalism, which says that only the work force determines the general directions of the activity and development of the enterprise, makes decisions about its size and production structure, wages, cooperative ties and so on, and at the same time uses the market mechanism to its own advantage. This conception assumes that, in fact, the work force is to play the same role as a capitalist proprietor and--as he does--tries to achieve as much profit as possible regardless of whether in a situation such methods serve the national interest or not.

The group property cannot be considered as a cooperative, because there are no membership contributions, so there is no possible distribution of revenue in proportion to paid contributions.

The national economy according to the theory of anachrosyndicalism consists of federations of self-governing enterprises, and the only tie between them is merchandise and monetary relations formed on the basis of the market mechanism and of the law of value. Under these conditions the socialist state has very limited possibilities of influencing the formation of merchandise and monetary relations.

Implementation of the system proposed by the Network would mean a shift from one extremity into the other mentioned by G. Lange, that is into a pure group possession void of any responsibility toward society. It would be the proverbial jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

In connection with the NSZZ Solidarity Network several questions come to mind:

First--Why should society as a whole, which contributed to the building and equipping of an enterprise, renounce this national property and lose all control over the enterprise's activity?

Second--How can the work force pay off the loans with which many enterprises like Polcolor, Ursus, Katowice Steel Foundry are burdened if their payment often surpasses the income possiblities of the enterprise itself?

Third--To what extent can social goals be implemented that arise from the principles of the socialist state--especially full employment, family care, and various forms of collective nourishment?

Fourth--How can enterprises be made to produce what is needed by the society, rather than what pays them the most?

Fifth--Will it be possible to curb some of the enterprises' tendencies to jack up prices, because the amount of profit would determine the wages of the work force? How in such a situation could inflation be prevented and prevent low-income people from getting poorer? What would happen in the case of poor enterprise management? Who would be charged with responsibility and who, for instance, would pay the enterprise's debts that might surpass the value of its total assets?

Sixth--How could there be any implementation of the socialist principle of remuneration in proportion to the quantity and quality of work in conditions of large differences in the levels of technical equipment and of degree of modernity between individual plants?

Some answers to these questions are given by the Yugoslavian experiment. The principles proposed by the Network to some extent were put in force in Yugoslavia in 1950 after withdrawal from the so-called Kominform, which then held all European socialist countries together. But after negative experiences arising from too much independence of the enterprises--successive reforms of self-governing system were carried out in the years 1958, 1965, 1974 and 1976. Just for the sake of the social interests, a succession of modifications were introduced that increased the scope and power of the central government to influence the activities of enterprises. In the Yugoslavian system, enterprises must now conclude obligatory agreements with the state.

Knowing of those experiments do we want to repeat other people's errors (as though we did not have our own)? And, finally, the fundamental question: do we want to have a socialist state that implements society-wide goals?

The answer seems to suggest itself easily and it is a positive answer. We must go further to expand productive democracy. This road, however, is not supposed to bring about changes in the property relationship that decide the form of the socialist structure.

Remarks for Readers

Warsaw FAKTY I KOMENTARZE in Polish No 29, 31 Jul 81 p 2

Beginning September 1981 the weekly FAKTY I KOMENTARZE will be received only by those subscribers who make their subscription payments for the months September-December by August 15, 1981 at the latest. A single subscription costs 16 zlotys and should be paid in RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch section.

We remind you at the same time that Ruch will accept subscriptions only if they are confirmed by the District Ideological Training Center of the PZPR District Committee (WOKI). For that purpose, you should apply for fiK at the proper regional WOKI. Not until your application has been approved should you make the subscription payment.

From 1 September 1981 the price of one copy of FAKTY I KOMENTARZE will be one zloty and a single annual subscription for the year 1981 - 50 zlotys (half of the year - 25 zlotys)

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AUTHOR ACCUSED OF 'SLANDER AGAINST ROMANIAN GENIUS'

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 3 Sep 81 p 8

/Article by Eng Ioan Eremia Albescu, editor-in-chief of STIINTA SI TEHNICA and TEHNIUM, and Dr Eng Stefan Ispas, specialized contributor of STIINTA SI TEHNICA: "An Unspeakable Libel on the Romanian Genius"/

/Text/ Our journal has made it a regular procedure to encourage exchange of opinions and has consequently wished to support only those views that were open to interpretation and discussion even if they were in opposition. That is not true of the book about which the following article was written, a book that is nothing but a libelous attempt to misrepresent reality and to grossly distort the facts, doing great harm to the history of Romanian science and the creative genius of the people of this land. Therefore we do not feel we are violating our own conception of a press in publishing this article received by the editors that strongly criticizes a work published in haste. There can be a dialogue between one position and another. But no communication is possible between truth and falsehood, and with that in mind we wonder if the malodorous bouquet of lies in the book described below is of any use to anyone.

We have read with surprise Matei I. Oroveanu's recently published book "Beginnings of Romanian Aeronautic Invention: 1880-1918," Military Publishing House, 1981. As far as the author is concerned matters seem clear. In his desire to be original at any price, he adopts a formula from a deplorable tradition: The recognized values are attacked and contested (That is the author's "definitive" contribution) while the unfamiliar ones are paraded and possibly exaggerated. In this regrettable but consistent effort the author includes ordinary, but not scientific, terminology with some shocking and sometimes even bizarre terms like "prespeech" (p 13), "preliminary note" (p 272), "the human society of our planet" (p 269), "quite different, sometimes unique level" (p 270) etc. To be correct we should say from the start that this work actually contains some authentic and original scientific research findings with which it develops the meritorious creative work of some predecessors like G. Gramatescu, or it presents further original documentation on some well-known inventors. But these in no way justify the serious charges concerning particularly the activity of three brilliant representatives of Romanian aeronautics, namely Traian Vuia, Aurel Vlaicu and Henri Coanda.

The author's otherwise sufficiently explicit intentions of, let us say, a late proletcultist variety are more clearly revealed in the summary in French at the end of

the book (because unfortunately the book is accompanied by a summary in French to make it "effective" internationally on the eve of this World Congress on History of Science), where we can read on p 278: "We must acknowledge that the history of air locomotion has not been strictly scientifically treated in Romania. Therefore it is our purpose to attempt a methodological reconsideration of the beginnings of the Romanians' aeronautic efforts." Therefore all previous Romanian efforts in this field appearing in internationally reknowned works by such authors as E. Carafoli, I. Gudju, St. Ispas, Constantin Teodorescu-Tintea, Ovidiu Ionescu, Gh. Iacobescu, G. Lipovan, Const. C. Gheorghiu, R. Stoica, I. N. Iacovachi, Florin Zaganescu, D. Moroianu et al. are not only questioned but even nullified for their lack of scientific methodology. A beautiful sentence for the defamers of the Romanian people, presented directly in French probably to save them any further effort!

But let us see what the author thinks is the reason or one of the reasons for the lack of scientific precision on the part of those engaged in this field. We find it, again explicitly enough, in the case of Aurel Vlaicu: "As I said, Vlaicu had more biographers than the other Romanian pioneers of air locomotion. Without exception they proved to be devoid either of the historical, methodological component or of the component of aeronautical knowledge, or so devoted to the subject that they came to disregard reality, sometimes unintentionally but sometimes plainly intentionally. Therefore neither Vlaicu's memory nor the higher interests of his people were rightly served (to say nothing of the interests of aviation" (p 118). And finally, if all of Aurel Vlaicu's biographers sinned for lack of patriotism "without exception" and if "the higher interests of the people" were not rightly served because of that, in the name of those "higher" interests it is natural for the author's main merits to consist of a "reappraisal of Aurel Vlaicu's contribution..." (p 118).

Parenthetically, we will quote another key sentence also about Aurel Vlaicu in order to bring out a certain attitude that permeates the book but is more striking at some points. In speaking of Vlaicu's contribution to the efforts to achieve Romanian national unity, the author says on p 118, "But the national unity of the Romanian people was to be accomplished both with and without Vlaicu, since there were infinitely better reasons and developments." Not only does the author nullify Aurel Vlaicu's contribution to the achievement of Romanian national unity but he insidiously opens the way to more serious interpretations because, by a simple extrapolation, if national unity was possible both with and without Vlaicu, it is clear that it could have been accomplished both with and without the contribution of the men of the people and the entire people. Therefore we can only ask of what the "infinitely better reasons and developments" consist! In other words, if some, others and all of those who helped Romanian national unity from within are eliminated we can think only of the international situation, the benevolence of some superpowers, and accordinly live with the feeling of an unfulfilled obligation.

To return, if we have explained as far as possible the reason and purpose of this procedure, which applies to more persons than we have mentioned, let us reflect a little on the means and arguments employed. At the very start the author professes to be faithful to maximum scientific precision when he states the necessity of "placing the Romanians' aeronautic history on a really scientific basis..." (p 22), but he flagrantly reneges on that promise in the course of the book. What can be more convincing in this respect than the incompatibility of strictly scientific methodology with his quotations from memory? "In the spring of 1960 or 1961 (lapsus calami!), at the request of an engineer doing research on the 'Coanda effect,' the author of this work

had the opportunity to consult a portfolio of Eng H. Coanda's unpublished memoirs at the Prof Eng D. Leonida Technical Museum. The portfolio had just arrived at the museum and included a text typed in small type (a portable typewriter) in French on 'pelure' paper." The wealth of rather exotic details cannot hide the awkwardness of a footnote to p 128: "Upon returning to the Leonida Museum in 1972 I asked for the portfolio of H. Coanda's memoirs again, but it was no longer in that museum's collection. No other explanations could be obtained." This "working procedure" could be passed over in silence if the information brought against the great scholar Coanda, based on the vague and perhaps imaginary portfolio, had not been very serious. It is stated, and restated on other pages in the same context, that "What Coanda had done by mistake could not be called a 'flight,' and the assembly did not correspond to the engine despite the special provisions of the design. It was not only unwieldy and had limited aerodynamic characteristics but particularly it could have caught fire at any time on the ground or in flight" (p 209). We do not know how the author came to these conclusions, but we can say that if he was referring to the present aerodynamic standards of the most modern planes of today, Coanda's plane quite rightly did not correspond to the aerodynamic formulas represented today by a Tupolev, a Boeing or a Concorde. But at that time Coanda's 1910 plane (the first jet plane in the world) was considered an aerodynamic achievement accomplished by use of slotted trailing-edge flaps on the wings, first introduced by Coanda and widely applied later, placement of the fuel and lubricant tanks on the wings for the first time, and the first use of a landing gear with elastic suspension with possibilities of partial retraction in the air [escamtare [sic] partiala in aripa] and many other features. As for the "mistake" whereby Coanda the Romanian flew for the first time in a jet plane, the interview published by Henri Coanda in the journal FLYING in May 1956 is illuminating:

"I climbed into the cockpit of the plane, accelerated the engine and immediately felt the powerful current push the machine foreward. I signaled for the chocks to be withdrawn from the wheels and slowly the plane began to move. At first I had intended not to make any attempts at flight that day but only a few runs on the small airfield. But the plane controls seemed responsive and I injected more fuel into the turbine... The test had been made. I had flown the first jet plane." Moreover the reknowned scholar Elie Carafoli attested in his work "Aurel Vlaicu, Pioneer of Romanian Aviation," Bucharest 1960, p 16 that "In 1956 he (Coanda) was feted in New York for the first flight in the world of a plane propelled by a jet engine," a statement repeated in the volume "Centum ani [sic] Academiae Republicae Socialiste Romaniae" (Bucharest 1966) in addition to those of many other worthy scholars, whom the author of "Beginnings of Romanian Aeronautic Invention" probably accuses of too much patriotism. Furthermore the author questions Coanda's professional qualifications. "In the said yearbook we find that Henri Coanda became a pilot officer* 'on the basis of his studies in school in Germany.' But we may quite rightly wonder when and how" (p 101).

Obviously the author is trying to convince us that all this reconsideration is to correct an error that "in now way serves Coanda's memory nor the history of Romanian aeronautics" (p 128)!

The "reappraisal" of Traian Vuia's achievements is somewhat similar. It is quite gratuitously stated that "It is entirely illogical to connect the trip with the lack of resources to make the machine" (p 110). It is a matter of the trip from the Banat to Paris when Vuia actually was without resources, and Paris was considered the capital of aeronautics at that time. The fact is also disputed that Vuia's plane was designed essentially in the Banat before the trip to Paris, with the insinuation that Vuia

*In May 1928.

was inspired by foreigners (p 111). But as Vuia's biographer, G. Lipovan, says in a text revised by Vuia himself, the situation was quite different. Vuia, with his plane clearly in mind and even having sketches of it, went to Paris to carry out his design counting on more material support and greater understanding.

In Vuia's case too the author makes an ostentatious effort to collect conflicting statements about the length of the first flight in the world, statements published by by various authors and eventually corrected by the discovery of new documents, so that the uninformed reader may very well wonder what the true situation is. When we add to all this the author's insistence upon repeating the fact that "The Wright brothers' machine was the first one that flew" (p 120) without specifying the essential difference between a catapulted flight and a flight by independent means, the intention becomes clear to upset the worldwide priorities that we Romanians succeeded in establishing. It is significant that the author, in conclusion, places Traian Vuia "and through him the Romanian aeronautic genius in the first stage, that of the precursors, in the universal history of air locomotion" (p 117). Consequently, if Vuia is a "precursor," it remains for us to find out who is the pioneer and the founder of aviation.

But Aurel Vlaicu is the most abused of our predecessors. For reasons that I gave in the beginning, which are more political and ideological than scientific, the author applies the same scientific and technical nihilism. The author's original "contribution" is the discovery that Vlaicu "not knowing any other language except Hungarian (slightly)"erred in stating that the machine (or his machines) built by Vlaicu was mainly the result of "personal studies and experiments," and he draws the conclusion that "There are necessary corrections" (p 119), and the "corrections" are not slow in coming.

On the assumption that "Not one of the heavier than air airships with fixed wings can be considered an 'invention,'" the author wants to assert the idea that "A. Vlaicu's plane is to be analyzed in the spirit of this interpretation," whereby "It seems indicated to reconsider the error that has been made in applying the terms 'inventor' and 'invention' to the person and to the machines he built" (p 120).

He also takes pride in stating that Vlaicu had no degree in engineering ("Vlaicu did not become a certified engineer and never was one officially" (p 98)), although there are no archival documents to that effect, and on the other hand his contemporaries recognized that quality in him. Not even Vlaicu's plane is exempt. "The first inaccurate statement concerning Vlaicu's technical procedures is to be found in the very title of the documents wherein he requests an invention patent for his first machine" (p 121).

The author is not conversant with the terminology of the time, and in applying it to today's standards of aerodynamics he tries to ridicule the machine that brought us Romanians so much glory.

For example it is stated on p 121 that Vlaicu's only original ideas about the construction of his planes "the component of the landing gear" and "the direction and altitude controls." This statement flagrantly contradicts the conclusions of Academician Elie Carafoli who, in his work "Aurel Vlaicu, Pioneer of Romanian Aviation" Bucharest, 1960), lists far more innovations, such as the small aluminum pipe supporting all the other elements, the reducing gear between the engine and the propeller, the brakes on the wheels, the two counter-rotating propellers, the cross-shaped tail unit at the tail of the plane, etc.

Space does not permit us to take up other authors similarly disparaged in this book, such as Alexandru Ciurcu (pp 60-61, 205-208), Rodrig Goliescu, (p 191), Mihail Braneanu (pp 62-63), et al.

Not even freedom of research can justify such harm done to Romanian scientific and technical propaganda. Clearly a researcher has not only freedom but also the obligation to investigate without dogmas and preconceived ideas, bringing out the scientific truth. But in our opinion, and we believe all readers agree with us, the procedure we see in this work has nothing to do with the freedom of scientific research. A system of scientific review of every book has been created in socialist Romania to protect the reader from subjective abuses. It is regrettable that this system failed to function in the case of this book, and our intellectual atmosphere has been polluted. In preparation for the Second Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture it is a moral obligation to make every effort to prevent any repetition of these malfunctions. And not to leave matters in suspense, we take this occasion to suggest that the responsible elements take steps to publish the "History of Romanian Aviation," enlisting for the purpose all specialists in this field and exploiting all documentary sources in Romania and abroad, an undertaking that is now a necessity for the beautiful Romanian traditions and for the great achievements and prospects characterizing the Romanian airspace industry.

5186
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ORIGIN OF HUNGARIANS LIVING IN MOLDAVIA

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/Article by V. M. Ungureanu, native of Sagna in Neamt County: "More About the Csangos in Moldavia"/

/Text/ Constantin Beloiu recently published an article, prefaced by Victor Nita, in FLACĂRA (No 27, 2 July 1981) concerning the origin of the so-called Csangos (Hungarians in Moldavia), in which he presents a manuscript study of the late Prof Dumitru Martinas'.

We have been drafting a letter to the editors about this interesting article, with some comments from which we quote as follows:

1. The Romanian Catholic communities in Moldavia (Whatever they are called, they are known and regard themselves as Romanians and have no concern for more or less fantastic theories of their origin) are vestiges of the original Romanian Christendom, which was Latin, and they descend from the Catholic Vlachs mentioned in the papal documents of the 13th-14th centuries who, along with the Orthodox Romanian population, first absorbed some of the Cumans and later some of the old Szekler and Saxon colonists.

2. These communities grew considerably in the 18th century, after the wave of emigration from Transylvania, when the term Csango appeared. It was subsequently popularized by Hungarian authors and passed into Romanian scientific terminology despite the fact that most of those so called did not know of it, and after it spread further it became a real pejorative for them. (I myself in early childhood used to recite with much feeling, "I am a Romanian and a peasant's son/ I wear sandals and I wear a peasant's coat." It was only in the history textbooks in high school that I found I was a Csango. Horrors!)

3. Religious discrimination of sad memory and a certain attitude also helped to implant the erroneous opinion about the foreign origin of the Catholic inhabitants of Moldavia. Of course that opinion was also furthered by the fact that a minority of them are bilingual, speaking a separate Hungarian dialect.

4. The erroneous assertion about our origin, making no distinction between those who speak Romanian only and the bilinguals, was always very staunchly supported by a certain propaganda, primarily for political purposes, culminating in the tragic year of

1940 when the Horthyite territorial claims extended over a part of Stefan the Great's Moldavia (To their credit and ours, the high-ranking clergy among us were foremost among those who strongly protested against these absurd claims).

5. If we are to be objective we must mention that in the 19th century especially such propaganda was also disseminated among us by some Hungarian missionaries from Transylvania, whom Rome finally recalled for that reason, and also by the teachers (cantors) educated in the Szekler country, to whom we are partly indebted for our rather colorful name.

6. Our history stained over the centuries with the blood abundantly shed in our country's defense, our ancestors' bravery (in 1888 the Hungarian scholar Aladar Ballagi, who visited our country from Budapest, told how the Csango mayor of Cleja, in Bacau County, "heatedly related his deeds at Plevna" to him), our traditions and customs, our old songs, tales and games, the Romanian dialect characteristic of most of us which has not yet been thoroughly studied, our dress, which Nicolae Iorga considered the most beautiful Romanian costume (In connection with the old men's dress, I remember my father, whom my mother addressed as "You Romanian" and whom I regarded as if he had come down from Trajan's Column), our folk art, our way of life and our consciousness of our Romanian nationality all clearly bear out our Romanian origin.

7. Regarding the term Csango, with special reference to us, that pseudoethic designation should be permanently removed from scientific terminology along with its derivatives because it represents no ethnic reality as far as we are concerned. Whoever wishes to is free to accept and take pride in that name. But we who do not recognize it and consider ourselves Romanians and only Romanians want to be exempted from it at least from now on, and we insist that dictionaries, encyclopedias, geographies and all reference works make the proper distinction for the sake of scientific objectivity. Let us have done at once with the blatant falsehood that being a Catholic Moldavian is synonymous with being a Csango!

When I was about to conclude these comments on the problem that directly concerns us, to my astonishment and to the indignation of all of us the already vast bibliography includes a new name, Peter Eross Osz, who signs some uninspired "Thoughts About an Article," also published in FLACARA (No 32, 6 August 1981).

The author, who acknowledges that he is neither a linguist nor a historian but has always been interested in both disciplines, states that he is a native of a village in Bacau County (He does not say which village so that we would know with whom we have to deal because we know of no such name in our parts), where he says he still comes when he has time to see his "friends and the cemetery."

Among the autobiographical details he should also have told us in what school he was educated and then we might have understood why he felt hurt, along "with many others" (what others?) "in his self-awareness" about belonging to a nationality. Then we would have understood why he feels bound "by unbreakable sentimental ties" not to his native Moldavia but to something quite different, just as "the travelers, writers driven by curiosity, historians, folklorists, ethnographers, journalists, poets etc." mentioned by the uprooted Bacauan also disturb us while we live in the peace of our minds and lives, which are perfectly integrated in the life of the Romanian people.

Peter Eross Osz and any of those with such an education are perfectly free to regard themselves as direct desendents of the Huns, Cabarids [cabarizilor] and I know whom

or as the oldest and most authentic Magyars on the face of the earth. It is a purely personal matter and we respect it as such. But on the other hand he should allow us, about 200,000 of us who consider ourselves Romanians and only Romanians, to express ourselves as we feel and to live our lives according to our nature and our Romanian awareness and not insult us with "thoughts" like those published.

Like Prof Dumitru Martinas (See the admirable intellectual and moral portrait of him by Prof Dr Docent J. Spielman in the July number of VATRA, Tirgu Mures) we are not xenophobes. Belonging body and soul to the Romanian people and having our own spiritual values that we cherish like the light of our eyes, we love and respect all national minorities, among whom the Hungarian minority has a place apart. We have a distinct historical and cultural symbiosis with them and we sincerely prize their spiritual values. But let one thing be known once and for all: Even if all kinds of writings about us were printed that would fill a library not like the one the offended author mentions but one of the size of the library in Alexandria, we would always remain an integral part of the Romanian nation and would never allow anyone to disturb what we hold more dear and more sacred, namely our Romanian consciousness formed in the eternal light of Rome.

As to the author's "scientific" figments, reading them like his previous "thoughts" reminds one of the traditional saying about the philosophy of silence. Let us consider the following points:

1. Prof Dumitru Martinas' study concerns the Romanian dialect of his parents and most of the so-called Csangos, which is regarded as a gap in Romanian linguistics and has not been studied before. But Osz misunderstands the situation, constantly referring to the "Csango" Hungarian dialect and accusing Martinas of no knowing Hungarian.

2. Osz, who was born among the Csangos, not only has friends among them but has taken a serious interest in the Csango problem for more than 30 years in order to satisfy his curiosity. Osz, who "cannot be called entirely uninformed," considers the explanations given of the term Csango "unscientific." But he omitted one detail: the explanations are not Martinas' but those of some Hungarian authors who are certainly better informed in this matter than he. Here is a quotation from BULETINUL SOCIETATII GEOGRAFICE UNGARE, Budapest, 1888, unknown to Martinas in the original: "Ce peuple s'appelle csango, nom qui tire son origine du verbe csangai et veut dire hongrois degenere."

3. Dumitru Martinas makes no particular point about the "Csango" Hungarian dialect because it is not the subject of his study. Here as above the saying is appropriate: "Good day, uncle Istrat!" "Two ducklings, brother!"

4. Even though it was studied by Wichmann and Weigand (not Wiegand, as Osz calls him. Let it be said in passing that the German linguist's studies of us are cursory and superficial) the sibilant pronunciation cannot represent "a surviving form of Hungarian linguistic archaism which was formerly generalized (under the Cabarids' influence) and which has survived until our time only in the northern Csango dialect" because it also occurs in the Romanian dialects of our part of Moldavia, the Banat and Oltenia, where history tells us no Cabarid set foot.

The value of his historical-linguistic assertions will be clearly and immediately apparent to the reader from all the current misinformation at the end of the article in question, which we correct as follows: (1) The only publication of the Catholic Presa

Buna Publishing House in Iasi wherein any articles on this subject appeared is the "Presa Buna Almanac" for 1941. (2) There was no Catholic publishing house in Iasi called Sf Bonaventura. That was the name of the reading society of the former Franciscan theological seminary at Luizi-Calugara, Bacau County, which published religious books only. (3) There were no authors named Petru Lucaciu or P. Ferent (confused with Dumitru Lucaciu and Ioan or perhaps Iacob Ferent?). (4) Nor was there any author named Petru Mihai. (5) There was no Iosif Pal either. Iosif Petru M. Pal (without an acute, and the M. is for Maria) was the father superior of the Romanian Franciscans. (6) The writings of the Catholic priests disliked by the latest Csangologist were not published "more precisely in the 1930's" as he quite ignorantly says, but very precisely in 1940 and thereafter under the above-mentioned circumstances and as a duty of conscience born of their enlightened patriotism.

5186
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ORIGINS OF KOSOVO TROUBLES TRACED IN MILITARY JOURNAL

Lessons Drawn From Events

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[Article by Dr Muhamed Kesetovic: "Counterrevolution in Kosovo, Lessons and Implications"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] The premeditated counterrevolutionary action by well-organized and well-prepared hostile forces under the slogan "Kosovo a Republic" raised the question which was put in the introduction to this many-sided topic: How was it possible for the events in Kosovo to take a counterrevolutionary turn and to follow an irrational course that won the support of a portion [of the population], especially the young generation, university students and the intelligentsia?

Without undertaking to elaborate the historical past and to analyze the factors in that complex, which certainly are not primary factors, the most correct methodological procedure of analysis would seem to be to go right to the heart of the problem, in media res. This procedure is all the more justified because there has been and there still is more or less skillful manipulation of the history and the historical facts. As we know, the past has an influence on the present and future, but not a decisive impact, nor as much of an influence as the factors which are currently operative. Among them three are the most important.

First, socialist self-management in Yugoslavia has meant a change of direction in the development of our nationalities and relations among them generally, and in Kosovo specifically. It necessarily required decentralization and destatization as a necessary prerequisite to expansion of the framework of worker control of the conditions and results of their work, i.e., as a necessary prerequisite for the development of socialist self-management. It also signified a qualitatively new step in the policy of equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. However, socialist self-management has not been developing according to needs or the changes which have been made, especially in its essence, i.e., in the qualitative alteration of production relations. In and of itself this opened up the possibility of an insufficient harmony of relations, no longer directly between the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces in the Federation, but at the socioeconomic base, between self-management and statism

in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. This contradiction on the surface of things was transformed to take on a nationality dimension, i.e., an interrepublic-province dimension, in the Federation and in relations within it.

The carapace of the state was thrown off more slowly at the republic and province level. This favored the invigoration and strengthening of ethnic egoism and aspirations to statehood on the part of the nationalities, which at the outset was manifested first in the more advanced republics and the Province of Vojvodina. When the ideological forces which were the vehicle of this course received a decisive blow in those republics and SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina, in Kosovo and elsewhere those same forces began to behave and take their bearings according to the logic of a negative example having become a model. This was manifested, first, in economic exclusiveness, and then in a weakening of other mutual ties and influences as well. The difference is that those currents, in this case in Kosovo, had more time to sow the poison seed and that, in their linkage with irredentism, they grew relatively rapidly into counterrevolution. For that reason the showdown with those forces must be more thoroughgoing and lengthy, but it undoubtedly must also yield another result--an airing out of the entire society to rid it of this kind of staleness where it has persisted. This only confirms that the destiny of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities in Yugoslavia is indissolubly bound up with socialist management, with the working class and its interests, and not with the national states and alienated political powers which express themselves in an outdated national romanticism and an aspiration for statehood which has not yet run its course.

Second, the tendencies toward economic and social exclusiveness, borne along by ethnic and republic-provincial egoism, on foundations of statist production relations which have not been overcome in the socioeconomic sphere and of political rule in the sphere of the social superstructure, have collided seriously with the policy of and commitment to reduction of differences in level of development between the advanced and underdeveloped socialist republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The emergence of this confinement to regional limits has left no space or opportunity for free pooling of labor and income through self-management or for optimum division of labor in the undivided economic and social space of Yugoslavia. This was conducive to an uncontrolled retention of elements of the worker's wage relation in production relations as well as of the basis of ethnic alienation. If differences between the economically advanced and underdeveloped were to be mitigated in such a situation, the state had to remain on the scene with its set of instruments to stimulate and assist the more rapid development of the underdeveloped SR's [socialist republic] and SAP Kosovo.

The material resources gathered in this way and committed to projects in Kosovo, especially over the last 10 years, have been very large and have yielded large results. At the same time they indicate a high level of solidarity and confirm that solidarity. However, precisely because even this sphere of policy has remained in the statist framework, both with respect to the collection and manner of placement of the resources and also with respect to their use, this policy has not only failed to yield the optimum results, but in part and unwittingly it

became implicated in furthering the conditions which resulted in the hostile and counterrevolutionary explosion in Kosovo. /What does this apparent contradiction involve./

The financial resources of the federal fund for stimulating the more rapid development of the underdeveloped SR's and SAP Kosovo, which were built up administratively, were administratively committed and spent in Kosovo. /Instead of performing the function of bringing the Kosovo economy more rapidly into the Yugoslav division of labor, they stimulated and strengthened autarkic structures./

The national romanticism of a portion of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo was manifested in the fact that these resources were uncritically and disproportionately committed to consumption and to reproduction of structures which were highly subject to national romanticism and nationalism. History has countless times confirmed that this is dangerous in any nationality and especially in a nationality which has had such a difficult historical past as the Albanian nationality in Kosovo.

The development programs in Kosovo did not take as their point of departure the shortest way of ensuring formation of a large-scale industrial working class as the social foundation and pillar of socialist self-management and an integrating force in the pooling of labor and self-management integration of Yugoslav society and the system. Moreover, the outsizing of higher education (in a very short time the university in Pristina had the third largest student body in Yugoslavia, larger than the university in Ljubljana) created and aggravated the problem of finding jobs. Other forms of nonproduction consumption also manifested a tendency of national romanticism.

The absence of inputs from the other communities as self-managers, from the other SR's, which would have stood in the way of Kosovo's closing itself off, was conducive to the formation of real relations and a consciousness whereby the pressures--to get more, the attitude that what was received was never enough--fitted perfectly into the national romanticism which was objectively becoming an ally of the counterrevolution.

Third, the insufficient openness of Kosovo toward the other parts of Yugoslavia and of them toward Kosovo, along with the swelling up of Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, opened wide the door to neighboring Albania, where an alliance of nationalism with counterrevolution is indeed beginning. Whereas it is all but practically impossible for the citizens of other parts of Yugoslavia to get a visa to visit neighboring Albania, relations, especially cultural, educational, scientific, tourist and similar relations between Kosovo and Albania, have been far more highly developed over the last 10 years than with the other SR's and SAP Vojvodina in Yugoslavia. Though this sounds paradoxical, it must be said that in many respects Albanian nationals were more privileged in Kosovo and had greater freedom than in their own country. The question arises in this connection: /How is it possible that people from a more advanced and humane community would idealize a community in which there is none of that, in which they could not find a place and which they could not tolerate?/

It must immediately be said that nationalism is blind, it may be vast, but it can never be great, it is irrational, and, as Karl Kraus says, "nationalism is a whirlpool in which all other forms of thought cease." /That is one thing, but the other is how a nationalist counterrevolution could have occurred and risen up in the context of socialist self-management; it is that which horrified the public the most. But actually the Kosovo counterrevolution confirmed the lag in underdevelopment of socialist self-management on the one hand and fear of it on the other./

The very moment that the process of socialist self-management slowed down in the context of the more independent constitutional status of SAP Kosovo in the SFRY and in SR Serbia, the political and bureaucratic-technocratic structures lounged back and relaxed, and by the logic of the thing pointed a finger at someone else for all the difficulties and problems which arose therefrom. The feeling of being neglected was nurtured in the consciousness of the ordinary people of Albanian nationality. /Certain of the leaders built their positions on this, and the more they emphasized it, the greater the recognition they felt they received as national leaders and saviours./ Carrying this logic still further and manipulating this kind of state of the people, they believed that they would exert pressure more effectively and extort more resources for development from the Federation and SR Serbia. On the other hand the intensified and uncontrolled relations and ties between Kosovo and Albania had two aspects. One was that the irredentists deliberately and in a lasting way took advantage of this uncontrolled development and the naive assessment and orientation of the leaders in Kosovo. They used all that to whip up anti-Yugoslav and especially anti-Serb feeling and to sow illusions about Great Albania as the only prospect for the Albanian people in general, in Kosovo particularly.

But the intensified relations and contacts from Albania also revealed the other side of the coin to Albanian citizens. Given that country's total isolation from the rest of the world and the regime of Enver Hoxha, which is like that of Pol Pot transplanted in Europe, through the relations with Kosovo Albanian nationals became aware and began to think more critically about their country's regime. /Out of a fear lest their government be shaken for that reason, the irredentists from Albania tried to shake Yugoslavia itself through the counterrevolution in Kosovo./ This is unambiguously confirmed by the brutality in the disorders and also by the starting up of the familiar Stalinist-Cominform arsenal against Yugoslavia when the counterrevolution failed.

In Kosovo the uncontrolled bureaucratic-technocratic tendencies made concepts confused, and the ability was lost to distinguish the national from the nationalistic. It was thought up until the most recent events that the Albanian nationality in Kosovo as the largest of our ethnic minorities, would be capable of achieving harmonious relations among the nationalities and brotherhood and unity once it had gained unrestricted conditions and opportunities for affirmation of its individuality. Nor has this belief been betrayed. The betrayal was on the part of certain of the most responsible leaders and the political structures that were under their influence and were also unvigilant and lax in the face of the activity of nationalistic fanatics, but not on the part of the people. A portion of the Albanian people in Kosovo were blinded and carried away by the

hostile nationalistic euphoria, and it is becoming aware of its true interests as it sobers up from the shock, in the course of the political differentiation which is now under way in Kosovo, which has been proceeding successfully and is gradually putting everything in its place.

And something else. It is an old truth that the same causes give rise to the same consequences, there being differences, of course, in forms and time. In other words, when nationalism and liberalism emerged on the basis of decentralized statist production relations in the advanced regions, it was natural for them to emerge in the other regions as well, i.e., in Kosovo. When they were not dealt the necessary blow there at the time, they became bolder and stronger. In the context of the forging of the socioeconomic relations of self-management, this logically had to bring about the same phenomenon where at the outset it was dealt an initial blow. The capital lesson and implication of Kosovo is that the contradictions: socialist self-management--statism and technobureaucracy and regionalism, which emerges on the surface as a form of Soviet chauvinism, but is in essence a class deformation, will have to be stated in class terms and will have to be resolved in terms of social classes.

In the context of the shattering of the undivided economic space of Yugoslavia and of autarky, whose basis is the state-ownership and group-ownership relationship, and which is an expression of the technobureaucratic political and professional-management ruling group, there is no basis or space for activity of the revolutionary vanguard of the working class in favor of democratic relations in a creative dialogue carried along by the desire for real present and future truths. The revolutionary vanguard, insofar as it becomes dissolved in that shattered space and those relations, instead of winning out and overcoming, is removed from its historical mission and role by that same distance. A way with words is of no help here whatsoever. Quite often this eloquence conceals demagogy and a dangerous lulling, since it is not easy in practice to distinguish lasting from immediate interests, and it is still more difficult to fight for them. That is why it is neither easy nor simple even today to be a member of the League of Communists, and this is particularly true of responsible officials in forums.

The slow and lukewarm political differentiation in Kosovo, which has hardly budged, much less expanded, anywhere outside the organizations of the LCY, is merely a confirmation of that. If we are to face the truth, Kosovo is confirmation that under the strong influence of individuals the leadership bodies actually attempted to create an organization of the League of Communists to meet their own needs, as a point of support and protection of their egoistic-provincial policy and interests, and not to serve the interests of the working class. Taking all in all, there is not much space or time for debates about our moment of truth; it calls for action, since this moment in time is pregnant with an uncontrolled course of events wherever the class compass has been lost.

The League of Communists--class-oriented, not only nationally (republic-province) oriented, firm and resolute in its practical activity to serve the lasting interests of the working class--is as necessary to Yugoslavia today and to every nation and nationality as air is to the organism. It is a question of

class consciousness, of a deliberate struggle by the most conscious forces of society--the League of Communists--to examine the working-class interests today and here along the important lines of strategy and in practical everyday action, and then all other relations establish themselves as a matter of course.

The counterrevolution in Kosovo demonstrated that so long as the League of Communists, from the primary organization to the highest forums, is identified with immediate and partial interests, there is no dialectical harmony, nor can there be, between the interests of the nationality and the interests of the class. The authenticity of the revolution and its continuity should be sought and evaluated in that harmony, and this should be done not according to declarations, but according to practice and the results of practice. That approach to social reality also offers opportunities for overcoming all the present difficulties, which indeed has been the case up to now in our revolutionary past.

Background in International Law

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[Article by Dr Gavro Perazic, professor: "Albanian Intervention in the Kosovo Events From the Standpoint of International Law"]

[Text] Albania's intervention in the domestic affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been unambiguously expressed in a series of articles in ZERI I POPULIT, organ of the Albanian Workers' Party as well as in the official acts and statements of the Albanian state. The attacks on our country's policy made by the periodical mentioned can be described in the terms of international law as acts of "use of force and threat of force" against the territorial integrity and political independence of a state.

International law long ago condemned such acts, since they violate a state's sovereign right to regulate its own political system, especially its constitutional system, as best suits it. However harmless this may appear (since it involves an action by a small neighboring country which cannot threaten Yugoslavia's security), international law still cannot make concessions in the degree of its condemnation of such acts, which would be based solely on an assessment of the real danger to the country attacked and its readiness to defend itself against the danger that has arisen. Even though its strength is weaker in every respect, NR [People's Republic] Albania dares to undertake aggressive acts against a country which is in every respect larger and stronger. After all, as is well known, a state's behavior does not depend solely on its size and military power, but also on other factors which are sometimes decisive or even indeed the crucial ones. International law, then, condemns evenhandedly such acts whether they are committed by a small state against some large state, or the other way around, just as it evenhandedly protects the sovereignty of every state, be it small or large.

There can be no dilemma about this being a complex, planned and deliberate undertaking by the official Albanian government structure against Yugoslavia. After all, even if we were to confine the blame only to ZERI I POPULIT as

though it were a free periodical, that would not correspond to reality, since in a political regime like the one in Albania, the symbiosis of the state and party, by the nature of the very system, has been carried to perfection, and this periodical of the Albanian party and government can in no way be regarded separately from Albania's policy.

But the matter is not confined to that. It has also come out that an official government agency--a diplomatic mission, was fully involved in the disorders in Kosovo--in a particular way, of course, as, incidentally, such things are done. Nor, of course, did the old truth fail to be borne out in this: that foreign policy has its source in a country's internal condition. And further, that a deviation on the domestic scene often causes a state to cast its domestic crises over the borders in order to prove that the origin of those crises should also be sought outside the country's borders. There have been quite a few such crises in Albania's political regime, since a political system of that kind actually engenders them, and it survived them by "seeking" the causes outside its own borders. Nor is the capability of this kind of manipulation of its citizens on the basis of chauvinism and nationalism debatable, in spite of the fact that it runs counter to international law.

I

The series of attacks on basic elements of Yugoslavia's sovereignty and certain values which constitute the exclusive domain of any country's domestic order and progress is covered in international law by several legal norms--institutions--which were shaped within an old institution of international law and which are very relevant even today, and the law defines that series of attacks as intervention (interference) in the internal affairs of other states, whose condemnation on the international scene is not disputed today by a single state in the international community.

Since in pursuit of one of its goals the Albanian side itself appeals to international law, [stating that] it was Yugoslavia's constitutional failure not to have set up Kosovo as a republic, describing that fact at the same time as a "contradiction of the principles of good neighborliness," we ourselves will discuss certain institutions of international law and set them against the Albanian acts in order to see to what extent the Albanian actions in the Kosovo events conform to those principles of international law.

II

A drastic manifestation of Albanian irredentism was contained in an article in ZERI I POPULIT on 23 April of this year, in which it explicitly emphasized that the Albanian nationality was "third largest in Yugoslavia, and it ought to be joined with Albania--your socialist ally in the national liberation struggle." On 17 May of this year the newspaper resorted to criticizing the historical events in the past which brought injustice to the Albanian people. That is, it began first of all with the 1913 London Agreement, when the creation of Albania as an independent state was proclaimed in a conference of ambassadors of the great powers. However, the Albanian side is critical of that event because

Albania was parceled and because the largest northeastern portion (Kosovo and other Albanian regions) were next to the Kingdom of Serbia and Montenegro, thereafter to be left within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919.

It is not clear why the author of the article bypassed the text of the secret London protocol dated 26 April 1915 between the Triple Entente and Italy, which called for creating an independent state under Italian protection from a small portion of Albania and under which Italy would acquire full sovereignty over Sazan Island and the town of Valona, and the northern and southern portions were divided between the kingdoms of Greece and of Serbia and Montenegro (Article 7). At that time certain of our territories (Istria and the coast) were also allotted to Italy. Thus Fan Noli, the Albanian representative, rightly noted in 1921 in the League of Nations that the secret 1915 London treaty was not binding and had no legal force whatsoever.[1] Incidentally, the borders of Albania as they were subsequently established were defined in London in 1913.[2]

The actual establishment of the borders went slowly and painfully, and then in 1926 the agreement that the border had been definitively established in international law was finally signed. We can conclude from that that at the time when Albania's borders with neighboring states was being debated, it was not an independent state from which anything could have been taken away, but a Turkish province. Nor was Yugoslavia an independent state until 1918, but the independent states were Serbia and Montenegro. So two of today's neighboring states are the heirs of those decisions in 1913, under which they would emerge as states after World War I, when in fact the political map of Europe changed a great deal. The circumstances were such that neither one nor the other could significantly influence how the borders would be defined, though they did have their representatives on the commission for delineation of the border. So, the truth needs to be stated: the great powers had the last word in demarcation.[3] Which is why the two new subjects of international law--Yugoslavia and Albania--were unable to alter the situation created in 1913, even had they been willing to do so, but they were only able to make certain small corrections when the border was being marked in the field.

At the beginning of World War II Albania was proclaimed an Italian protectorate, and independent Albania was again established after the war. During World War II, specifically on 12 August 1941, Italy, contrary to international law, proclaimed the annexation of a portion of Yugoslav territory to Albania and after the war the relations of status quo ante were reestablished.[4] Consequently, during the war the occupier did not respect the borders that existed. That made it necessary to conclude an agreement[5] to renew the border pyramids which had been destroyed and damaged and also to build intermediate border pyramids on the Yugoslav-Albanian state border in 1953. This document and certain others concerning establishment of the border were based on confirmation of the 1926 Florence Protocol, which definitively acknowledged that a regular legal situation existed with respect to its determination. De jure the two states have established and maintained the border and their jurisdictions in connection with it for more than half a century. At the same time, as legally independent states, both condemned the territorial changes which their common occupier made during World War II.

So, the two old subjects of international law, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of Albania, and their legal successors, the new Yugoslavia and Albania, have not up until this day brought up any dispute whatsoever about the borders which were established, nor have they appealed to historical oversights or "historical rights" to support their theses that the border was improperly drawn, that is, did not include a particular area within their state. Thus the motives and claims on the Albanian side possess extremely suspicious foundations, and they must be condemned in international law. Thus claims of representing to the public the genesis of the "historic rights" on the area where the Albanian nationality lives, particularly combined with emphasizing its numerical size as a factor, cannot convince anyone that the supposed purpose here is to indicate the possible ethnic purity of a community as an additional basis of that expansionism.

No, that is not what is involved, on the contrary, all of this constitutes a revival of the most sinister practice which the world came to know during World War II, when Nazism laid claim on that basis to territories where German ethnic minorities were settled and where they were more numerous that others, which, incidentally, we felt ourselves on our own soil.

There is not much to be said about the border as a basic attribute demarcating two sovereignties and the territorial integrity of states, nor about the fact that their violation by force or the threat of force constitutes an international crime. The reason for all that is that a violation of the sovereignty of a state and people, especially in a case of the armed form of that violation, occurs with its first act being the violation of the border. The entire system of international law on relations between states stresses inviolability of the borders as the most essential obligation. When condemnations are made of force, of aggression, of intervention, and so on, the reference is always to occurrences of these acts, above all against the borders of states, whether the border be directly violated or actions over the border are invisibly aimed at the state's internal being.

Though violation of the border did not occur in the drastic form in our case, as we shall later see, in the acts of interference of the Albanian state it is implicitly contained in the criticism of the historic solutions whereby it was established, since in that way it disputes the legality of the existing border.

It is for that reason that all the new documents in international law devote attention to these problems. For example, one of the most important documents of very recent date (the final communique of the 1974 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) points out that "the participating states regard as mutually inviolable all their borders, as well as the borders of all states in Europe, and /they will now and in the future/ (emphasis supplied by G. P.) refrain from any assault on those borders." Accordingly, "they will also refrain from any demand or act of conquest or usurpation of a portion or the entire territory of any state whatsoever."[6]

To be sure, Albania did not place its solemn signature on that document, it boycotted the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and for that reason

describes the spirit of Helsinki as a "soap bubble."[7] The question arises: Does that mean that this document is not binding on Albania since it did not enter into it?

First of all, the Helsinki document contains nothing new which had not been international law in effect for a long time already and which had not been incorporated in several documents of general and regional nature. European statesmen (and statesmen of the United States and Canada) solemnly signed that document, wishing once again to confirm their resoluteness to respect those rules of behavior on the European continent. That is why Albania does not have the right to go outside the limits of those rules. It is its sovereign right to decide whether it shall sign a particular international document or not, but it is not its sovereign right to choose the manner of its behavior toward that document. This is both understandable and logical. So, that document is equally binding on the signatories and those who did not sign it, be they small powers or great ones. This, then, is a top-ranking rule in international law regardless of the ethnic, religious or other arguments which a state presents as grounds to justify its claims to altering national borders. Otherwise chaos would prevail in international law and in international relations. At the same time, a state's right to survival (self-defense) includes the state's right to defend its borders with all means, with armed power, of course, and along those lines the right to take in advance all measures to protect and defend them.

III

It is self-evident that Albanian manipulation of the Albanian ethnic minority in Yugoslavia is serving altogether different goals, those of expansionism. Within this fact are present the tendencies to rely on force, even though it be displayed indirectly, in order to destroy Yugoslavia's constitutional order. That is, pointing to the numerical size of its nationality in Kosovo and to the compactness of the territory on which it lives as the factor which in and of itself, in the opinion of the Albanian side, constitutes the basis for a republic in the constitutional system of the SFRY, objecting to that nationality's being divided today among three republics, the author of the article in ZERI I POPULIT[8] obviously wishes to emphasize that this is a factor of force within the Yugoslav structure to which particular attention should now be paid in his demands for alteration of the status of the sociopolitical community, that is, for formation of a more independent constitutional entity--a republic--that is, to give it the "rank of a republic," within which there would be further opportunity for its freer manipulation. All this together, even though in propaganda terms, nevertheless constitutes a deliberate urging of Albanian nationalistic and irredentist forces in Kosovo to act with definite force, at present psychological, propaganda and political, toward breaking down the constitutional order of a neighboring country and toward its adaptation to initiatives from outside. At the same time Albania assumes the right to present itself as protector for the sake of supposed protection of its nationality in Kosovo and for support of its struggle to create a separate republic; this patronage would extend over the entire nationality, which in that way would preserve its common language, culture, spiritual homogeneity, and so on.

Albania has unfortunately been attempting in this way to revive a regrettable practice from the past, when states representing the parent nationality tried to make "dynamite" of their minorities, according to presentations once made in the League of Nations. It is worth just recalling the role of the Sudeton Deutsche Partei in Czechoslovakia,[9] similar organizations in states where German ethnic minorities lived, and indeed even in Yugoslavia between the two world wars. The Axis powers greatly expanded the effort to make use of ethnic minorities for expansionist purposes, and during the occupation of certain territories this approach was met with open arms. They thus refashioned and annexed occupied territories, which has long ago been condemned in international law. Nor has a case of annexation on behalf of Great Albania gone unnoticed in the history of international relations. It had to do with certain parts of our country which the occupier annexed during World War II to what was called Great Albania, since they were judged to be ethnically "homogeneous entities" and since Albania had been left without those territories by a "mistake of history." Though Albania itself had the status of an Italian protectorate, its puppet circles accepted that fact, which in any case was bound up with how the war turned out. Fortunately, the people in Albania and also the members of the Albanian ethnic minorities on those territories of ours gave a worthy answer to all that during the National Liberation War which they jointly waged with the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia. However, that practice of manipulating ethnic minorities in general during World War II had much to do with the system of their protection after the war being left to the constitutional order of every state where they lived, and to their status being regulated, if the circumstances existed, on a bilateral basis.

The possibility of manipulating minorities and this practice in the past had the result that states safeguarded themselves against the undesirable actions of minorities, and the principle of the "loyalty" of minorities as a correlate of their rights has been present in the science of international law as well as in the political practice of states. Very significant documents along those lines whose legally binding nature is implied, though sometimes in practice it is called into question, have been adopted in the international community. For example, the Third Assembly of the League of Nations on 21 September 1921 emphasized in its resolution recognition of the basic rights of minorities protected by the League of Nations, but it also "insisted on the duty of persons belonging to racial, religious and linguistic minorities to cooperate as loyal citizens with the nation to which they now belong." A similar indication was to be made by the 21st Conference of the Interparliamentary Union in 1923, whose declaration states in Point III: "The fact that they belong to a religious or linguistic minority in no way relieves the members of a state of the duties imposed on them by the constitution and law of that state."[10]

Of course, in states where minorities were to be found on both sides of the national boundary the principle of reciprocity has been a pledge for respecting their rights; when their rights are not respected by one state, the other state would respond in kind. In order to free states of obligations in this respect in advance, following World War I specific agreements regulated the transfer of population in states where their parent nationalities were living either on a reciprocal basis or by simple resettlement.[11]

Present Yugoslav policy, which is based on the same principles which we set down in the decisions of the Second Session of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] in 1943, when in a specific decision (on building Yugoslavia on the federal principle) we also established the right of ethnic minorities to free development, cannot accept either of the principles mentioned as a pledge for respect of their rights. After all, the "principle of loyalty" in and of itself contains the supposition that they are predetermined to be disloyal, and therefore must in this way be warned in advance if they want to enjoy their rights. Thus the prerequisite of discrimination with respect to confidence in citizens of a different ethnic, religious, national or similar origin is implanted in advance. Nor can the political system of socialist democracy accept the principle of reciprocity, since it contains elements and possibilities of revenge and reprisals against one's own citizens for something they are not to blame for at all. Minorities are not to blame because they have found themselves to be set apart within the limits of other states, by contrast with the parent nation which has remained more compact within one state. It is natural to expect that the state will guarantee them normal life and development as its citizens just as it does to all citizens. The state of the parent nationality has the right to be concerned with its destiny, but it must also refrain from any action which would make "dynamite" of minorities to threaten the unity of their state and in general the relations of their state. As we see it, neither can the numerical size of an ethnic minority be a factor in any sort of discrimination with respect to the rights of any ethnic minority in Yugoslavia in the sense of making the scope of their rights dependent upon that fact. Even the numerically smallest ethnic minority enjoys the same rights as the most numerous one. It is naturally borne in mind that the number of members of a particular ethnic minority and the compactness of the territory on which they are settled and where they constitute a majority of the population have an essential effect on preservation and homogenization of their ethnic characteristics, culture, language, customs and the like. But by no means does this signify that that ethnic minority which is not numerically large or is scattered over the entire territory of the state should be subject to any forcible assimilation into that portion of the nation that constitutes the majority. Those are the basic components of the policy of national equality of nationalities and ethnic minorities which are inherent in the social being of our community and which remain as our society's enduring ideology and political practice regardless of the setbacks or social disturbances that may occur in this process, as has been the case in Kosovo.

From the standpoint of international law, in evaluating the Albanian actions one cannot overlook the method which the official government uses in relations with its neighbor Yugoslavia in order to attain its irredentist goals. In it the basic element is instigation to civil disorders--conflicts, and there are certain indicators even of active participation and help in this regard. Certain actions were accompanied by instigation to arouse ethnic enmity among the Yugoslav nationalities, whereby a direct attack was made on brotherhood and unity--the basic postulate of Yugoslavia's constitutional order. Finally, there were even ultimative threats attacking neighborly relations with Yugoslavia. For example, ZERI I POPULIT indicated that if the demands of the Albanians were not met, "the wound would not heal, but on the contrary the gap would widen." And further,

the Albanian has "always fought bravely and conquered his enemies," and emphasizing the threat of Enver Hoxha along the lines of "Don't anger the Albanian people, it is very patient, but when an Albanian gets mad, even the flint in the stone burns," and then "blood is not water," and so on. We will not, of course, pay particular attention to the content of these mystical and medieval threats which are devoid of any sense of responsibility on the part of the periodical and the institution under whose sponsorship it is published, that is, whose ideas it is interpreting. Nevertheless, we must point to the abuses of a newspaper like ZERI I POPULIT, which has arrogantly attempted to resuscitate some primordial hatred toward the nationalities of Yugoslavia and in that way to sow psychological poison, especially among the young people of Albanian nationality. Such acts undoubtedly fall in the domain of psychological warfare. In other words, these are acts of subversive sabotage. For example, the periodical writes: "so perhaps in Belgrade they do not require the Albanian to be a patriot...." These words themselves unambiguously demonstrate that this is a propaganda which assumes in advance that the homeland (patria) of that man is some other country and not Yugoslavia.

There can be no dilemma about the ultimate goal of these methods and slogans. It is quite certain that it is the matter of every political system what content it will choose to indoctrinate its own people, provided that content does not violate the standards of international law (for example, the standards concerning nondiscrimination, racial and ethnic enmity, and so on) in psychological commitment of the people to certain undertakings which the state is guiding. But insofar as those methods are opposed to the basic requirements set by the international community, they must also be condemned in the domestic legal system. After all, Nazism's policy of genocide arose precisely on that kind of basis--hatred of other nationalities. This is especially the case when such methods are directed against foreign nationals and when those foreign nationals are descendants of a nationality whose majority lives in another state. This is an abuse of the psychological complex of a population to break down unity and instigate disorders within their own state. Events which are provoked in this way and which must be prevented by up-to-date agencies of government, including the force of the government apparatus, serve as the basis for additional abuse in the hope that the propaganda will in this way become a steady stream and take on specific gravity. These are specific varieties of resorting to force in international law.

In this connection we would recall several standards of international law adopted after World War II which constitute the basic rules of behavior in relations between states. Thus one of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations between states explicitly condemns incitement to civil wars or terrorist acts. That is, every state has a duty to refrain from organizing the incitement, aiding or participation in a civil war or terrorism in another state or from tolerating organized activity on its own territory in order to carry out such acts. We should especially emphasize the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States in the Protection of the Independence and Sovereignty, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 21 December 1965 and which points out that no state "can apply nor support the use of measures of an economic, political or any

other nature that would coerce another state to subordination in the exercise of its sovereign rights or to secure from it advantages of any kind." Likewise, "all states shall refrain from organizing, assisting, fomenting, financing, inciting or tolerating armed, subversive or terrorist activity directed toward the violent overthrow of the regime of another state and also from interference in civil strife in another state."[12]

In examining intervention as an inadmissible interference by one state in the internal affairs of another, we need to point out that the United Nations Charter itself (Article 2, Paragraph 7) emphasizes the principle of nonintervention, so that the United Nations Charter itself does not authorize the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of states, that is, in matters "which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." It follows therefrom, and the best-known lawyers have so stated, that when the international community cannot interfere in such affairs, this is especially prohibited to individual states.

Certainly the very term intervention presupposes a use of force, by the very nature of the "unauthorized" and inadmissible interference in the internal relations of another state with the intention of bringing about a state of affairs or of changing its domestic or foreign policy, in general or only certain aspects of it. As the matter is now looked upon, that force need not be direct--armed. That is why certain writers indeed take the view that intervention may be by armed force or without armed force. In a case when an intervention is carried out with armed force, no line can be drawn between it and open aggression. Also, the concept of force which the charter prohibits in the form of "threat or use of force" (Article 2, Paragraph 4) against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state need not necessarily be armed. It is therefore rightly emphasized that force is a broader term than armed force. This has been confirmed by all the documents which have been adopted by the summit conferences of the nonaligned countries, from Belgrade to Havana. Moreover, the position taken in the special bodies of the United Nations which have debated this problem is well known. It was stated then that at times economic or political force can be more dangerous than armed force.[13] It clearly follows therefrom that this concept embraces ideological, propaganda and other campaigns, psychological warfare, the organization and assisting of subversive activities, infiltration of political agents, and so on. This is also the meaning of force adopted by the United Nations General Assembly when it passed the resolutions we have mentioned on prohibiting force and intervention.[14]

Official Albania has undisguisedly shown its presence in the events in Kosovo. It is not just a question of an indoctrination imported from the Albanian side in the form of the educational content and ideologist-teachers on the basis of some cultural cooperation with the parent nationality, but it is also a question of secret acts to which it resorted, as has already been made known (an official government structure--the diplomatic mission). Tolerance, not only active incitement, is an act which has been condemned in international law as intervention, so that a fortiori such behavior by official bodies is all the more unlawful. And even the propaganda presented in the content of that newspaper contains vigorous acts of incitement.

The purport of the quotes we have given (the Declaration on Nonintervention), as we have seen, is to point up the duty of states to refrain even from "tolerating armed, subversive or terrorist activity" directed toward changing the regime of another state. Stricto jure, the concept of toleration presupposes a state's action to prevent acts within its jurisdiction which are directed toward that goal. Which means that it is not enough merely for a state not to organize and assist them, but when such acts are being prepared and conducted on its territory, it is to prevent them by action of its sovereign power. Finally, the excuse cannot be accepted that it had not noticed such activity, since every government must be in a position to know what is happening on the territory where it governs as a sovereign power. We do not believe that such acts could have occurred at all on the territory of Albania and escaped the attention of the Albanian law enforcement and security agencies. Of course, such a justification, which in some cases might even be an excuse, certainly does not come under consideration in this case. All signs indicate that this kind of activity received the spiritual, ideological and material support of official Albanian policy, and therefore one can speak in legal terms of direct intervention.

IV

It now remains to us to clarify the immediate goal of that intervention with respect to the exclusive jurisdiction (domaine reserve, domestic jurisdiction) of the victim of the intervention--the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The basic demand in ZERI I POPULIT, which, there it is, emerged as interpreter of the disorders in Kosovo, is that Kosovo is not now a republic, and in the context of that demand there stands the complete ethnic composition of a possible republic, since that ethnic entity is now divided among three republics.

An important debate has been going on for a long time now about the scope of the state's exclusive jurisdiction, especially in the science of international law. It is, then, outside the sphere of international law, and here the state has the right to use all means which it possesses to defend and exclude anyone's state from interfering in those affairs. Consequently, this is basically the economic, political and legal order of the state.

A demand and an attempt to raise the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo "to the rank of a republic" by force, which in a definite way was assisted by Albania, cannot escape condemnation as interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. A country's constitutional order, the organization of its government and administration, and a country's administrative division lie in the exclusive and indivisible jurisdiction of every state. This is outside the effect of international law, and any force or threat of force whatsoever in order to attain certain changes in such a state constitutes intervention.

The ultimate goal of these aspirations is very transparent, but in any case it is the result of a certain political blindness. That is, an obsession has come about to the effect that in the Yugoslav constitutional system a republic is at the same time a "state," even though it is a "self-managing democratic community," while at autonomous province is only a "democratic sociopolitical community." As the irredentists see it, the republic is granted greater legal and

political autonomy as a state, including as well those rights in foreign political transactions. Out from under, as the irredentists put it, "SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia's tutelage" and set up as a republic, that is--a separate republic, Kosovo would by the nature of things be oriented in those transactions toward its neighbor--Albania, the place where the major portion of the same nationality lives.

Since in practice the elements of the statehood of the republics are stronger, especially in internal affairs, influence from outside is also easier to accomplish. This rationale counts on the fact that Yugoslavia is condemning every intervention by the center in the self-management of the sociopolitical communities, and thus the Republic of Kosovo would itself have its hands entirely free. In that context permanent infiltration from outside could favor the ultimate goal, when conditions are right, for separation in order to exercise the complete right to self-determination, which includes, according to their interpretation of the text of the Yugoslav Constitution, the right to secede.

An objective evaluation of matters from the impressions which imposed themselves thanks to the persistent and unceasing propaganda from Albania related to the so-called "historical arguments" and an effort to project the demands which at present have taken on only the public manifestation of wishes, cannot escape rendering the judgment that the constitutional order of the SFRY has been attacked by a method such as is used in practice by all who intervene. Leave to one side that Albanian propaganda refuses to grasp the fact that we set up the republics not in order to parcelize federal statehood into republic statehoods, but to develop the extragovernmental and free sphere of activity of society in such a way that it gradually overcomes the government sphere, a process in which the existing reality must, of course, be respected. Nevertheless, Albania is in a hurry, since time is not on its side, since that other sphere of the life of the Yugoslav community, ennobled by self-management as the basic social relation, will in the future reduce its chance of making the republic attractive as a state and its chance of finding an opportunity in that sociopolitical community for subversive actions of this type and with these goals. But Yugoslavia has thereby acquired the full legal basis for going to the defense of its constitutional system by appropriate measures, which are guaranteed it by international law as an inseparable right of every state. This has never been a matter of dispute down through history.

FOOTNOTES

1. Dragutin Nikolich, "Les differences des frontieres de L'Albanie," Paris, 1927, p 58.

2. Op. cit.

3. Accord de Londre: Decision de Paris 9 nov 1921. Frontiere Serbo-Croate-Slovene-Albanaise, Florence 1926. Commision internationale de Delimitation des frontieres de L'Albanie, p 7.

4. Andrassy, "Les raports de frontiere et de Voisinage entre Yugoslavie et les etats limitrophes," JRMP, No 1, 1956, pp 45-46.

5. Supplement to SLUZBENI LIST FNRJ [OFFICIAL GAZETTE OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA], 1953.

6. Refer to the final communique at Helsinki in 1975, p 19.

7. See ZERI I POPULIT, 3 June 1981.

8. Op. cit.

9. "Histoire diplomatique de 1919 a nos jours," cinquieme ed., J. B. Dirosselle, Paris, 1971, p 208.

10. Andre N. Mandelstam, "La Protection internationale des Minotitees," Recueil Serey, Paris, 1931, p 137.

11. Charles Rousseau, "Droit International Public," Paris, 1974, Vol II, p 752.

12. General Assembly, Official Records, 35th Session, Supplement No 41, CA/35/41/United Nations, New York, 1980.

13. Op. cit., p 51.

14. See the discussions in "Kodifikacija miroljubive aktivne koegzistencije (Zbornik radova)" [Codification of Peaceful Active Coexistence (Anthology of Papers)], published by the Institute for International Politics and Economics, Belgrade, 1969, pp 228-229.

7045
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SLOVENES' ATTITUDES TOWARD NEWCOMER WORKERS SURVEYED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian, No 1604, 27 Sep 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Slovenia and Its Newcomers"]

[Text] No one can say with certainty how many workers from other republics there are in Slovenia today. The number mentioned by officials is "around 130 thousand," although many people say that there are even 200 thousand of them. One thing, however, is quite clear: at this time the Slovene economy could not exist without workers from the "southern republics," as is frequently said here. Many workshops, construction sites, and fields would remain empty if the "migrant workers without passports" for some reason went home. After all, these are almost a fifth of the total labor force in the Republic.

To tell the truth, the people from Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia would not get along very well without the work obtained in Slovenia. For the most part there is no employment or wages where they came from.

This says that the dilemma of who is more important to whom, and who is doing a favor for whom--the Slovenes for the "southerners," or vice versa, in fact, is an artificial one. Assistance and likewise benefit are mutually connected. Finally, this has also been confirmed by a questionnaire from the Research Center for Self-Management of the Council of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia. We are talking about this subject, which is now being frequently discussed in Slovenia and outside it, and now and then only with the aid of emotions deprived of any facts whatsoever, with sociologist Silva Meznaric, who is responsible for research on the labor force from other republics at the above-mentioned Center. It is interesting that Meznariceva, who before this job spent a fair amount of time at the Ljubljana University working on the same subject, is also not a Slovene. She was born in Zagreb, and came to Ljubljana ten years ago, because, as she says, she was offered better working conditions, as well as some others on which she literally lives.

Still A Fair Amount of Randomness

"Slovenia, like other Yugoslav areas, has been well known for a long time for its economic emigration," says Meznariceva. "When Europe, that is the developed part of it, had mostly satisfied its needs for a cheap labor force from the less developed countries, including us, Yugoslavia even after this had a fair number of unemployed people within its borders. Then there were migrations from the southeast to the northwest of the country. The Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which itself had several tens of thousands of its people working abroad, primarily skilled and highly skilled workers, employed about a hundred thousand workers from the other republics in a very short time! Mostly unskilled ones, so Slovenia today has the worst personnel structure of those who are employed. About thirteen thousand people from the other republics came to Slovenia in 1977 and were employed. This was a record. Last year, for example, about eleven thousand arrived. At the same time, there is more and more of a return movement. I could not document this assertion now with precise numbers, but in any case they are not large."

Sociologist Meznaric notes that society has never precisely and scientifically confirmed why and how these workers from the other republics have come to slovenia how many will remain, and whether they will return and why. Everything, unfortunately, is still to a considerable extent left to chance, although both Slovenia and the other republics should take care of this. This applies primarily to Bosnia and Hercegovina, from which the most workers, 45.3 percent, have come, and Croatia with 33.9 percent of the total number of "southerners," etc. Experienced people claim that leaving for work in some Western countries is better organized than leaving for Slovenia.

What Is Bothering the Newcomers

"It seems to me that because of the frequent generalizations and the relatively "sensationalistic" treatment of the problems affecting workers from the other Yugoslav republics, we are losing sight of some basic consequences of the employment of these people."

Slovenia is not the promised land, as some people think. Most of the newcomers here are doing the hardest jobs, those avoided by Slovenes. This is why most of them are employed in hotel and restaurant work, 30.3 percent, construction, 26.7 percent (every other manual laborer is a "southerner"), transportation, 19.8 percent, forestry, 18 percent... and in industry, only 8.3 percent. Of all the workers employed in Slovenia, 18 percent are from other republics.

"The purpose of our research was primarily to show what the attitude of Slovenes employed in the economy was toward the employment of workers from other republics. We asked them why, in their opinion, workers from other republics come to work in Slovenia; whether the employment of workers from the other republics is useful for the development of Slovenia or not, and why; what we should all provide for workers from the other republics; whether the migration of workers from the other republics is a threat to Slovenes, and (if the answer is affirmative) what the threat to the Slovenes is; what characteristics Slovenes especially value in workers from the other republics, and what characteristics in workers from the other republics especially bother them."

"Exactly 41.1 percent of the respondents feel that Slovenia must in the future as well make possible the employment of workers from the other republics," says sociologist Meznariceva. "However, 28.9 percent of them opposed employment, while the rest were undecided. A third of the respondents feel that the employment of workers from the other republics is useful to Slovenia, and 33.5 percent do not know whether it is useful or not, while 20 percent feel that the employment of these workers is harmful to Slovenia's development!"

The data on why the employment of workers from the other republics is "useful" or "not useful" for the development of Slovenia are particularly interesting. The respondents feel that the employment is useful for the development of Slovenia because Slovenes will not do difficult manual work. Furthermore, they feel that Slovenia does not have enough of a labor force, and that the peoples are thus becoming closer to each other, while the workers from the other republics are assisting in the development and construction of Slovenia.

"The participants in the questionnaire feel that the employment of workers from the other republics is not useful because a less skilled labor force is arriving, and the newcomers are taking jobs away from Slovenes. Some individuals cite as a reason the threat to Slovene culture," says Meznariceva. "Over 44 percent of the respondents, however, feel that people from other republics in Slovenia should first be provided with an apartment, then the acquisition of qualifications, as well as an opportunity to bring their families."

"These data are a reflection of a state of affairs that should not be treated and depicted in a sensationalistic manner, or only "socially," Meznariceva says categorically. "Views on the arrival, characteristics, and residence of workers from the other republics are very different among employed Slovenes. This is why it is impossible to assert with certainty what Slovenes really think and what attitudes they have toward workers from other republics in their vicinity. The following, however, is known: there are no indications that among those employed in the Slovene economy it is possible to observe any national intolerance toward workers from the other republics. This is a result of the questionnaire in which we have no reason not to believe."

The Prospects Until 2000

The Draft Plan for the development of Slovenia until the year 2000 also mentions the labor force and the employment of workers from the other republics.

"What is important, but is frequently neglected in development models, is the fact that Slovenia is one of the strongest immigrant areas in Europe, actually dependent even in the projections on importing a labor force from the other republics," says Meznariceva. "In Slovenia, an increase of eight to nine thousand a year in the labor force from the nonagricultural population is planned until 1985. The requirements, however, will be somewhere around twelve thousand workers a year. The shortage in the labor force will not be able to be compensated for from our own labor potential."

Our interlocutor states that these data are over a year old and that they are taken from a study by Comrade Dof Vogelnik. Things are no longer the same. It is now being asserted here more and more loudly that in the future Slovenia will be able to satisfy its own requirements for a labor force by itself. This means that it will not need 12 thousand workers a year.

The time when it was possible to come by train from Tuzla, Zenica, Bitolj, Krusevac, or any other place throughout Yugoslavia to Ljubljana, Celj, Jesenice, or Kobaride, and find a job over the weekend, is behind us. Is it really that way, or do some people want it to be that way, or are they only afraid that something like that might happen? An answer to these questions entails the new and thorough analyses required by this serious subject. It is obvious, however, that for the unemployed, Slovenia is no longer the promised land.

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2 December 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1947

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2 December 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1947

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Development of USSR-GDR Intelligence Operations in Egypt Reviewed
(Werner Kahl; DIE WELT, 15 Oct 81) 1

BULGARIA

Biographic Profile of Deputy Ministers of Health
(ZDRAVEN FRONT, 31 Oct 81) 4

Living Conditions of Soldiers Improved
(German Germanov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 28 Oct 81) 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Highest Female CPCZ Official on Equality of Women
(Marie Kabrhelova; ZIVOT STRANY, 21 Sep 81) 9

College Tendencies, Drop in CP Membership Criticized
(Josef Havlin; UCITELSKE NOVINY, 8 Oct 81) 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Preservation of Cultural, Historical Traditions Reported
(various sources, various dates) 19

Prussian Soldier-Poet Honored
Exposition on GDR History, by Guenter Katsch

Bezirk GST Chairman Outlines Premilitary Training Program
(Egon Fischer Interview; FREIE PRESSE, 14 Oct 81) 23

POLAND

Officials Discuss Crime, Police Actions
(Various sources, various dates) 26

Comments of Bialystok Prosecutor, Marek Lochowski Interview
Comments of Opole Police Commander, Tadeusz Cielecki, Roman Lesniak Interview
Comments of Slupsk Police Commander, Stanislaw Lukasiak Interview

Controversy Over Radom School Rector Reviewed
(Marek Maszek; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 4 Nov 81) 37

ROMANIA

Decree on Prices for Reusable Spare Parts
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 1 Sep 81) 42

Use of Roads by Foreign Freight Vehicles Regulated by Decree
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 1 Sep 81) 45

Anniversary of Establishment of Center for Aeronautical Medicine
(Traian Popescu; REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA, various dates) 48

Bureaucracy, Formalism Blamed for Poor Results in Oltenia Mining Combine
(Ion D. Cucu; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 15 Oct 81) 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Stipe Suvar Discusses Youth Problems
(VJESNIK, various dates) 55

DEVELOPMENT OF USSR-GDR INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN EGYPT REVIEWED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 15 Oct 81 p 7

['Background' feature article by Werner Kahl: "Moscow's Tenacious Struggle for Cairo: KGB Tries Again and Again--From Camel Corps to GDR Agents--Six Spectacular Expulsions Since 1925"]

[Text] The Kremlin is not giving up in Cairo. After the most recent expulsion of their diplomats and agents operating under diplomatic passports shortly before Sadat's assassination, the Soviets are now turning the tables and loudly accusing the United States of interference in Egypt's internal affairs. Despite six spectacular expulsions by Egyptian authorities in the last 60 years, always with the hope of being rid of the Soviets, Moscow is again authorizing its fifth column to gain a foothold on the Nile River.

As early as the beginning of the 1920's, the first secret "door openers" of Soviet intelligence were found among the members of the Camel Corps astride Mehari dromedaries, the white riding camels of the Egyptian border patrol. Stalin's subversive GPU apparatus channeled his prospective agents across the vast, exposed and almost uncontrollable desert borders into the Nile valleys. The ideological battle for Cairo had begun. The Soviet regime was quick to recognize Egypt's importance as the key position on the Africa-Asia land bridge and on the shortest sea route between Europe and India. The Suez Canal became the kernel between the millstones of world politics. And while the Soviets sought bases in Egypt, at the same time they opposed the British as the main enemy of the time in the Near East.

Kremlin influence agents came as Russian emigrants by train via Berlin to Genoa, where they boarded ships for Alexandria, or they traveled to Egypt via Turkey and Athens as technicians and merchants. Sovtorg, the Soviet shipping company, transported money and material goods in support of the communist cells in the country.

In 1920, the Russian Joseph Rosenthal founded the Egyptian Socialist Party. The Moscow CPSU dispatched Comintern agents Krauss and Goldenberg to lead the party. In 1922, General Secretary Mahmud Hosny el Orabi studied the tactics and strategy of Stalinism in Moscow. His route, the same as that once taken by his instructor Lenin, was by way of Berlin. After his return, El Orabi showed his colors: From that time on the Socialists called themselves the Communist Party of Egypt.

But the comrades were overly eager to upset the Egyptian social order. In 1924, their appeals to workers to strike alarmed officials. A year later came the first

major expulsion of Soviet citizens. Most of the foreigners then arrested under suspicion of planning a coup d'etat were of Russian origin.

The history of Soviet-Egyptian relations is a chronicle of scandal. It documents the constant intervention by Moscow in the internal affairs of the kingdom and the Republic of Egypt that followed it. For example, as the Egyptians determined in 1925, the "Argos" trade enterprise founded in 1924 was a firm owned by Soviet intelligence. On the list for the first expulsion wave was the name of Argos manager Lazarus Tepper, alias Glaser.

The Soviets did not give up. In 1926, they established the "Russian-Turkish Trading Company." Intelligence officer Y. G. Semeniuk became general director. With an American passport he was able to gain access almost everywhere. He disappeared without a trace in 1928, and the enterprise declared bankruptcy.

But the Soviets had already taken precautions. A year earlier a wool trading company had been established in Cairo. But by 1929 its head, Russian Nikolay Vasilyev, had already been expelled for conspiratorial activities.

Under cover of a complex relief organization for Armenia, communist intelligence set up a large network. HOG, the relief organization, established branches everywhere in the country. It sought support among influential Egyptians in clubs and societies. In 1932, the agent Fahan from Assadourian, an Armenian in Moscow's service, was sentenced to 3 years in prison as a potential subversive, and in 1935 he was expelled along with other foreigners.

The threat to Egypt from a communist-inspired overthrow attempt, seen by security officials in a study prior to World War II, was thought to come especially from Syria and Palestine. In the 1930's, Comintern agents were increasingly infiltrated into Egypt by way of Greece, Turkey, France, Lebanon and precisely these countries, Syria and Palestine. In return for large bribes, Soviet intelligence hired Orientals as secret agents and silent agents for "Day X," the date of the planned overthrow. The Soviets wooed orthodox Muslims most intensively, but attempts to infiltrate their circles were unsuccessful, with but a few exceptions. The Kremlin wooers were clumsy and brutal, according to an Egyptian situation report.

It is therefore understandable that, following Stalin's death in the mid-1950's, the Soviet intelligence agency KGB and the military intelligence service GRU tried to exploit the traditionally good relations between Egyptians and Germans. So they had the GDR State Security Service, not previously compromised on the Nile, work for them.

The officials from East Berlin, initially as welcome in Cairo as the West Germans, were more effective and craftier than the Soviets. GDR Ministry for State Security technicians, according to Egyptian security, in the late 1960's made "bug shops" (jargon for mini-spies) out of offices all the way up to the presidential palace. When in the early 1970's the Egyptian counterintelligence service recognized the true doings of the "technical advisors" from East Berlin, it came to a break. The Egyptian government once again resorted to mass expulsions in order to be rid of the Soviets and their satellites.

The latest affair, which became known a few days ago, once again incriminated the Kremlin's intelligence service and its water boys in East Berlin. Three KGB agents, including a woman and a man from the GDR, were arrested in Zurich and Hamburg. They

worked in the Syria-Lebanon operations area and had orders to work to restore the tattered Soviet network of agents in Egypt and to throttle pro-Western influences.

"The Soviets," said President Sadat shortly before his assassination, "are preparing for a presence on the south Mediterranean coast for the duration of the next 50 years." In his last interview he declared in Cairo: "I accuse the KGB and Qadhdafi...."

9746
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BIOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF DEPUTY MINISTERS OF HEALTH

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 31 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Newly Appointed Deputy Ministers of Public Health"]

[Text] Professor Lyubomir Mikhaylov Shindarov, Honored Scientist

Born 4 November 1920 in Vratsa. Graduate of Medical Faculty in Sofia in 1943. Served first as rural district physician, later participated in Patriotic War as assistant commander. From 1946 to 1952 was a military physician, specialized in microbiology, graduated from Military Medical Academy in the USSR. Next was deputy production director at NIEM [Scientific Research Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology], chief of republic epidemic control station, senior instructor in the microbiology department at ISUL [Institute for Specialization and Advanced Study of Physicians]. In 1957 elected docent and in 1963 professor of virology. From 1967 to date he has headed up the virology department. Has been chief of the Science Department in the Ministry of Public Health, rector of ISUL, director of the Institute of Contagious and Parasitic Diseases. He is a member of the Presidium of the Medical Academy.

Prof Dr Shindarov is a candidate of medical sciences and the author of more than 100 scientific publications in the field of virology. His scientific contributions are connected with the first etiological proofs in our country of several rickettsioses (Marseilles fever, Q fever and virus diseases (lymphocytic choriomeningitis, various nosological units caused by Coxsackie and ECHO viruses etc.), research on the natural foci of rickettsioses and viral infections, development of a laboratory method of studying virus reproduction and genetics, discovery of new virus inhibitors etc. He is a rationalizer and an inventor with inventions patented abroad. He is chairman of the EMVIPI [expansion unknown] Scientific Medical Society. He is past president of the International Society for the Study of Contagious and Parasitic Diseases and is at present vice president of the International Federation for Contagious and Parasitic Diseases.

Prof Dr L. Shindarov was a member of RMS [Workers' Youth Union] and BONSS [Bulgarian National Students Union] before 9 September 1944 and has been a BCP member since 1944. He is renowned as an active fighter against fascism and capitalism. He holds the orders of "Red Banner of Labor" and "Ninth of September 1944" first class and has been awarded the title of "Honored Scientist."

Milev

Shindarov

Merdzhanov

Dr Mil'o Tsvetkov Milev, Honored Physician

Born 24 October 1931 in the village of Dolen, Blagoevgrad Okrug, into the family of a teacher; active participant in the struggle against fascism and capitalism.

Completed his higher medical education at VMI [Higher Medical Institute], Sofia, in 1956. Served as physician in the village of Yonkovo, Razgrad Okrug; then as chief of health department in the city of Isperikh, and later as chief physician of the unified health service in the same city. In 1967 he was brought into service in the Ministry of Public Health as chief specialist; next was chief of the Secretariat Department, and from 1974 on was promoted to secretary general of the Ministry of Public Health. He specialized in public health organization in Moscow.

As scientist, student and physician, Dr Mil'o Milev has participated actively in sociopolitical life. He was a member of

RMS and in 1958 was accepted as a BCP member. He has been organizational secretary of the GK [City Committee] of DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] in the city of Trun, secretary of the Komsomol Society in the Medical Faculty, and deputy secretary of the PB [Political Bureau] in the Ministry of Public Health, and at present he is a member of the institutional party committee.

Dr Mil'o Milev holds the "People's Order of Labor"--gold and the "Red Banner of Labor," and has been awarded the title of "Honored Physician."

Senior Science Associate, Dr Chudomir Ivanov Merdzhanov, Doctor of Medical Sciences

Born 27 October 1930 in the village of Iskra, Plovdiv Okrug, into a teacher's family. Completed his higher medical education at VMI, Plovdiv, in 1954. Served for 11 years at the Kurdzhali Psychoneurological Hospital, first as chief physician and later as department head. Since 1965 has been senior science associate at the Clinical Neurophysiology Laboratory of the Scientific Institute of Neurology, Psychiatry and Neurosurgery. Since 1979 has been chief of the Therapy Department of the Presidium of the Medical Academy.

As scientist, student, physician and scientific worker, Senior Science Associate and Dr Chudomir Iv. Merdzhanov has participated actively in sociopolitical life. He has been a member of RMS since 1945 and of the BCP since 1964. He has been a member of the students' committee of EMOS [High School Students Youth Union], secretary of the students' scientific society, chairman of a trade-union committee, member and secretary of a party bureau.

Senior Science Associate and Dr Chudomir Merdzhanov defended his candidate's dissertation as department head in 1964, his doctoral dissertation in 1978. He qualified as university lecturer in 1972. He is the author of 90 scientific publications, most of them in the area of the biological approach to psychiatry.

6474
CSO: 2200/23

LIVING CONDITIONS OF SOLDIERS IMPROVED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen German Germanov: "Implementation of Party's Social Policy--Constant Meeting of Soldiers' Material Needs"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party'a Arpil line affirmed the consistent practical implementation of the principle: "Everything in the name of man, everything for the good of man." This Leninist principle of the BCP Central Committee has become the main theoretical and practical basis of the activity of BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] commanders, political organizers and administrative elements and services constantly to meet soldiers' material needs. The December program for raising the living standard of the people is of paramount importants for us. This program, formulated by the BCP Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade T. Zhivkov, has become the political, ideological and material basis of our effort to upgrade the material living conditions and medical care of the BNA. In his report delivered at the December plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1972 Comrade Zhivkov substantiated scientifically and in reasoned fashion the necessity of a new approach to urgent social problems and to the study, planning and application of scientifically grounded norms in solving the problems of meeting the people's needs. On the basis of this programmatic document and under the leadership of member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of National Defense, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, the main approaches, problems and measures were clarified and concretely defined. Wide-scale organizational and political work was launched for the improvement of military living conditions. We received and are receiving great assistance and aid along this line from a number of the country's ministries and central departments.

Thanks to the paternal concern of the BCP Central Committee, a number of problems with the ration, clothing allowance and medical care of the BNA have received new and first-rate solution. Special attention has been given to improving the nourishing rationing of personnel, this being a basic factor on which their physical, moral and psychological stability and fitness depend. In the period since the April plenum (1956) the ration tables for various categories of service personnel have been improved and bettered quantitatively and qualitatively six times. Our ration tables now approximate the upper limit of the optimum norms of scientific rationing. The proportion of animal protein--a basic cost index--has been increased nearly threefold as compared with 1956. Material and technical messing

facilities are constantly being improved. Every year significant financial and material resources are allotted for the construction of new, and the reconstruction of existing mess halls and for outfitting them with up-to-date food-preparation equipment, plates, dishes and inventory. Systematic care is taken to upgrade the training and qualification of the personnel working in this sector. As a result, the quality and diversity of the ration and the standards of service have been improved appreciably.

There has been an increase in the efforts of commanders, political organizers and administrative workers to perform the tasks, set by the BCP Central Committee and Comrade T. Zhivkov, of improving the public dining system. As compared with 1956, the number of public dining establishments has more than doubled. One hundred percent of the extended service men and current servicemen have now been brought into the public dining service. Additional potential reserves for continuously cutting the cost of food are being sought and used. In the past two years 50 percent of the dining rooms and 68 percent of those taking their meals there have benefited from the reduction in the net cost of food.

In the Bulgarian People's Army a comprehensive program has been devised and successfully implemented for achieving the system, devised by Comrade T. Zhivkov, of self-sufficiency of the population in fruits, vegetables, meat, milk and fish from city or village systems. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan the yield of agricultural output produced on military farms grew 35 percent and during the Eighth Five-Year Plan will increase 50 percent. The personnel of the BNA is now provided every day with large quantities of fresh foodstuffs, thus relieving the national economy of the burden of supplying them.

At present we are working successfully to cut the cost of food in public dining facilities, using for the purpose some of the net income received from the activity of the military farms.

The BCP Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade T. Zhivkov is also taking ceaseless pains to provide service personnel with their clothing allowance. The allocation for the clothing allowance of personnel has been increased several fold. The schedule of clothing for officers and noncommissioned officers has been expanded. The quality indices of several basic items of clothing have been improved. A quality leap in the clothing allowance of military personnel has been made by introducing a holiday parade uniform and a sports outfit. The amount of underwear has been increased and its quality significantly improved etc. The post-exchange system currently in operation is creating conditions for providing regular and higher-grade service to personnel.

Requirements in the area of BNA medical care are being enforced creatively, too. The improved hygienic and living conditions in the barracks and the concern of commanders and medical workers for the health of service personnel have resulted in a toughening of their physical development and state of health. The hospital system is continuously being improved. Military hospitals have been converted into polyclinical medical facilities with capabilities of rendering all kinds of skilled care and in-patient treatment. The VVMI [Vissh Voennomeditsinski Institut; Higher Military Medical Institute] has a special place in the medical care system. Fruit of the April plenum and staffed with highly trained and skilled specialists, the

VVMI is the key medical installation in the BNA, enjoying great prestige and confidence in the country. Great advances have been made in the area of sanatoriums and rest facilities. New modern sanatoriums and rest homes have been built which create very good conditions for the treatment, rest and recreation of service personnel and their families. At the initiative of the medical service, new forms of rest and recreation have been introduced into the BNA such as summer holiday excursions, camping at the seaside, short rest periods etc.

Recently the quartermaster service marked its 25th anniversary. Set up in the year of the April plenum, under the paternal care of the BCP Central Committee it has changed from a primitive enterprise into a large-scale modern economic organization with stable quantity and quality indices. Of extremely great significance for the development of the enterprise are the theoretical and practical studies Comrade Zhivkov has made of the concentration, specialization and intensification of production, of improvement in the planned management of the economy and the socialist organization of labor, of the consistent application of the new economic mechanism in all spheres of social life etc. All production links in the enterprise have now been organized as brigades with profit-and-loss accounting on the basis of a normed planned task. A number of questions relating to the organization of production, manufacturing processes and managerial activity are being worked out and adopted at an up-to-date level. Concern for the social development of workers and employees is constantly increasing.

Hard work has been done and significant advances made in mechanizing loading and unloading operations in the BNA. Heavy physical labor during materials handling is being resolutely replaced by the adoption of modern heavy-duty hoisting and conveying equipment, which to a great extent also raises the combat readiness of the units.

In our many-sided activity to meet the material needs of soldiers we have always been guided by the party requirements that we improve the approach, style and method of work of personnel of all ranks. The main thing characterizing the style of the numerous contingent of personnel who directly organize the material and medical backup of the BNA is their endeavor, by employing a programmatic and precisely targeted approach, to fulfill their tasks comprehensively and in first-rate fashion and make optimum use of all potential reserves for improving military living conditions. Planning effectiveness is constantly being improved and enhanced. Plans for the supply of materiel are prepared on the basis of thorough forecasting and study of the needs of the troops and the possibilities of realization. We strive continuously to intensify control, especially preventive control, and stringency as regards the fulfillment of assigned tasks and planned measures so that the fullest use can be made of the vast resources which our government allots for the support of the BNA. We are paying more attention to the immediate job in the local units where the tasks are performed. We endeavor to help them apply the right style and method of work and a high criterion in their own activity and that of the collectives subordinated to them, as well as continuously study the needs of the people and wage a campaign for the practical fulfillment of their tasks.

The Twelfth Party Congress assigned tasks on a larger scale in the area of social policy, implementation of which will raise the living standard of the people and personnel of the BNA to a new and higher level.

6474
CSO: 2200/21

HIGHEST FEMALE CPCZ OFFICIAL ON EQUALITY OF WOMEN

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, 21 Sep 81 pp 7-9

[Article by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women: "Convincing Proof of Women's Equality"]

[Text] From the first steps of the building of socialism to the current era of building developed socialism, the development of our socialist society has been distinctly marked by the active participation of women. It is no exaggeration to say that our society would not have achieved its current level if it were not for the millions of women who helped shape its life in every area.

Experience itself attests best to the fact that socialism is the first and only system able to guarantee and continuously develop full, consistent and quite specific equality of women, and that only socialism offers women the opportunity to be equal partners in producing all the values--material and spiritual--which socialist society creates for human happiness and welfare.

The effort to give women full equality in every area represents an indivisible part of the policy of our communist party--a policy based on the scientific foundations of the Marxist-Leninist theory. It is no coincidence that in their theoretical studies and practical programs the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, devoted particular attention to the question of women, to women's place and mission in society, and that they regarded political work among women and the exigency of their equality as an indispensable part of the revolutionary impact on the masses of workers.

In every socialist country where the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties generate the moving force, practice and experience fully confirm that Lenin's views on women's problems are absolutely valid and always timely. Lenin expanded and specified Marx' and Engels' ideas for the conditions of the socialist revolution and for the building of socialism. In his discussion with Klara Zetkin he said: "We cannot achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat without millions of women; we cannot build communism without them. We must seek a way to them; we must examine many things and try many things in order to find that way." Lenin often stressed that true equality of women cannot be achieved by a singular act of legislation but by a long-range process primarily involving women's integration, on the basis of equality, in the labor process, in the transformation of society, and mass-scale participation of women in political action and in the management of every area of social life.

The policies of the CPCZ always adhered to these principles; on the one hand, they endeavor, according to the possibilities and the level of development achieved by society, to create preconditions enabling increasingly better coordination of women's mission as mothers with their participation in the labor process and in social life, furthermore, to inspire political activity among women, to make them better aware of their vital interest in a comprehensive development of our socialist society, and to enhance their social activity.

Of course, these principles were shaken during certain periods. During the social crisis of 1968-1969 they became an object of disparagement in the political program of the antisocialist forces, which was evident, among other things, from the fact that women's participation in representative bodies and organs of social organizations associated in the National Front was drastically reduced during those years.

The principles of the Marxist-Leninist approach to the women's question were thoroughly restored when the new party leadership under Comrade Gustav Husak came to the fore. In his address to the statewide conference of the National Front in January 1971, Comrade Gustav Husak formulated the principles of our party's position. Among other things he said:

"The distinctive share of women in the development of society in our country is well known. Women deserve our profound respect for their role as mothers and for the upbringing of their children; however, women's participation in the management of our society, state and economy has been intolerably inadequate even in comparison with the period of 1945-1948 and with the years that followed...This has been explained in discussions by numerous objective as well as subjective causes...I do not intend to simplify these problems, nevertheless, it is obviously imperative that in the National Front and all its organizations we proceed from general reflections to specific actions. Everywhere in that area, on every level of the management, in every plant, in towns and villages, in offices and schools, we must deal with one problem after another, so that more women relatively soon take part in management and so that this helps create better preconditions for upgrading women's qualification, education and training for their important role and tutelage."

As a matter of fact, this orientation came to a full focus as early as the 14th CPCZ Congress and has been consistently implemented in practice.

It is to the credit of our party's political program that the role of women in the management and administration of our society is steadily upgraded and expanded. This is clearly evident from every aspect of our social life. Let us take as an example women's participation in the activities of representative bodies on all levels. The present situation will become particularly clear in comparison with the past or with current opportunities open to women in the capitalist countries.

Although before Munich our republic used to be one of the most advanced states in the world and liked to boast about its "superior" democracy, equal rights for women were out of the question. Discrimination against women existed everywhere--from their admission to education and training, through their opportunities in the workplace and rewards for performance up to women's participation in management, not to mention job opportunities for women. Throughout the entire era of the bourgeois republic, women were represented in the National Assembly of the CSR by 2 to 4 percent, i.e., by 6 to 12 women out of 300 representatives.

The situation existing in even the most advanced capitalist countries is similar. Even the highest representation of women in the legislative body of a given country at this particular time (for example, in Denmark or Norway) does not exceed 15 percent and in their overwhelming majority it is in the 2 to 5 percent range, as for example in the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium. Although women represent the majority of voters in the United States, their representation in federal and local administrative bodies is no more than 5 percent. Recent official data demonstrate that among the 73,714 representatives of elective bodies in Japan there are only 762 women.

On the other hand, the steadily rising participation of women in representative bodies on all levels in the socialist CSSR is typical for our developing socialist democracy, as convincingly documented by the following data.

Before the 1971 elections there were 18.3 percent women in the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, after the 1971 elections as many as 25.7 percent, after the 1976 elections 28.2 percent, and after the elections this year 28.8 percent.

The following data illustrate the composition of the Czech National Council: before the 1971 elections 13.4 percent women, after the 1971 elections 25 percent, after the 1976 elections 27.5 percent, and after this year's elections 28 percent women.

In the Slovak National Council: before the 1971 elections 14.8 percent women, after the 1971 elections 26 percent, after the 1976 elections 28 percent, and after this year's elections 29.3 percent women.

In kraj national committees: before 1971, 21.9 percent women, after 1971 elections 30 percent, after the 1976 elections 34.2 percent, and this year 35.2 percent women.

In okres national committees: before 1971, 22 percent women, after the 1971 elections 29 percent, after the 1976 elections 33.3 percent and after this year's elections 34.4 percent women.

In local and municipal national committees: before 1971, 18.3 percent women, after 1971 elections 21 percent, after the 1976 elections 29.3 percent, and at present 30.8 percent women.

In absolute figures, this means that in this year's elections to representative bodies on all levels a total of 60,866 women were elected among the 197,165 representatives, or 30.87 percent. Naturally, even after the elections more women are joining in the work of commissions and aktivs of national committees, citizens committees, etc. There are more than 20,000 women functionaries.

Naturally, their involvement is not reserved to representative bodies alone. Women are well represented as officials in social organizations of the National Front. More than 700,000 women are serving as officials of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], the largest mass organization of our working people; this is more than their 43 percent share in the membership of the ROH. Teenage girls and young women participate in a meaningful way in the activities of the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth] and Pioneer organizations of the SSM. More than 43 percent of the total SSM membership are girls whose representation in elective offices of the SSM amounts to more than 45

percent. Others serve as leaders of various hobby or arts and crafts groups, readers clubs, and so on. Even more girls are active in the Pioneer organization of the SSM--over 80 percent are instructors of Pioneer troops, almost 75 percent are troop leaders, and more than 80 percent are group leaders.

Analogical situations exist in other social organizations, especially the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League, the Rifle Squad, Red Cross, Union for Cooperation with the Army, and in cooperative and other organizations. It is self-evident that several thousands of functionaries are involved in the aktiv of our women's organization, the Czechoslovak Women's Union.

As for managerial capacities in every field (industry, agriculture, education, health care, culture, adult education, national committees, social organizations, etc.), 25 percent of women are leaders of work teams, which means that every fourth of all such workers is a woman. However, few women in that number have attained the top ranks in industrial management.

Thus, in their daily life hundreds of thousands of women are acquiring comprehensive political education--the school of socialist democracy. In every area of life and work of our socialist society women participate in the administration of public affairs with profound interest and enthusiasm. Women's organizational talent, determination, sense of proportion and understanding of practical and actual needs of our society find their application in this work to our common advantage. Thus, women are participating in various ways in the planning of operations and concepts for the building of socialism in communities and cities, in the development of plants, enterprises, institutions, in dealing with economic problems, general social programs, culture, education, health care, trade, services, etc.

Thanks to the goal-oriented Marxist-Leninist political program of our communist party, women's participation in the administration of our society has acquired a mass character.

It is significant that in their overwhelming majority women functionaries are proving their mettle in their offices, as objectively confirmed not only by their achievements but also by public opinion gathered by extensive polls conducted by public opinion research. Thus, for instance, the Institute for Research of Public Opinion very thoroughly polled citizen opinion on women's participation in our public life. The responses were unambiguously in favor of women. More than 90 percent of the respondents think that women have demonstrated their competence in public offices. Only 4 percent of the respondents made negative assessments. This confirms the good performance of women in our public life as well as the acceptance of the attitude that women's participation in administration will be further enhanced. The polls indicate that public activity of women is an important asset for our society and that most of our citizens regard women as equal and appreciate their public activity. And finally, this demonstrates that much of the prejudice against women in public life has been overcome in the minds of our people.

The experience of several generations of Czechoslovak women has convincingly shown that the political program of the communist party had always been very narrowly linked with goal-oriented efforts to give women real freedom and full equality and to offer them a dignified place in our society.

The report of the Central Committee presented at the 16th CPCZ Congress states, among other things: "Women's equality in our society is one of the generally recognized accomplishments of socialism. Nevertheless, this principle cannot be translated into reality all by itself. Various prejudices from the past must be overcome even here and woman's social role must be further enhanced." This is a clear directive primarily for communist functionaries in every area and on every level.

The interests and needs of our society demand that women of all ages participate in every area and on every level of management and that a harmonious balance between mature experience and youthful enthusiasm be further maintained. For instance, we consider it desirable that before young women become absorbed by family duties, they receive sensitive guidance in their places of work and have an opportunity to gain certain experience, not only to improve their qualifications, but also to generate feelings of self-fulfillment; during that period they should undergo training which will beneficially affect their future political and social activity, particularly when their children are a little older.

Furthermore, we must constantly probe whether women are appointed to managerial capacities, especially in the economy, to a degree commensurate with their experience, education and qualification. Our state has every right to feel proud that after elementary education about 46 percent of teenage girls continue their study in selective high schools and more than 42 percent in vocational schools; at present girls constitute 61 percent of the students in academic high schools and more than 56 percent of all students in secondary vocational schools; as for higher education, the share of female students is 62 percent in universities and colleges and more than 21 percent in technological institutes. If this enormous potential of schooling and training passes muster, the question is whether it is always fully utilized or whether the unjustified biases against women's abilities, particularly in our national economy, are no longer in evidence. In my opinion, it is a fact that women do not always hold positions equal to their administrative skills and aptitude (training, interhuman relations, experience, creativity, etc.). In this respect we often encounter certain managers who consider a woman of about 50 much too old for a managerial position. This kind of simplification embitters women. If some men at the age of 50 or over can enjoy every potential for a successful career in management, the same prerogative must apply for women. After all, such generalizations are refuted by the experience of our national committees where most of the women elected to the office of deputy chairperson or secretary belong precisely in that age category. The interest of our entire society demands that more women serve in managerial positions, especially in the industry, according to the directive by the 16th CPCZ Congress which is a challenge to us communists.

The positive achievements of the CPCZ political program concerning women are enormous. The position, the opportunities and the comprehensive development of the personality of Czechoslovak women offer solid proof of the advantages of realistic socialism and serve as examples and models for the progressive women in the capitalist and developing world who are now waging difficult class struggle for their rights. Therefore, we communists must make every effort to intensify and enhance in the future the share of our women in management in every area of our social life in the best interest of our entire socialist society.

9004
CSO: 2400/32

COLLEGE TENDENCIES, DROP IN CP MEMBERSHIP CRITICIZED

Prague UCITELSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Oct 81 pp 1, 3, 4

[Text of speech by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary, Josef Havlin, in Nitra, date not given]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades, CPCZ congresses have always been of great importance for the party and for our entire society. They set forth the party program for the coming period, as well as ways and means of its implementation. This was also the case of the recent 16th CPCZ Congress. It outlined demanding tasks for all sectors of social activity, including the sphere of education. It is our duty to exert all our forces toward its implementation. In this manner we will best contribute to the realization of great, and at the same time most humane, goals inscribed in the program of the communist movement, to making socialism--already a world system--become even stronger and more powerful, to see that it attract additional adherents, co-combatants against backwardness, against the warmongering forces of imperialism, against persecution and exploitation, for progress and peace throughout the world.

Our people are dedicated to socialism, to the communist party, they have deeply rooted internationalist sentiments, and are fully aware of their responsibilities stemming from this position. We are peace-loving people; however, we are determined to defend at all times the results of our work to date and all that was left to us by generations past. All these are indelible values and certainties of which we are proud and which we pass on to the coming generation.

Imperialism, especially at the present time, uses very devious and carefully planned methods. It has at its disposal great material and technical resources. It exploits the modern findings of science and technology for its power-hungry aims, for influencing the minds and actions of people. Well-adapted demagogy, presented on a silver platter, affects people, especially when they lack other truthful and objective information.

In the period between the 15th and 16th CPCZ congresses, our higher education registered unprecedented development. The number of students in all forms of study rose from 151,282 in 1975 to 193,000 in the school year 1980/81. The teacher corps was expanded and its quality improved. Through purposeful cadre policy, we have achieved a turn in the development of educational staffs. During the past 5 years, we have appointed 635 full and 2,081 associate professors. The Institutes of Marxism-Leninism were stabilized and their new cadre staffing was basically completed. The overall social authority of higher schools has increased, in recognition of their role

as important political institutions, centers of science and high levels of education. The higher school must, in the true sense of the word, become the school of quality, effectiveness, and modernization, on the basis of socialist principles and Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Comrades, for a successful mastering of all the tasks stemming from the 16th CPCZ Congress line, which we will be confronting in higher education in the coming period, it is first essential to purposefully intensify the leading role of the party and improve its political, educational and organizational work. We have good prerequisites for this. Party organs and organizations in higher schools and faculties today have a substantial membership base at their disposal.

The overall share of party members and candidates among higher school teachers in all-state average fluctuates at about 40 percent which represents about 7,000 communists. This is a great force. What is gratifying is that the membership base among teachers has grown about 10 percent during the last 10 years. As a result of higher education development and care by party organs to strengthen its cadres, hundreds of new teachers come to higher schools, of whom most are party members.

What is unfavorable, however, is that the membership base among students has registered a declining trend in the last 3 years. In comparison with 1977 when student membership reached 6.7 percent, at the end of last year it was 5.7 percent. A serious problem is that there are great and unexplained differences between individual institutions of higher learning. Thus, for example, while the Pedagogical Department in Ceske Budejovice has a student membership base of 1.82 percent, the Pedagogical Department in Pilsen shows 9.7 percent, Charles University in Prague 10.89 percent, and Komensky University in Bratislava 5.6 percent. The all-state average of student party membership has not been reached by higher schools in the North Bohemian, South Bohemian, East Bohemian, South Moravian, East Slovakian krajs and the city of Bratislava.

Good cadre policy and admission of higher school students as party members and candidates will always remain one of the principal tasks of party organizations in higher schools. This work will be increasingly more demanding, especially because there will be increasingly fewer students who enter higher education as party candidates and, on the other hand, most secondary school graduates with matriculation certificates entering higher education will be 18 years old. The party organizations must base their work on this simple fact. They must care for the future candidates and members from the student ranks, starting with the first day they enter the higher school. The party organizations must get to know them with respect to their academic work, activity in social organizations, family background, they must entrust them with political, albeit low-level, tasks and, based on their performance, make a judgment on their acceptability for party candidate or member.

More Aggressive Implementation of Party Policy

In resolving this serious problem, district and department party committees must consider that higher school graduates enter not only the most varied spheres of our social life throughout the republic, but also that it is desirable that they come to their place of employment, to a greater measure than heretofore, as already party members or candidates. This problem assumes extraordinary political significance especially with those higher school graduates who in their future work will influence people's thinking and actions, thus also implementation of CPCZ policy. Here we mean, above all, teachers, physicians, artists, journalists and lawyers, without ignoring the

growing importance of technological and natural sciences. Obviously, we cannot lower the requirements contained in the party statutes, or neglect the proven practice of recommendation for party candidacy or membership of the best students by organizations of the Socialist Youth Union.

Experiences of many party organizations at higher schools confirm that the best results are achieved when we succeed in fully involving party members and candidates in the fulfillment of prescribed tasks, when we consistently apply the Leninist method of criticism and self-criticism, when we create an atmosphere for substantive and principled assessment of shortcomings, their causes, as well as of new tasks.

An important duty of party organizations in higher schools is not to ignore justified critical voices on the quality and organization of instruction, educational work in student hostelries, comments on management, etc. In order that party organizations, along with the management of the school, department, or chair, may react in a timely manner and resolve upcoming problems, its members must be interested in and know the views of officials, as well as students. Only a good grasp of the situation enables the party organization to focus correctly its political work, provide incentive for initiative and activism of people on behalf of party policy, publicize good experiences, and draw appropriate conclusions from failure to fulfill assigned tasks. In this conceptual orientation of activity, we must see the foundation of mass political, agitation, and organizational work of the party.

The quality of party work must not be judged on quantitative indicators alone, such as the number of activities and participation in them, number of pledges, etc. Performance effectiveness of each basic party organization, every party group, as well as every member, must be measured by real results, the extent and depth of their impact on the operation of the school. Ability and political maturity of each party member must be assessed in concrete tasks. For these reasons, it would be greatly beneficial to control, for example, fulfillment of concrete tasks prescribed during the interviews in connection with the exchange of party cards.

In recent years, many schools or the University Night Classes of Marxism-Leninism have established independent classes or seminars for higher school instructors. From the point of view of preparing these teachers, this form appears most desirable and merits expansion in all institutions of higher learning. The adopted resolutions on party work in higher schools expect that all teachers will gradually become graduates of the University Night Classes of Marxism-Leninism, or later postgraduate studies at the Higher School of Politics of the Central Committee. Naturally, we must not interpret this correct principle as applying even to those who had already achieved a higher level of party education, or themselves lecture in the University Night Classes of Marxism-Leninism.

Constant attention must especially be devoted by the party organizations to the selection, education, placement, and evaluation of the work of pedagogical and scientific workers. Together with rectors and deans, the party organization must guarantee that all actions concerning people, including nomination procedures, are fully in consonance with the criteria of party cadre policy. All types of subjectivism cause great damage and undermine the authority of the party, as well as the management of the school. The magnitude of the tasks does not allow us to lower the demands on the political, pedagogical, professional, or moral qualities of teachers recommended for appointment to the post of full or associate professor.

We must eliminate from the life of the higher schools with far greater decisiveness all that is obsolete, all that deters us from a faster and more consistent advance in implementing the educational policy of the party formulated in the already-mentioned party documents.

We will focus the attention of all those who are responsible for the correct functioning of higher schools on responding convincingly, through everyday honest and tireless labor, to that which the 16th CPCZ Congress addressed directly to the institutions of higher learning.

For it was not accidental that the report the Central Committee addressed to the congress, contained the following passage: "The demand levied on our higher schools is growing significantly. The ministries of education and higher education management must not for a single moment lose sight of the fact that the measure of how well each higher school fulfills its mission, what authority and weight it wields, is determined primarily by the quality of its teaching staff. The authority of a higher school teacher is based on his professional erudition, immediate participation in the life of the school, his work with the students, and care for their academic, as well as political and moral growth. These are high demands, yet we cannot reduce them in any fashion."

The situation in the higher schools may be considered satisfactory insofar as we evaluate it only from the point of view of currently prescribed tasks. During the entire period which we are reviewing, higher school teachers have been meeting complex tasks and a great majority of them worked with dedication. However, a confrontation of the past with what lies ahead, under what conditions we will be fulfilling our tasks in future years, shows us that we must avoid simplification of views, that we must not succumb to remnants of academic bureaucratism still found in some of our fellow officials. Even in the higher schools, there are still considerable untapped material and human reserves, even here we still encounter, from time to time, a false cronyism in resolving complicated educational and organizational questions.

Formation of Maturing Personalities

We have always striven for and will continue to insist in the life of higher schools on a practice in which the prescribed subject matter is not only presented in lectures or memorized, but in which the higher schools, especially their individual chairs, become an arena for broad, even heated, discussion, confrontation of opinions, but always from socialist and communist positions.

We will always hold in esteem the work of those who are dedicated to the party and to socialism, and we will show our appreciation appropriately. However, we must not allow individual disciplines to stagnate in their development, nor permit them to live off the substance alone and off what was modern and acceptable 15-20 years ago. Life moves forward too quickly and to fail to recognize this reality, to remain immobile, would represent irreparable harm to our entire society.

The task of the higher school is to imbue graduates with an activist and creative approach to work, with respect for the working people and the values of socialism. The teachers are the main factor in the struggle for the minds of men in conditions of a class-divided world, in the formation of their Marxist-Leninist world outlook and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. The socialist teacher must live for the future, he must identify with the policy of the communist party, and in this spirit educate his pupils. The higher school must, in every sense, become a school of quality, efficiency and modernization.

When working with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, every higher school teacher must ask the question whether he is molding the young people correctly as activist social functionaries to whom it is alien to be indifferent, content with mediocrity, whether through his personal example he imbues them with pride in the revolutionary achievements of the working class, and with a sense of coresponsibility for peace and happiness of present and future generations.

We must abandon in the higher schools the practice that someone else, for example, from the school's management, the ministry, or the party organ, will present each chair head, each professor, with some sort of prescription for the application of the 16th CPCZ Congress in his discipline, in the methodology of his lectures, and that this will satisfy his responsibility, as long as guidance is followed. Every higher school teacher must himself deeply master and elaborate, within the concept of his professional discipline, the tasks set forth by the 16th CPCZ Congress with respect to the basic tenets of party policy, as well as in relation to the tasks of all principal spheres of practical social application. This elaboration of the congress resolutions into the concepts of one's own adademic discipline must be based on thoughtful concepts of scientific research and effective means of guiding the students.

Experience has shown that shortcomings are found, first of all, in the level of scientific management, beginning with the central organs and all the way down to the individual academic chair, from the planning of scientific work all the way to the control of its results. Scientific research has inadequately focused on the priority needs of our society as a whole. In incorporation the tasks into the plan, we have not sufficiently applied objective criteria, we still see the influence of many subjective interests in this respect. The blame, naturally, is not the research sphere's alone. Shortcomings are partially also caused by insufficient social demand. The higher schools should therefore use more initiative in seeking out the problems of social practices requiring scientific research and answers. The schools should in their own activity seize upon the most modern trends, such as biological processes, robot technology, cybernetics, etc. We must also make better use of material and, above all, moral incentive.

In raising the effectiveness of scientific research, it will be necessary to intensify even further our participation in the international division of labor with the socialist countries, oriented toward common resolution of the most serious tasks.

I am convinced that it is within our power to successfully fulfill the tasks assigned to us in the higher education sphere by the 16th CPCZ Congress. We have all the prerequisites for it. We have the support of the CPCZ Central Committee, kraj and okres party committees, support of the entire party and all of society. We have acquired great experience in our work. The almost 15,000 communists-teachers, students, and other higher school employees, represent a powerful political force.

9496
CSO: 2400/51

PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL, HISTORICAL TRADITIONS REPORTED

Prussian Soldier-Poet Honored

East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Sep 81 p 7

/'W.G.' article: "With Lyre and Sword--Theodor Koerner and the Cultural Tradition of the National People's Army (NVA)"/

/Text/ To be officially opened on Thursday next in Berlin is the Conference on Culture in the National People's Army and the GDR Border Force. In the evening our soldiers will have many meetings in the House of the Academy of Arts with poets and authors, actors, singers, sculptors and composers. They will also celebrate on 23 September the 190th anniversary of Theodor Koerner's birth--poet, patriot and Luetzow mounted rifleman in the 1813/1814 wars of liberation. His name ranks high in the military tradition of our soldiers and, therefore, their intellectual-cultural life also.

The lyre and sword on Theodor Koerner's tomb in Mecklenburg's Woebbelin serve as symbols of the close links between poets and artists on the one hand and the armed popular struggle for a just cause on the other. Consequently the name of Theodor Koerner was adopted for the prize awarded since 1970 for outstanding achievements in the creation of interpretation of works of art contributing to the strength of our national defense, and for special services to the development of artistic creation and cultural activities among our soliders and people's policemen.

The battle song "That Is Luetzow's Wild and Daring Chase," set to music by Carl Maria von Weber, is probably Theodor Koerner's best known lyric. It has become a folksong, and the melody is now sounded as taps by our National People's Army. Theodor Koerner had dedicated it to the men of the troop of patriots who took the oath not to the king but to their fatherland alone. He fought with them against the foreign rule of Napoleon in order--as he wrote to his father Christian Gottfried Koerner, Dresden attorney and friend of Schiller--to fight for a fatherland for his art also. In his poems he welcomed the Russian soldiers who were comrades-at-arms of the Luetzow band.

Theodor Koerner did not live to see the victory of the brothers-at-arms. He was killed in combat on 26 August 1813 near Gadebusch. His poetry, though, still inspires the soldiers of the people to patriotic action.

Exposition on GDR History

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 3-4 Oct 81 p 9

/'We and Our Times' feature article by Dr Guenter Katsch: "Three-Dimensional History Pictures of Highest Quality--Worthwhile Museum Trip into German History"/

/Text/ Bertolt Brecht admitted: "You must know I am consumed by an insatiable curiosity about people; I can never see or hear enough of them. How they deal with one another, make enemies and friends, sell onions, plan campaigns, get married, make wool suits, bring forged bills in circulation, cultivate potatoes, watch the stars, deceive one another, favor, teach, squeeze and assess one another, mutilate them, help them, hold meetings, found clubs, intrigue. I always want to know how they begin an enterprise and how they get on with it, and it is my aim to spot some inevitabilities which might enable me to make some predictions."

At this point begin the difficulties which are known to historians as well as other people. The generations who lived before us are no longer around. We must rely on that which they left behind and which lasted beyond their time: The witness of material and intellectual culture.

Reconstruction of the past from historical sources, that is the main task of the historian. And yet the heritage of our ancestors has more than that one function: They speak to the beholder himself and illuminate the statements of historians or call them in question. In the past the GDR has acquired several attributes commanding respect, and one of them is the fact that it is a country of museums.

It is in the nature of things that institutions concerned with history themselves have a history. That also applies to the Museum for German History, the foremost museum in the GDR. In his "Political Will" of 16 May 1671 the Elector Friedrich Wilhelm requested that an arsenal be built. His will was executed and the foundation stone laid on 28 May 1695. This specialized building, laid out rather like a palace on the street Unter den Linden, remained a giant weapons depot until about 1875. Not surprisingly it was stormed by the passes in the 1848 revolution. From 1881-1945 it served as a museum to glorify Prussian militarism. The building, severely damaged in World War II, was thereafter used to better purpose. In 1951 the SED Central Committee and the GDR Government decided to establish a Museum for German History, and this was housed in the reconstructed and modernized arsenal. Gradually the museum was able to expand its collection to include 350,000 pices and groups, and in the years 1962-1867 permanent exhibits on German history from 1789 to 1949 were put on public display.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the GDR's establishment the doors opened on the permanent exhibition of GDR history. Fifteen years later the new knowledge gained by historians and the advances in museum science had needed to be accommodated by a fundamental renewal and transformation. A collective led by Wolfgang Herbst, Ingo Materna and Raimund Wagner worked out and implemented a new conception. The results were put on view on 21 July 1981.

Immediately on entering the visitor sees the tables of organization: From the earliest times to the 5-6th centuries A.D., from 500-1789, from 1890-1917, and from

1917-1945. He walks up the broad staircase, carpeted in red, and recognizes the deliberately plain busts of Marx and Engels. When, following the directional arrows, he turns right, he feels himself carried back across thousands of years. Small figures aim arrows and spears at a giant mammoth--a three-dimensional hunting scene featuring the so-called new men of the late ice age. Written on an enormous green board with the heading "On Becoming Men" are Friedrich Engels' words that men begin to differ from the beasts "as soon as they begin to produce food."

Suddenly we confront a staircase within the room. In a showcase, on a dark green ground, lie cast bronze jewelry and dress components--arm bands, neck rings, the remains of a chain belt, fragments of bracelets and glass pearls. The visitor learns that the technique of casting and hammering bronze was further improved since the 5th Century B.C., and that the Celts were perfectly at home with the technique of lost wax casting.

Even in the rooms dedicated to prehistory we see quite clearly that the organizing collective had abandoned the slogan "much helps much," preferring to follow the watchword "less is more." The exhibits are suitably chosen and arranged to best advantage.

Now the green of the tables and drapes is changing: Our eye meets a representation in relief of an early feudal and monastic rule of the land: Villeinage, three-field system of agriculture. Next to this relief the reconstruction of a Frankish peasant home on a scale of 1 : 10, which demonstrates the social situation of the peasants in the 7th and 8th centuries.

In these as in other rooms generally the visitor obtains an answer to such questions as what was produced? What were the tools used? What were the methods of production? Karl Marx' famous theses from "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie. Vorwort" /On the Critique of Political Economics. Foreword/, which Hermann Duncker called "the guideline for any study of history" are impressively brought to life in the section of the exhibition devoted to feudalism.

Dark brown walls, dark brown drapes. Flags hang from the ceiling. The letters dominating the room announce the slogan of the French Revolution: Freedom--Equality--Fraternity. In a glass case the declaration of human and civil rights. A new section of the exhibition begins: Capitalism in Germany. 1848. Powder is black, blood is red. The flame flickers golden. Rifles, pistols, sabres. 1871. "Awaken, Outcasts of this Earth!" Weapons and equipment of the National Guard. The Paris Commune's decree on the establishment of a revolutionary army.

Young people admire the Prussian general's hat worn by A.N. von Gneisenau. Two men chat in front of a steam cylinder machine dating from 1847. An elderly couple stands for a long time gazing at a kitchen in a reconstructed working class home of about 1900.

The variety of the exhibits is amazing: Production tools used by craftsmen, in industry and farming, old home furnishings, household china, clothing, weapons, uniforms and flags; documents such as leaflets, manuscripts, records, guild certificates, passports, posters, works of art.

The painting "October Revolution" (oil on hardwood by Werner Schulz) and the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" on a dark blue ground introduce the last section: The period 1917-1945. Once again history comes alive. We know from school history lessons that the International Workers Aid was founded in Berlin in 1921. The visitor sees gift stamps in denominations of five and ten marks. The KPD declared war on the Dawes Plan. Buttons issued by the KPD tell us about it now. What did a Red Front Combat Union member wear? What uniforms were worn by the fascist murderers, and what weapons did they use? Questions which are answered by the exhibition.

It takes several hours just to walk through, and even then we are able only to spare a glance for many exhibits. Not only for this museum is Berlin well worth a trip. The responsible collective achieved a nice balance of content and form. The linking thread is always the struggle of the masses for social progress, and the development of the productive forces, the material living conditions of rulers and ruled as well as the intellectual-cultural life are solid elements of the exhibition. The visitor thus obtains answers to the questions posed by Brecht and is able to appreciate that history is an objectively-real, uniform and inevitable process.

The excellent utilization of the rooms available, the different coloration of the sections devoted to socioeconomic eras, the choice of exhibits--restricted to the essentials--and their thorough explanation all join together to provide excellent quality three-dimensional images of history. The attraction of the museum (which also houses the exhibition "Socialist Fatherland GDR--Origin and Development," opened in 1977, as well as various specialized exhibitions) is documented not only by the volume of visitors but also by the fact that two of the five catalogues are already sold out.

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BEZIRK GST CHAIRMAN OUTLINES PREMILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM

Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE in German 14 Oct 81 p 4

[Interview with Egon Fischer, chairman, Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Executive Committee, Society for Sport and Technology (GST); by Stefan Geyler, FREIE PRESSE editorial staff; date and place of interview not given: "What Does the GST Give the Young People?"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Fischer, the 1980/1981 GST training year came to an end in August. What results does the bezirk GST organization have to show?

[Answer] In our estimation the 1980/1981 training year was the most successful ever in the development of the bezirk GST organization. More than 2,600 new members were accepted into the bezirk socialist defense organization, and 19 basic organizations and 73 military sports sections were established. Thus, our bezirk organization now has over 62,000 members, active in more than 850 basic organizations.

[Question] One of the main tasks of the GST is to prepare young people for honorable service in the National People's Army. What is your estimation of the present level of premilitary training in our bezirk?

[Answer] Goal-oriented measures in educating and training tomorrow's soldiers have enabled us to make further progress in implementing continuous training faithful to the program. That is especially true for career training of motorized riflemen, military drivers, teletype operators, divers and naval specialists.

[Question] What is being done in the way of physical training of future soldiers?

[Answer] One component of athletic instruction involves training for the elements of an eight-part test. Included among others are a 1,000-meter run, pull-ups, rope climbing and the hand-grenade throw for distance and accuracy.

[Question] In conversations we have learned, for example, that not everyone can do the required 10 pull-ups.

[Answer] Yes, that is true. Some can do only four. Here, as in other parts of the eight-part test, differences are still too apparent, especially where strength and resilience are required.

[Question] Then is the GST just for "tough men?"

[Answer] No, quite the contrary. There are also numerous opportunities for girls to participate in military sports. At present about 10 percent of the bezirk's girls take part in the GST, among other things as marksmen, all-round and model competitors, and teletype operators. This level still does not satisfy us, for it is an open secret: A girl who becomes familiar with military customs in the GST will later have more understanding for her husband's honorable service in the National People's Army.

[Question] What role do military sports play in the GST?

[Answer] Their importance is increasing all the time. Each year the best in all military sports categories are determined in Spartakiad competition in schools, factories and kreises. We pay a lot of attention to competitive sports in the GST, for example to marksmanship and model competition. Thus, just last month sportsmen from our bezirk won two silver medals in the world championship for model ships.

[Question] Why is it so important to us to awaken even more interest in military sports?

[Answer] Military sports such as model competition, marksmanship and communications sports, among others, are well suited to stimulate the interest of school children and youths for work in the GST, and thus to do a good job of preparing them for premilitary training and competitive sports. And following military service, military sports contribute greatly to helping keep reservists in good physical condition.

[Question] A good opportunity for reservists would certainly be military combat sports, a combination of cross-country running and shooting competition. What response has the latest addition to GST military sports had in the bezirk?

[Answer] At any rate, it has still not had the response that we would like. There are now about 2,200 active sportsmen in this category in the bezirk. Our goal in particular is to interest even more reservists in this area. In this regard, results have already been good in Zwickau-Rural and Auerbach Kreises, as well as in the cities of Zwickau and Karl-Marx-Stadt.

[Question] What are the prerequisites for good results in military combat sports?

[Answer] These kreis organizations have set up advanced sections, for example, which compete regularly. In this way athletes in combat sports have many opportunities for comparison. In this connection the kreis executive boards of the Free German Labor Union Federation (FDGB) are especially strongly allied with the kreis organizations.

[Question] Included among military sports is model competition. To the outsider that may appear to be little more than a hobby. That is why readers ask us why we pay so much attention to model competition.

[Answer] It would indeed be difficult to conceive of the GST without this sport. Bezirk sections now have more than 1,800 members active in ship, automobile, aircraft and rocket model competition. More and more children and youths are finding

this to be a constructive way of organizing their free time. We as bezirk directors support this development, because in model competition many abilities are acquired beginning in childhood: dexterity, perseverance and ability to concentrate, as well as knowledge in electrical engineering and electronics, for example.

[Question] In your opinion, how can the GST be made even more attractive?

[Answer] Very important is the organizing of mass competition in military sports. Last training year, for example, almost 160,000 workers took part in the FDGB cup marksmanship competition. One of every three bezirk inhabitants was present at the "Gold Ticket" competition. And 17,000 persons took active part in the 20 shooting matches. We support all efforts to make such military sports competition even more popular.

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OFFICIALS DISCUSS CRIME, POLICE ACTIONS

Comments of Bialystok Prosecutor

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 18 Aug 81 p 3

[Interview with Marek Lochowski, chief prosecutor in the Bialystok Voivodship, by Jerzy Kwaczynski, GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA: "A Law for Everyone"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA] The public is disturbed by news on the growth of crime in the country. We hear this on the radio and television, and the daily and periodical press for some time has devoted more and more space to this subject. Is all of this not too alarmist, or simply speaking, for various reasons, exaggerated, and finally, if this is a nationwide phenomenon, does it also occur in the Bialystok voivodship?

[Marek Lochowski] Unfortunately, it is not exaggerated. In any case, it would be hard to speak of a sudden growth in crime, since we have seen this disturbing phenomenon for several years now. For example: in 1976 we recorded 5,082 criminal offenses, and last year this figure reached 6,437.

[Question] What types of offenses are recorded more frequently now than several years ago?

[Answer] Principally robberies, i.e., robbing people with the use of force. They rose from 101 in 1976 to 188 last year, and during the first six months of this year we have already recorded 119 cases, which in absolute numbers puts our voivodship in sixth place in the country!

The number of burglaries by breaking into private buildings during the 5-year period discussed, rose from 418 to 700, and burglaries of socialized buildings increased from 415 to 568. But cases of appropriation of public property went from 790 to 1,024.

The number of certain other offenses also increased, for example, abuse of family members while under the influence of alcohol, and more assaults and batteries are recorded.

[Question] The increase in criminal offenses must have an effect on the work of the prosecutor's office.

[Answer] Certainly. During the first six months of this year we recorded 28 percent more opened investigations than during the same period last year (in absolute numbers, this is 604 cases). For comparison, nationally this figure is much lower, for it amounts to "only" 20.8 percent. But returning to the 604 cases, they mean that several prosecutors and at least two administrative workers are needed to conduct them. And we have not received additional employees to fill either the former or the latter jobs.

[Question] Since we are making comparisons with the first half of last year, how many more criminal offenses are being recorded now?

[Answer] The increase pertains to many types of cases, but principally to rape (225 percent), assault and battery against Civic Militia [police] officials, 126 percent, burglaries in socialized buildings (92 percent), burglaries in private buildings (87 percent), robberies (47 percent), profiteering, 30 percent, and physical assaults and beatings (23 percent). The only decrease (9 percent less than during the first six months of last year) occurred in appropriations of public property.

[Question] The prosecutor offices' statistical data leads one to the unequivocal conclusion that we are truly faced with a very disturbing situation. But here we encounter the next doubts, that is, whether or not the reasons advanced for this situation are oversimplified.

[Answer] I think I know what you are talking about. I believe the reasons for the currently observed growth in crime are (not necessarily in order of importance): a general relaxation of social discipline, a weakening in moral inhibitions, alcohol abuse, economic disintegration, and also, to a certain degree, the weak reaction of the Citizens Militia [police] last spring to certain types of offenses caused by a campaign of agitation against that body in relation to the Otwock case, and in our area, the Bialystok Ironworks case.

[Question] Everyone who took part in or watched the events in Gdansk last August, including the police, was filled with admiration at the discipline exercised by society, as demonstrated by the disappearance, for a couple of weeks, of the plague of drunkenness and the considerable drop in crime.

[Answer] If we assume this to be true, and we have no reason to believe otherwise, the reasons for this really astounding situation must be attributed to the general social pressure which the "potential" criminals felt. That is, what we saw was the active position of the entire Coast community, a position of involvement that we have been appealing for and striving for for many years--to work with us in preventing crime. For not even the best work on the part of the police authorities is very productive, if this work is not supported. And everything points to the fact that in recent months neither the prosecutor's office nor the Citizens Militia could depend very much on this support. We must realize that if the work of the bodies appointed to fight crime is to be successful, it must have the support of the people. This is in the interest of these people, who certainly do not want to live in a state of perpetual threat. We defend ourselves against receivers of stolen goods and speculators, but the "suppliers" of stolen batteries can always count on customers, sometimes even the neighbors of those whose batteries were stolen...

[Question] The most effective way of decreasing vehicle thefts would be an increase in the production of spare parts.

[Answer] Yes, it would be. But because this is not possible in the foreseeable future, it is essential that public opinion be mobilized to condemn the culprit in the community to which he belongs.

[Question] But this society is now very tired, for one thing, and for another thing, the talk about pursuing criminals differs. It is said that not all criminals are being pursued, and we hear that requests to initiate investigations are being denied, both by the Citizens Militia and by the prosecutor's office.

So that our statements not be considered unfounded: Not too long ago the duty officer at one of the Bialystok police stations refused to accept a report of a robbery attack on a minor in the center of town, in broad daylight, saying that he did not have a radio-equipped car. Only the determination of the victim's father, and his offer of his own vehicle (the attack took place only two streets away from the police station...) forced the police officials to intervene. Successfully.

Another bit of information is even more frightening. A girl who was robbed, herself sought and found the guilty parties, but when her father went to the address where they were, the loot was returned to him, but he was "advised" not to report them to the police. The threat worked, and the crime was never revealed. And what is frightening is that the father of the victim is employed in the administration of justice.

Knowing about such cases, one loses confidence in the reliability of crime statistics. And if the statistics show that the Bialystok voivodship is sixth in the country in recorded robberies, surpassing the urban port centers of Szczecin and Tri-City (Gdynia, Sopot and Gdansk), then the question is, is this the result of the greater efficiency of the Bialystok police, or of the purposeful "reporting activity" of the police in these cities.

[Answer] I do not deny that some police officials, in an attempt to improve their statistics, do not accept reports of certain crimes, but I want to say that such a practice is firmly condemned by the official managements and appropriate action is taken in the case of the guilty.

Another problem which you mentioned is the so-called "gray area", which is made up of those crimes which are unreported or about which we get information after a long delay. If we add to this those cases in which the guilty have not been found (there are quite a few of those, as much as 17 percent), then of course we get the impression that we do not pursue the culprits of certain offenses.

However, I would like to emphasize that both the Prosecutor's Office and the Citizens Militia are bound by the rules of law. This means that if the police obtain reliable information about the commission of a crime, then regardless of who commits the crime, the guilty person must be sought. This law must be observed by everyone--citizens and offices alike. This is the basic canon of justice.

[Question] Public opinion has been demanding this for a long time, and NSZZ Solidarity has articulated this demand.

[Answer] True. But Solidarity is beginning to interpret legality in its own way, that is, that whether or not someone violated the law should be determined not by the body appointed to do this, but by Solidarity itself.

[Question] That is a strong statement.

[Answer] I will give you some examples. Is it legal to deprive people of their freedom? I am speaking of the recent case in the "Sosnowiec" mine, where, in addition, the prosecutor was not allowed in to free the management of the mine. Another matter: Is the distribution of leaflets and posters in violation of the law to go unpunished? Because according to the law those who distribute leaflets and posters whose text conflicts with the law are supposed to be prosecuted. For example, article 237 of the penal code states that whoever publicly, i.e., by disseminating leaflets and posters also, /affronts a state organ or political organization, trade union, higher public utility association, or other social organization of national importance, at his place of employment or in public, is subject to imprisonment for up to 2 years, incarceration, or fine/[in boldface]. Another rule of law, article 178 of the penal code, forbids insult, slander or defamation of persons or institutions. Which does not mean that the authorities cannot be criticized.

By the way, we should also mention that articles 237 and 178 of the penal code had their counterparts in the 1932 penal code, which remained in effect until 1970. This was one of the most modern codes in Europe, therefore we can say that these laws are, or rather they should be, based on the high legal standards of the Polish nation and nations of a number of other European countries.

So why these protests and various types of pressures on the prosecuting organs since they are only doing what the law requires of them? How can we demand a kind of selective responsibility and extra-legal immunity, if the observance of the law is important to all of us? Regardless of that, I believe that if there is a law, whether it is good or bad is beside the point, this law should be observed. According to the maxim, /dura lex, sed lex/[in boldface], a hard law, but the law nevertheless.

That is why I do not hesitate to say that we have reservations of a legal nature as to many of the leaflets, posters and the text of some editions of the Bialystok NSZZ Solidarity Information Bulletin. If the process of socialist renewal is to be established, then we should observe the law, a law that is interpreted similarly by everyone and towards everyone.

Comments of Opole Police Commander

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7 Sep 81 p 6

[Interview with Lt Col Tadeusz Cielecki, commander of the Citizens Militia [police] in Opole, and his assistant, Maj Roman Lesniak, by Adam Bogucki, TRYBUNA OPOLSKA: "We Make it Too Easy for the Thieves"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Every eighth citizen of our voivodship lives in Opole; every fifth citizen is in it at least twice a week. Therefore, whether or not it is safe in Opole to a

large degree depends on the state of law and order in the Opole voivodship--which is not good. It is true that the crime growth figures (over 8 months: 85 percent more break-ins into dwellings and other private quarters, almost 50 percent more thefts and about one-third more robberies) on the national scale are more disturbing than the same data from our region. Nevertheless from the standpoint of the most elementary criteria it is increasingly worse here also. This is particularly evident from the data for August, 1981.

Such a state of affairs suggests that the police are to blame. I have therefore presented the pertinent charges to Lt Col Tadeusz Cielecki, the Opole police commander, and his assistant, Maj Roman Lesniak.

[Question] A wave of garage break-ins passed through Opole. They were systematically cleaned out at the 25-Year Housing Development, at the Dambonia and First of May streets, at Polish Army. You were not able to find the culprits of a considerable portion of these crimes.

[Answer] It is not so bad with finding the guilty. That is not what is most important. The fact that the criminal is sitting in jail does very little, generally, for the victim. Particularly, since very rarely are we able to recover the stolen property, and everything disappears that can be taken: fuel, automobile parts, oil, vodka or detergent that is being stored in the garage, traveling equipment. It is interesting that most break-ins are into garages that are padlocked. But almost all are equipped with key locks. Still, some people reinforce the padlocks in such a way that they cannot be opened even with a crowbar. This gives almost 100 percent protection against burglars--people who are fortunately quite primitive, operating with the most simple tools.

[Question] Are the people themselves supposed to be responsible for the security of their garage? What about the police?

[Answer] It is very easy to attack us. Especially now. Are we supposed to place a policeman in front of every garage, or better yet, a plainclothesman? This is ridiculous! The owners should be the first to protect their property. The police are supposed to catch thieves. That is what they are for, and that is how it is everywhere in the world. But since we began with garages, let us remain at motorization. Vehicles disappear and will continue to disappear, because the demand for parts, in short supply at POLZMOBYT [motor sales agency], continues to increase. So much has been written about guarded parking lots that if every tenth line in the newspaper were transformed into one parking space, there would be no problem today. The housing cooperative and the municipal management should--actually, they must--top talking about the necessity to do something and start to do something. If a person has enough money to pay 200,000 or 300,000 zlotys for an automobile, then he should be able to afford the monthly fee of 250 zlotys for parking. There are also various protection systems available for purchase, if only the so-called umbrella [tarpaulin cover]. This does not cost more than 300 zlotys, and is very effective in preventing thievery. It is the same with bicycles, mopeds and motorcycles. These can be protected, very inexpensively, against theft...

[Question] It is said that no lock will keep out a thief. This, perhaps, is why there are so many thefts and break-ins into dwellings.

[Answer] And basements also--for pickles or tomato paste. It is a fact, that for a highly qualified locksmith no lock is a barrier. But there are no such professionals, thank God. The break-ins are done principally by very primitive methods--by ripping off a padlock in a basement, or forcing a door in a dwelling. And all that is necessary is to install another lock and reinforce the recess... An investment of 100 to 150 zlotys will provide a good guarantee that the dwelling will not be broken into. Please bear in mind that in our homes we have goods valued at tens of thousands of zlotys, yet we begrudge several hundred zlotys to protect these goods, something that we worked for half our lifetime. With basements, the matter is very simple. There are almost no break-ins where the basement is locked with a reliable key. The thefts here are not done by professionals, but by amateurs, frequently children. The dwelling administrations have a duty to see to it that the basements are reliably secured. Except that the tenants do not demand this, and the officials are satisfied with things the way they are, because when something happens they can easily blame the police, that the police were not watching for this. And how are we to watch for this?

[Question] I do not know. People are robbed while on the town. In the stores, on the street...

[Answer] To be precise, it is the women. Men somehow take better care of their cash, while women carry large sums of money in their handbags, which are often open. It is no wonder. They want to have some cash with them because something might turn up in one of the stores. There was a time when our women carried their money at their bosoms. It is hard to persuade them to do that now, but certainly they must watch their money. We do what we can. Our female inspectors, from the criminal division, are on the streets every day. As decoys. We have caught several groups of pickpockets this way. But when a woman, several days ago, had 40,000 zlotys almost right out in the open, and crowded into a queue because a delivery of vodka had come in and then the money disappeared, that is simply nothing more than tempting a thief.

[Question] You commanders do not have too good an opinion about women.

[Answer] Our opinion is very good. We have wives, friends--only we ask that they protect themselves against thieves. And they are scatter-brained. At work also, The leave the office open, with their handbag, containing their wages, hanging on the hook. Someone comes in, sees no one there, takes the handbag. Later, even if the thief is caught, the cash can no longer be recovered. We have many examples showing that a thief is actually tempted to steal.

[Question] A great deal has been said about the women. Now it is time for a word about the men. In Opole one cannot walk on the streets after dark. In this case, too, are people supposed to be themselves concerned about safety?

[Answer] No, that is our problem. We ask only that you quickly inform us if you see something taking place. And here we must make a comment. After dialing number 997, for 15 seconds there is recording: "Emergency police, please wait until your

report can be taken." This may not be the best solution, but that is how it is. You have to wait that 15 seconds--at the moment there is nothing we can do about it. But because we got the information quickly we caught a thief, practically in the act, who robbed the PEWEX [foreign-currency shop]. There are more such examples, but still not enough. In general, if society does not help us, we will not be able to cope ourselves with the growing, unfortunately, number of crimes. And by the way, the number of break-ins into shops is decreasing. With the exception of PEWEX and KOMIS [consignment shops]... The thieves have shifted to dwellings. Trade is poor--there is nothing to steal.

[Question] Finally: There is talk now that crime is growing and that the police are not revealing all of it. This could be interpreted, it would seem, that your work productivity is dropping.

[Answer] We have never been that brilliant. Unless perhaps in the media, as the press, radio and television are now described. But now it is more difficult. And the situation is clear. Without the help of society we cannot really expect it to improve.

Comments of Slupsk Police Commander

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 9, 10, 11 Oct 81 p 5

[Interview with Col Stanislaw Lukasiak, commander of the Citizens Militia [police] in the Slupsk voivodship, by Jerzy Rudzik, GLOS POMORZA: "The Same Law for Everyone"; date and place not specified]

[Question] Some say that the number of crimes has increased drastically recently. But other say that this is due to the fact that public opinion has been staggered, more greatly than ever before, by these matters, and there is even the question of manipulation of statistics. Therefore, are there more crimes or not?

[Answer] I reply most emphatically: There has been a distinct increase in criminal offenses and the state of security and public order has deteriorated. If we compare the first 8 months of 1981 with the same period last year, then I must say that in the case of criminal offenses, this increase is 33 percent, and nationally, almost 38 percent.

[Question] Please give us some examples.

[Answer] Gladly. In criminal offenses, the number of thefts by break-ins into private facilities increased by 114 percent; thefts by break-ins into socialized facilities increased by 123 percent; fires and arsons, by 94.4 percent; bodily injuries as a result of robberies and beatings, over 42 percent; thefts of private property, almost 23 percent. This shows very clearly that there are far many more ordinary crimes and violations of public order than before.

[Question] What are the reasons for this?

[Answer] Generally speaking, the country's well-known sociopolitical and economic situation, the market difficulties, relaxation of social discipline. Everything

that stimulated activity in the criminal and parasitic-hooligan circles, and also the growth of arrogance towards representatives of authority and especially the police.

[Question] What is the arrest rate for these crimes now?

[Answer] Unfortunately, the arrest rate dropped 12.5 percent during this period and we now solve 72.6 percent of the crimes. Our greatest problems are in apprehending the perpetrators of the burglaries in public and private buildings, i.e., the category of crimes that is most vexatious to the citizens. And that is how it is throughout the country. For example, let me say that the apprehension rate for burglaries by break-in into private facilities dropped from 84 percent in 1980 to 56.5 percent in 1981 in the Slupsk voivodship. We do better in finding the culprits of fights and beatings: 85 percent were arrested in 1980 and 90 percent in 1981. We also apprehend almost all those who are guilty of homocides, crimes that fortunately occur very rarely in our area.

[Question] Could it be that the police are now less efficient?

[Answer] This is a complicated problem, governed by so many conditions that it would be difficult to give a short and unequivocal reply. The fact is, however, that we give special attention to the safety of citizens in public places--at stations, public squares, and cafes, there the danger to safety has increased greatly. At the same time, we cannot be everywhere because the number of policemen is not increasing and our duties continue to increase. It is enough only to remind you of our increased participation in anti-speculative operations, and more.

[Question] But how is this dangerous condition measured? Different opinions continue to circulate about this.

[Answer] We use, as I have already said, crime statistics, which are police-prosecution statistics, and in addition one of the important factors in establishing crime figures are the investigations and inquiries that have been instigated. In 1980, there were 1,415 of them, and in 1981, 19,887. Thus, the increase in criminal activity is also judged by the number of investigative proceedings that have been begun. In addition, if I have understood your question correctly, then it is true also that during the recent period, i.e., after August, 1980, the detective agencies, including the police, are better able to present data, including the unfavorable figures also.

[Question] We continue to receive information from throughout the country on different hooliganistic excesses, street brawls...

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have them here in the Slupsk voivodship also, although perhaps their reach and scale are not still as serious. However, their growing frequency and accompanying aggressiveness and the brutal behavior of a group of drunks, often young, accosting passersby, creating disturbances, attempting to steal, frequently right out in public, is very disturbing. We see more and more of these kinds of brawls in restaurants, which are a source of complaint from both the staffs of the restaurants and the customers. There is also a greater arrogance towards police officials, combined with attempts at physically assaulting them. We, too, not long ago, for it was

in September, had a series of events of our own in Slupsk itself, but fortunately they were quickly brought under control. The hooligan brawls occurred not only in Slupsk, but also in Lebork and other towns, even, although more rarely, in the villages, such as the one that took place recently in Dretyn during some festivities. Unfortunately, we are dealing with a situation where large groups of people stand by and watch these excesses without taking any action, as for example, during the brutal beating of a person in front of the "Piracka" restaurant in Slupsk in June of 1981. In a couple of cases the police officials were forced to use their guns to arrest the culprits, without injuring anyone.

[Question] Often also the police officials risk not only an assault, but also a severe beating...

[Answer] The risk to health and life is part of the job and such a danger has always been there, but recently these dangers, as I have already said, have greatly increased. There are many cases of physical assaults.

[Question] Let us go on to economic crimes. We are concerned with certain general tendencies.

[Answer] In this field, comparing the already mentioned 8-months' periods of 1980 and 1981, it is rather difficult to talk about an increased incidence, although the financial losses which result from this are minimally higher. Historically, most of these offenses are committed in construction and construction-assembly services, in the food economy, covering all phases of production, storage, procurement and commodity turnover. The growing speculation and its sources is a subject that is too familiar to go into, just as, I believe, there is no need to argue about why so many crimes are committed in those fields of the economy.

[Question] What are the more important cases still under investigation?

[Answer] Truly it is hard for me to talk about everything, so I will mention only three. The first pertains to mismanagement, waste and corruption in the Smoldzino State Farms in the sum of about a million and a half zlotys. The person who is primarily answerable for this is the former director, Ryszard K. We are also investigating the purchase of alcohol, for 1,800,000 zlotys, made by an agent for the bar of the "Koral" Starogard Spirits Plants Rest Center in Leba, in agreement with the assistant director of the "Polmos" Spirits Industry Plants in Bialystok. Also in the initial stage is an investigation into mismanagement and exploitation of official position for personal gain by the managment of the "Czyn" Housing Cooperative in Slupsk.

[Question] And the notorious case of Tadeusz Szoldry, in which many prominent persons are involved?

[Answer] Yes, we were involved in that, but by a decision of the prosecutor general it was sent to the voivodship prosecutor in Koszalin. There is no doubt that the former director of the WSS [Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative] "Spolem" Complex Applications Plant in Slupsk was proven to have misused his position for material gain. In any case, he has already borne the Party consequences.

[Question] And how about some cases relating to social illnesses: drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution, receiving stolen goods, bootlegging?

[Answer] Prostitution is not a big problem here, particularly outside the tourist season. Drug addiction is growing very slowly, but unfortunately is appearing in certain circles, particularly the high school student groups. We expect that this will increase. The fact that alcoholism is one of the main factors in crime is well known. During the first 6 months of 1981, of 1,273 persons suspected of committing a crime, almost 30 percent were under the influence of alcohol. Fencing and bootlegging? We eliminate them, but this is not an easy matter, because tenants, for the sake of peace, do not want to testify. Not too long ago in Kepice we raided a moonshining operation with apparatus that produced 18 liters of bootleg liquor in one distillation.

[Question] Are there any cases under investigation that involve anti-State activity?

[Answer] We are conducting three such cases under the supervision of the prosecutor. One concerns the defamation of the "Wdziecznosc" [Gratitude (to the Soviets)] monument in Slupsk, on which some yet-unknown person placed some inscriptions praising fascism. Another case involves citizen Z.Z.P., a member of an illegal organization called the "Young Poland Movement", and the third case pertains to the reprinting in the Slupsk Solidarity Bulletin of an appeal from an anti-socialist and anti-soviet organization, National Labor Union of Russian Solidarians, about which we wrote recently.

[Question] Sometimes the community is accused of passiveness and lack of feeling regarding the crimes that are committed, and an unwillingness to cooperate with the police. But, on the other hand, we sometimes hear that officials use excess force, that their behavior towards the citizens is not always courteous and even contrary to law.

[Answer] I do not claim that always and everywhere a person in a police uniform is a perfect angel. The present sociopolitical climate in the country--we must tell ourselves that very clearly--does not favor either an increase in police authority nor does it make it easier for the police to perform their basic duties. Generally speaking, however, the charges of illegal conduct against us are untrue. Please remember that during the course of a year we conduct hundreds of penal proceedings, thousands of various interventions. If some incidental improprieties occur in our activities, on which, in any case, our position is unequivocal, then only someone who is irresponsible and unimaginative can generalize from those incidents.

[Question] Perhaps then, specifically--are there complaints against police officials?

[Answer] Lately those complaints have fallen off. In 1981 there were, for example, no complaints about illegal detention of a citizen. However, there were nine such complaints in connection with the execution of trial actions, and only one was confirmed. Sixteen complaints pertained to lack of action by the authorities. Eight, unfortunately, were confirmed. Ten complaints concerned interventions, only one was confirmed. We know of three complaints of unwarranted use of a nightstick, none was confirmed. There were seven undocumented complaints of unwarranted use of force. Of seven complaints of unjustified issuance of tickets, one was confirmed.

There were also two complaints of personal gain from the performance of official duties, and we are now investigating both of them. I need not add that cases where officials act illegally are very severely punished. And, lest there be no misunderstanding, complaints of this type, or rather the investigating process, is supervised by the prosecutor, so there can be no accusation that the case is being "hushed up".

One thing, however, is certain: the police officials are fully aware that they must have the support of the people in their activities. Without this, the results of our work will not satisfy anyone. But on the other hand, the law must be observed equally by everyone without exception.

9295
CSO: 2600/60

CONTROVERSY OVER RADOM SCHOOL RECTOR REVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Marek Maszek]

[Text] In the opinion of Justyn Napora, chairman of the Plant Council of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZNP) at the Higher School of Engineering (WSI) in Radom, the conflict goes back to last spring. At that time, maybe even towards the end of March, an order came from the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology (the same order went out to all schools in the country) to review the cadres because budgets cuts were necessary. Then, the chairman of the Plant Council says, Solidarity spread a rumor that due to mismanagement and faulty employment policies the wage fund had been exceeded by 6 million zlotys and therefore at least 25 percent of the employees would have to be dismissed. The main culprit was said to be rector Hebda.

Later it developed that Janusz Gorski, the Minister at that time, granted the 6 million zlotys and everything was all right. Most of the WSI employees regarded this decision to be the result of Solidarity's efforts. It was then that about 200 people resigned from ZNP-Science and went over to Solidarity. At the same time, the chairman of the Solidarity Plant Commission, Dr Michal Kelles-Kraus, resigned from his position and, in the words of J. Napora, "The young and angry in the union seized power. And then everything began. The negation of everyone and everything."

Solidarity at WSI compiled an entire catalog of charges against rector Hebda. That he performs his functions in an autocratic manner, that he misuses his position for personal gain, that he bribes some of the workers, giving them the choice commissioned jobs and assigns the subjects that are to be considered as crucial problems. Finally, that he is one of those who is responsible for the atmosphere that prevailed in the city and in the voivodship after the stormy events of June, 1976. The Radom Territory Interfactory Workers' Commission (MKR) entered into the whole affair. It was demanded that a special commission be sent in to investigate the charges. Also, delegations traveled to Warsaw demanding that Professor Hebda be dismissed from his position as rector.

* * *

Meanwhile, at WSI, just as in the other higher schools, a commission was appointed to develop the rules for electing school authorities. There was no official connection

between these two facts, i.e., the demand for rector Hebda's resignation and the appointment of the commission. Rather, it was a coincidence, which, with time, transformed itself into a iunctim all its own, as the lawyers would describe it.

In the beginning, representatives of all of the school's social and political organizations took part in the work of the commission. At least J. Napora does not recall that any organization was omitted. At one of the first meetings of the commission, Solidarity presented a completed draft of the electoral law. It provided, among other things, that a candidacy could be offered without the consent of the candidate himself.

The advocates of this provision explained that some professors and doctors habilitatus (dr hab)--for only they could be candidates--would willingly offer themselves as candidates but do not want to do so for fear of retaliation and repression on the part of the present rector, Hebda. The draft also provided that a person who has already performed the function of rector for two terms cannot be a candidate. Everyone knew that only Professor Hebda was involved here, because the entire history of WSI at Radom goes back scarcely 2 years, and only he performed this function.

* * *

The main figure in the conflict, Prof Michal Hebda, a specialist in the field of vehicles utilization, came to the Radom school in the mid-1970's. This was not yet WSI but an independent center of the Swietokrzyska Technical University (Politechnika). It got its present name in 1978 and it was then that Professor Hebda was appointed its rector. Prior to that, for 3 years, he performed the function of chief of the Radom center of the Swietokrzyska Technical University. But before he came to Radom, he was a lecturer at the Military Technical Academy. In any case, the professor does not conceal his military origin. If, for example, Warsaw University or Warsaw Technical University, is without a rector for even as long as 3 years--the professor told me--no one will notice it. The life of the university will go on as it has for many years. But with a school such as ours, it is something else again. It could not pass the test. Everything would fall apart. Here everything must be ruled very autocratically.

As justification for his conclusion, rector Hebda gives as an example the many young scientific workers, whom only the protection of "a strong hand" can guarantee a further scientific career.

Professor Hebda admits that he has made mistakes in directing the school. The emphasis on developing the school numerically, for example; but he feels that his successes greatly exceed his lapses. Anyway, he believes that certain negative events were unavoidable. If, over the course of 2 years, the number of employees in the school increased from 400 to almost 1,200, then it is understandable that some of the scientific cadre must be--as he puts it--"not on target". In his opinion, now is precisely the time to take advantage of the school's dynamic growth in prior years and begin separating the wheat from the chaff. If, of course, WSI at Radom is to become a technical university, which is Professor Hebda's ambition and the promise he made to himself when he accepted the nomination for rector 3 years ago.

* * *

In mid-May, a special commission arrived at WSI to investigate the charges against the rector. As one of the department directors in the Ministry was supposed to have said, never in the postwar history of the higher school system in Poland, in any school whatever, has such a thorough and detailed investigation been conducted. The commission was made up of a dozen or so persons and all aspects of the school's operations were examined.

At the same time, another step forward was taken in preparing the rules for electing the new WSI authorities. In addition to the Solidarity draft, another draft emerged, based, it is true, on the first but differing from it in some details. Both drafts were posted on the school bulletin boards so that everyone could become familiar with them and make his comments. After about a month it was decided that the consultation phase should end and that the complete draft of the electoral law should be prepared.

However, the commission had not been able to reach an agreement and variant solutions had to be written for several points. They concerned, among others, restrictions on submitting a candidate who had already filled the position of rector. One variant provided for such a restriction, the other did not. Aside from that, the elections were to be conducted according to the same rules as in other schools. They were to be indirect, i.e., through electors, the votes were to be weighted, and different groups of workers had a guaranteed, previously prescribed, number of electors; it was similar with the students. Of course, the elections were to be general, secret, and equal. The elections conducted in this manner in other schools took place and in general made it possible to select the best candidate in the most democratic way.

Unfortunately, at the Radom WSI, all did not go well. The problem was the person who had been rector until then, although officially his name was never mentioned. School Solidarity demanded that a general referendum be conducted among the workers and the students precisely on the matter of restricting the submission of the candidacy of the present rector. Only after this matter is settled, according to Solidarity, can the entire electoral law be approved.

Meanwhile, the ministerial commission completed its inspection of the school and stated that the charges made against rector Hebda are not true. Solidarity claims to this date that the commission did not address itself to all of the charges made against the rector, and particularly as concerns misuse of his position for personal gain.

* * *

On June 24th the WSI senate discusses the draft of the electoral law and decides that it will decide itself which variant is to be accepted. Of 50 senators, 44 are in favor of not restricting in any way the submission of candidacies, 2 abstain, and 4 are against. As a result, the following week some of the Solidarity circles give the senate a vote of no-confidence. They demand that the voting be invalidated and consistently stand by the referendum.

It is now the end of June, so there is no chance that the elections can be conducted before vacations. But the matter is critical because on August 31 the present rector's term expires and it may happen that the school will be without leadership in the new academic year.

In September preparations are made to elect a rector on the basis of the electoral law written in the spring. But before that, a decision comes from the ministry that the term of the present authorities of the school has been extended 2 months, i.e., to October 31. The situation becomes dramatic, because the Radom WSI is the only school in the country that has not been able to elect new authorities.

On September 10th the senate appoints an election commission. Solidary boycotts it despite the fact that it has a reserved seat on it. The boycott is because of the electoral law which was passed by the senate and had not been preceded by a referendum. At the same time. Solidarity blocks the election of electors, not wanting the elections to take place.

Time flies, and there appears to be no chance that the elections will be conducted. A deputy, Prof Jan Janowski, arrives in Radom to act as a mediator, no longer in a dispute but in what is now an open conflict. Probably at his suggestion the WSI senate decides to conduct an election of a new rector in direct, general, secret and equal elections. In this way, weighting of the votes would be avoided, which in a divided community will always be regarded as an attempt at manipulation.

Several days later the Solidarity Plant Commission receives a letter from the Ministry, which says, among other things, that "acceding to the wish of Prof Dr Hab (Engineer) Michael Hebda, Citizen, the Minister on October 15, 1981, expressed his consent that he (Professor Hebda) terminate his employment with the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, and leave the Higher School of Engineering at Radom effective November 1, 1981." The letter is the Ministry's reply to Solidarity's telex announcing that it will undertake a strike action if the elections for a rector are conducted on the basis of a new formula. Solidarity continues to demand that a referendum be conducted, and then the elections, but in accordance with the previous electoral law.

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However, the WSI senate decides that the election of a rector will take place on October 27th. The elections are to take place according to the new formula--each voter, regardless whether he is an employee or a student--is entitled to one vote. In the end, seven names appear on the list of candidates, including that of... Professor Hebda. When I ask him why he agreed to be a candidate despite his previous resignation from his position at the school, he replied that he had no influence on this. He was committed to run by the school party organization. He does not know whether he will fulfill the function of rector if he wins. But probably yes, because if the school community decides to support him he cannot let it down.

On the day before the elections, Solidarity proclaims a strike. Its members occupy the rector's office. From then on, only those can enter who have decided to join the strike. "Remove professor Hebda from the position of rector." So reads the strikers' first demand. The second--"Conduct a referendum on the variant points of

electoral law." The remaining demands pertain to less-important staff matters, and I would say, matters of prestige. At the end, the strike committee demands that a fully empowered ministerial commission be sent to Radom which would address itself to the demands.

Tuesday, October 27th. Election Day. One of the six voting sites was to be in the rector's office building. Obviously this is impossible so a school bus appears in front of the building, containing a ballot box. The voting lasts all day. The number of voters varies, depending on the site. In the evening it appears that over 50 percent of the employees and only slightly over 40 percent of the students voted. The winner was Professor Hebda, who received over 60 percent of the votes.

The main school building continues to be occupied by members of Solidarity, who were joined by students from the Independent Association of Students (NZS). The strikers are awaiting the commission from Warsaw. They do not accept the fact that the election of a rector has taken place. Althought it cannot be said that they were totally indifferent to it. On the doors of the occupied building the following slogan could be seen: "If you want a dictator, elect Hebda as rector" [a rhyme].

P.S. On Thursday, October 29th, Solidarity at Warsaw University proclaimed a warning strike to support the demands of Solidarity at the Radom WSI. On November 2nd, the strike at Warsaw University was suspended.

9295
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DECREE ON PRICES FOR REUSABLE SPARE PARTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 64, 1 Sep 81 pp 1-2

/Decree of the State Council on the Manner of Setting the Purchase and Delivery Prices for Some Reusable Materials and Spare Parts/

/Text/ The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The delivery prices for parts, components and subassemblies of machines, equipment and installations which result from dismantlings of equipment taken out of operation in accordance with the legal provisions and which can be used as such or through simple processing are set by the units that possess them, with the agreement of the customers, within the limit of at most 80 percent of their prices in new condition. In the case in which the parts, components and subassemblies need reconditioning, the prices are set within the limit of at most 40 percent of their prices in new condition.

Article 2. For parts, components and subassemblies resulting from reconditioning, delivery prices equal to the production prices are set by the units that perform these operations, with the agreement of the customer units, on the basis of the prices determined in accordance with Article 1, the standard expenses for reconditioning them and a suitable profit.

The delivery prices set in accordance with the preceding paragraph can go up to at most 80 percent of the delivery prices of the respective products in new condition, taking into account the condition and reliability of the respective products.

Article 3. The used spare parts, components and subassemblies reconditioned by the units that possess them that are used in the repair of their own equipment, apparatus or goods by these units are included in the cost of the respective repairs at the level of the expenditures made for the reconditioning operations, which cannot exceed 40 percent of the price of the spare part or component in new condition.

Article 4. In the case of the reconditioning of used spare parts, components and subassemblies performed as a service by other units than the possessing ones, the payment for the reconditioning operations will be done on the basis of rates that are set by the performing units, with the agreement of the customer units. These rates cannot exceed 40 percent of the value of the part or component in new condition.

Article 5. The delivery prices for materials reusable as such or through simple processing resulting from sawing, cutting or processing that are utilized in other

units than those in which they result are set on the basis of calculation coefficients at 60-80 percent of the delivery price of the respective material in normal condition, depending on the volumes of processing, manual labor and other additional expenses in comparison with those for new materials.

The determination of the calculation coefficients, under the conditions of the preceding paragraph, is done by the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, with the agreement of the State Committee for Prices. As the case may be, the planned degree of utilization of the materials, the provisions of the internal standards or norms, and the provisions contained in Article 12 of State Council Decree No 465/1979 will be taken into account in establishing these coefficients.

Article 6. The delivery prices for construction and installation materials resulting from demolition are set by the possessing units, with the agreement of the customer socialist units, depending on the prices of the same materials in new condition and taking into account the degree of wear of the respective materials and, as the case may be, the volume of additional manual labor needed for utilizing them.

Article 7. For products in whose manufacture reusable materials and reconditioned parts and subassemblies are used and which have approved prices, the economic units will continue to apply these prices, on the condition of the maintenance of the technical, construction and functional parameters taken into account in the initial setting of the prices of the respective products, a situation confirmed by the industrial central or, as the case may be, the higher ranking body to which the main customers for such products belong.

The prices of new products in whose manufacture reusable materials or reconditioned parts and subassemblies are utilized are set with these materials being taken into calculation at the prices of those in new condition, in the case in which the fulfillment of the technical, construction and functional parameters stipulated in the quality documents of similar finished products is completely ensured, under the conditions provided in the preceding paragraph.

Article 8. The provisions stipulated in Article 7 are also applied accordingly to repair work and other services.

Article 9. The savings arising as a result of the application of the provisions of articles 7 and 8 are considered an individual effort of the respective economic units and will be reflected in the profits achieved by them.

The sums obtained from the utilization of parts, components and subassemblies of machines, equipment and installations and of old supplies and raw materials resulting from the dismantling of equipment taken out of operation are included in the economic results of the units possessing the respective asset.

Article 10. The purchase and delivery prices for reusable materials which do not have prices set and which are to be utilized in the economy are set by the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, with the agreement of the State Committee for Prices, within the limit of at most 50 percent of the price of the new material.

Article 11. The provisions of State Council Decree No 332/1977 are extended to all categories of used objects coming from individual households and are applied accordingly for all socialist units that, according to law, perform reconditioning work on such objects.

Article 12. The stocks of reusable material resources which are formed in the enterprises for the recovery and utilization of reusable materials, within the limit of the plan targets for recovery and purchases, and which temporarily cannot be utilized due to the lack of processing capacities or technologies are credited by the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with an interest of 1 percent per year.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 August 1981.
No 249.

12105
CSO: 2700/65

USE OF ROADS BY FOREIGN FREIGHT VEHICLES REGULATED BY DECREE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 64, 1 Sep 81 pp 2-3

/Decree of the State Council on the Establishment of the Conditions for Use of Roads by Motor Vehicles Registered in Other States That Carry Freight in International Traffic on the Territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania/

/Text/ The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The use of roads by motor vehicles, including their trailers and semitrailers, with or without a load, registered in other states, that travel on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in direct traffic or in transit, is done on the basis of a transport permit.

The transport permits are issued by the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications. In their period of validity, the permits give the right to a single round trip.

The transport permits are sent to the competent authorities of the states with which the Socialist Republic of Romania has agreements concluded regarding international road transportation, with a view to their utilization in accordance with the provisions of these agreements, and to the Romanian units with tasks in the field of international road transportation, in order to be put at the disposal of the foreign carriers at the border, with the payment of the taxes mentioned in Article 3.

Article 2. For transportation with motor vehicles, including their trailers and semitrailers, registered in other states, with or without a load, with tonnages and dimensions, or only some of them, that exceed the maximum limits allowed by law, a special permit, supplemental to the transport permit, is issued by the bodies and units mentioned in Article 1.

The route and the conditions that must be observed by the motor vehicles mentioned in Paragraph 1 in their movement on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania are put in the special permit.

Article 3. Motor vehicles, including their trailers and semitrailers, registered in other states, that travel on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with or without a load, are subject to the payment of the following taxes:

a) The transport-permit tax of 53 lei;

b) The road-use tax of 0.08 lei per ton of total gross weight (the weight of the motor vehicle plus the load) and per kilometer traveled;

c) The additional tax of 0.24 lei per ton of total gross weight and per kilometer traveled, in the case in which the motor vehicles exceed:

The maximum limits of the tonnages on the axle and of the dimensions, or only some of them, allowed according to law;

The maximum limits of the tonnages on the axle and of the dimensions, or only some of them, applicable to motor vehicles registered in the Socialist Republic of Romania, on the territories of other states that have lower limits set than those provided by Romanian legislation.

d) The tax of 0.32 lei per kilometer traveled for partial compensation for the cost of fuel, applicable to motor vehicles registered in the states that, on their territories, levy such taxes on motor vehicles registered in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Article 4. The payment of the taxes provided in the present decree is done in accordance with the payment agreements in force between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the state of registration of the respective motor vehicle. In the case in which a payment agreement is not concluded, the payment of the taxes is done in freely convertible valuta, at the official rate of exchange with premium in force on the day of payment.

Article 5. In the case of the failure to observe the route or the conditions indicated in the special permit, and in the situations in which motor vehicles that carry freight in international traffic travel on roads that are not open to such traffic, one of the following penalties can be applied to the carriers:

a) A warning;

b) The temporary suspension, partial or total, of the right to carry out transportation on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In the case in which, as a result of the violation committed, the carrier has to pay a difference in taxes, the detainment of the motor vehicle can be ordered until its payment.

The penalties and measures provided in paragraphs 1 and 2 are applied by the bodies with control powers in the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, under the conditions established by it, in compliance with the provisions of the agreements on international road transportation concluded with other states.

Article 6. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, with the advice of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, on the basis of the principle of reciprocity, can agree to the granting of facilities or the application of restrictions, as follows:

a) The exemption from a transport permit;

b) The limitation of the transportation carried out with motor vehicles registered in other states;

c) The raising, reduction or exemption from the payment of the taxes provided in Article 3, in correspondence with the level of the taxes that are levied by other states on Romanian motor vehicles that carry freight in international traffic on the territories of those states, there also being taken into account, as the case may be, the mutual volume of traffic;

d) The exchanging by the drivers, on each entry of motor vehicles registered in other states onto the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of a sum in freely convertible valuta corresponding to the sum levied on Romanian motor vehicles in these states;

e) The application of percentage taxes on the value of the freight carried or depending on the travel time of the motor vehicles on Romanian territory or taxes of another nature that may be similar to those that are levied on motor vehicles registered in the Socialist Republic of Romania on the territories of the states that levy such taxes. In the cases when the value of the freight does not result from the documents that accompany the transportation, a fixed tax of 3,000 lei will be applied for each motor vehicle.

Article 7. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications will keep track of the evolution of the level of the road taxes and other taxes applied to automotive freight transportation on an international level and will periodically update the road taxes levied in our country, with the advice of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation.

Article 8. The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation will issue methodological standards regarding the calculation, collection and distribution of the taxes set in accordance with the present decree.

Article 9. The present decree goes into force 45 days after the date of its publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA.

Council of Ministers Decision No 136/1970 for Establishing the Conditions for Use of Roads by Foreign Motor Vehicles That Travel on the Territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Carrying Freight in International Traffic, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 7, 17 February 1970, as amended by Council of Ministers Decision No 206 of 3 May 1976, is repealed on the date that the present decree goes into force.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 31 August 1981.
No 250.

12105
CSO: 2700/65

ROMANIA

ANNIVERSARY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF CENTER FOR AERONAUTICAL MEDICINE

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 2, Apr-May-Jun 81 pp 217-219

[Article by doctor Captain Dr Traian Popescu: "The 60th Anniversary of the Center for Aeronautical Medicine"]

[Text] On 20 December 1980, the proceedings of the scientific jubilee session celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Center for Aeronautical Medicine were carried out in Bucharest.

This festive session, which was held in the auditorium of the Center for Aeronautical Medicine and chaired by aviator Lieutenant General Gheorghe Zarnescu, was honored by the presence of numerous personalities in the realm of Romanian medicine, academicians and corresponding members of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, professors, doctors docent and over 150 doctors, pharmacists, psychologists, chemists and engineers.

Sitting on the presidium of the meeting were: aviator Lieutenant General Gheorghe Zarnescu, academician professor Dr docent Stefan Milcu, professor Dr docent Marin Voiculescu, professor Dr docent Petre Groza, doctor Major General Dr Florian Vlad, aviator Colonel Dumitru Burlacu, aviator Colonel Toma Nicolae, doctor Colonel Dr Florin Uleu and doctor Colonel Dr Maurica Stoian.

In a splendid manner the following persons greeted the Center for Aeronautical Medicine on behalf of themselves and the institutes that they represent: professor Marin Voiculescu (Union of Associations of Medical Sciences), professor Petre Groza (Institute of Normal and Pathological Physiology), engineer Colonel Dr Constantin Teodorescu Tintea (National Council for Science and Technology), doctor Major General Dr Florian Vlad and aviator Colonel Nicolae Toma.

Other speakers were: reserve aviator Major General Constantin Sendrea (on behalf of the navigators), reserve Colonel Dr Vasile Lazarovici (on behalf of the former workers in the Center for Aeronautical Medicine), and doctor Colonel Dr Florian Uleu (on behalf of doctors in aviation).

In conclusion, aviator Lieutenant General Gheorghe Zarnescu spoke on behalf of the leadership of the Air Force Command.

The speakers emphasized the importance of this event and pointed out the contribution made by the Center for Aeronautical Medicine, the sole institute of this type in the country, to providing medical care for flight activities. They also gave high marks to the selection process, examination and supervision of flight personnel, to medical-aeronautical research activities and to the accomplishments and good reputation for which the Center is recognized abroad.

The scientific session was opened by doctor Colonel Dr Maurica Stoian with a report entitled: "The Center for Aeronautical Medicine on its 60th Anniversary." The review of its main moments in history and its traditions began with 6 August 1920, when the Center for Aeronautical Medicine was created by Decision No 466 of the Ministry of War regarding the organization of the Health Service for Military Aeronautics. This was one of the first institutes of this type in the world and it had as its purpose: "to conduct the medical exams on candidates for the flying school and to periodically review the flight personnel."

The Center for Aeronautical Medicine went through a period of development: in April 1938, it became the Central Medical Institute of Romanian Aeronautics.

After 23 August 1944, because of the special attention that the party gave to the army in general, the Ministry of Defense and the Medical Directorate provided everything necessary so that the Center for Aeronautical Medicine could experience an especially strong development.

The last 15 years have marked a spectacular leap forward through the development of the material base and the unending professional improvement of the doctors and through the achievement of a new quality in the activities for examining and supervising flight personnel.

Currently, the Center for Aeronautical Medicine has a functional place, a modern material base and a series of equipment for examination and investigation representing the latest advances in technology, as well as improved computer equipment.

The means of determining the state of health of flight personnel, the laboratory tests and the methods for testing functional reserves have been diversified, creating broad possibilities for uncovering many of the illnesses in their early stages and for ensuring the recuperation of the stricken flight personnel.

Examinations are carried out on the basis of certain modern, profoundly scientific concepts seeking to achieve a complete balance between man's physical and mental possibilities and the specific demands of flight activities.

There is true pride in the fact that the selection of the first future Romanian cosmonauts was conducted by the Center for Aeronautical Medicine, a process especially valued by collaborators in other countries.

Medical-aeronautical examinations are creatively completed through a sustained medical and psychological scientific research activity. The doctors in the Center are the authors of certain original investigation and examination concepts, have carried out a rich journalistic activity (over 110 papers and reports in the last 3 years) and have participated in congresses and conferences dealing with aero-space subjects both in-country and abroad (Canada, Czechoslovakia, GDR, USSR, Poland and France).

Continuing, doctor Colonel Dr Ioan Pintilie presented the report "Aspects in Scientific Research Activities in the Section for Functional Exploration," reviewing the achievements in the field of obtaining modern equipment and conducting functional investigations and in the field of scientific research.

The psychologist Dr Valeriu Ceausu reported on the modern methods that have served as a basis for the selection of future Romanian cosmonauts and on the scientific points of the "Psycho" program contained in the research program for the first space flight of a Romanian cosmonaut.

Ten other reports were also presented by specialists from the offices dealing with internal medicine, surgery, radiology, O.R.L., dentistry, the clinical laboratory and the aeronautical hygiene laboratory. The reports pointed out the the diversity of the concerns of the specialists in the Center for Aeronautical Medicine and attested to the research work under real and simulated conditions involving flight factors and their influence upon the human body and to the interest in finding the best measures for protection for the purpose of providing medical care for flights and preventing flight accidents.

Along with the jubilee session, a book was published and distributed to the invited guests entitled: "Studies and Research in Aeronautical and Space Medicine and Psychology. A Collection of Articles and Reports, Bibliographic Materials and Documents (1971-1975);" as well as "The History of the Center for Aeronautical Medicine" and the book "The Proceedings of the Scientific Jubilee Session - December 1980."

The major interest with which this scientific session was received on the 60th anniversary of the Center for Aeronautical Medicine and the broad and valuable participation at the session constituted a success and consolidated the position of aeronautical medicine in the realm of accomplishments of Romanian medicine.

8724
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BUREAUCRACY, FORMALISM BLAMED FOR POOR RESULTS IN OLTENIA MINING COMBINE

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 15 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Ion D. Cucu: "Each Ton of Coal is Valuable in the Country's Energy Balance"]

[Text] Given its size and its great importance in coal extraction, it can justifiably be said that in recent years, the Oltenia Mining Combine has become a veritable barometer of Romania's energy production. Obviously, since this is the largest lignite exploitation in the country, the manner in which the more than 31,000 workers in the Oltenia mining area abide by the tasks they have assumed, and by the pledges they have made to extract and deliver coal to power plants, will determine the actual fulfillment of the program to develop the raw material and energy basis of socialist Romania, as adopted by the 12th Party Congress, a document which outlines our party and state strategy to achieve complete energy independence for the nation. Starting with these general considerations, and finding ourselves in the last quarter of the year, we felt that it would be appropriate to analyze the achievements of the plan's provisions at the combine, during the period which just ended.

"Acting on the indications that Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party, offered during his working visit to the Gorj coal area," we were told by the combine's party committee secretary, Ilie Rautescu, "the workers in the Oltenia mining units have oriented all their activities toward a better utilization of all production capabilities, and in particular of the high capacity equipment in mines and pits. We have established suitable measures for the conscientious, responsible participation of each miner to the achievement of this year's plan tasks, and for preparing the conditions necessary for increasing lignite production during the current five-year plan. The results obtained during the first nine months are higher by 2 million tons than those obtained during the same period last year. At the same time, the utilization indicator in open pits has grown by 4 percent, increasing the volume of excavations by more than 5 million cubic meters (mc). However, viewed in the light of the demands and requirements made by the party leadership to fulfill the program for development and valorification of the raw materials necessary to produce electricity, we must note that serious shorcomings still exist in our activity, as demonstrated by the fact that this year's production is lagging by 7 million tons of coal." What does this shortage represent? The answer is easy: it is the equivalent of the 1980 coal consumption at the Rogojelu plant, namely 4.3 billion kW of electric power! In continuing our analysis, we will of course delve mainly on the causes that have led to this shortage, stressing the measures that must be taken for the most rapid correction of the situation.

One of the essential conditions for fulfilling the plan's coal production tasks, is to achieve the volume of cover removal in open pits, which holds the mining bulk that must excavated. Here again, the results amount to only 40 percent, registering a plan shortage of more than 22 million m^3 a volume which is added to the shortages of more than 500 million mc of cover removal of previous periods. For the purposes of our investigation, let us find out what factors have led to this highly unsatisfactory situation. Our discussions have disclosed that the shortages are primarily due to the fact that only 79.1 percent of the intensive indicator for rotor excavators has been achieved, the average hourly capacity being only 599 mc, compared to the planned 757 mc. The situation is even more critical at Tismana I with an indicator of 45.1 percent, Rovinari Est with 62 percent, and Pesteana Sud with 66 percent. Much more serious yet, is the recording of hours of operation of rotor excavators, where only 64 percent of their extensive exploitation indicator has been met. In practice, nearly 25,000 of the 72,000 planned hours of operation represent non-operating time. The poorest performance is found at Girla (54 percent), Tismana II (49.7 percent), Rovinari Est (61 percent), and Rosia Pesteana (51.6 percent). This state of affairs can be easily explained: unjustified stoppages and breakdowns in open pits, which can be ascribed solely to indifference, poor discipline, and lack of responsibility, not only on the part of operators, but equally as well on the part of some management staffs. The explanations received from Aurel Merlusca, chief engineer at Rovinari Est, Dumitru Popescu, chief engineer at Pesteana Sud, and even from the director for mechanical and power systems at the Rovinari Mining Enterprise, Gabriel Miertescu, are far from describing the real causes, which supports the statement which we have already made.

Continuing our investigation, we easily concluded that the production plan also failed to be completed because all units of the combine have a large volume of unused tooling, in particular of tooling for underground work and ancillary equipment. Stored at this time without having been used, are 20 mechanized cutting systems, 30 heading combines, 10 cutting machines, 160 16-ton dump trucks, the waste carrier at Tismana, the slope bridge at Rosita, underground belt transporters, mine locomotives, compressors, and winches. In fact, the volume of unused equipment amounts to nearly 900,000 million lei. And in addition to the fact that it does not produce anything, this equipment is also proving to be extremely costly: the penalty interest that is being paid for it amounts to more than 100 million lei per year. If to this we add the great shortcomings in the management, storage, and maintenance of this equipment, and the fact that most enterprises do not even know the condition of their inventory--how big is their endowment, and how much of it is operational, under repair, or just parked--we have yet another proof of the poor discipline displayed by the actual managements of the combine's subordinated units.

One frequently encountered practice is the dismantling of equipment, even when new, under the pretext that spare parts are not available; this is facilitated to a large extent by the fact that the equipment is delivered "by understanding" or "by word of honor," without even minimal delivery formalities. On the other hand, the full force of formalism and bureaucracy can be felt when it becomes a matter of adopting effective and efficient measures; some situations are downright anachronisms. For instance, we learned that the daily report of underground mine production is estimated (and highly inflated:), without weighing the coal. Of course, the real reports--ten-day or monthly final ones--undergo essential adjustments as a result of topographic measurements. The solution is to weigh the production at each mine entrance, even at the risk of violating the instructions and methods of the

ministry, which a document of the party committe for the combine qualified as being based on "increasingly superficial and estimative elements." And this is because only an exact knowledge of the situation allows the effective adoption of solutions to remedy shortcomings and bring the production plan back within its boundaries. Also under the bureaucracy chapter, we could include hiring practices, which are carried out through the intermediary of the enterprise (losing an average of 6-10 days), even though each mine has a personnel department which could do the same thing in 2-3 days at most. Similarly, materials and spare parts are supplied only with the approval (formal signature) of the enterprise, while a consumption file could easily be introduced, thus eliminating the intermediate link which complicates rather than simplifies matters.

And since we have mentioned this frequent formalism which impedes activities, some examples are in order. It is well known that numerous inspections have been conducted to correct the combine's economic situation; and measures have been taken, which in most cases mainly remain filed in folders. Such has been the case for the equipment utilization inspection (only 30 percent of the proposed measures being effectively implemented), for the analysis of indirect labor (with the indirect personnel being reduced by 30 percent on paper but only 15 percent in reality!), and for the fixed assets inventory (inventory which was repeatedly reported as concluded, but which as we have already mentioned, is far from even having been started!).

Given that we are getting very close to the cold season, the last point on which we will dwell is an analysis of the stage of completion of the program of technical-organizational measures, a program which will significantly influence the fulfillment of the production plan for the next period. We have learned that of the 584 measures for the combine as a whole, only 122 have been completed, and 423 are in progress. The deadlines have already expired for the remaining 39 (until the completion of the program). And even though it is known that the efficiency of interventions during bad weather is determined primarily by the availability of access to sites and work stations, the latter are the very aspects that have been neglected by the managements of units and sub-units at the enterprises Rovinari, Rosia Pesteana, and Jilt, when these organizations had both the time and the equipment to deal with them. In concrete terms, the protection canal was not completed at the open pit mine Tismana II, the access road was not built along T 401, sanitation installations were not placed in operation, and so on. The situation is not much different at the Jilt enterprise, (where the access road to the entrances of the Tehomir and Cojmanesti mines was not ballasted and compacted, and where the access road from the mine opening to the new Tehomir social and administrative complex was not built), and at the Urdari enterprise (where the heating installations were not insulated or inspected for water tightness, and where the necessary coal for thermal plants was not provided--sic!). For the latter, steps were not envisaged to remove underground water and protect the equipment.

Although oher examples abound, we will stop here for now, leting Ilie Rautescu, who has helped us conduct this investigation, state his opinion of these matters: "We are devoting attention to the problems that have been cited, and the efforts of the Oltenia Mining Combine management, as well as those of its subordinate units, are directed to find the most appropriate solutions for eliminating shortcomings. To begin with, steps have been taken to immediately organize the inventory of available equipment, send defective machinery for repair by specialized plants, and provide

spare parts. Also on the subject of equipment, and since it seems to be the major cause for failing to fulfill the physical plan for coal and waste, we have established measures with the managements of units, and we will act to raise the utilization indicator of excavation units to 75 percent. Similarly, the degree of utilization of heading machines and of mechanical cutting machines (including the placement in operation of those in stock), will increase, so that the extensive indicator will be 86.5 percent, with an average monthly advance of more than 70 linear meters (ml) in cutting, and 190 ml in galleries for each combine. We will strengthen management, coordination, and technical assistance activities in all shifts. By means of these steps, we hope to recover part of the physical production shortcomings during the year's remaining three months. For the implementation of the program of measures for cold weather, we have performed ten-day analyses by means of which we aim to fulfill our tasks, having assigned specific tasks and responsibilities. There is no doubt however, that the workers remain the decisive factor, since they are the ones called upon to fulfill these measures. We are convinced that under the leadership of the party organization, communists, other workers, and all young people, who are in a majority in the combine, will not delay the inception of the tasks they have assumed, will implement the indications provided by the secretary general of the party, Nicolae Ceausescu, during his visit here in Gorj, with the conviction that each ton of coal extracted is important in obtaining the desired goal, Romania's energy independence."

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STIPE SUVAR DISCUSSES YOUTH PROBLEMS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 81 p 4, 1 Nov 81 p 3

[Concluding segments, Nos 5 and 6, of serial publication of the introductory address delivered by Stipe Suvar, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia and chairman of the Croatian Republic Committee for Education, Culture, and Physical and Popular Technical Education, at the conference "Upbringing Based on the Achievements and Traditions of the National Liberation Struggle and Socialist Revolution," which was held 28-30 September this year on Zvecevo: "Achievements of the National Liberation Struggle and Our Contemporary Scene"]

[Text] Three-fourths of the Yugoslav population have no personal experience or memory of the National Liberation Struggle. They were born afterward, or they were small children who might remember something from their childhood. A man who is today 51 was 10 in 1941. He might, say, have some basic experience which is not a child's memory. But all of half of the population of Yugoslavia, indeed more than half, were not living even in 1948 nor in that time of impoverished socialism in the first postwar years. All of that is something told by others, what they have learned from their elders, the departing generations.

And when now the story about Stepinac surges up, since the top leaders of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia would like the pope to proclaim him a saint (but the pope probably has better candidates for saints!), a university student, in NIN [WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE] it seems to me, published a letter saying: Well, give us, tell us, something about this Stepinac, this is the first time I have heard of him. How are we to be sure that the young generations hear about what they should hear and know about without that being a boring moralistic tale related in a private home, a tale, if such exists, in which by the nature of things the battle between fathers and sons in Turgenev's sense takes place? How to achieve a situation in which society, by its entire life style, if you like, emits that kind of reflection of everything that is our revolutionary tradition?

It Is Not Enough To Unveil Monuments

And I would immediately mention: it is not enough to have one celebration or event after another and to unveil monuments. There is a danger that young people will be indifferent to this even when they attend the celebrations and visit

the monuments. It is important to acknowledge what is our recent history, what has given us our upsurge, and what has been happening in the contemporary period in the domain of revolutionary activity, which is also something that young people should be drawn into on their own, as principals.

After all, our young people today, just like young people everywhere and in all periods of time, are looking for their own identity in conditions of life which are not the conditions of life of previous generations. In 1968, to illustrate, there were some sort of student disturbances in Belgrade, and to a smaller extent in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Sarajevo. Members of that generation of university students, by no means all of them, were inspired by this as by some ethos of their own. Now these are mainly people between 32 and 36 to 38 years of age, but at that time they were attending the university. And they have taken up positions in the news media, in publishing houses, in universities and institutes. And now they have stirred everything up with their spiel, which almost implies that nothing important has even happened in our postwar development except that '68 of theirs. And they are passing this doctrine of theirs onto young people, as can be seen by articles in certain university and youth newspapers (for example, in STUDENTSKI LIST of Zagreb). But actually it was in '68 that nothing important happened: the children of our good socialist people, and it was primarily they, felt some sort of emptiness, felt that their studies were not what they should be and that they had no opportunities to show their own responsibility. And they began to shout against their own fathers the slogan: Down with the Red bourgeoisie. But those fathers are continuing even today to support some of them.

Those are those circumstances from which is born what one might call a false revolutionary consciousness. And then when they make comparisons, they set that '68 of theirs, [not] even tacitly, but indeed explicitly on a level with '48 and '50 and '41. How might they have behaved if something had happened? But I repeat, fortunately nothing did happen, since they could have caused chaos, which would not have led to further democratization in the direction of socialist self-management. However, even in the case of that generation it was a question of the search for identity, and there were and have remained in society many cracks; it is a fact that it is not easy for young people to arrive at satisfaction of their natural aspirations to express themselves, to affirm themselves and to come into what is theirs, to test what they have inside themselves and to become serious people.

In the "Student Center" in 1971, why hide it, several thousand young people sang the anthem "Our Beautiful [Croatia]" after Tito's speech in Karadjordjevo. They thought that singing "Our Beautiful" was some problem. But it was sung by the members of the council at the first, second and third sessions of ZAVNOH [Croatian Regional Antifascist Council of National Liberation]. Leave to one side that the nationalists and the hostile emigre community have been abusing that anthem and have historically taken it as evidence that the Croats, as they said, have still not gone to ruin. How to account for that gap? As though Tito had forbidden them to sing "Our Beautiful." Why was that sentiment formed? At least 90 percent of those young people were not nationalists then, nor are they today. But, you know, there are many people who are carried along by the wind,

and he who takes the initiative takes them along with them. It is a question of who has the initiative at a particular time.

Now they are debating in Kosovo and in Macedonia the flag and symbol which the Albanian minority is to use. But in the period of the National Liberation Struggle Tito ordered from the Supreme Headquarters that the Albanian (Shiptar) partisans carry their own national flag, but just add to it a five-pointed star. And that is what they did. And there were no problems at all. But then came the bureaucratic policy after 1946, when a Serb in a rural area might, say, get married, ride around on his horse, and carry the flag which for him was both the national flag and his ethnic flag. If the Albanian did the same thing with the flag under which he had fought in the National Liberation Struggle he would have been under suspicion all the way up to 1966. To be sure, the problem is that in the meantime that flag had become altogether identical with the national flag of the Socialist Republic of Albania, and the nationalistic elements could abuse that fact.

Failures in Youth Policy

Why do I mention these details? Somewhere there is a break in real work with the young generations and in creating space for their involvement in social decisionmaking, for their responsibility, especially in the light of the fact that an ever greater percentage of young people are spending too long doing nothing but attending school, isolated from the world of work and from the problems of supporting themselves, and indeed from bearing some sort of responsibility both for their family and for society and for social development. An ever greater percentage are going on to postgraduate studies and even postdoctoral training, especially those in the large cities.

So drawing a parallel, making a comparison between the role of the young people in the National Liberation Struggle and those today does not come out in our favor.

I am personally concerned because of the outsider position of young people in our society, because of the real life situations in which it does not have responsibility for itself and for social development. Generations of parents have been almost pathologically sacrificing themselves for their children, supporting them even to the age of 30 and even 35, and the children are becoming more and more critical, not uncommonly even arrogant; they do not have a satisfactory work ethic, but they do on the other hand have an increasingly rebellious consciousness. To be sure, the social problem of youth unemployment is ever more serious because of the gap between education and work, and to that extent opportunities are restricted for young people to live off their work and obtain a place to live at an early age. This means that much has been and still is wrong in the social policy toward young people.

Let me not be misunderstood: I would mention that I am convinced that the large majority of the present generations of young people are committed to socialism and would behave according to that song of Balasevic's "Count on Us" (though there is something demagogic in that song, since the problem lies in the fact

that the young people are singing count on us, but perhaps inside they are singing: do as much as possible for us, instead of its doing as much as possible for itself!).

The mentality of someone who likes to get everything on a silver platter has become widespread among young people. There are quite a few young people who expect everything to be served on a platter. The fact that the youth organization is not working is always supposed to be blamed on some leadership or some opstina conference. But why is anyone to blame except those young people who belong to a particular youth organization. We encounter a contradictory consciousness among young people: they demand the right to stand on their own feet, but they put themselves in the position of dependency. And that is what is disturbing.

The role of young people in the National Liberation War is more than instructive if viewed in the light of these trends. We often recall Tito's words uttered at the First Congress of USAOJ [Unified Alliance of Antifascist Youth of Yugoslavia] in Bihac in 1942, to the effect that 75 percent of the fighters in the National Liberation Army and partisan detachments were young people under 20. It seems that when it was necessary to tear down the old society and to fight with weapons in the first ranks the young people were very capable, but when peacetime development came they took up an outsider position in many things.

How To Be a Revolutionary Today

And when it comes to the impact on young people of the National Liberation Struggle on the one hand and of the counterrevolution on the other, we must not lose sight of the fact that some young people, we do not reliably know how many, may be tied in an intimate way, in their consciousness, in their orientations, to historical tendencies which were politically defeated in the National Liberation Struggle or afterward, to the forces of nationalism, clericalism, Stalinism, and so on. Even today counterrevolutionary and petty bourgeois forces, insofar as they are still present in our society, are fighting for the young. And the winds of the world also carry various things. Yet the degree of organization, the subtlety, the ability of the organized socialist forces to act in a subtle way, are often in doubt. The teaching of history, films and books that testify to those events, monuments--all that is necessary, but not enough. The basic thing is that we have an impact in bringing up young people by what I would call turning to the problems of the present and by linking them, in the sense of revolutionary continuity, to the past.

How is one to be a revolutionary today, how is one to act today in the spirit of what the revolution in the National Liberation Struggle specifically developed? That is the main question. Do this and this, and do not do this and this.

In short, we have not been waging a diversified and well-proportioned battle for the system of values to be found in the history of the National Liberation Struggle.

It Is Not Enough To Say That Someone Was a Criminal

There is something else that is important: When we speak to the new generations about the National Liberation Struggle, about what preceded it and what followed it, we often assume that their grandfathers and fathers participated in the National Liberation Struggle. If you want to know the truth, a majority did not participate, even though SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Fighters in the National Liberation War] is an organization numbering in the millions even today.

At one time there were about 300,000 Chetniks of Draza Mihailovic, to take just one group. And there were about 300,000 Home Guards who, indeed like some of the Chetniks, went over to the Partisans, or at least gave them ammunition, and the Partisans removed their clothing when they captured them. There were about 90,000 Ustashi. And there were also quite a few Ballists and White Guards and other Quisling forces.

When today we interpret the National Liberation Struggle, we often forget to point out the true nature of the class enemy, which by a deeper logic is reproducing itself here and there even today. We still do not have a single solid socialist study of, say, the Ustasha or Chetnik movements. We do have some historical writing. In Serbia two books have been published about the Chetnik movement, and the book of the prewar emigre Jozo Tomasevic, who studied the international archives concerning the Chetniks, has been translated, and so on. But the ideology of the Chetnik movement, of the Ustasha movement, of the Ballist movement, and so on, by the nature of things cannot vanish that same moment when their organized military formations disappear. Incidentally, the last group of Chetniks who had gone into hiding was liquidated only in 1956.

In the interpretation of the complicated picture of the National Liberation Struggle, then, there is a lack of proportionate interpretation of the forces of the counterrevolution, which had set themselves up in opposition to it. After all, we mention the Ustashi, the Chetniks, and so on, only in a stereotyped way, to the effect that they were heinous criminals. Certainly they were that, but it is not enough to leave it at that. And in general not much is achieved in bringing up children and young people by reducing the National Liberation Struggle to a comic strip or a western. It is not enough only to say that someone was a criminal; one needs to interpret the class and social background of the nationalistic and counterrevolutionary movement. Those in the Chetniks and Ustashi were mainly the rural poor who had put on a uniform and weapons. But the one who led them is another matter.

So, to repeat: new generations do not live off the merits of the older generations. It is essential that they arrive on their own at what they should do, that they continue the continuity of the revolution today by creatively affirming themselves, by proving themselves through their work. Freeing the country, let us say, of the technological enslavement in which we are groaning today, would be a large task of the revolution today, and at the same time an open type of socialism would be preserved.

The new generations will carry on the cause of the revolution if they see their own future and the future of our society not in a flourishing of political freedom while the forces of capital exercise sovereign domination in the background, as in the case of the West, nor in perpetuation of the party and state, which is happening in the socialist East, but if they are inspired by what E. Kardelj wrote before his death, that neither the state nor the party can bring a man happiness, but he can create it himself if he makes the decision about the conditions of his work and life. So that every man, and especially the young, finds himself today in the upward swing of development, which had its origin in the National Liberation Struggle and without it we would not have amounted to anything, but would have vegetated in a provincial chimney corner of Europe, regardless of whether we would have been ruled by those from the East or those from the West.

The fight against sediment left by various floods on the highway of our socialist development, against all that sediment which is today burdening the mainstream of the revolution today, against privatization and petty bourgeois transformation of life in many spheres, against the growing parasitism even of an increasing portion of the young generations, against the rule of mediocrities, and the struggle to overcome the crisis of responsibility and socialist ethics, and so on--all of that is a revolutionary battle in the present time which can be unceasingly inspired by what the National Liberation Struggle meant and by its achievements and its tradition. I am deeply convinced that we will have to go through a catharsis to find our way back to the original values of our revolution.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1950

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1950

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Religious Customs Persist in Marriages in Mirdite
(DREJTESIA POPULLORE, Apr-Jun 81) 1

BULGARIA

Efficient Ways To Destroy Enemy Helicopters Outlined
(Spas Spasov; VOENNA TEKHNIKA, No 8, 1981) 11

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Cultural, Information Centers Expanded 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

October 1981 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Brigitte Zander; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17-18 Oct 81) 15

FDGB Official Urges Greater Attention to Worker Safety
(Horst Heintze; EINHEIT, Oct 81) 16

Warning Sounded Against Attempts To Abolish 'Democratic Centralism'
(Guenter Gleissner; EINHEIT, Oct 81) 19

Socialist Entertainment Art Critically Evaluated
(IEW-TAGESDIENST, 7 Oct 81; EINHEIT, Oct 81) 24

West German Commentary
Official SED View, by Juergen Hagen

'Militant Rejection' of Western Nietzsche Revival Urged
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 7 Oct 81; EINHEIT, Oct 81) 35

West German Commentary
GDR Academician's Discussion, by Heinz Malorny

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(Otto Reinhold; EINHEIT, Oct 81) 45

Development of Nation-Nationality Concept Analyzed
(JUNGE GENERATION, Oct 81; LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, 17-18 Oct 81) 48

Definition of Nation, by Thomas Heubner
Aspects of 'Socialist Nation,' by Georg Harder

Unification of Protestant Church Federations Discussed
(Karl-Heinz Baum; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 17 Sep 81) 56

ROMANIA

Activity of Worker Control Groups Discussed
(Gheorghe Petrescu Interview; ROMANIA LIBERA, 1 Oct 81) 59

Briefs
Official Appointment 63
New Peoples Councils Officials 63
New Defense Official 63

YUGOSLAVIA

Stories of Forced Migration From Kosovo Province Told
(DUGA, 23 May, 20 Jun 81) 64

Serbs, Montenegrins Accuse, by Rajko Durdevic
Annother Account, by Miljan Babovic

Briefs
Expulsion of French Journalist 70

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS PERSIST IN MARRIAGES IN MIRDITE

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 2, Apr-Jun 81, pp 76-85

[The Development of Marital Relations in Mirdite District]

[Text] As a result of the further development of the socialist revolution, in Mirdite District, like everywhere else in the country, the family marital relations have changed in accordance with the socialist nature of our economic and political order, with communist norms and morality, with the principles of socialist ideology. The position of the party and of the people's authority toward this great social problem is based on the healthy principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the invaluable teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

During the National Liberation War, the Albanian communists worked to protect the Albanian family from the seed of denationalization which the foreign rulers planted, to overcome the artificial obstacles in marital bonds resulting from religious differences, for equality between woman and man, for the activization of the women and youth in the national liberation movement and in the social and political life of the country, and so forth. The aim of our party, declared Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP, is "...to work with ideological intensity for the molding of the family which can take place only when correct, equal and free relations are established, distinguished by pure and deep feelings, free of any control or remnant of private property and of its concepts...." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches" 1967-1968, p 138).

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that marriage is a historic-social phenomenon born under specific historic-social conditions. "Our country--stresses Comrade Enver--has known forced marriages, has known the enslaving, polygamous, and inhuman laws of barter marriages for the women; it has known the laws of Catholicism, of the Vatican, which not only enslaved and denigrated the woman, but also tormented her in a beastly and spiritual manner" (Ibid., p 135). According to article 21 of the Code of Lek Dukagjini, marriage means "to provide the house with an additional person to work and to produce children." Consequently, marriage charged the woman with a dual function, to provide the family hearth with additional members, and to provide through sweat and effort, as a necessary addition to the family, a "work hand" just like a house animal to increase the income of the patriarchal-feudal family, without any right to self-enrichment.

Thus, our country inherited from the past a particularly accentuated backwardness in the area of marital and family relations. And one of the most serious

plagues of the Albanian family before the liberation was the deep inequality and the enslavement of woman by man. In describing the condition of the woman of that period, Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses: "Woman's economic dependence on man locked the woman within the four walls of the house, and her only functions were to be a mother, to give birth and raise children, to do the housework, to wash and massage the feet of the husband, of the father-in-law and mother-in-law, and when the husband, the father-in-law and mother-in-law did not like her any longer, the husband would send the wife with a bag of rags back to her father, followed by a stamp, as they say in the south, which means separation. It happened that the man would separate from his wife only because she did not bear him a son but only daughters. Often he did not divorce her, but would marry two or three more times, if not more, thus turning the home into a slave harem" (Enver Hoxha, "Works," vol 13, p 58).

This panorama describes correctly the inferior position of the woman in family life and reveals the social inequality within the feudal-bourgeois society which relied on the exploitation of the majority of the people by a privileged minority. Especially in the past, the women suffered the most and were the most exploited and most oppressed. And, among others, the ones who suffered the most as a result of the inhumane customs of the Code "...three times enslaved during their entire life: by the clans, the church and the men," (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches," 1965-1966, p 362), were the heroic women of Mirdite, where the most enslaving and most barbaric norms of the Lek Dukagjini Code applied. This is the way the Code defined the enslaving position of the woman: The woman must be ruled by man, she must serve him without contradiction, must raise the child honorably, must clothe the child, and must not interfere with the engagement of the sons and daughters" (article 33). Whereas the right was recognized for the man "to beat and tie his wife when she objects and disobeys him." "The woman also has no rights regarding her sons at home" (Article 58, letter "b"). "The woman of the house does not have the right to sell, buy or barter without the permission of the master of the house," it is stated in article 23/3 of the Code.

The norms of the Code of Lek Dukagjini contain rules which not only openly sanction the inequality of women but also the submission and inequality of the other members of the family to the head of the family. According to article 11, paragraph 29 of the Code, there are taken into consideration among other things, trial marriage and marriage through abduction of the woman or of the girl. "The father has all the rights over the sons and daughters, whereas the mother has none over her children (article 55). According to this norm, the father's authority over the children is very broad, which includes the life, freedom and their income. The father has the right to arrange engagements for the children, especially the girls, anytime, even during infancy and often even before birth." In this way, one cannot even talk about the wish of the children or the right to choose the future partner. The Code also defines the amount of the price for the woman. The price amounted to 1,500 grosh [equivalent to a cent], the same as the blood of the woman. As a result, the woman became a product, "market item" an absolute property of the man. The man thus was entirely free to handle the woman as it pleased him, even to decide about her fate without being accountable to anyone.

Article 31 describes the right of the boy to break his engagement: "Whenever he feels like it, the boy is free to get rid of the abducted girl." Whereas (according to article 32), "an engaged girl has no right to break her engagement to the boy even if she does not like him." If the boy breaks his engagement to the girl, she has no right to marry in the village of his father. Whereas article 33 states that "if the girl refuses to accept her fate, she will be forced to accept the boy, and if he catches her escaping, he kills her with the bullet of her parents, and the blood honor is restored." "The promised girl cannot marry again as long as he lives."

The woman, according to the Code, did not enjoy the rights of inheritance of the wealth left by the husband or the children. She had the right to stay in the house of the deceased husband, "to eat and drink, or take along 13 'oke' [measurement of weight] grosh and 3 loads of maize, if she leaves."

The fact that the woman does not inherit anything from her husband, is evident in this typical example: by a decision issued on 9 June 1919, according to the Mirdite Code, the elders of Mirdite consider as heirs of the captain of Mirdite, Prenk Bib Doda, who died childless in 1918, his male relatives, and declared as void the will made by him in favor of his wife, Lucia, with the alleged explanation that a will, according to the Code, can be made only "to leave something for a human being." The chairmanship of the Council of Ministers, by its decision No 1187/1 of 5 June 1922, recommended that the wife of the deceased Prenk Bib Doda, has the right to present her demands with regard to the inheritance of the wealth of the deceased husband, which is to be resolved "according to the existing laws and not according to the Lek Code."

Taking advantage of the favorable conditions created for him during the feudal-bourgeois rule of Ahmet Zog, the former patriarchal clan leader, the Mirdite captain, Mark Gjon Marku, deputy in parliament during that period, managed to issue in his favor a personal law decree under the heading: "About the examination of old inheritance claims in the highlands where the code is implemented...."

With the enactment of this law, Mark Gjon Marku, requested from the Mirdite court that he be recognized as the sole heir of Prenk Bib Doda, and the court accepted his request. As far as Lucia is concerned, by judging according to the Code, she was recognized as having the right to live in the house of Mark Gjon Marku, "to eat and drink or take along 13 oke grosh and 3 loads of maize, if she leaves" (V. Meksi, "Pre-War Legal Cases," DREJTESIA POPULLORE, No 1/1979, p 104).

These backward, patriarchal customs have disappeared today, because the social conditions, too, have radically changed. The changes which our proletarian revolution brought about, have also been influential in eliminating marital limitations within the village.

Comrade Enver, analyzing the causes of the appearance of exogamy stresses that: under the conditions of our country in the period when the Code was prepared, the interests of the youth were made subject to a broader interest, to the interest of property and of the clan, marriage within the clan was not allowed

because the girl was used as a means to establish friendships and blood alliances with another clan...each clan, at the time when the Code was implemented, in order to assure its own existence, felt very much the need to create political-economic and military alliances with the other clans, in the same manner as is done between states. According to the Code, the Albanian highlander remains a relative and brother with all those whom his ancestors have broken away from at one time or another. "The Albanian may be split by 400 fires, but he does not take or give, that is, he does not commit krushqi." This backward, reactionary norm, because of force of habit, continues to be reflected among certain people; but in general, in comparison to the past, it finds little support. The concrete cases of marriages within the village enable us to draw the conclusion that the working masses of Mirdite district the profound conviction, that under the conditions of socialism and of the existence of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the custom of preventing marriages within one or several villages is baseless.

As in every other problem, in matters related to women, the clergy maintained the most reactionary and anti-democratic position. In the defense of patriarchalism, the clergy, by preaching about the role of the mother in the education of the new generation, of the protection and improvement of the moral characteristics of women, justified the submissive position of the woman, her extraordinarily low and inhuman position. Religion itself has sanctioned the blind conviction of the submission of the woman. In Mirdite, when the bride entered the house of the spouse, the horse reins were circled three times over her head.

The Catholic clergy has continuously promoted the enslavement of the woman. As a result, neglected at home by the father, husband, the son, and outside the home by the entire society, the women were forsaken as ignorant creatures, physically crippled and morally wounded. The law and custom, the state and religion formed a great plot, the victim of which was the woman.

In marriages between two people with different religious backgrounds, the most conservative and most reactionary was the Catholic religion, which in Mirdite has exerted great influence, was widespread and had deep roots. This is why, despite the great work carried out in this direction, despite the powerful blows given to this religious dogma, there continue to be encountered in Mirdite District fanatics who try to interfere when two young people in love, of differing faiths, want to get married. "The old which dies--Comrade Enver teaches us--will always be at war with the new which is born and which is strengthened (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1967-1968," p 121).

The spirit of the Code of Lek Dukagjini and the routine in the implementation of some customs, are still encountered in rare cases and not in an accentuated manner, in social life, especially in marital and family relations, in some persons who are not well-formed ideologically and politically. Also some negative cases which are encountered in judicial practice of Mirdite District, strengthen this conclusion. A series of decisions show clearly that some marriages have been created under the influence of the Code, and as a result, being out of step with the times, have been annulled. For example, P.N., a 17-year-old girl, through a marriage broker marries T.N., 47-years-old, from Blinisht without meeting him or seeing him prior to the wedding day.

The concept of increasing the work force through marriage has existed until recently in some zones of Mirdite District, although rare. This was the aim of the marriage between M.S. and L.S. from Kurbnesh. The latter was a soldier, and to get married he came home on 2-3 days leave. M. was 3 years older than L.S. Quarrels and disagreements resulted after his discharge from the army.

The so-called trial marriage, as can be seen from the court decisions, continues to be practiced. Thus, out of 153 suits for divorce during these past few years, 20 cases consisted of trial marriages. In this way, in violation of the norms of socialist morality and of the laws of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the influence of the old, backward code of marriage bonds, in the beginning these partners entered into a de facto cohabitation relationship, to follow it later with legal marriage. Trial marriage is always to the disadvantage of the woman, it lowers her dignity and personality. This is so because only marriage contracted according to legal rules is protected by the state, whereas de facto cohabitation, even if it is for marriage purposes, does not enjoy legal protection. From the studies of the decisions of the above mentioned cases, one arrives at the conclusion that the trial period has lasted from 9 to 12 months. The zones where this manifestation has been encountered more frequently are Kurbenesh, Blinisht, Shengjin-Fan, Shengjergj, Simon, Lufaj, Pelat and so forth. There might be even more cases of this kind but they have not ended up in divorce by court decision, since they have taken place without celebration.

The question of the complete emancipation of women in our country has become a big issue, for the party and the struggle against backward customs of the past, a great people's issue, and in this direction there are all-around successes, but still here and there, due to the lack of a systematic ideological struggle and due to the low ideological, educational and cultural level of some parents, there are cases of engagements below the legal age level.

In this manner, in upholding of backward customs, influence is exerted by the pressure of the elders whose patriarchal authority is substantial, as well as the submission of some youths, especially of the girls, some of whom are still not fully conscious of their important role in family relations and in society, as a whole.

In this direction, the bad custom of loading the woman's back, continues to be manifested and practiced here and there despite the fact that the sack and "terkuza" [rope] are no longer part of the bride's dowry. As an example can be mentioned the case of D.P., teacher, and N.P. from Nderfusha, the latter and his patriarchal parents demanding that D.P. carry on her back household things, such as wood and so forth. When she tried to carry the load in her hands, there was an outburst of insults and quarrels, which eventually led to the annulment of the marriage. During the judgment of this case, another backward custom, inherited from the distant past, became manifest and is to be found also in the code of Lek Dukagjini (article 23.3 mentioned above). Thus, the above mentioned D.P. would send some of her personal belongings to her sister in Reshen to be kept in the chest-of-drawers. This fact upset the husband N.P., who, operating by the Code concept "the house has a master" and "the belongings which have entered the house cannot be taken out," made the marital relations take a turn for the worse.

This custom also is related to the concept which is still practiced, according to which the gifts given prior and during the marriage, as well as the personal belongings of the woman or part of her contribution to their joint wealth or to the family of the agricultural unit after the divorce, in violation of the rules of socialist married life, the norms of socialist morality and the state laws, do not belong to the woman and as such they cannot leave the husband's house. This, and the taking by the woman of her belongings which, according to law, belong to her, were considered an insult. The above manifestations are aspects of the class struggle which is developed everywhere under the party leadership, by the progressive new against the reactionary patriarchal old.

From the judgment of divorce suits of Mirdite District one can see that here and there, as a result of some old practices and backward customs which must be fought, very expensive weddings continue to take place. Big expenses have nothing in common with the character of a socialist wedding. Of course, as Comrade Enver teaches us, to counsel against big expenses when a person celebrates the marriage of a son, this is correct, but to recommend how many to invite and to counsel against inviting some friends and acquaintances of the son and against being merry, singing and dancing is wrong.

But is it possible to consider a socialist wedding one in which, on the basis of feudal-clan customs of the Code, exaggerated huge expenses are incurred to the point that the partners continue to pay off debts for a number of years. It is clear that this situation can only lead to disagreements between the partners. The partners T. and P. in Reshen, during their married life, have not bought anything else besides food, but T. used his savings and hers to pay off the wedding debts, which even now after the divorce, have not been paid off. In Kurbnesh, D.T. and D.B. quarreled continually ending up in recriminations and beatings because, although both were employed, they did not improve the well-being of the family from the savings of their incomes, yet the husband [illegible]ed them to pay off the wedding expenses estimated at 7,000 lek. In this way, after 1 year of marriage until they got divorced, they were unable to purchase not even the most basic things for living.

In the above mentioned cases, when happiness and joy are understood in the narrow sense of the word, for 1 day only, with the idea that "one marries only once," it is only obvious that family dramas occur.

The above mentioned cases have nothing in common with a socialist wedding, the joy of which, in the first place, is the beginning of a marriage based on love, which looks at the future with optimism and not with confused thoughts about paying off wedding debts. The example of a truly happy and joyful socialist wedding is the case of Athina Mile which took place in Orosh in Mirdite District, to whom Comrade Enver Hoxha, among other things, wrote: "You are a teacher in Orosh, your partner is a cooperativist, you are from Permet, he is from Orosh, you are an intellectual, he is a farmer, you are from the city, he is from the village....To you, a young girl from Permet, Mirdite became yours, you also chose your life partner there, he whom you loved and who loved you, you thus created your new family on healthy foundations..." (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1969-1970," pp 36-39).

Now that our society has entered the stage of the complete construction of socialism, in place of the old types and kinds of families, a new type of family, the socialist family, is being formed and strengthened. The ever strengthening of the socialist family in Mirdite District, deals ever more powerful blows to the remnants of the Code of Lek Dukagjini which has played a profoundly reactionary role for the submission, rule and oppression of the woman by man, and sanctioning her political, economic and social inequality. The political and economic revolution and the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution, under the leadership of the party, destroyed the social base of remnants which upheld the norms of the law of customs collected in the Code of Lek Dukagjini and other codes.

Comrade Enver, speaking at the Seventh Congress of the AWP about the need for the complete emancipation of the woman, stressed: "The energies and abilities of women, stifled and suppressed in the past, have erupted powerfully and irresistibly in all fields of our socialist life. The Albanian woman has entered the arena of the struggle for socialism, full of dignity,...and she has distinguished herself in work and life. Albanian women are to be found everywhere today, in the fields, factories, schools and laboratories. They have been entrusted with responsibile and high positions in the party and in the state. New relations of equality between men and women have been and are being created at work and in the family. The emancipation of women has strengthened and continues daily to strengthen socialist democracy. This proves Marx's statement that the degree of emancipation of women represents the natural measure of general emancipation" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress of the AWP, pp 161-162).

In the direction of the development of the family and of marital relations in our country, the conclusion of Engels is being implemented; he predicted that only in the socialist society is there produced "a generation of man who will never have the chance in their lives to buy women for money or by other means of public authority, and a generation of women who will never be required to marry a man for reasons other than true love" (Karl Marx-Federick Engels, "Selected Works," Albanian publications, vol 2, p 225).

Using as an example Mirdite District, which has been one of the zones with the strongest old customs, now there are many instances of marriages for love and in every case with the consent of the future partners. But, parallel to the positive motives which are in full conformity with the norms of communist morality, with socialist ideology, as was said, there are also instances when the parents, by formally conforming to socialist social opinion, organize formal introductions through meetings, at a time when they themselves have decided about the marriage of their children. These types of instances become a negative example in regard to marriages for love.

Under the present conditions of the struggle for the complete emancipation of women, the right to divorce is of great importance. Divorce does not mean violation of the rights of women. On the contrary, our state of socialist democracy is interested in protecting and supporting only healthy marriages.

Comrade Enver, talking about divorce in our country, has stressed: "For the woman in particular, divorce is one of the most important victories...when the woman correctly understands this victory she will also know how to use it correctly, because when it is understood in this way, divorce divides but also unites, therefore it also serves to strengthen the unity between man and woman, to strengthen the unity of the family, for the proper raising of the children (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1965-1966," pp 357-358).

In the report to the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP in 1967 it is stated: "The harmony and the unity of the family are basic elements for good conjugal relations, therefore they are not strengthened by submitting to the prejudices and backward customs of bowing to the husband, but by opposing them in a correct manner, bravely and intelligently.... Divorce is the equal right of the men and of the women, and if properly understood, this right will not remain, as in the past, like the sword of Damocles over the woman's head, but will serve to strengthen the family" (Ramiz Alia, "Report to the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP," 1967, p 49).

Court activity in Mirdite District proves that the women of this district have exercised this right better with each passing year. Generally, there has been a steady increase in suits brought by women. Compared to the 49 percent of the divorce suits brought by the women in 1970, today the figure is 60 percent.

These data also clearly show the high ideological level of the women of Mirdite District, who being employed and economically independent, no longer submits to the despotic rule of the husband and to the backward customs in the family, and equality of rights with the husband and in the family are assured and developed.

Under the influence of the Catholic Church, in Mirdite before the liberation, the right of divorce, especially for the woman, was something unheard of. The fascist cleric, Gjergj Fishta, declared: "The most perfect and ideal system of marriage is Christian marriage based, among other things, in the principle of the indissolubility of marriage (prohibition of divorce). These reactionary concepts, have left sporadic marks also in the district of Mirdite. P.K. has been sentenced three times for repeatedly beating his wife. Everytime he was let out of prison, his wife was willing to live with him. Even after the court's divorce decision, and despite their continued quarrels they continued to live together. The annulment of marriages due to the fault of the husband in Mirdite District shows a higher percentage. This proves that the exercise of the rights and freedoms by the women has encountered the patriarchal and feudal-clan concepts of the men who want to behave as in the past, like rulers over women, whereas the woman has tended to be more receptive to the progressive innovation for equal rights with the man in the family.

Data shows that in Mirdite District there are few divorces. Despite a natural population growth, divorces show a downward trend.

In general, the length of the marriage of the divorced couple has been a short one. This shows that the partners did not know each other well, knew little of each other's outlook, desires, character and type. It is therefore necessary

for the organs of authority and the social and law organs, to increase ideological work with the young people and with the parents in the struggle against backward customs so the young people can get acquainted before marriage not only through "the first straw," through superficial evaluation, but on the basis of thorough acquaintance, of free feelings and true love between young men and women.

Engels says that "a marriage based on love is a moral one and that only where love remains does a marriage exist" (cited by Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches, 1967-1968," p 132).

In order to have a clearer idea of the progress made in marriage relations and of the strengthening of the family under the conditions of our social development on the road to socialism, in Mirdite District, the trend towards marriages between two partners with a small age difference is evident. This trend is accentuated in the tendency of the man to be 1-5 years older than the woman, a tendency which is steadily growing. The age difference over 6 years and especially over 10 years for married couples is decreasing steadily. Marriages of persons of the same age, on the other hand, are on the increase.

At the same time, according to the statistical data for Mirdite District, the conclusion can be drawn that marriages of women to younger men are few. From 1973 on, there have been no marriages between women and men where the women are 5 years older than the men. There are few marriages of these kind, and most of them have occurred because of the interference of their parents, following backward customs to provide the family with an "additional worker" and so forth. These marriages and marriages with older women are harmful to the strengthening of the family roots, therefore the trend toward the reduction of such marriages is a positive development. Also positive is the fact that there has been a reduction in the number of marriages with a greater than 10-year age difference. Marriages with the man more than 10 years older than the woman accounted for 0.86 percent of the marriages in 1977, 0.70 percent in 1978 and 0.60 percent in 1979. In this way, statistical data prove that the age difference between women and men in marriages is continually narrowing, approaching a normal average which is a characteristic of the socialist family. In Mirdite District, comparisons made show that the average difference in ages is about 6-7 years, with the man older.

The number of divorces in the cities of Mirdite District is higher than in the villages. This happens due to the influence of backward customs in the villages of the district.

The causes of divorce, during the past few years, in Mirdite District, resulting from the problems assessed and also in relation to the faults stressed above, are to be found in most cases, when men manifest patriarchal, petit-bourgeois, undisciplined, whimsical, feudal and clan mentalities. Thus, the anger, the indolence and so forth, of the men have caused continuous disagreements and quarrels during the married life. But during this time, some men openly express the feeling of superiority and try to rule in order for their women to be inferior, and as a result a lack of full understanding about everything gradually develops. Quarrels and lack of understanding also develop due

to bad management of joint incomes, due to lack of proper division of work in the family, when only the woman is expected to do the work due to incorrect understanding in the relations between the wife and the other members of the husband's family, when the woman, in some cases, is still treated as a servant and is denigrated by all. The conservative concepts towards the woman and the force of backward customs, have led some men to create scenes of disharmony and misunderstanding in conjugal relations, and to come into conflict with state laws by mistreating their wives. These things prove that customs and the norms of old reactionary codes calling for the domination, submission, and oppression of women by men continue to operate here and there in a sporadic manner. No matter how few these concepts may be, social opinion must unmask them and punish them most severely. This struggle is essential since there may be some women, who since they have not reached the proper ideological level, accept the domination of men and of the norms of the reactionary past, rather than seek to gain the respect of their equality in the family.

The problems which have been treated here are evidence of the struggle waged everywhere in our country, including Mirdite District, under the party leadership, for the further revolutionizing of marital and family relations, as a concrete field of the ideological struggle.

If we succeed in achieving marriages on socialist bases everywhere, and if these bonds between young people are divested of everything old and reactionary, then we have accomplished a great job by deepening the requirement of our socialist morality which considers only the marriage entered into out of sincere love, as a basic moment for the creation of the new socialist family, as stressed by Comrade Enver "...a truly healthy, solid marriage based on acquaintanceship and free and open admiration of the pair, of sincerity and of a pure and ardent proletarian love between young men and women. This creates the harmonious basis for a healthy family" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1962-1970," p 143).

CSO: 2100/5

EFFICIENT WAYS TO DESTROY ENEMY HELICOPTERS OUTLINED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1981 pp 12-13

[Article by Col Spas Spasov, Professor and Doctor of Military Sciences: "The Fight against Helicopters;" material from the foreign press]

[Text] A group of cadets from the VNVAU [Higher People's Military Artillery Academy] "G. Dimitrov," in Shumen, is interested in questions concerning the fight against helicopters. We are publishing this article in response to their letter.

In the last few years, particular attention has been devoted in almost all of the member nations of NATO to development of army aviation, the foundation of which is the helicopter. From an organizational viewpoint, it is a part of formation and units of land forces, and it consists of individual batallions and companies.

In the infantry, mechanized and armored divisions of the main capitalist countries, helicopters of army aviation are intended for transport of personnel and military equipment as well as for providing fire support for troops on the battlefield. For that reason the helicopter units of the ground forces formations are also subdivided into transport and airborne helicopters like the SN-54 (Flying Crane) and SN-47 ("Chinook"), and helicopters for fire support such as the AN-16 ("Huey-Cobra"), the IN-1v (Iriquoise) and the AN-64. In all there may be as many as 1200-1500 helicopters in the zone of defense for a single field army.

According to the views of foreign military specialists, helicopters are seen as the most dynamic means through which the mobility of ground forces is sharply increased immediately within the military operations zone. Now they have become the primary material factor for the origin and development of views of so-called air mobility. As is known, Indochina, where more than 4,000 helicopters had already been in operation in 1970 (as compared with 400 in 1965), was the military testing ground for these concepts. It is now estimated that in the army of the U.S. alone there are 16,000-18,000 helicopters, and the number is more than 30,000 in all for the NATO nations.

That is why the fight against helicopters must be considered a primary problem in war and the operations of ground forces, to be conducted with the participation of all possible resources and under all conditions--during both attack and defensive operations, in simple and complex weather conditions, during daytime and nighttime.

Helicopters may be found in the most diverse situations on the ground and in the air. They are usually dispersed, and operate within the entire region of operations of a given formation of unit. All of this causes known difficulties in organizing and conducting the fight against them, which are reflected primarily in search and discovery operations, as well as in selection of the most suitable means for their destruction.

How can the fight against helicopters be waged most effectively?

In spite of the great maneuverability and the possibilities for multiple take-off within a 24-hour period, helicopters are on the ground more than in the air. Moreover, when on the ground they are immobile and more closely assembled, and, consequently, more vulnerable than when in the air. This is why their destruction on the ground is considered to be the primary and most effective means in which almost all fire capabilities of ground forces, aviation and the navy (in coastal regions) can participate. An action against helicopters located on the ground is organized and conducted according to the general rules for destruction of stationery earthbound objects.

On the ground, helicopters can be located in regions where they are permanently based at sites at distances from the battle lines of 80-120 km for transport helicopters and up to 30-50 km for attack helicopters. Moreover, when they are carrying out assigned tasks they are deployed further toward the front line within the initial regions for airborne attack (up to 50 km) to advanced sites (12-18 km) or ambush sites (2-4 km).

The conditions under which helicopters are parked at all of the sites are almost identical, with the one difference that their number and the time that they will remain under the varied circumstances will differ.

In the air, helicopters can fly in groups which vary in composition, altitude and speed, close to the front line or over our territory. In these instances, the fight against them will be conducted primarily by fighter aircraft and armed helicopters, as well as from land-based PVO [anti-aircraft defense] and rifle units. It is possible, under specific conditions, also to use fire from artillery (conventional and rocket) to fight against helicopters in the air.

Are there special weapons for the fight against helicopters? There are no weapons which have been created specially for fighting helicopters. This does not mean that all of the mentioned weaponry may be used in this fight with identical success and efficacy. The selection of means of destruction, the method of aviation operations or the method of artillery attack, as well as the necessary forces for destroying an individual group will depend on the assigned task and the conditions of the situation.

The most suitable means for destruction of helicopters on the ground are aviation fragmentation bombs, guided and unguided rockets (jet-propelled shells), canister shot and small arms-type aviation armaments and fragmentation artillery shells (including those with aerial burst).

Mortar fire may be used with success against sites located close to the front line or during disembarcation of airborne troops.

Determining the necessary aircraft (helicopter) or artillery for the destruction of either individual helicopters or groups of helicopters is made according to the general rules for preparing tactical bombardment calculations and calculations for fire from rocket or conventional artillery on board an aircraft (helicopter) or for preparing the necessary number of shells to cover a given area. The attack or air assault on the helicopters should be unexpected, massive and carried out in a short time since helicopters are quite maneuverable and can be moved to another site within several minutes (depending on the degree of readiness).

The greatest massing of helicopters may be anticipated at the permanent bases (measuring 800x1200 m); there will be 30-80 or more on the average for a company or batallion. At the advanced sites (measuring 300x400 m), 8-12 may be found, and at ambush sites (measuring 150x150 m), up to 2-4 helicopters.

The most general calculations show that in order to destroy the helicopters at a single permanent base, it is necessary to employ the forces of a fighter-bomber or attack unit; for the advanced helicopters; and for those which are waiting in ambush, up to 1 to 2 groups of 3 aircraft. Almost the same results can be produced by concentrating the fire of a division of rifled artillery or a battery of rocket artillery on the advanced sites, and of a battery on the ambush sites.

Artillery may also be used effectively to destroy helicopters performing flights at extremely low altitudes. Usually the majority of the missions are performed by helicopters at altitudes of up to 50 m (most frequently 15-20 m above the terrain). In these instances, after discovery of a helicopter group and with correctional assistance from the air, both immobile and mobile encompassing fire may be successfully employed.

Mobile fire zones may prove to be particularly efficient for prevention of, for example, an airborne landing, when the helicopters usually fly in relatively compact ranks over abbreviated distances and intervals. This may best be achieved using fragmentation shells with contact action or with aerial burst directly above or within the compact files of the groups [of 3 aircraft] and squadrons. The relatively low flight speed (up to 150-180 km/hr) assures adequate time for training fire from one position to another.

The fight against helicopters may be carried out with greatest efficiency when they are on the ground on sites with various tactical designations. They have relatively little sturdiness and quite a few vulnerable places (in the main and tail propellors, the motor and pilots' cabin), which makes them easily destroyable by almost any weapon (aviation and artillery) with high efficiency. Consequently, at this stage in the development of the helicopter as an aircraft and of the tactics for their use, creation of special weapons to destroy them on the ground and in the air is not required. This does not mean that all questions concerning the fight against helicopters are solved. On the contrary, a large segment of the questions associated with drawing artillery into this fight and, particularly, with the use of mobile fire zones, merits comprehensive and in-depth study.

9194
CSO: 2200/10

BRIEFS

CULTURAL, INFORMATION CENTERS EXPANDED--Czechoslovakia operates cultural and information centers in Berlin, Budapest, Warsaw, Szczecin, Djakarta, Bucharest, Havana, Cairo and Baghdad. The Bucharest center opened its doors in 1981. The centers in Cairo, Baghdad and Djakarta have restricted their activities almost to the minimum because of the current situations in these countries. Another center in Kabul is planned, and currently being negotiated are centers in Yugoslavia and Algeria, which are to open by 1983. The Havana center, which is the sole center from East Europe in Cuba, is also shared by other socialist countries. [Bratislava SLOBODA in Slovak No 47, 19 Nov 81 p 2]

CSO: 2400/80

OCTOBER 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Oct 81 p 10

[Brigitte Zander review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 10, October 1981, signed to press 14 September 1981, pp 961-1072: "A Topic With High Demands." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Conception of Developed Socialism" is the topic of the October issue of EINHEIT. That is a rather ambitious subject which, although it sounds like a book title, fits right in with our party's theoretical organ. Its treatment begins with an extensive quotation—paragraphs defining "Developed Socialist Society—that means...." from the SED program adopted at the Ninth Party Congress. Referring to the decisions of the 10th Party Congress, prominent authors demonstrate in five articles that this conception worked out 5 years ago has fully and completely retained its validity even under the new conditions of the 1980's.

Thus, Otto Reinhold writes that the key decision of the 10th Party Congress to continue the policy of the main task in the 1980's was due "primarily to the fact that this policy complies with the meaning of socialism, with the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism, and that it is the unity of economic and social policy which produces the decisive motivational forces of social development, especially the social activity of the working people."

In an economic-theoretical essay about the upward development of the material-technical base on the road of intensification, Helmut Koziolek proves "that progress in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society ultimately originates from the planned upward development of the productive forces." In an article taking issue with anti-Communist attacks, Guenter Gleissner explains why democratic centralism has always been and will remain the inalienable basic principle of socialist management and organization. In a philosophical essay on "Ideal and Reality in the Socialist Revolution," Wolfgang Eichhorn I deals with idealistic motivational forces in our dynamic development.

The topic is appropriately rounded off with a book review. Rolf Reissig introduces the anthology of "Marx and Engels on the Socialist and Communist Society," published by Dietz, [East] Berlin. All in all this is an issue that should also be used, inter alia, as supplemental literature for the current party school year.

CSO: 2300/63

FDGB OFFICIAL URGES GREATER ATTENTION TO WORKER SAFETY

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 10, Oct 81 (Signed to press 14 Sep 81) pp 974-975

[Commentary by Horst Heintze, social scientist, economist, member, SED Central Committee; presidium member, secretary, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB): "Performance Growth and Labor Safety"]

[Text] The economy is and remains the decisive field of action for the party's and each communist's revolutionary conduct. Comrade Erich Honecker deduced from this 10th SED Congress statement for all party management organs the task to motivate initiatives and activities that ensure a high performance growth that comes through constant struggle for improving working and living conditions, for exemplary order, safety and discipline, and for working without accidents and breakdowns.

Wherever in collectives these interconnected tasks are an element of socialist competition, the experiences of the best workers are thoroughly analyzed and the strength of their example spurs all, we account for results that meet the high demands of the 1980's. Shop steward plena such as in the parent plant of the Bitterfeld softcoal combine, the Eberswalde crane construction, the Brandenburg steel and rolling mill and many others, as well as the conferences of the competition initiators, innovators and rationalizers in our capital Berlin and in Neubrandenburg impressively prove the workers, engineers and scientists, many women and young people among them, have turned the 10th party congress resolutions into their own cause. They are struggling for a maximum degree of efficiency and labor quality, for cost reduction and for further improving working and living conditions. They see to it that the funds available are handled carefully. And they also do everything to ensure order, safety and discipline and avoid accidents or breakdowns in the labor process.

Let us look back: between 1976 and 1980 alone more than a million jobs were formed or reorganized in industrial, construction and transport enterprises in the GDR and labor hardships and hazards were eliminated right along with it. During that period the working people, with more than 500,000 innovator proposals, helped further improve health and labor protection. To cite a few examples: in the VEB light metal foundry, Poessneck, by means of a newly developed vacuum casting procedure, labor productivity was boosted by 200 percent, up to 10 percent of material was saved, and a noticeable influence was brought to bear on the elimination of heavy physical labor. The working people in the VEB Diesel Motor Works, Rostock, as much as those

in the railroad enterprise of Brueckenmeisterei Neudietendorf (Erfurt Bezirk) have confirmed the experience that performance improvements are on the long run possible only when the same determination goes into the struggle for improving the working conditions.

Such results—they are some among many others like them—are decisive steps toward setting up or reorganizing from 1.1 to 1.4 million jobs between 1981 and 1985, in conformity with the 10th party congress tasks, easing the work for between 300,000 and 320,000 working people, and developing and introducing more labor tools that are safer and easier to use. Points of major attention here are the manual transportation and storage processes and their maintenance because some of them constitute a very high proportion of overall labor, which makes them so important for the release of more labor. We shall further boost the proportion of working tools and procedures that will meet high requirement demands (safety qualities) for safety, hygiene and easier work. That is why we must use modern equipment and combine without reservation the most up-to-date technologies with a constant struggle for order, discipline and safety.

And those are precisely the tasks the trade unions pay the greatest attention to. They are aware the working people's well-being, pleasure in work, dedication and creativity largely depend on it. They see to it that the care about men and their well-being and health becomes standard procedure for management activity, attention is paid to the working people's problems, thoughts, suggestions and ideas, and no suggestion or criticism remains unanswered. That promotes dedication and initiative. They will grow where workers sense their opinion has some meaning and their experiences are wanted.

Still much remains to be done. Sound experiences are not always applied generally and broadly. There is, for instance, a dump-type lift truck for paint vats, made at the VEB farm machinery, Torgau, which makes work easier, yet of the 112 enterprises that were checked there were only VEB Sachsenring, Zwickau, the Ernst Thaelmann heavy machine combine in Magdeburg and the Erfurt automobile-body plant that were using that device though it is known to, and applicable in, at least 70 enterprises. The reasons for that: competent documentation is not precisely analyzed, suggestions to make use of it are checked only superficially, and the cooperation between the innovation office and the safety inspections is only sporadic.

What can be accomplished merely by analyzing and applying the central information service is shown, however, by the experiences in the VEB housing construction combine, Gera. The further improvements in working and living conditions, order, safety and discipline are standard procedure in socialist competition there. The working people in that combine and the 150 members of the P 5 youth collective working for years on the central youth project "FDJ Initiative Berlin" impressively document that performance growth goes hand in hand with improved working and living conditions and with working more safely without accidents or breakdowns.

Today about 90 percent of all work collectives in the GDR has set concrete tasks for the fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the plan without accidents and breakdowns. That includes the commitment to ensuring safety qualities in the preparatory production areas in the use of working tools and procedures, making working conditions technically safe and hygienically unobjectionable, as well as the commitment by the working people in other areas to conduct themselves always and everywhere in the labor process in conformity with labor safety regulations.

The 3-step check has turned out to be an important method for avoiding accidents or breakdowns. Every day before work starts the chief operator or brigade chief together with the labor safety engineer will check the jobs, machines, equipment and tools. They are checked every week by the department chief, the chairmen of the department trade union headquarters, the labor safety engineers and the chief mechanic. The plant director or enterprise manager, the plant physician and the chairman of the labor safety commission of enterprise trade union headquarters inform themselves about the status of health and labor protection every month by making an inspection attended by the manager and the labor safety engineers, from which they derive measures for enterprise management.

Working like that helps avoid labor accidents and breakdown and losses. Therefore the trade unions persistently advocate emulating the wearer of the Lenin Medal, Aleksey D. Basov, who runs a construction brigade in Moscow which for years has exceeded its plan without accidents and breakdowns, its working method, known as "Basov Initiative," having set standards beyond the country's borders. The "sole manufacturing" collective in the Grossenhain shoe factory, for instance, is working that way entirely. Like many other collectives it has helped reduce labor accidents in our country from circa 40 in 1970 to 29 in 1980, per one thousand workers. Softcoal mining, the energy industry and geology have had a major share in this development. There, the accident rate is circa 50-percent lower than the average in the GDR.

To carry on such positive developments and not diminish our efforts on behalf of order, safety and discipline remains an essential concern of trade union work this year. Combines and enterprises such as the metallurgical combine Ost, the VEB heavy machine construction BFG, Lauchhammer, and the Berlin housing construction combine managed to reduce up to the end of September this year the number of labor accidents by another 20 percent compared with the same period last year. That was possible only through the close cooperation between state managements, trade unions and the working people who, in socialist competition, adopted the goal to accomplish a zero interference quota in machines and installations.

To protect the life and health of the working people as best as possible, act in line with the Ninth FDGB Congress principle, "each accident is one accident too many," and not interrupt the continuity of production by breakdown, technical interference and fires makes high demands on the the work of combine and enterprise managements, party organizations and trade unions. It is and remains an urgent task to analyze and generalize the management and work experiences also in this area so that the working people's working and living conditions improve continually and plans can have their fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment without accidents and breakdowns. The trade unions are making their contribution to it by using the 1981/1982 trade union elections for organizing socialist competition so that it leads to high performance improvements, improves working conditions and always ensures order, discipline and safety. To that end the "Basov Initiative" and the collectives' efforts toward recognition as enterprise or area of exemplary order and safety are worthy of support and appreciation. The trade unions regard it also as a fine way of preparing for the 10th FDGB Congress.

5885
CSO: 2300/64

WARNING SOUNDED AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO ABOLISH 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 10, Oct 81 (Signed to press 14 Sep 81) pp 995-1000

['Conception of Developed Socialism' feature article by Guenter Gleissner, jurist, department chief, secretariat, GDR People's Chamber: "Democratic Centralism--Inalienable Basic Principle of Socialist Management and Organization"]

> [Text] Fighting persuasively against unsolicited recommendations from those ideologists who, while mouthing "socialism," aim a blow against its basic foundations by attacking the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, it is being demonstrated that this principle is the crucial basis for revolutionary socialist development, exemplifying the party's Marxist-Leninist leadership quality. Opposing democracy with centralism is a senseless undialectical distortion and is directed against an inalienable basic principle for continued successful advances.

Since Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the Communist Manifesto 113 years ago formulated "the rising of the proletariat to be the ruling class, the gaining of democracy by fighting" as the interconnected task of the revolutionary movement, whole armies of bourgeois ideologists have been commissioned to prophesy the end "of democracy" by it. Since the days of the Great Socialist October Revolution, since the construction of the new, socialist society which, based on the political power of the workers class and the socialization of the means of production, made an end to the suppression of the majority by a minority, the imperialist ideologists have been directing their angry attacks against everything that explains deeply the successful advance of socialism. The leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the core of the political system of socialism, the political power of the workers class, and the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, which is the proven foundation for the construction, cooperation and activity of all the organs of socialist state power--all that is the focal point of the attacks by the class enemy simply because they are the cornerstones of socialism.

Attacks and Models

What is veiled behind the attacks against democratic centralism which is slandered as "totalitarianism" and defamed as "state bureaucratism"? What is hiding behind

the recommendations to the effect that the socialist planned economy should have to be "dismantled so as to release the slumbering economic capacities?" They cannot help acknowledging, e.g., the steady high increase rates in the GDR economy, to be sure. Yet that does not prevent those same antisocialist spokesmen from denying in the same breath, schizophrenicly as it were, the very causes of these increase rates and offering the socialist countries their unsolicited advice they should "grant their enterprises the greatest possible measure of independence and abolish the central bureaucracy and the stubborn planning system." Nor do they let it go at distorting and denigrating democratic centralism--the essence of which happens to be the organic connection of central state management and planning with the self-responsibility and initiative of the local state organs, the enterprises, the cooperatives and institutions and with a truly creative mass initiative. Rather, they are at once offering "new models" based on the bourgeois "pluralism" theorem and are circulating recommendations on how thereby in socialist countries democracy could be "improved, developed or renewed." Different as the shades of their attacks may be, offered as counsel or "new models," the target is the same as in all counterrevolutionary attacks: to undermine the political and economic foundations of the workers and farmers power, deny the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party and subvert the unity of party, state and people, so as to liquidate mainstays of socialism and ultimately socialism altogether.

This precisely is what Poland's external and internal enemies have in mind in seeking to destroy the political system of socialism by exploiting economic and social crisis manifestations. To establish "pluralism also in socialism" and "dismantle" democratic centralism--all these are paraphrases for the aim to subvert the people's power and create "centers for political decision-making" against the objectively leadership-invested Marxist-Leninist party. Step by step, under the cloak of "truly socialist" concepts, central state management and planning is meant to be eliminated to push the party and the state, as merely advisory organs without any compelling authority, onto the edge of society and then to destroy them.

Real political practice in our country, as in all socialist countries, which is resolutely based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, reveals the following: socialist construction proceeds successfully wherever the Marxist-Leninist party on the basis of a sound scientific strategy and tactics politically directs all of social development. A policy truly committed to the well-being of the people exists only where the state as the main instrument of the working people led by the workers class concentrates the central management and planning of social processes, in accordance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, on expert decision-making in basic matters while it promotes the local state organs', combines', enterprises', cooperatives' and working people's own responsibility and initiative toward implementing the state tasks.

Centralization or decentralization, central state decision-making or "democratic decision-making"--that is a totally senseless and contradictory formulation. All experiences of socialist development confirm: central decisions and democratic participation are by no means antipodal but are two sides of one-and-the-same coin. They form an organic, dialectical unity. Democratic participation does not exist apart from central state decisions but becomes part of them, their indispensable foundation. And more than that: how all the people come up with their knowledge and skill, how the working people's experiences are made the basis for decisions,

on that depends essentially not only their quality but also the way in which an individual identifies with them and assumes his personal responsibility where he stands so as to implement through his commitment and initiative-rich honest work the stipulations which serve his own interests.

A Total Will According to a Total Plan

Spontaneously, without a total plan, the new socialist society cannot be established. Rather, it is the conscious and systematic effort of masses of millions, executed through a total will according to a total plan--to quote Engels. For the first time society is established systematically in conformity with the developmental laws on which it is based, which means: according to plan and in awareness. Nor does the need for systematic and conscious action diminish when socialist society gains in maturity. On the contrary: the role of the subjective factor grows in the course of the socialist revolution. By that we mainly mean the fact that the awareness and systematic manner in which we shape our society increase so that, in terms of Friedrich Engels, the results of our work in the social framework also ever more completely coincide with our objectives and intentions. That is the case today in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the full utilization of the historic opportunities, advantages and impulses of socialism in new dimensions and under changed internal and external conditions. It makes higher demands on conscious, systematic action, on a committed involvement in spotting and solving maturing problems in our development.

The speed and scope of our advances along the course charted for the 1980's at the 10th party congress significantly depend precisely on how consistently we continue to enforce the principle of democratic centralism in all social domains. This fundamental organizational and management principle, strictly abiding by it and creatively applying it, receives a still higher place value economically and politically in view of the tasks that must be solved in the 1980's. Decisions range into the far distant future. They are becoming more complicated and must be made still more complex—in conformity with altered internal and external conditions. Thus central management and planning must be aimed more still at basic questions. And for the very same reason there are also higher demands placed on all citizens' expert involvement in planning and ruling, be they workers or cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia or craftsmen or tradesmen, associates of central organs or local people's representations, Marxists, Christians, members of friendly parties or without party affiliation.

From this it logically follows that still more working people are called upon to take an expert and active part in social affairs. Party and state responsibility is growing further for mobilizing and promoting these democratic activities and directing them toward our unified goal. How democratic centralism is implemented as a basic managerial and organizational principle—that also is, not last, a mirror-image of the party's Marxist-Leninist leadership quality and the state organs' people-related, scientifically sound and rationally organized working style.

Basis for Active Participation

The political practice of successful socialist development provides this evidence: not a departure from central dicisions mobilizes the people's creative capacities

and releases our "slumbering economic capacities." Rather it is the policy to be conceived by the revolutionary vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, and consistently oriented to the people's interests and needs, and its successful implementation that leads to a big boost in mass initiative. So our party in all the phases of socialist construction knew how to enforce its universal inevitabilities and principles in conformity with concrete-historic conditions and specific requirements, taking account of the real situation, internal and external development, by a progressive conception that addressed the masses whereby it mobilized them. That attested to the political creativity, the Marxist-Leninist-shaped leadership force, the mass solidarity of the party.[2] Only remember the creative acts of the workers class and all working people while we were getting set for, and analyzed, the 10th SED Congress, remember the sundry democratic activities at the people's elections. How the program on growing political stability and increasing economic capacity in years to come, adopted by the 10th SED Congress for steadily carrying on the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, is understood and translated into action by the working people, can clearly be glimpsed from the results in plan fulfillment in industry and agriculture in the first half of 1981: the working people in GDR industry accomplished in that period an industrial output of M 2.5 billion in excess of the plan, and this without any essential extra consumption of material and energy, which is tantamount to a plan lead of 1.9 working days. The produced national income was 5 percent higher than in the first half of 1980, with more than 90 percent of the growth achieved due to increased labor productivity. Mainly through the accelerated use of scientific-technical data, industrial labor productivity rose by 5.4 percent. During this period, 88,383 dwelling units were newly built or modernized, which improved the housing conditions for 264,000 citizens. In socialist agriculture state quotas were exceeded for all commodities of animal production. The strength of democratic centralism thus is confirmed by practice, by life, by our experiences. Relying on it we shall continue to cope successfullly with the tasks that have to be solved with firm steps.

The central decisions based on live socialist democracy ensure continued overall social advances and ensure our full employment, people's prosperity, growth and stability. They provide the combines, enterprises and local state organs, oriented to the interests of society, with clear leads and thereby create the needed foundations for the active participation by the working people and their collectives in management and planning. The preparation of the law for the economic plan, e.g., proceeded on all state levels with the trade unions getting especially involved in it, down to the smallest work collective of socialist society. Plan leads containing overall social concerns, in production conferences, brigade meetings, trade union shop steward plena, the various managerial collectives in enterprises and combines, thousands of conferences of deputies, committees, commissions and working teams of the people's representations become the starting point for new considerations and creative ideas of millions for reaching and exceeding their plan quotas.

Main criteria for these considerations are increased labor productivity, the science and technology plan, cost and material reduction, and the efficiency and quality of production. Where is there ever any comparable democratization of economic life, a more meaningful cooperation between the state and social organizations, especially the trade unions, than in this law on the economic plan, written by millions and

ratified by the supreme people's representation? Here becomes true what Marx and Engels recognized was the role of the broad masses in conducting the socialist revolution as an inherent inevitability: "When it is a matter of a complete transformation of social organization, the masses themselves must be involved in it and must have realized what it is all about in what they dedicated their whole life to."[3] That precisely is the path from spontaneity to awareness, toward a historically new quality of democracy--the socialist one. That way state power is going to continue its development in the future, too.

Of special interest here is that in the preparation and implementation of the economic plans time and time again new ideas and suggestions are brought up on how quotas can be fulfilled and overfulfilled in fine quality. Thus "centralism, truly understood in the democratic sense, presupposes the possibility, created for the first time in history, for a complete and unrestrained development not only of local specifics but also of local initiative, the variety of courses, ways and means in advancing toward a common goal."[4]

Important also is that in the process of democratic participation time and time again new considerations are born that serve the perfecting of the structure of the economic management organs, the accommodation of economic mechanisms to new social conditions, the improvement in the scientific quality of management and planning, and the perfecting of democratic centralism. Precisely such questions about the most efficient management and planning forms and methods also are the substance of the work done by the commissions of the GDR People's Chamber and its working teams and deputies, of which the majority, incidentally, works directly in production collectives, acting as the seismograph for newly ripened problems.

All experiences in a truly effective socialist development confirm Lenin's realization: the workers class needs a strong state power, a centralized organization of power to manage the socialist economy and society.[5] From the early years of socialist construction down to the current phase of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society that realization also has been fully confirmed in our country.

The Principle Supporting Our State Structure

Our state in all its public domains and especially the organization of economic management and planning was built on the foundation of democratic centralism. The result was that the interaction between strengthening our economic base and its social superstructure and providing all the people with an ever better satisfaction of material and cultural needs could be developed according to plan. In this process our state turned out to be the political organization of the urban and rural working people which, under the leadership by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, puts into effect the total will of the people and, with it, gives room to the working people's creative activities in all domains, indeed organizes and encourages them.

This democratic centralism in the form of unified management and planning, representing the total interest of society, ensures the systematic and dynamic development of the productive forces and promotes ever increasing socialist interhuman relations, the perfecting and consolidating of socialist production relations,

comradely cooperation and mutual aid, a rising cultural and educational level and a constant elevation of the working people's sense of responsibility for real socialism. In the democratic centralism in the management and planning of the overall social interests there is also inherent a new type of relationship between the state organs and social organizations, especially the trade unions, the youth association and the women's organization. More and more strongly common interests are forming among millions in realizing all the people's basic freedoms while the political-moral unity of the people is growing.

These basic elemental matters of socialist power and the people's sovereignty in exercising that power are written into Article 47 of the GDR Constitution with reference to the socialist production relations: "The sovereignty of the working people, realized on the basis of democratic centralism, is the principle supporting our state structure." Centralization and democracy depend on each other for rigorously enforcing unified approaches by all elements of the political organization of socialism and creatively perfecting them, ensuring thereby the political and organizational unity of all levels and domains in socialist society and developing the creative actions of millions of citizens.

The further shaping and perfecting of socialist democracy is the main trend in which our socialist state power is moving. It ensures the broadest involvement of the working people in the shaping of social processes, in particular in state management. "We therefore aim our efforts at an ever closer cooperation of the state organs with the social organizations, the work collectives and the various activities of the working people in all domains of life."[6] That expresses the high responsibility by socialist state power for consolidating democratic centralism, mainly through the continuing vital work of the socialist people's representations. They embody a completely new type of representative bodies, are organs of state power as well as social organizations of the workers class and all working people. That brings out the creative function of the socialist people's representation in all its variety and truly democratic depth. The people's representations not only confer on laws and resolutions, they also directly organize their implementation and supervision. They are power organs elected by the people with legislative and executive duties and rights at one and the same time, representing the interests of the entire society in conformity with those of the individual.

Especially through the civic closeness of our deputies in all public domains, the working people are encouraged and challenged to take an active part in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Our socialist representative bodies have more than 3,340 deputies of the GDR People's Chamber as the supreme people's representation and of the bezirk assemblies and over 201,000 delegates in the local--kreis, town and community--people's representations. If one then also considers that in the ever more extensive and expert participation of working people in state and economic management and in other areas, more than 160,000 citizens serve on permanent commissions at the people's representations and 166,000 citizens belong to the temporary labor activists' groups at the people's representations--with an additional 335,000 citizens in the National Front commissions on all levels--, one has every good reason to speak of tremendous social strength in the management and organization of overall state affairs on the central scale as well as in the various territories.

So the unified will of the entire people to shape real socialism consciously and according to plan, where everyone through his creative activity in his place in society works for the program goals of our people and has a part in the strengthening of its organization, the consolidation of the socialist state, is represented on all state levels. In this sense the 10th party congress underscored the growing role of the socialist state as the embodiment of the political power of the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers allied with it, and the other working people, and defined its continued all-round strengthening as the key of our policy for the future. "Socialist state power led by the Marxist-Leninist party, its authority and functional capability are the basis and prerequisite for our successful advances. That is and remains the basic issue of the socialist revolution," Comrade Erich Honecker asserted in the central committee report to the 10th party congress. "Only the political power of the workers class ensures the people's freedom to shape living conditions of human dignity for all citizens and the freedom of personality. Our state, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, represents the interests of the whole people and guarantees freedom and human rights. No one has been permitted or will ever be permitted to touch our socialist state."[7]

FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 481.

2. Cf. Manfred Banaschak, "Resolutely and With Firm Steps," EINHEIT, No 6, 1981, pp 518-519.

3. Friedrich Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx' 'Class Struggles in France, 1848-1859,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 22, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1963, p 523.

4. V. I. Lenin, "Original Draft for Article, 'The Next Tasks of Soviet Power,'" "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 197.

5. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 416.

6. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.

7. Ibid.

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SOCIALIST ENTERTAINMENT ART CRITICALLY EVALUATED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 145, 7 Oct 81 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes Entertainment Artists." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 10, 1981) has come out extremely critically against the current developmental state of entertainment art in the GDR and called for "overcoming the gap between quantity and quality in many entertainment fields." The "widespread opinion, regrettably often confirmed in practice," that with little effort one can make a lot of money in entertainment art should be responded to and refuted by more solid artistic quality. GDR entertainment art needed "more witty, chatty M.C.'s and better and more extensively trained popular singers, gramophone record entertainers on a higher level" and much more of a progeny going into artistic professions. "A completely new dimension" was required for promoting new ideas, scenarios, texts, compositions and choreographies for massively effective and artistically unique entertainment events and broadcasts. The point of orientation for the value and quality of accomplishments in entertainment should not only be the GDR top standard but also the international comparison and criterion.

Official SED View

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 10, Oct 81 (Signed to press 14 Sep 81) pp 1031-1037

[Article by Dr Juergen Hagen, staff employee, SED Central Committee: "Entertainment Art in Our Country"]

> [Text] Within the aggregate of the cultural and artistic offers by GDR media and cultural institutions, entertainment art is gaining increasing importance. Entertainment and sociability are indispensable elements of the socialist way of life and closely tied up with the cultural traditions of the workers class. Especially since the Eighth SED Congress original forms and socialist elements have developed in the GDR's entertainment art which must be further developed through improved effectiveness and quality.

Resolutely our party sees to it that the ways and means of social life and individual conduct characteristic of the developed socialist society evolve more and more in all fields. Due to their specific and irreplaceable opportunities for making an impact, art and culture can affect this process significantly. More and more effectively, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it in the central committee report to the 10th SED Congress, "they affect the development of socialist personalities and the shaping of the socialist way of life."[1]

Within the aggregate of the cultural and artistic offers by the media and the cultural institutions, entertainment art is gaining increasing importance. There is every good reason to say that entertainment art in our country—with all its unevenness and a still fairly pronounced downward level—has made and is making an irrevocable contribution to positively affecting men's thoughts, feelings and actions. This involves cultural-artistic mass processes great in their effectiveness and radiating strength. A good entertainment program on GDR television draws 7 to 8 million viewers. Within one year, 13 million people attend concerts and plays, 20 million the social affairs in clubs and community halls, and 60 million the press festivals, folk festivals and homeland festivals, and the popularity of dancing is reflected by circa 600,000 dance evenings annually, attended by approximately 120 million. "Wherever our country's citizens relax and enjoy recreation and leisure, entertainment art is an important social concern."[2]

What Is Entertainment Art?

The concept of entertainment art always again brings up questions about the function, modality, thrust and forms of this kind of art. Discussions about it, at least in the field of theory, will not end for a long time. The exchange of opinions, conducted intensively in recent years—especially since the 1978 conference on entertainment art—, has given rise to some insights that may be used as premises for further considerations.

For one thing it became clear that the ability to entertain must not be limited to some artistic genres and specialties. Entertainment is and remains an irrevocable task of all the arts. The view that what is specific in entertainment art is that it is a reservoir of "types and genres of art" which in a special way "entertain through education"[3] and thereby differs from other arts has turned out not to be viable because all art entertains.

The expectations art lovers have of entertainment differ greatly, of course, in accordance with the particulars in their living conditions, the work they do, their living conditions, level of education, age and sex. Furthermore, a piece of chamber music entertains differently from a poem, a painting, differently from a stage play. And there is not likely to be any doubt that an audience that encounters art as a rule also expects entertainment. Brecht, comparing the functions of science and art, points out that both are to "ease the life of man, one supplying sustenance, the other one entertainment."[4] Art that neglects its entertainment function has trouble reaching an audience or gaining new friends. Thus it also has trouble fulfilling its cognitive or cultural function.

Secondly, on the basis of what we now know, it may be said that entertainment art is in the position to combine the various arts and artistic genres with each other.

In this regard, e.g., dance music, rock, chansons, jazz are primarily artistic genres of music and only secondarily count as entertainment art—through their use for specific forms of entertainment. Other genres too—to stay with music—have long held their function in entertainment production such as the folksong, the opera aria or works of chamber music. In well organized discos, balls and other events of entertainment, poetry readings, art auctions, feature and documentary films and many other art performances have become customary. Entertainment art is in fact marked by universally combining various arts even if that is by no means yet generally taken for granted, mainly as far as our big cultural events and folk festivals are concerned.

Moreover, it is typical of entertainment art that it also can combine its various artistic genres with many nonartistic factors. Games, sports, journalism, slides and so forth combine with music, dance, pantomime, literature and so forth to form new artistic variants and forms of presentation of a specific quality of their own.

Third, entertainment art is most closely tied up with the development of the modern mass media. Through the emergence of entirely new artistic production and dissemination instruments in the 20th century, entertainment art also receives unexpected opportunities for becoming massively effective. And more than that. Through radio, records, movies, tapes, television and so forth, new artistic elements and productions evolve which combine the traditional main-line arts into new combinations and have been producing new genres and types. Magazine and entertainment broadcasts and television programs, rock concerts, sing-in programs, television viewing and so forth are only a few examples of these new kinds of artistic forms of production. The development of records and cassette production not only increased the scope of making individual use of entertainment production but also encouraged new forms of entertainment in our cultural life, such as discos for all age-groups. Thus the media significantly affect the shaping of a specific entertainment art as a new type of art production and its broad transmissions, programs and other affairs in our country.

Fourth, entertainment art is closely tied up with cultural mass activity. Entertaining and sociable get-togethers in work collectives, housing communities, leisure-time groups, clubs, community halls, restaurants, discos, in vacation homes and at folk festivals, homeland festivals and press festivals or at other cultural events have taken on their own forms of entertainment and have offered opportunities for entertainers to perform.

Entertainment art thus is no new "specific type of art" but "a combination of various artistic elements with other cultural factors like information, communication, physical culture, games, sports and so forth." As a "specific form of art production" in the cultural life of the towns and communities and in the mass media, there evolve by means of this synthesis works and performances "which principally aim at relaxation, sociability, entertainment and amusement."[5] In serving this aim, socialist entertainment art—in conformity with its specific means and opportunities—fosters socialist modes of conduct and value orientations and serves the ideals of peace, humanism, equality and personal happiness of all people. It affects the thoughts and sentiments of the members of all classes and strata. It expresses human hopes and yearnings and can help make more perceptible and comprehensible that it is well worth working and living under socialism. Entertainment art in its

productions is sensitive to the experiences and vital expressions of all members of our society, especially the workers class and youth, and in various ways reflects social psychology. But here we must always be aware that the substantive and ideological statements must be put into effect in a most discriminating manner, appropriate to the specific opportunities of the various entertainment genres and productions. Entertainment should and must always remain entertainment.

Important also is that in entertainment substantive and formal elements combine into as much of an organic unity as possible. The best dance music can properly entertain only in a dance hall that is large enough and has the proper cultural decor. The best text can move a listener only when the acoustics are good enough for him to hear it. Communication and communal fun at dance events and in discos can be attained only if both the musicians and the technicians understand that dance music in this framework is not an end in itself for the interpreters but is supposed to foster well-being and sociability, induce dancing and offer wholesome leisure-time experiences to those who attend. Entertainment art thus fulfills its social function both through the aggregate of various cultural factors and through the immediate effect of particular, specific genres and types of art.

The Legacy and Tradition of Socialist Entertainment Art

Essential historical roots of the entertainment art in our country are found in the proletariat's way of life and culture. We may in this context refer to Lenin's work, "Critical Remarks on the National Question," where he explains that "each national culture" already has "elements of a democratic and socialist culture" because every bourgeois society has a "working and exploited mass whose living conditions inevitably produce a democratic and socialist ideology."[6] That entertainment art, among other things, also is based on the way of life and culture of the workers class not last accounts for its mass basis and mass efficacy.

With the development of the productive forces, the industrialization and urbanization under capitalism, the proletariat formed, organized and disciplined itself as a class and--chiefly in the developed industrial centers--developed the forms of its political and social struggle and of its cultural life. The international May celebrations, e.g., became political, social and cultural demonstrations of all progressive forces. Cultural and artistic groups of the proletariat developed vigorously, such as workers choral groups, shawm bands, brass bands, amateur plays, agitprop groups and political-satirical cabarets. The cultural institutions of the workers class developed their own forms of entertainment which served their political work as much as the satisfaction of needs for sociability and entertainment. In the mid-19th century Friedrich Engels pointed out that music, e.g., was very important for the festivals of the working people but it was not the main element in them. "As little as a center forms a circle without a periphery," he writes in RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, "equally little importance attaches to music unless there is merrymaking too, as the periphery for this musical center."[7]

In the early 20th century, the working class in Germany got its assembly halls. Demonstrations and political meetings of the workers took place there as much as events in club conviviality of choral groups and workers' sport groups. Much merrymaking went on there. There were summer, garden and children's festivals, there were evenings when people would play chess or cards, and all that always entailed

vivid debate of political and social issues. In those halls the workers found their most important center where they could spend pleasant hours of entertainment and conviviality with others of similar persuasion. Clean rooms and good eating were very important.

These examples illuminate the tremendous wealth of experience contained in the cultural traditions the working class has in entertainment art in our country. In an SED Central Committee welcoming address to the conference on entertainment art it is pointed out that "entertainment and conviviality are firmly linked with the cultural traditions of the workers class and its political, social and cultural struggle."[8]

A second line of tradition in socialist entertainment art goes back to the private places of culture in bourgeois society, democratic and humanistic in tendency. Thus since the 19th century there have been facilities in the capitalist industrial ares and urban sprawls offering culture and art to the "plain people," the working people. There were dance restaurants, suburban inns, excursion spots, variety shows, cabaret stages and later the movies. Those forms were supplemented by touring companies, mainly the circuses and many actors' companies.

The popular character, mostly minor form and easily understandable manner of the art offers in these facilities made them often be referred to by the general term "small art," a somewhat derogatory expression for an art of lower rank and pretense, the art of the "little man." To the extent that capitalist society developed, more and more extended its suppressive function vis-a-vis the workers class and learned to use the modern mass media with their forms of dissemination and of having an impact with greater sophistication, the critical areas in this "small art" were commercialized. And so came the show business where entertainment and popularity would serve the designs of manipulation and profiteering. It turned out that these originally progressive accomplishments were redesigned by capital.

Entertainment Art--Firmly Linked With Socialist Life

After the workers class had seized power in our country, the democratic and humanistic accomplishments in this legacy--in conformity with the basic features of socialist cultural policy--were critically appropriated, creatively preserved and further developed. The institutionalized facilities of the bourgeois entertainment business and the artists themselves--provided they were committed to democratic and humanistic aims--became important institutions or coshapers of the newly developing socialist cultural life after the destruction of fascism on our territory. Circuses, variety artists, cabarets, actors, dance bands and entertainers working on their own formed the basic stock for the development of socialist entertainment art in the GDR. The contents, forms and achievements in their art were increasingly oriented to the requirements and contents of the new society and have been forming a creative synthesis with the proletarian cultural traditions and the progressive stimuli from international entertainment art.

Forms of entertainment and conviviality have evolved in the GDR that suit the socialist way of life. Especially those forms of events like brigade celebrations, excursions with the work collective, enterprise and residential area festivals, people's and press festivals and other cultural events draw an audience of millions

each year. The party encourages this development. It is oriented to "using all opportunities and the various forms for the development of a cultured socialist community life in the towns, villages and recreational areas."[9]

The remarkable success we have had with our entertainment art cannot hide the fact, however, that the number of events has, e.g., gone up much faster than their quality. The great need for entertainment still leaves too much room for mediocrity and monotony. All entertainment art in the GDR should be marked by the desire to offer the public recreation, relaxation and artistic enjoyment on a high-grade level. The working people's steadily rising cultural level persistently challenges all who are working in this field. Television viewers, radio listeners or people who attend such events appreciate and expect humorous, interesting, intellectually demanding entertainment contributions, that is to say, the finest quality. From the fact that the various productions in entertainment art normally draw a large audience the particularly compelling task must be derived for the artists engaged in it to make a specific contribution to the development of socialist modes of conduct and value orientations.

Qualitative growth in entertainment art can be found mainly in places where year-long efforts have been made to achieve a unique profile that sets professional standards. Artistes and circus performers of the GDR have, e.g., convincingly demonstrated for years their internationally recognized standards at home and abroad. Other fields of entertainment also improved their qualities remarkably within the last 10 years--a practical outcome of our party's cultural policy since the eighth party congress. Most rock musicians, vocalists, song writers and cabaret performers, e.g., have already quite well developed in their art the socialist features typical of the GDR. Their work is marked by their frank avowal of the socialist social system in the GDR. Their texts, songs and scenes directly and relevantly deal with the real life situation of the citizens in our country. They affirm socialism and induce the viewers and listeners to get actively involved, this also in the sense of outgrowing historically obsolete modes of thinking and conduct. This real relevancy also essentially controls the socialist component in our entertainment art and explains the great public response, especially among the youth.

Developing our own socialist values in our entertainment art is not a smooth process without conflict, however. Still residues of the entertainment business of bourgeois provenance are at work and productions of capitalist countries are uncritically being copied. That is so, e.g., in many dance affairs in discos. The efforts to produce in this dance sector something of our own that is original and novel are still lagging behind. The achievements by some top interpreters should become more of a standard for all who are working in this field. A promising start in this direction was made with the "Hit-tune '81" campaign but that will only meet with success through steady longtime efforts.

Our constantly focusingon developing our own works of socialist realism in our entertainment art in no way means we are insulating ourselves from international trends and accomplishments. GDR entertainment art develops as a firm component of our socialist national culture that is hospitable to the world, remaining open to all progressive manifestations and humanistic accomplishments of other nations. Whatever is valuable in the entertainment art of other countries will have its importance to, and keep its place in, GDR entertainment art and be productively absorbed, integrated and creatively processed in it. Entertainment artists from

friendly socialist countries have had a big hand in strengthening the socialist profile of GDR entertainment art. Today one can affirm with pride that the achievements of many GDR entertainers already meet international standards and that they, together with the artists from our fraternal countries, attest to the increased capability of socialist entertainment art. GDR representatives won more than 60 international awards in the last 10 years at international festivals and competitions.

For A Better and More Effective Entertainment Art

In the 1970's, the socialist features in our entertainment developed and deepened. Considering that also "in the 1980's, the demands for quality and effectiveness in our socialist culture and art will rise further,"[10] great attention must be given the constant qualitative development of our entertainment art. The 1978 conference on entertainment art and the 15 bezirk party activists conferences held in recent months with the comrades responsible for entertainment art and organizing such events not only drew up a balance-sheet but also formulated long-range tasks. So all the bezirks in our republic have long-term conceptions for developing entertainment and conviviality. Important coordinating bodies, e.g. the committee for entertainment art and the bezirk commissions, seek to make use of all potentials and to concentrate our capacities.

In wishing to develop our entertainment art further in the 1980's we mainly have to overcome the still existing gap between quantity and quality in many areas that sponsor such events. The widespread opinion, regrettably often confirmed in practice, that with little effort one can make a lot of money in entertainment art must be responded to and refuted by more solid artistic quality.

Better quality and effectiveness will require interpreters, artist personalities, with versatile and persuasive achievements on a high professional level, people with imagination and wit, high professionalism and a great sense of social responsibility. Without an attitude like that toward the work and the audience, all social promotion remains ineffective. Ultimately the level of interpretation does not depend on well fomulated promotional contracts but on solid and persuasive accomplishments on the stage, before the radio microphone or the television camera. GDR entertainment art needs more witty, chatty M.C.'s with a high-level education, political maturity and responsibility and the ability to adapt to different kinds of audiences involved through communication and entertained by humor in the best sense; it also needs better and more extensively trained popular singers who keep a healthy critical distance from their own repertory and act and dance and sing well. Standards in this field were set by artists from the CSSR or Hungary. Our entertainment art also needs more high-level disc jockeys. These people must not merely turn on their records or tapes but be able to introduce their, mostly, young audience, through tasteful commentaries, to what is best in our dance music. And it also needs many more interested young people enjoying art training and ready to carry on the GDR's fine traditions in the work of artistes and circus performers.

The point of orientation for the value and quality of accomplishments in entertainment is not only the GDR top standard, the radiation and millionfold effect upon the audience in our own country, but also the international comparison and yardstick, a worthy representation of our socialist entertainment art beyond our

country's borders. Interpreters' competitions, cheerful premieres, accreditation and honorarium regulations, promotional contracts and perceptive qualification measures are and remain stimulating managerial methods of our cultural policy in this field.

Better quality and effectiveness also means a better quality of programs, transmissions and events. Some of the most mass-effective forms of such events sponsored in the GDR still are too cliche-ridden and monotonous and marked by a one-sided use of artistic means and artistic mediocrity. The substantive and formal structure of our entertainment programs must still more be oriented to the rising cultural level of our country's citizens. Entertainment art must be offered especially at places where people spend their leisure time. And new and more advanced considerations are called for altogether about how entertainment art might contribute more to to the working people's recreation, relaxation, labor capacity reproduction and well-being. As material, spatial and technical possibilities in our society permit, entertainment art must be put more into effect mainly at open-air events, at folk festivals, homeland festivals and press festivals, in residential, recreational and vacation areas or in large musical affairs for youth, at youth and children's festivals or during social high points. Here also applies the statement that exchange of experience is the cheapest investment.

A completely new dimension is required for promoting new ideas, scenarios, texts, compositions and choreographies for massively effective and unique entertainment events and broadcasts. For that we urgently need training and advanced training measures for program directors, producers, editors, directors and dramatic directors in this field. Those who do the staging in these events ultimately produce the complex effect of individual performances in entertainment art. Of an entertainment art showcase in May 1983 in Leipzig, impulses that place new emphases on the process of developing a higher program and performance level are expected. The massively extant and developing needs of our citizens for entertainment and sociability will be satisfied to the extent that we succeed in integrating the achievements of socialist entertainment art within the overall process of improving the quality and effectiveness of our intellectual-cultural life. That includes better entertainment values in all arts as much as new impulses for the development of cultural mass activity, i.e. cultural work with more ambitious socialist contents and massively effective forms--for the good of the people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 105.

2. "SED Central Committee Welcoming Address to the Conference on Entertainment Art," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 March 1978, p 2.

3. "Kulturpolitisches Woerterbuch," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1970, p 534.

4. Bertolt Brecht, "Little Organon for the Theater," "Schriften zum Theater," Vol VII, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1964, p 22.

5. "Kulturpolitisches Woerterbuch," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 698.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks About the National Question," "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 8.

7. Friedrich Engels, "Rhenish Festivals," Marx/Engels, Supplementary Volume Part II, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, p 256.

8. "SED Central Committee Welcoming Address . . .," loc. cit.

9. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 51.

10. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., loc. cit.

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'MILITANT REJECTION' OF WESTERN NIETZSCHE REVIVAL URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 145, 7 Oct 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Demands 'Thorough Criticism' of Nietzsche's Philosophy." A translation of the East Belrin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] In its most recent edition, the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 10, 1981) demanded of the GDR scientists a "militant rejection" of the Nietzsche "Renaissance" in Western countries. A "thorough confrontation" with Nietzsche's "anti-progress ideas" and their various effects on bourgeois intellectual life, including their having been a "spiritual forerunner of German fascism," was among the indispensable tasks in elaborating a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist image of history. All attempts by "imperialist forces" at providing a philosophical foundation for their "aggressive disigns, hostile to the people" by means of reactivating the ideas of Nietzsche should "most sharply" have to be opposed. The "intrigues of conservative and neofascist forces" should have to be unmasked which today were making full use of the thoughts of Nietzsche and of other philosophers of similar shades "as an ideological reservoir for neofascist and other reactionary tendencies."

GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 10, Oct 81 (Signed to press 14 Sep 81) pp 1038-1045

[Article by Dr Heinz Malorny, Central Institute for Philosophy, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Nietzsche Renaissance in the World of Yesterday." For a different GDR approach to the study of Nietzsche see translation of an article by Prof Karl-Heinz Hahn, published under the heading, "Critical Approach to German Philosophical Legacy Urged," in JPRS 79401, 9 Nov 81, No 1939 of this series, pp 22-26]

> [Text] The causes and manifestations of the imperialist ideologues' stronger recourse to Nietzsche's ideas. His philosophy (the renunciation of progress, the escape into the subjective and irrational, the orchestration developed in his conception of the "will to power," and his nihilistic ethical ideas) conforms to the life situation of the monopoly

bourgeoisie and expresses its claim to an imperialist ideology of domination. No constructive answers to the questions of our era can be derived from the positions of that philosophy.

Trying to cope with the intellectual crisis in their society and in their struggle against socialism, the bourgeois ideologues are reinforcing the mobilization of reactionary ideas taken over from the past. This becomes most apparent in their increasing concern with the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). There is talk of a "rediscovery" and "reawakening" or of a "Renaissance" of his philosophy. Even though before it was by no means ineffectual, its revival is yet conspicuous. In the last decade, a great number of books, dissertations, magazine articles and contributions in the electronic mass media have been concerned in the FRG and many other capitalist countries with Nietzsche's life and work, his intellectual sources and his historical effects.

In parallel and partly in direct connection with the mobilization of Nietzsche by imperialist ideologues recourse has also been taken to some other irrationalist philosophers of the 19th century. Here on must above all refer to Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1869), Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1879) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911). The stronger taste for precisely these thinkers is not likely to be one of the fleeting fashions in bourgeois ideological development. However different the causes and intentions may be which result in a return to ideas of the past, it is impossible to ignore the connection between the choice involved and certain more long-range ideological needs and developments in imperialism.

Why Are Reactionary Philosophers of the Past Wanted Again?

The extremely intensified general crisis of capitalism entwined with the rapidly succeeding cyclical crises and the so-called global problems like energy and raw material shortages collapsed many illusions the imperialist ideologues and politicians still nourished in the 1960's. What has become of the hopes for steady growth and permanent prosperity, the technical feasibility and solvability of the problems, what of the construction and development of the "welfare" and "social state," and where is now the reform euphoria which, e.g., brought the social-liberal coalition into office in the FRG in 1969? The intellectual climate in the capitalist countries is greatly marked today by growing insecurity, pessimism, crisis awareness and dread, together with the penetration of irrationalism and mysticism. Generalizing on the condition of their society, bourgeois ideologues talk of a profound crisis of thought, of the sciences, the world-outlook, the values and their symbols, of an "orientation crisis" of mankind.

Under such conditions philosophies are wanted which mythicize the crisis and decline into a normal condition for human society and teach a "pessimism of strength" and a "heroic" endurance and pertinacity in a purportedly unalterable crisis situation. They offer multiple applications to the efforts by bourgeois ideologues to meet the all engulfing crisis processes of their society by heightened ideological activity. At the same time the basic ideological contents of such philosophies conform with the desires of the most reactionary bourgeois forces to push the political and ideological development in the capitalist countries more toward the right. Thus the ideologues of so-called neoconservatism propagate the "limits of progress" and the "feasibility" as well as the limitation of human knowledge and

skill. They impute to the people's masses an inherent inability to be historically creative and postulate as supposedly necessary a social "order of precedence" of great "individuals" and elites as well as methods of authoritarian rule. They seek to insinuate to the masses that revolutionary transformations are harmful and an emancipation was bound to reverse itself into its opposite, into ever decreasing freedom, and things like that. And precisely such reactionary ideas are similarly found already in Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and other like-minded ideologues who precisely for that reason are having a renaissance in the world of yesterday.

Those philosophers and historians are important bourgeois conceptualists of the 19th century. They are precursors and progenitors of the conception of vitalism and irrationalism which evolved in the second half of the 19th century and then, along with the positivistic trend, became one of the two basic currents in late bourgeois philosophy and ideology. Their philosophy reflects the historic-social, intellectual-cultural and moral situation of their time they sensed to be crisis-ridden, which at the time still was that of evolving capitalism. With all the differences among them in detail, what they all have in common is a critique, launched from an aristocratic mental attitude, of industrial capitalism, its profit-oriented pragmatic-utilitaristic and technicistic bent, bourgeois democracy and "mass society," and certain capitalist tendencies hostile to culture and art. But their critique of the ills of capitalism of free competition and its liberal ideology was a critique from the right not opposing the decisive socioeconomic principles of the capitalist order but rather amounting to their affirmation and defense. Differing from most of their contemporary liberal ideologues, they did not in any way extenuate the social ills and antagonisms of capitalist society. In fact, they impressively depicted them for the sake of claiming their historic unchangeability. This way they arrived at a peremptory articulation of the crisis, decline and disintegration of the society and culture of their time and a profoundly pessimistic conception of the history of humanity, a denial of historic progress as such.

With it, while taking constant issue with the optimism during the rise of the bourgeosie about reason, cognition and progress, they departed from the "heroic illusions" of the progressive bourgeoisie, from the ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity for all men, from the ideas of historic inevitability and progress, scientific cognition and truth. Turning that way against the bourgeois-democratic propensities of their age and their own class, they would all the more fight against the liberation struggle started by the workers class and the ideas of socialism.

A Philosophy Hostile to Progress

The tendencies summarized find their extreme formulation in the philosophy of Nietzsche. Nietzsche's development was formed by the crucial historical events and processes of his age: the reactionary period after the defeat of the 1848/49 Revolution, the Prusso-Austrian and the Franco-Prussian War, in which he volunteered for service as a medical orderly, the founding and shaping of the Second German Empire by Bismarck and the stormy development of industrial capitalism, together with the rapid progress of natural science and technology. He was deeply uneasy about the power temporarily gained by the workers in Paris in 1871 and the German workers movement's advance against Bismarck's Socialist Law. "Above and beyond the struggle of the nations, we were terrified by that international Hydra-head that so suddenly made its horrifying appearance, as an indicator for entirely

different future struggles."[1] That way the budding philosopher expressed the bourgeoisie's fear of the new political force. And elsewhere he writes: "Whom among the rabble of today do I hate the most? The socialist rabble, the Chandala apostles who subvert the instinct, the joy, the sense of contentment of the worker with his small existence--make him envious, teach him revenge."[2] These words of Nietzsche express his bitter hostility against the main social force of historic progress in his time, the workers class, its revolutionary movement and socialism. And this class-bound position gives rise to essential basic features in his thought.

Precisely the insight into the world-historic role of the workers class, the combination of philosophy with the struggle of the revolutionary workers movement was the basis for the revolution in philosophy that lies in the establishing of dialectic and historical materialism. There was the salient point for the scientific nature of philosophic thinking, the unshakeable optimism about history and cognition, and the real humanism of the new world-outlook by Marx and Engels. Late bourgeois philosophy, on the other hand, consistently negated the historic role of the workers class and the working masses. So it can and will no longer be a spokesman for historic progress, as classic bourgeois philosophy had still been, and what it has left is to be "a mere registrar and a cosmic-mythical-prerational transmogrifier of a society rendered obsolete by history."[3]

The beginning of this process is also mainly tied up with Nietzsche's philosophic thought. He created, most acutely in his last phase of development, an elitist-aristocratic doctrine that disparaged the working masses, the people, defamed the "herd," the "mob," the "far too many," and preached hatred against all democratic and revolutionary movements. All the critique Nietzsche expressed of social, political and spiritual-cultural manifestations, traditional philosophy and ethics and, most vehemently also, Christianity--of everything he regarded as decadent in his age and in all of human history--and of the contemporary liberal bourgeoisie and the Bismarck empire, he finally summarized in the reproach that it all expressed the interests and aspirations of the "herd" men or encouraged or, at least, facilitated their prevailing and "coming to rule." In view of these, in his eyes, deleterious developments, a "declaration of war by the superior men against the mass is necessary! All that which pampers and softens and makes the 'people' gain currency works in favor of the rule by inferior men."[4]

In his last phase of development Nietzsche believed he could bring about a world historic turn with his philosophy. It should end what he thought was up to then the wrong way of mankind through history, which only by seldom exceptions had accepted "superior men," and make possible a deliberate breeding of a small caste of a higher kind of men, even of a "Superman" as a "type which has turned out supremely well." So Nietzsche undisguisedly defended the interests of a small reactionary ruling elite, its privileges, its claim to unrestrained domination, its alleged claim to the exploitation, suppression and enslaving of a broad mass of people. By declaring slavery, misery and poverty, and the people's toil an irrevocable prerequisites for all higher culture, he dignified these and other social characteristics of the exploiter society as if they were natural conditions of life per se, he sanctified them as something that was allegedly grounded in the unchangeable nature of reality. Whenever Nietzsche expressed himself on general matters of ideology and natural philosophy, he invariably intended a cosmic or biological explanation for the social "order of precedence," the caste division

between "masters" and people's masses and their suppression and exploitation. "Life itself," so he wrote, "essentially is appropriation, violation, rape of the alien and the weaker, suppression, hardness, imposing one's own forms, absorption and at least, and most charitably, exploitation."[5] Nietzsche's irrationalist philosophy, which denied inevitability and progress in history, ideologically culminated in his philosophical myths of "life," the "will to power," the "eternal recurrence of all things," and of the "Superman." His epistemology found expression in a relativistic perspectivism and fictionalism negating any objective truth.

Through his "revaluation of all values," prototypical in many respects, Nietzsche brought about the radical reorientation of bourgeois philosophy to the ideological requirements of approaching monopoly capitalism. Anticipating its tending toward reaction and violence, expansion, aggression and barbarism, he gave philosophic expression to them in a mythicizing form by his doctrines of the "will to power," the "masters of the earth," and of "living dangerously" and with his immoralism of "beyond good and evil" and of the "complete irresponsibility." His dictum, "Nothing is true, everything is permitted,"[6] provided imperialist policy with the concept for its guiding maxim, as it were.

The persistent and broad effect of those ideas, which have found fertile ground since the 1890's, was helped by the mode of presentation and the personal tragic fate of Nietzsche. An interesting life story and a history of illness, the fate of a lonely and embittered outsider during his life, outstanding language skills and an aphoristic way of writing, a most unusual style for a philosopher, the radicalism of his claims and the imperious prophetic tone, and then again sensitive lyrical tones in the ideas presented, all that came together to fascinate time and time again especially young and inexperienced people in search of a world-outlook. Idols were being smashed here presumably, and new, seductive symbols were offered that tickled many a petty bourgeois vanity: the "free spirit" and the "good European," the "legislator for the future," the "immoralist," the "new nobility" and the "masters of the earth," the "Superman," the "laughing lions and the "blond beast" and so forth. Nietzsche's unsystematic "opus of aphoristic fragments" (Johannes R. Becher's phrase), internally contradictory and thus subject to differing interpretations, offered usable and quotable chips of thought, as its effects through history demostrate, to most diversified ambitions: to poets, artists and philosophers of various persuasions, Christians and enemies of Christianity, opponents of technology and the ones tired of civilization, the ideologists of the so-called young conservatism as well as to anarchistic insurgents and super-radical madmen--and of course also to fascist ideology, to the most barbaric practices of the most reactionary forces of monopoly capitalism.

Because Nietzsche through his doctrines created the prototype for all subsequent reactionary subjectivistic-irrationalistic philosophies of imperialism, he became one of the most important precursors and pioneers of fascism and its ideology. The fascist leaders and ideologues took from his work the elements that suited them and inserted them into their own adventurous structure of thoughts. Nietzsche also in many ways had an indirect effect in that many of his successors and interpreters transformed, further developed and popularized his ideas so that they, thus changed, likewise entered the fascist ideology. Nietzsche's works and much of the literature about him formed reading material that prepared for adopting

fascist ideas in that it undermined and destroyed still existing ties with the spirit of humanity, democracy, liberalism, the spirit of science, classical philosophy and culture. Nietzsche's ideas nurtured thoughts about cruelty and violence as purportedly unchangeable elements of life. His preaching of immoralism and nihilism was apt to destroy a still surviving sense of responsibility to mankind. The gas chambers of Majdanek and Auschwitz, in terms of intellectual history, were somehow anticipated by that someone had previously pronounced the doctrine of the "destruction of millions of misfits."[7&8]

The Reactionary Objective and Effect of the Return to Nietzsche Today

In view of the bitter historic experiences with the effects of Friedrich Nietzsche's ideas, the question inevitably arises what their renewed revival in the capitalist world intends to accomplish. In answering that question one must not be misled by external appearance. Looked at purely from the outside, the contemporary concern with Nietzsche offers an extremely complex picture. The philosophic and political positions from which one deals with him or acknowledges him are manifold. Dealing with his life, his work and his effect becomes for many authors a vehicle for confronting very many different topical ideological problems of our age. One gets the impression Nietzsche's work forms a sort of big supermarket for many contemporary bourgeois ideologues, for ideas and problems, from where to get a subject which they can then exploit no end. Typical of all these efforts toward reviving Nietzsche's ideas is their ignoring or directly denying the class character, the concrete historic determinants, the social class-bound functions and the ominous effects of his philosophy. Instead, the particulars of his personality and psyche, his circumstances in life and his individual destiny are made the focal point in explaining his thoughts. Such an approach precisely, opposed to any overall assessment of Nietzsche's philosophy from the vantage point of scientific historic materialism, facilitates interpreting and purposefully using it wholly at will, subjectively. However much the motives, concerns and final results may differ in this return to Nietzsche, and however much judgments about him may differ and partly even contradict each other, there is something that all this production of ideas has very much in common: the front-line position against social progress in our time, real socialism and the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

From all bourgeois and revisionistic philosophizing about Nietzsche, with Nietzsche or proceeding from Nietzsche, actually there always results something that was contained in him in the first place: an expanded reproduction of a basic model of reactionary bourgeois philosophy and ideology opposed to social progress. Was it not Nietzsche himself who wrote: "Humanity does not constitute a development toward the better or stronger or higher in a way in which that is presumed today. 'Progress' is but a modern idea and that means, a false idea."[9] And that statement is aimed against social and moral progress and the progress of science, knowledge and technology alike. Thus it ultimately serves to cover up that reactionary class function if positions taken in journalism explain the current Nietzsche Wave in capitalist countries and the interest in his philosophy principally or exclusively by a general discontent that undoubtedly exists in imperialism in view of the various crisis manifestations, a "new satiety with Western civilization and its values," "renewed doubts about the blessings of mass culture in the technical-scientific civilization," a "propensity toward irrationalism" and a "spiritual countermovement against the rationalistic and materialistic zeitgeist,"[10] while the ongoing effect

of his inhumane master-race ideology in imperialist society is ignored completely. Take Rudolf Augstein, e.g., who asserts: Nietzsche "is being praised like no one else, sometimes even sits on top of Darwin, Marx and Freud, but he is no longer resorted to for what he thought his very own, for his ideas on the master-race and on conquests, the contempt for and extermination of unworthy life, his crude power egotism and barbaric war enthusiasm."[11] Sure enough, after the experiences with fascism many bourgeois ideologues find it repugnant openly to refer to these elements in Nietzsche--but have they on account of that lost their effect? Are not, e.g., certain recent statements, and decisions to boot, by leading U.S. politicians and military, even if one may assume they know nothing of Nietzsche, marked by the spirit of conquest, power egotism and barbaric war enthusiasm? Are there no neofascist groups in the FRG as in all capitalist countries? Are there no fascist regimes in various parts of the world, from El Salvador and Chile to South Africa, which openly advocate such ideas and practice them, too? As long as imperialism exists, those ideas will find premises to work on.

Under the monopoly capitalist conditions of the FRG, where one never has truly come to grips with Nietzsche's ideas, the massive dissemination and popularization of his works is bound to have effects in an extremely anti-progress, anticommunist and antidemocratic and antihumanistic sense. Nietzsche's irrational myths becloud the view at social circumstances where rational clarity is needed to bring men to an understanding of and conscious struggle against the social causes for the crisis, unemployment, housing shortage, welfare reductions and educational misery, for crime and moral decline, racism and misanthropy, and above all against the arms race and war danger. Nietzsche defames the organization, awareness and historic activity of the working masses, whose actions alone can bring about the social changes for overcoming the manifestations of capitalism referred to. He preached contempt and hatred of all revolutionary and emancipation desires and, mainly, of the only true alternative to imperialism, of socialism. Nietzsche's elitist antidemocratism, his emphasizing an unlimited claim to rulership by a small elite, his extolling the military organizational forms of society, the giving of orders and the obedience to them as decisive in the relations between "masters" and people's masses not last serve to undergird philosophically the standpoint of being the boss at home held by the entrepreneur in his enterprise, the summoning of the strong man, the inclinations to dismantle democracy and proceed toward authoritarian and dictatorial forms of government in the imperialist countries.

Thus Nietzsche's ideas unequivocally function on behalf of the interests of the most reactionary circles of the ruling class, of conservative and neofascist forces. It is not by chance that right now mainly neoconservative ideologues like Guenter Rohrmoser are intensively and extensively reactivating the basic reactionary content in Nietzsche's thoughts, such as hisvehement fight against social progress and socialism, his awareness of crisis, and his "pessimism of strength," and declare those ideas are suitable means for a philosophical understanding and for intellectually and ideologically coping with the current situation of mankind. It was thoroughly possible to maintain the thesis, as Rohrmoser wrote in the Springer paper DIE WELT, "that the end of man, which Nietzsche prognosticated from the end of metaphysics, the disintegration of any form of meaning-conveying humanity and the practice he demanded of a revaluation of all values only now enters the stage of realization in history." Only now the age was entering the constellation which is signified by the name of Nietzsche.[12] What contempt for humanity and demagoguery

stand behind such an appraisal of Nietzsche, which lifts him up to be, as it were, some sort of spiritual forerunner leading into the next millenium--and this, typically, by the very ideologues who undefatigably pose as resolute fighters for freedom, human dignity and humanity.

Marxism-Leninism Points the Only Real Way

Even in his lifetime Nietzsche gave no forward-pointing answer to the questions facing mankind. He neither made a contribution to the scientific analysis of capitalist society nor to uncovering the historic thrust of history or to philosophically or ideologically coming to terms with the tremendous advances in the natural sciences. That was ruled out by his whole style of thinking, his insufficient knowledge of the natural and social sciences, especially the political economy, and above all by his reactionary class standpoint.

The answers he did supply to the basic ideological questions of his era amounted to a philosophical reaction to what were then already obsolete class forces in history, against which the workers class, getting set for realizing its historic mission, had just received the philosophic equipment for its struggle from the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels. Nietzsche's answers, thus, even at the end of the last century, found themselves in an unbridgeable opposition to, and behindhand, the state of knowledge and advance in philosophic and sociotheoretical knowledge Marx and Engels had elaborated.

Equally much anyone goes astray who would like to find in Nietzsche's philosophy any handles for correctly approaching the pressing vital questions of humanity today. And how could anyone expect a pioneering answer for a humanistic solution of them, for realizing social security, education and culture for all men, from an ideologue who in his inhumane contempt for the people's masses defamed the striving for "security, safety, comfort, and an easier life for everyone" as the "green pasture happiness of the herd,"[13] presented exploitation, poverty and misery as unalterable because they were rooted in the essence of life as such, regarded higher education and culture as an aristocratic privilege and identified their dissemination among the masses virtually with the decline of culture per se?[14]

Only Marxism-Leninism can point to the real way to solving our era's problems of humanity, eliminating war and hunger, and ensuring social security, growing prosperity, and fine education and culture for all men. With the elimination of the capitalist exploiter system, the construction of a new, socialist society, and the full development of the productive forces, the workers class, under the leadership by its Marxist-Leninist party and equipped with a scientific social theory, creates the social prerequisites for social security, the constant rise in public welfare, and education and culture for all working people.

Precisely this indissoluble connection of Marxist-Leninist theory with the vital interests of the workers class, all working people and all mankind it is from which also stems the Marxist-Leninists undeterred advocacy of peace. In this matter the opposition between Nietzsche's views and the interests of humanity is no less blatant. What would he have to say today to the peace-loving people who, in view of the exacerbation of the international situation on account of the aggressive imperialist forces, are increasing their efforts for the sake of preserving

the peace? Will he only claim that war is unalterable and indispensable,[15] defame any preference to peace over war as an "abortion of decadence" or say something like "a society which definitely and by instinct rules out war and conquest is in decline"[17]? To follow Nietzsche in this today, the nuclear age, would be the way to doom.

The reawakening of anti-progress ideas of the last century by bourgeois ideologues and resorting to them for purposes of the contemporary ideological struggle call for a militant rejection by Marxist-Leninist scientists. Thorough issue-taking with Nietzsche's philosophy and its diverse effects in bourgeois intellectual life, including its role as spiritual forerunner of German fascism, is among the indispensable tasks in elaborating a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist image of history. This calls for a close collaboration of philosophers, historians, literary scientists and art historians. For solving this task we can rely on the whole breadth of already available valid Marxist assessments from Franz Mehring to S. F. Odujev and, above all, on the works of those Marxist-Leninists who in the 1930's and 1940's, in bitter struggle against fascism prevailing in Germany and against its barbaric ideology, took issue with Nietzsche.[18]

That includes opposing sharply all attempts by imperialist forces which by means of a reactivation of Nietzsche's ideas would wish to give a philosophical foundation to their aggressive anti-people inclinations. And it includes unmasking the intrigues of neofascist and conservative forces which today are making full use of the thoughts of Nietzsche and of other philosophers of similar shades as an ideological reservoir for neofascist and other reactionary tendencies. Thereby we would also make an effective contribution to uncovering significant intellectual sources and long-term developmental tendencies of contemporary bourgeois philosophy, the ideology of a declining world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Nietzsche's Works (3-volume edition), Vol 3, Munich, 1977, pp 1042-43.

2. Ibid., Vol 2, p 1228.

3. Manfred Buhr and Robert Steigerwald, "Verzicht auf Fortschritt, Geschichte, Erkenntnis und Wahrheit" (Renunciation of Progress, History, Cognition and Truth), Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 16.

4. Nietzsche's Works, Vol 3, p 430.

5. Ibid., Vol 2, p 729.

6. Ibid., p 889.

7. Ibid., Vol 3, p 427.

8. Cf. Heinz Malorny, "Friedrich Nietzsche and German Fascism," "Faschismusforschung, Positionen, Probleme, Polemik" (Fascism Research--Positions, Problems, Polemics), Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1980, pp 279 ff.

9. Nietzsche's Works, Vol 2, p 1166.

10. CHRIST UND WELT/RHEINISCHER MERKUR, Bonn, 2 January 1981, p 19.

11. DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg, 8 June 1981, p 156.

12. DIE WELT, Hamburg, 23 April 1974, p 21; Guenter Rohrmoser, "Nietzsche und das Ende der Emanzipation," Freiburg, 1971, p 16 and passim.

13. Nietzsche's Works, Vol 2, p 606.

14. Ibid., p 987.

15. Ibid., Vol 1, p 687.

16. Ibid., Vol 3, p 786.

17. Ibid., p 701.

18. Cf. bibliography in S. F. Odujev, "Auf den Spuren Zarathustras" (On Zarathustra's Tracks), Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1977, and additions to it in Heinz Malorny, "Tendencies of the Nietzsche Reception in the FRG," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 12, 1979, p 1493.

5885
CSO: 2300/64

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 10, Oct 81 (Signed to press 14 Sep 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Theory and Practice of Shaping Developed Socialism

[Summary of 'Conception of Developed Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 977-985]

> [Text] The sound scientific strategy the 10th party congress has presented for the 1980's shows our party program also conforms to the changed conditions. What will the effects of these new conditions be in the 1980's? Why are economic growth and our resolutely going into intensively expanded reproduction—the prerequisites for which are laid in all domains of society—necessary conditions for the well-being of our people and for the safeguarding of peace? These are some of the questions about the shaping of developed socialism that are being answered in connection with conclusions drawn from the 10th party congress for our economy.

Upward Development of Material-Technical Base on Road of Intensification

[Summary of 'Conception of Developed Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, economist, member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economics Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 986-994]

> [Text] An effective material-technical base is of fundamental importance to the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Which tasks are in the foreground for accomplishing the strengthening of our material-technical base, the intensification of our reproduction process and the acceleration of our scientific-technical progress as a unified process? What requirements arise for our basic assets economy, our investment policy, our resources economy and the effectiveness of live labor? Why is the formation of a closed reproduction process and its intensification necessary in every combine?

Ideal and Reality in the Socialist Revolution

[Summary of 'Conception of Developed Socialism' feature article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 1001-1007]

[Text] How are the ideals of the revolutionary workers class truly brought to realization? Which historic place is occupied in this process by the shaping of the developed socialist society? While answering these questions and paying tribute to the values and accomplishments of real socialism in their magnitude and to the ideals of the revolutionary workers class which become real in the life of socialist society, the article also shows what it means to make an effective use of ideals, the impulses of ideas toward solving current and future tasks toward the unfolding of creative action.

Persistent Struggle for Top Quality Products

[Summary of article by Dr Hans Broll, economist, general director, VEB Werner Lamberz Polygraphy Combine, Leipaig; pp 1010-1016. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Combine Director Explains Keys to Production Success," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The Polygraphy Combine, which exports a great part of its output, is making great efforts to produce more commodities achieving top standards in terms of their scientific-technical as well as economic parameters. What management documents are needed for that? And how can one make sure that--supported by political-ideological work--quality work is done on every job which is prerequisite to top quality products?

Scientific-Technical Progress--Challenge for Young Generation

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Juergen Polzin, director, Research Center, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Halle-Neustadt; pp 1017-1023]

[Text] Enabling the growing generation to cope with scientific-technical progress and making effective the personality-forming values growing out of its active involvement becomes one of the crucial tasks in communist education. The main thing is to awaken understanding for science and technology among the pupils and to enable them to solve, alongside the working people, tasks of our scientific-technical progress, thereby to instil in them responsible working and creative thinking and foster all natural-technical abilities, talents and gifts.

A Program of Revolutionary Marxism

[Summary of article by Dr Marga Beyer, deputy sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 1024-1030]

[Text] The revolutionary German social democratic Erfurt Program of 1891 proclaimed the victory of Marxism in the German workers movement. That was a program of the revolutionary class struggle in which were firmly anchored the struggle of the workers class for the seizure of political power and for replacing the historically obsolete capitalist social system by the socialist. The revolutionary basic principles of this significant document are imperishably alive in the international workers movement's store of experiences, have found a firm home in our party and are part of real socialism today.

Africa's South in Imperialism's Global Strategy

[Summary of article by Dr Siegfried Buettner, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 1046-1051]

[Text] Proceeding from the economic, political and military-strategic place value of the apartheid regime within imperialism's global strategy, the background and aims are analyzed of the most recent escalation of terror and of the aggression against Angola and Namibia. Pretoria's policy, jeopardizing peace and security in the world, and that of the most aggressive U.S. imperialist forces behind it, have caused a worldwide storm of indignation and contempt. The people and government of Angola and the peoples of Namibia and of the South African Republic may in their just struggle rely on stronger worldwide anti-imperialist solidarity.

5885
CSO: 2300/64

DEVELOPMENT OF NATION-NATIONALITY CONCEPT ANALYZED

Definition of Nation

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 35 No 10, Oct 81 (Signed to press 9 Sep 81) pp 33-36

['Classic Seminar' feature article by Thomas Heubner: "Nation and Nationality--Citizenship: GDR--Nationality: German--Or: How Do Nations Develop?" For various references to discussions of the same and related subjects see translation of an East Berlin article by Prof Alfred Kosing, published under the heading, "Nation Versus Nationality Concept Analyzed," in JPRS 74590, 16 Nov 79, No 1738 of this series, pp 44-53. A translation of a detailed discussion of Kosing's book on the development of the nation concept is published in JPRS 69068, 10 May 77, No 1387 of this series, pp 50-54. A translation of an article by Prof Gerhard Riege of Jena in defense of a GDR nationality is published under the heading, "FRG Concept of 'Single German Nationality' Rejected," in JPRS 71064, 5 May 78, No 1531 of this series, pp 82-91]

[Text] Each of use is likely to have made such entries as called for in filling our a questionnaire or visa application. Unquestioningly. But also in the awareness that he was here making a political statement documenting his incontrovertibly belonging to the first socialist German state. That sould suggest some more thorough considerations based on sound information.

In fact, national questions reflect one of the most complicated problems in social development. They have always been the centerpiece of the conflict between socialism and imperialism, socialist ideology and bourgeois revisionist ideology. With the class and national relations becoming more complicated in the world and with the increased efforts by imperialist forces at reviving nationalism and racism, these matters are becoming most topical today.

Only recall the attempts of bourgeois ideologists at "recommending" to the socialist countries "national models" of Marxism, rendering the national absolute with reference to class interests, especially those of the workers class, or insinuating the communists, on behalf of proletarian internationalism, rule out patriotism and a national sentiment.

Now there is actually nothing new in this demagoguery about the communists as "unpatriotic chaps." In their Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels took care of the

allegation the communists wanted to abolish the fatherland and nationality: "The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they don't possess. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."[1]

How Did Nations Evolve?

The term "nation" comes from the Latin: natio — "people," "tribe" and nasci — "to be born."

True enough—the genesis of a nation can figuratively be compared with the act of birth, both coming with labor pains. That merely means nations always arise as the outcome of class struggle. The bourgeois revolution here performs the crucial role in forming the capitalist nation, and the socialist revolution, the socialist.

Not always have there been nations in the history of mankind. They depend on certain social configurations for the form in which they will necessarily exist. What does that mean?

Nations evolve at a certain level of the class struggle, as a response to the exigencies of capitalist development. Capitalist production relations developing in the womb of feudalism pressed for overcoming feudal particularism and forming a strong political center. Capitalist commodity production and the commercial relations resulting therefrom required not only a common language but also, above all, a common internal market. Which makes the nation an inescapable product of the developing capitalist society. This is the sense in which we must understand Lenin when he said that the creation of "national ties (was) nothing but the creation of bourgeois ties."[2]

We must of course take into account that the evolution of a nation is facilitated by there previously having been tribes, peoples and nationalities that have adapted to one another, e.g., in their language and the particulars in their culture and traditions.

A nation exists, not only after all prerequisites for its existence have been met. As the characteristic features of a nation evolve during the process of its maturation, its conditions of existence also evolve. The two processes complement and condition each other.

In this sense then the formation of a nation within its territorial boundaries does not primarily depend on ethnical but on economic, political and social factors.

What Characterizes a Nation?

We have the definition of nation as "a historic community of people which evolves through shaping what they have in common in terms of their economic relations, territory, language and the particulars in their culture and character."[3] Thus, we look at the economic, political, social and ideological relations in their dialectical unity with the ethnic conditions. Primacy attaches here, however, to the factors of social class. They are decisive for the formation of a nation as

for determining its sociohistoric type. In wanting to remain consistent materialists and dialecticians in this matter, such a class-oriented and concrete-historic approach becomes indispensable for us. That, Marx, Engels and Lenin have taught us. The latter, e.g., asserted: "Marx had no doubt that compared with the 'workers' problem' the national question was of secondary importance. But from ignoring the national movement his theory is miles apart."[4]

So it is only logical for us to consider that ethnic elements infuse the national. Those factors are essential aspects of any nation and must not be underrated. Only they do not mark the essence of a nation, their role is merely derivative as they are themselves class-conditioned.

This notion of the primacy of the ethnical, essentially an idealistic notion, contradicts, e.g., German history itself: common ethnic conditions in the final analysis proved too weak to keep the Swiss, Austrians, Netherlanders, Alsatians and Lotharingians from remaining outside the capitalist German nation when it was formed. They either formed nations of their own or joined others in the course of history. The causes in any case were political or socioeconomic in nature.

The same considerations apply to the role of language. Without wishing to slight its importance, we must affirm that the correlation of "same language--same nation" is wholly inadequate. As no one would get the idea to regard, say, the United States, Australia and Great Britain as one nation, merely because English is spoken there, no one would consider either Austria, Liechtenstein and parts of Switzerland a nation nowadays. The same logically applies to the relationship between the GDR and the FRG.

State territory is an important national characteristic. It is mainly defined by the prevailing economic and political relations in a given geographic area, not by common linguistic traits. "Without a community of economic life, a community of territory makes no sense as a national criterion."[5]

The Class Character of a Nation

Most factors determining a nation have class character. That also includes the ethnical and, mainly, the psyche and culture of a nation. Under the conditions of the antagonistic class society, national unity thus is only relative. Marx commented on that by saying that actually every capitalist nation is divided into a "nation of the workers" and a "nation of the proprietors."[6] There exist, to quote Lenin, "two national cultures in each national culture."[7]

In assessing and judging national questions we thus always have to ask ourselves and answer the following questions: Which national unity is meant, which social force leads it and by which social order is it marked?

Nation--Nationality

The concepts of nation and nationality are close but by no means identical. Nationality embraces the totality of ethnic features, specifics and traits of a population such as language, mores, customs, habits and the particulars of culture. That makes the concept of nationality more narrow than that of the nation. Unless one makes

this necessary distinction and demarcation, it is impossible to comprehend the split between the nations in the antagonistic class society or the dialectical and historic connection between nation and nationality. How could one otherwise understand that in the world men of one nationality live, "dispersed," who by a long shot do not represent one-and-the-same nation, or a nation can be formed out of several nationalities (as, e.g., the United States, France or Spain) or, in turn, various nations can evolve from one-and-the-same nationality (as proven by historic developments in the German-language area)?

The Social Essence of the Nation

In the course of development the social essence of the nation changes in principle. But the nationality characteristics do remain basically the same. Which must not make us ignore the fact that they too are affected by class-bound factors.

Long before there was a capitalist German nation, when the feudal society came to prevail, a German nationality, e.g., had already formed, but not until the 19th century was the bourgeois German nation finally established. The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848/49 was a crucial impetus for it. But because of the betrayal by the haute bourgeoisie and its readiness for compromise with reactionary Junkerdom, the chance to establish a unified German democratic republic was lost. When then the German Reich was established in 1871--significantly, in the Paris suburb of Versailles--it did no doubt mean progress. Yet that German national state evolved through a "revolution from the top," as the outcome of Bismarck's "blood-and-iron policy."

Germany's unity had been established, to be sure, yet it was antidemocratic and under the reactionary Prussian hegemony. Furthermore, that German Empire was split up into 26 monarchies and principalities.

Not only in 1848 and 1871, also in 1918 and through all history, the German haute bourgeoisie has repeatedly demonstrated it cannot lead a nation. And more still! During all its class rule it has never hesitated to sacrifice the interests of the whole nation to its own class (meaning: profit) interests.

Capitalist Nation--Socialist Nation

The rending of the unified state territory after 1945--after the destruction of Hitler fascism by the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition--was the historic fault of the German monopoly bourgeoisie and took place wholly in the interest of the monopolies and out of fear of revolutionary development. Out of the capitalist nation two German nations emerged of opposite sociohistoric type: the socialist German nation in the GDR and the capitalist nation in the FRG. What is particular in this situation is that the socialist nation did not emerge--as might normally be the case--within the framework of the former bourgeois national state, but in a part only, in that part where the counterrevolution did not manage to prevent the revolutionary liberation of the people.

The formation and further development of the socialist nation in the GDR is an indissoluble and inevitable element of the socialist revolution. This has not happened in "empty space" or "unhistorically," as bourgeois ideologues from the West would

like to have it. Our nation is firmly rooted in the progressive traditions in the history of the German people--from Muentzer and Luther via the Prussian reformers, and Marx and Engels, all the way to August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann.

Our socialist German nation is "a stable community of friendly allied classes and strata, free of antagonistic contradictions. Its essential features are shaped by the workers class which, as the main political and social force of socialist society, also heads the socialist nation. The social rapprochement among the classes and strata itself takes place under party leadership and on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and the ideals of the workers class. It consolidates the political-moral unity of the people."[8]

The development of the socialist nation in the GDR is of course no one-time act that would be concluded within a few years. It is a lengthy historical process in which the economic and political foundations were created relatively fast, to be sure, but the change of the consciousness of the people, their sociopsychological propensities, requires much more time.

For this reason we must--relying on our socioeconomic and political development--continue to devote great attention to the socialist education of youth in the GDR and of all working people. This involves in particular our depening and reinforcing their socialist consciousness, their proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism. The development of socialist national consciousness and national pride and patriotism has, at that, nothing in common with that type of bourgeois nationalism which spurs people on to chauvinism and national hatred. That it opposes implacably.

FOOTNOTES

1. MEW (Marx-Engels Works), Vol 4, p 479.

2. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 1, p 147.

3. Kaltachtschjan, "Nation und Nationalitaet im Sozialismus," Berlin, 1976, p 18.

4. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 20, p 441.

5. H. Axen, "Zur Entwicklung der sozialistischen Nation in der DDR" (On the Development of the Socialist Nation in the GDR), Berlin, 1973, p 19.

6. MEW, Vol 5, p 133.

7. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 20, p 17.

8. H. Mueller, "On the Criteria and Further Development of the Socialist Nation in the GDR," "Sozialismus und Nationen," Berlin, 1976, p 214.

Aspects of 'Socialist Nation'

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 17-18 Oct 81 p 11

['We and Our Times' feature article by Prof Dr Georg Harder: "The National Specific Has Nothing in Common With Any Form of Nationalism—On the Development of the Socialist German Nation"]

[Text] "The GDR people, in conformity with the historical process of the worldwide transition of humanity from capitalism to socialism, has irrevocably opted for socialism. Led by the workers class, it has constituted itself the socialist German nation. No one can do anything about it" (Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 28).

This general statement in the SED Central Committee report to the 10th party congress reflects the historic fact that in the GDR, in the outcome of the successful socialist revolution, the socialist German nation has been established. In the further process of the shaping of the developed socialist society the question arises about the relationship between the general and the particular in the development of the socialist German nation. Any nation always expresses, as an individual nation, a relationship between the general and the particular, and so does the socialist German nation as well. The general of the socialist German nation in the GDR reflects those principles and basic features which mark it as a socialist type of nation. These principles and basic features are: the socialist mode of production, socialist statehood, the leadership role by the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the socialist relations among the classes and strata, and the socialist superstructure with the socialist ideology dominating it.

The principles referred to act as universally valid inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and form the essential traits of the socialist German nation. These essential traits become apparent through the socialist character of the economic life practiced in common in the socialist nation of the GDR, the socialist relations among the friendly allied classes and strata in their mutual rapprochement based on the world-outlook of the workers class, and the unity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The socialist type of nation is rooted in the existence of real socialism and the effects of its fundamental inevitabilities within the GDR.

The Implacable Opposition to the Capitalist Type of Nation

As in the other countries in the socialist community of states not other but the identical socialist principles and socialist basic features of social life exist as in the GDR, the general forms the basis for shaping what the socialist countries, states and nations have in common under the leadership by their Marxist-Leninist parties. The socialist type of nation, expressing the general and common in all socialist nations, at the same time reflects the implacable opposition to the capitalist type of nation in the capitalist countries, including the opposition between the socialist type of nation in the GDR and the capitalist type in the FRG.

Which also states that on German soil there have long existed two opposite types of nations, the socialist in the state of the GDR and the capitalist in the state of the FRG.

For what is particular in any given nation we have the concept of the national-specific. In this context the emphasis is placed not so much on the nation as the national as rather on the development of the specific in the national. It has to be kept in mind, to be sure, that the particular, here termed the specific, exists neither apart from a given nation nor from the general in a given type of nation. Through considering the national particulars as something apart from the economic, political and intellectual-cultural foundations of a given nation, one would arrive at a misconception of the national-specific and evoke the danger of nationalism. To make a special point of this at present is especially important because the ruling classes of imperialism, especially those in the FRG, are trying harder to employ nationalism as a Trojan horse used by anticommunism and anti-Sovietism against the socialist countries.

What then do we mean by the national-specific in the development of the socialist German nation? First, the national-specific in the socialist nation of the GDR constitutes a whole complex of differences in comparison with other nations. When compared with other nations, these differences appear as national particulars. The socialist German nation shows here various kinds of national particulars. The first kind of national particulars are those that have evolved from the history of the German people and the German workers movement in the struggle for social progress. In ths socialist German nation they show up as progressive traditions of the German people and revolutionary traditions of the German workers movement.

Heirs of Those Who Worked for Progress

The members of the socialist German nation of the GDR are heirs to all those Germans who throughout the history of the German people and of the German workers movement have engendered social progress. Thorough knowledge of and about that legacy is an essential source for the development and consolidation of the GDR citizens' socialist national consciousness. Another kind of particulars are those that have evolved on GDR territory as the outcome of the antifascist-democratic and socialist transformation of society. This includes doing away with the consequences of German fascism, eliminating the foundations of German imperialism in a capitalist stronghold, the struggle for creating a unified GDR with a socialist perspective within the territory from the Oder to the Rhine and so forth.

Through the historic process of a revolutionary renewal of society, the workers class, the working peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other working strata, led by the SED and united in the National Front of the GDR, gained not only a new social but a new national existence.

Among the third kind of differences from other nations we include those particulars that have to do with the development of the productive forces, the socialist production relations and other aspects of social life in the GDR. For example, we have a high degree of production concentration within a small territory, specific forms of distribution and so forth.

The national particulars of the socialist nation of the GDR--as stated--constitute a whole complex of differences in comparison with other nations. For one thing these differences have their historic causes, and then they have to do with the current economic, political and cultural development level. The socialist substance of the national differences in our socialist nation connects with the socialist substance in the national differences in other socialist nations through the rapprochement process among them.

So One Nation Can Learn From Other Nations

The rapprochement among the socialist nations is an inevitability in the development of the community of socialist states. It fosters and forms the most favorable condition for making each socialist nation blossom. Socialism creates all opportunities for enabling one nation to learn from another so that the nations can exchange their material and cultural achievements with each other. The effect of the national particulars of the socialist German nation in relating with the bourgeois nation of the GDR is wholly different. The socialist substance of our national particulars constitutes a comprehensive implacable opposition to the nature of the FRG. The principles of socialism and the socialist substance of social life also produced new qualitative changes of the forms of national life in the GDR.

The forms of national community among the classes and strata in the GDR already indicate considerable differences from those in the bourgeois nation in the FRG (economic life, culture, the content of ethical relations and so forth). Thus, the socialist nation of the GDR not only marks a different type of nation in comparison with the FRG but a different nation, different from the nation in the FRG. The fact that the socialist nation of the GDR and the bourgeois nation of the FRG have evolved from the former German nation, and that the citizens both of the GDR and the FRG speak German and in their majority are of the same nationality, is something the ruling circles in the FRG seek to reorchestrate into a common possession as between the GDR and the FRG. Their concern is to preserve the German nation, common national traits in the noninstitutional area or of the noninstitutional kind.

It is of topical significance to take issue with that concept, which stems from the bourgeois emotional-cultural theory of nation. By that conception the FRG ruling circles seek to subvert the further development of the characteristic traits of the socialist nation in the GDR and preserve an "overall German" consciousness.

5885
CSO: 2300/67

UNIFICATION OF PROTESTANT CHURCH FEDERATIONS DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 17 Sep 81 p 5

['Reportage' feature article by Karl-Heinz Baum, Berlin: "Getting Going--When Will There Be New Church Organs in the GDR?"]

[Text] In January 1979, 45 delegates from the GDR district churches made church history. In the "Eisenach Proposals" they recommended unification of the three GDR church federations into one "United Protestant Church." The optimistic outlook then was: "The steps necessary for the realization of these recommendations should be planned in such a way that, as of 1981, the organs of the new unified church could be established."

The attempt to accomplish [unification efforts during] 450 years of Protestant church history in Germany by one move lasting 2 years has not succeeded: no "organs of the new unified church" will be established in the GDR this year. Nor, probably, in the following 2 years--except for the fact that beginning next year a joint office of the three existing church groups is to begin work in August Street, East Berlin.

The existing organizations of the Protestant Church, however, [sentence incomplete as published]. The synod of the Protestant Church Federation in the GDR, which is to begin this Friday in Guestrow/Mecklenburg, will issue information on whether beginning with 1984--that is 3 years later than planned--new church organs will begin their work.

There are presently eight district churches in the GDR: Anhalt, Berlin-Brandenburg, Goerlitz (which includes the part of Silesia which today belongs to the GDR), Greifswald (the remnant church of Pomerania), Mecklenburg, the Church Province of Saxony (Magdeburg), Saxony and Thuringia. The three Lutheran district churches of Mecklenburg, Saxony and Thuringia have already been unified in the United Protestant Lutheran Church (VELK). The five remaining district churches belong since 1817 to the Protestant Church of the Union (EKU) of the former State of Prussia. The district church of Greifswald holds a special position because as a Union church it is, at the same time, a member of the Lutheran World Federation, just like the three other Lutheran district churches in the GDR. In 1969--after the separation from the Protestant Church in [West] Germany--all eight district churches were unified in the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR--a relatively loose parent organization.

If the Eisenach proposals are implemented, the three groups: VELK, EKU and the Federation, are to be dissolved in favor of the United Protestant Church in the GDR. But this is still a long way off.

Meanwhile, a joint committee has worked out two proposals: (1) a church law which is meant to strengthen the Federation considerably, and (2) a joint decision in which the eight district churches and the three church groups promise to realize step by step a "more binding unification."

A feature of the new church law is the fact that especially the EKU and VELK will transfer some of their authority, especially in the field of church legislation, to the Federation; the three Lutheran district churches will likewise transfer some authority to the Federation; because within the framework of VELK some of the district churches have far greater authority than the EKU. The authority transferred to the Federation can later be transferred without difficulty to the United Protestant Church, if and when this church should come into being.

In their joint decision the churches and church groups pledge closer cooperation; but this decision does not have the legal quality of a church law. Within the last year, a total of 11 synods have taken a position on the two proposals. The proposed changes and improvements are written down on more than 100 single-spaced typed pages. Last week, the members of the groundwork committee summarized all proposals, and hope that they have now found a common denominator. The Guestrow Synod marks the beginning of the decision-making process.

Before the end of the year, the other 10 synods will meet in order to accept these proposals--or reject them. The church law and the decisions will have been accepted only after all 11 synods approve them, always by a two-thirds majority.

The greatest worry for those working for a united church is the possibility that the church law which would strengthen the Federation would be accepted but that the approval by one of the 11 synods will not be by a two-thirds majority so that, as the Greifswald Church Synod has already hinted, "the synod is ready to agree to the church law that will regulate the Federation even if no joint decision should be reached."

After reading the various position papers and change proposals it becomes clear that most reservations come from the small churches in Greifswald, Goerlitz and Anhalt. These churches all belong to the EKU where they are three of five member churches, and are therefore obviously concerned that in a federation of five large and three small churches they would simply go under. It is from the ranks of these churches especially that proposals originated to extend the time in which the new organs would be formed from 5 to 6 years.

The position of the Saxony District Church Synod, the Protestant church in the GDR that is strongest in members and finances, makes it clear that this church will claim more authority than before in the future church structure, a demand that was met by the groundwork committee inasmuch as, beginning with 1 January 1982, the synod of the church federation will be enlarged from 60 to 80 representatives and that the Saxony District Church will be allotted 19 representatives, that is almost one-fourth.

The greatest obstacle for unification, however, was raised by the synod of the Protestant Church of the Union. Its position states that 2 years after the changes in federation regulations take effect, "accomplishments have to be examined and determinations made on subsequent steps." In other words: if the examination demanded for the beginning of 1984 has negative results, no further steps will be taken according to the wishes of the EKU. The automatic progress toward unification already begun would then be stopped. Because the groundwork committee did not include this demand in its joint proposal, the EKU synod in December will tell whether the necessary two-thirds majority acceptance is obtained.

The changes in the regulations of the GDR Church Federation pertain primarily to legal-administrative fields. Theological questions and also decisions regarding the special relationship between GDR and FRG churches are put aside for the time being. The joint decision makes it clear, however, that the participating churches want to establish a new form of their union, "as a community of churches," which makes closer cooperation in joint tasks of witness and service essential, and whose logic is described on the basis of theological discussions on the basic meaning of preaching the gospel. Theological questions, in any case, are of minor importance in today's GDR church. But when arguments arise, they extend horizontally through all Lutheran and United Churches.

8889
CSO: 2300/45

ACTIVITY OF WORKER CONTROL GROUPS DISCUSSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 1 Oct 81 pp 1,3

[Interview with Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, by Mircea Scripca; date and place not given]

[Text] The activity of worker control, led and organized by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, is a vast civic manifestation which polarizes important human resources in order to continually improve socioeconomic activity. With regard to the role and importance of this activity, the results obtained thus far and the planned objectives for better development of worker control, we addressed ourselves to Comrade Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and chairman of the Central Commission for coordinating and guiding the activity of worker control.

[Answer] Within the framework of the institutionalized forms which permit the involvement of all categories of workers in better management and use of the means society offers them to continually improve the living and working conditions of the people, in carrying out the party's policy of increasing the well being of those who work, the exercising of worker control plays a leading role in important sectors of socioeconomic activity and of service to the population.

The role and importance of this activity of special social interest arise from the vast process of expanding democracy in our country, against a background of significant qualitative and quantitative changes in all social and economic life. Within this context, worker control currently represents an objective necessity, keeping in mind the fact that participating in the exercise of worker control are representatives of work collectives from enterprises, institutes, state and cooperative agricultural units, housewives, and students, they themselves owners, producers, and at the same time, beneficiaries, keenly interested in the efficient use of the material and spiritual means society has at its disposal.

The unions play an important role in organizing and exercising worker control. Keeping in mind the unions' experience, it was established by law that the unions--as broad organizations of the working class, of the working masses--should effectively participate within the framework of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front in the entire activity of worker control. They work with increased efficiency in commercial units, services, mass transit, in maintaining and repairing housing resources, in health institutions, in spas, hotels, motels, and other places providing accommodations, and in the field of environmental protection.

Also, in this field, considerable activity is carried out by youth and women's organizations, especially in maternity hospitals and homes, children's hospitals, day-care centers, kindergartens, and homes for preschoolers and children of school age, in social assistance institutions, in educational institutions (schools and university departments) as well as in other sectors.

[Question] What is the range of worker control?

[Answer] At present worker control operates in over 148,000 units. In accordance with the number and complexity of these units, in 1981, 46,728 teams were formed from almost 195,000 members elected at union meetings and meetings of Union of Communist Youth and women's organizations, from city districts and from villages.

Special accent is put on the proper training of the team members. Periodically, or whenever necessary, the worker control teams are instructed for the purpose of understanding and applying the party decisions, laws and normative acts which regulate activity in the sectors that are the object of the control activity. Practical instruction in the field has proven to be very useful for proper training of the team members. Conferences and dialogues between the teams and the personnel of the units being monitored have an important role in fully and efficaciously capitalizing on the proposals made during the control; they offer a good opportunity for sharing positive experience and preventing future transgressions of a similar nature.

[Question] What significant operations have been undertaken and what results have been obtained in the activity of the worker control teams?

[Answer] On the basis of the decisions adopted by the Second Congress of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and of the measures established at the national conference of representatives of worker control in February 1981, the Central Commission and the territorial commissions for coordinating and guiding this activity have begun to step up control operations in the socioeconomic and cultural-educational units stipulated by law. In many counties they have organized model control operations which resulted in increased efficiency. The practice of organizing--together with specialized state control inspections--inspections conducted within certain sectors or groups of units in which the need for prompt intervention is noted was extended.

In Bucharest Municipality as well as in counties such as Arges, Brasov, Braila, Constanta, Dolj, Galati, Iasi, Mures, Sibiu, Timis, and others, thematic inspections are being organized frequently in various fields of activity. In the capital, the usual major problems of control are discussed weekly with the leadership of the units being monitored and of the sector's people's councils. Of significance for the effectiveness of these operations is the fact that in the first 8 months of this year, the almost 30,000 inspections done in Bucharest were followed up by more than 16,000 proposals from the teams, of these over 85 percent were assimilated and worked out by the leaders of the monitored units.

The control operations undertaken have contributed to the elimination of some gaps in commercial activity (failure to observe weights or prices, preferential

treatment of some buyers, carelessness in proper management of stock, and non-observance of health and hygiene norms in a number of units). Improvements were also made in the field of services, insuring more promptness in the performance and diversification of services as well as in behavior towards citizens. Similar results were obtained in various health units, day-care centers, kindergartens, hotels and spas.

[Question] In the control activity carried out there have also been some difficulties. What are their causes?

[Answer] If there have been difficulties, these are for the most part due to the fact that there are still unit leaders who underestimate worker control and feel that the teams are meddling in the affairs of the units they manage and are diminishing their authority, disregarding, in this way, the provisions of the law. At times it even leads to blocking the exercise of control by various means, by not presenting control records. In other cases, the managers of some units adopt a formal attitude, being thankful for the help given by the team, noting the findings recorded in the control record, but failing to take firm action to eliminate the shortcomings pointed out.

Of course, worker control would be more efficient were it not for some defects in some of the control teams' activities themselves. There are teams that show formalism in their activity, in the sense that they undertake superficial inspections which cannot lead to realistic proposals or to concrete measures for improving the work in the respective sectors. The fields entrusted by law to the control teams are not covered everywhere. In some counties such as Giurgiu, Hunedoara, Cluj, Bacau, Gorj and others, there are teams which have sporadic activity, failing to exercise monitoring activity several months of this year. On the other hand, in some places it can be noted that less attention is given to exercising control in construction units, in units for the maintenance and repair of housing resources, activities carried out in health and cultural-artistic institutes as well as in units which serve the rural population.

[Question] What measures are earmarked for increasing the effectiveness of worker control?

[Answer] The Central Commission, as well as the territorial commissions for coordinating and guiding worker control will take practical steps to activate all of the worker control teams in order to make best use of the findings of the inspections undertaken and in order to prevent the difficulties recorded in this field.

We also have in mind improving the work methods and procedures within the control teams' activity, in order to better execute the mandate delivered by society, as a revolutionary way of participating in the leadership of the workers.

Within this framework, the Central Commission and the territorial commissions together with the component organizations--the unions, youth and women's organizations--will pay greater attention to the political, professional, and moral qualities of those elected to the teams, and greater attention to attracting to

the teams a greater number of workers who work directly in production. The teams will be directed to always have in mind the principal, basic, and currently urgent problems of the monitored units, in order to operate above all competently, with knowledge of the cause and in a spirit of responsibility. The team members will continually show intransigence in regard to the tendency--completely unjustified--of some buyers to overstock and to hoard agricultural food products. They will actively promote the spirit of equity and civic duty, making each person understand that if he stocks more than he needs, he does it to the detriment of other consumers.

We will assure the growth of the educational-preventative nature of the worker control teams' activity, working in close connection with the union committees, the organizations for democracy and socialist unity, the women's commissions and the Union of Communist Youth committees in the monitored units in order to intensify the educational activity of the working personnel tasked with ensuring the supplying and serving of the population, and special concern for the national wealth.

The effectiveness of this activity will also be enhanced by prompt reporting of problems uncovered during the inspections to the Councils for Worker Control of Socioeconomic Activity as well as to the specialized state control bodies. It is nevertheless worth mentioning that by law the principal obligation for promptly and fully using the proposals drawn up by the teams goes first to the leaders of the units which have been monitored, to the People's Councils, the ministries, and the other central institutions.

By increasing worker control and continually improving the activity carried out we will be able to make a greater contribution to improving the activity in the monitored sectors and to better satisfying the needs of the population.

9885
CSO: 2700/56

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Dogaroiu is relieved of his position as vice chairman of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry and Comrade Constantin Istrate is appointed vice chairman of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 28 Oct 81 p 2]

NEW PEOPLES COUNCILS OFFICIALS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Petru Taran is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bistrita-Nasaud County; Stefan Birceri is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bucharest Municipality; Comrade Alexandru Ionescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the provisional people's council of Calarasi County. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 28 Oct 81 p 2]

NEW DEFENSE OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Lieutenant General Victor Atanase Stanculescu is appointed deputy minister of national defense. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 13 Nov 81 p 2]

CSO: 2700/82

STORIES OF FORCED MIGRATION FROM KOSOVO PROVINCE TOLD

Serbs, Montenegrins Accuse

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 189, 23 May 81 pp 26-27

[Article by Rajko Durdevic]

[Text] They were accustomed to saying, "share and share alike," "what I have is yours," everything is shared by all, everyone is a brother.

The old expression is now being used with new intentions for some in Kosovo-the latest deceit, the latest pretence to make life more difficult for families, mainly Serbian and Montenegrin, in their part of the country.

It is quite certain that the majority of honest families of Albanian origin in Kosovo have disassociated themselves from the slogan. They were friends and neighbors with the Serbs and Montenegrins; many had even become godparents for the other's children. For decades they have mutually respected, helped, looked after and honored one another.

Then the slogan was heard as a pretence for greed. It began in 1968--"share and share alike." Was it the euphoria of nationalism, or a deception to seize another's property? These groups of slogan-sayers were louder than they were numerous, it was said. However, as they say in this part of the county, "one man's sins shame us all."

Incidents of oppression have been repeated. From 1968 to the present, many families have moved out of Kosovo; they sold out or abandoned their property, "the home fire was extinguished," some after many centuries.

Villages are being deserted, the people are leaving! It is a scene which is being repeated in the villages of Kosovo. Many have protested, apparently in vain. Both the oppressions and the departures continue. What is really going on here?

Not far from Decani, in the village Papracana, the brothers Vojin and Velimir Soskic lived peacefully for years. There were no problems or troubles at all until 1974. They owned houses, stables, livestock, eight hectares of fertile soil in one parcel. This was enough for 17 members of their families to subsist on quite well. However, Velimir has left for Montenegro and Vojin and his family have purchased some land in the village Vrcana near Gornji Milanovac.

"No one drove us away with a gun, but we had to leave," says Vojin. "Our land was fertile, but it had to be irrigated. And this is where the troubles began. The water came in by a stream, some sort of canal, from above Decani. Everyone had the right to use it, everyone equally. Honesty was the only measure for the distribution of the water. It was this way for years. And then the digging began.

Everyone Has Suffered for Years Because of It

"When the time came for us to irrigate the fields," says Vojin, "some local Albanians diverted the water to their land. If you went to see where the water had been cut off, you could expect that someone would take a shot at you. Take away the water and the crops dry up. It was like this for one, two, three years. Whom do you complain to? We went to the council to complain; three times I asked about it, and this is what they say. We, Montenegrins and Serbs, have chosen a delegation and made a complaint to the community: "People, our crops are burning up." It's useless, they look the other way."

The older people were ashamed of this. There is an ancient pride of poverty which is stronger than any law. However, a few individuals, whom the honest Albanians call a gang, have taken what belongs to others in order to enrich themselves. The honest people have become enfuriated. This has been a cause for suffering for years.

"I hear the news- now this is what has caused it, it is from desire, from power, from wealth," says Vojin. "What nonsense! Who is it that now has trampled on freedom? I don't know what is going to happen, 'when the water is so high that you cannot see the boat.'"

Ljudomir Vucinic also moved, from the other side of Kosovo from the village Ljubovac near Srbica, in 1971. He now lives in the village Velerec near Gornji Milanovac. There were 80 Serbian and Montenegrin houses in his village; now there are only six.

"This is what happened," says Ljubomir, "it developed over the years. In the spring of 1970 I was preparing to plant five bags of wheat, when an Albanian came up to me. 'What's going on, Ljubo, you're not really going to start planting, are you? Why throw seeks in the ground for nothing,' he asked, 'you must move out.'"

Afterwards it became too much. Every night the house of Ljubomir Vucinica was bombarded with rocks until daybreak. "I informed the police, but they said, 'It's children...!' The following night was even worse. I was driving the oxen to the market towards Vucitrn, and on the way they pelted me from the mountain- hit me right on my cap."

Afterwards I went over to Saban's house- he was the biggest landowner in the village. I said, 'Saban, I agree to sell!' The following night Saban and eight others came to my house to buy the property. 'Ljubo, we will give you three million and you transfer,' they said. 'No way, I might as well give you everything for nothing.' The house, the stables, the barns and seven hectares of land are all first-class. The price is not enough. But I see that there's no way out.' Saban, give me 7 days to get the children ready, and to say my good-byes.' 'Fine, no one will bother you,' he said. And so it was. Afterwards they did the sowing and I wandered around Serbia with the children. I had no where to go. I stayed on the road. Many of the families who emigrated from my village went through the same thing."

"Several years ago," says Ljubomir, "a police commander from Srbica came to my house in Velerec and asked, 'why did you leave?'" A certain Milan Martinovic had written a complaint to some high forums. He wrote out and enumerated incidents of how pressure was exerted on each family. Ljuba was included in the account. Because of this they came.

"What good is it," continues Ljuba, "With the commander also came the former president of the community and the recording secretary. They called me aside and said, 'Don't tell the truth, Ljubo. What is done is done. You have left, but we must continue to live there. Your family also remains there- think of them.'"

So Ljubo Vucinic signed the false record in this way: "I moved out because I wanted a better life."

According to Ljubo, he lived like brothers with many Albanians in the village. Two of them saved his life in 1941. Some of them were godparents to his children. Ljubo asserts that it is the trouble-makers who performed the crimes. He asks why they are trying to conceal themselves. He has heard that there would be an investigation as to why some people moved out. He hopes to be a witness.

When You Make Accusations, You Also Appear Guilty

Aleksandar Milosevic moved out with his family from the village Gornje Prekaze near Srbica in 1970, the last of all Serbs and Montenegrins to do so. Now they are scattered about Gornji Milanovac and its environs.

"What no one asks me is how I was forced out," laments Aleksandar. "Our properties were worth five hundred million. We had two houses in the yard, stables, barns, twenty hectares of first-class soil, over a furrow in depth, everything was grouped together. We received for all of it...better not to say."

There were 17 of them in the house, "they were not defenseless." What good was it. They were still planting, the crops had not been harvested. Some villagers, Albanians, drove their livestock into the crops, he says. Everything was crushed. The women in the house did not dare to move without help. "If you complain to the police, they say 'it was children,' or 'it was some lunatics.' They play the fools."

"We were still there," says Aleksandar, "and they destroyed our cemetery. Again they say, 'Children!' When you complain, you also appear guilty: 'you are nationalists,' they say. The police commander did not ask me anything. I would like to say to him, 'Because of you I had to run away. You protected those people who seized what did not belong to them!'"

The honest Albanians, the majority of them, condemn each extortion. In the villages the old Albanians bow their heads remembering those who have left. Some youths are greedy, they don't pay attention to anyone. Aleksandar recalls that the community secretary said to him when he complained on one occasion, "there is so much you never learned about Albanians!"

"Did you know," he added, "that after 1970, in some villages of Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia, they must give a quarter of everything they grow to certain bullies

of Albanian origin? What are they? Landowners? Honest Albanians themselves have risen up against this tyranny; they refuse to give this tribute."

Many have abandoned villages in Kosovo with nothing but a sack with their possessions on their backs and their children in their arms. Prior to this they found notes on their doors saying: "this is your last day to move out!" Go to Krusevac, Kraljevo, Smederevo, Gornji Milanovac, Topola, Arandelovac.... "Say your good-byes and leave!"

Milan Scepanovic from the village Dasinovci near Decani thought otherwise. He was in the war, in the partisans; he was the commander of a company, a member of the Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia, a communist. He was wounded five times in the war. However, the most serious one was his sixth. On the 18th of July, 1971, he went out to inspect his crops in the field. Then suddenly in front of the house the shot of a carbine rang out. He was left without sight and hearing. Two Albanian villagers were later apprehended and sentenced for attempted murder.

Today, Milan Scepanovic still does not know how to explain why those two young men shot at him. At least something was done about it. He and his relatives have always been mindful of one anohter, they have tried to "honor one another."

Emigration By Force, Immigration By Force

Milan, as a communist, has always regarded all attacks by groups and individuals as something, he says, "that must be overcome." He enrolled his daughter in a school to learn the Albanian language. This is how they came to agreements in war, and this is how he has conducted himself in peace-time. The child lives here, let her learn the language.

In the end, in 1974, Milan Scepanovic sold his 9 hectares of land, his house, and everything else. The price was the usual one, "get what you can!" Now he lives in Jelenac near Topola. He recalls many events from recent years.

"Some people," says Milan, "are simply barbaric. When a certain Stanica Pesic from Donji Ratis near Decani was left without the male head of the family and was defenseless, an Albanian and his family moved into her house by force. He took possession of her house and started to work the land."

These types of incidents are repeated over and over again. Now this must be changed. Recently some communities in Kosovo have passed a regulation temporarily prohibiting the transfer of property. This well-intentioned move has already back-fired in some places. Many houses and properties have been abandoned, and there is nothing to buy on the market.

Violence and extortion by some individuals is not a matter for profound politics. Indeed, there are not groups of greedy poeple in every village in the world who are inclined to seize property which does not belong to them. There must be laws against this type of activity, and there must be a unified force to back them up.

In this regard the promise to investigate incidents of "emigration," and to prevent the violence of previous years from being repeated, is one which is to be widely acclaimed.

Another Account

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 191, 20 Jun 81 p 5

[Letter by Miljan Babovic]

[Text] Reader Miljan Babovic writes us that all of his family lived in Dasinovci near Decani, and he relates how they were forced to abandon their land and their home. They had 16.5 hectares of land. Today they have nothing.

I am a regular reader of DUGA, and for the first time I ask for a little free space in your column. The motive for my letter is the article by Rajko Durdevic entitled "Say Your Good-byes and Go" (DUGA, No 189). I am also one of those who emigrated from Kosovo, by force.

On the whole I agree with the statements made by comrades Ljubomir Vucinic and Milan Scepanovic (this comrade was my neighbor and I am familiar with the details of his case). On the whole I also support your campaign for an investigation of the emigrations from Kosovo. In my opinion, this is journalism, this is the truth!

I will describe to you the reasons why we, my family and I, abandoned our home in Dasinovci near Decani where we had lived from 1927 to 1974, before we moved to Montenegro to the village Kosic, near Danilovgrad.

My father and my uncle owned 16.5 hectares of land. For the most part it was wooded, with a little bit of tillable soil, while on the rest of it the soil was barren. At first there were 17 members of the family on the property, and after my brother and I married there were 24. The agricultural collective had been in existence for 15 years, and in 1961 they took six hectares of land from us with the promise that they would compensate us with money or other land. Don't be fooled by promises! We received neither. We did not dare to complain immediately, as my father, my uncle, and I worked in the collective, and we figured that we would be without jobs if we made any kind of a protest against this obviously unjust and unlawful deed. Moreover, we did not dare do anything because they had threatened us, and we knew what happened to those who did not obey. You say how Milan Scepanovic was almost killed, and he lost both his sight and his hearing. As our people say, the authorities just look the other way.

My father was bitterly disappointed, both because of the injustice and the mental torture. He killed himself, he threw himself under the machine that clears the forest. This was in 1961. The family was left without any sort of means of support, besides that little piece of land which was left us, barren and fruitless.

I then went to perform my military obligation in the Yugoslav People's Army, and my older brother, who was unemployed, set out for Australia to earn a little money. My mother, who was ill, remained at home with her small daughter and son (my younger brother), who died in 1969 at thirty years of age.

I returned from the army in 1964. Several times I had gone to the community of Decani in connection with the land which had been taken from us, but all of my efforts had been in vain. In 1965 I brought the case to the local court. Today,

in 1981, 16 years later, the case has still not been resolved! I went from the district court to the supreme court. The supreme court returned it to the district court, but it still has not made this decision.

Twice I went to the Military Court and the Constitutional Court of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I complained to the Federal Parliament; everyone who helped me asserted that I was right, but when the case was returned to the district court, again nothing happened. And to this very day there has been nothing!

After I had returned from the army, I was unable to find employment anywhere in Dasinovci or Decani as soon as I started to make my complaints. I was not able to go farther than these places, because where and how could I leave my sick family?

My Albanian neighbors were simply barbaric, menacing, and aggressive. I could not defend my property and my family, and I had to sell what I could for any kind of money, for a pitiful price, and I had to move to Montenegro; some unsold land still remained.

In the meantime, my brother returned from Australia. He had saved nothing, and in 1970 he left for a job in Germany he got through a bureau in order to earn some money for the purchase of the land in Montenegro.

We had, then, 16.5 hectares of land. From this and from my brother's earnings, we could barely afford to buy half of a hectare in Montenegro, and the same amount for my uncle in Divostin, near Kragulevac. Because of the barbarism of the neighbors and the authorities in Decani, we were left without anything anywhere, and we separated from our uncle permenantly.

Well, there you have the fate of my family, the Babovic family, who were forced to abandon their land and home under pressure. This is why we left Kosovo.

Finally, I hope that some authorized people from the Federation will read my sad letter. I will say to you that I am not the only one who was menaced in this inhuman way, both by the courts and by others who helped break up our home. My dispute in the court is unique in judicial practise. Sixteen years later and the court will not decide it. And the land is still kept in my name. For a full sixteen years I have been paying taxes on it!

9548
CSO: 2800/73

BRIEFS

EXPULSION OF FRENCH JOURNALIST--The French government issued a "strong protest" yesterday against the expulsion from Yugoslavia of Kosta Christitch, journalist from POINT, who accompanied Claude Cheysson, French minister of foreign affairs, to Belgrade. The French government considers this measure "regrettable and particularly inopportune." Kosta Christitch, of Yugoslav origin but French nationality, decided to remain in Yugoslavia until Tuesday, but he was arrested in the middle of the night, searched, then taken to the airport where he was expelled. [Text] [Paris LE MATIN in French 24 Nov 81 p 14]

CSO: 3100/137 END

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22 December 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1951

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22 October 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1951

CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Leaders Greet USSR Counterparts on Anniversary
(Editorial Report) 1

Zhivkov Speaks at Anniversary Celebration in Shumen
(BTA, 28 Nov 81) 2

Zhivkov Letters to Artists
(Editorial Report) 4

Briefs
'BTA'-'MTI' Agreement Signed 5
GDR Delegation Depature 5
Romanian Delegation Visit 5
Educational Conference 5
Peko Takov in Vidin 6
International Computer Conference 6
Dzhurov at Birthday Celebration 6
Polish Party Delegation Visit 6
Brazilian Parliamentary Delegation Departs 6
Balev in Lovech 6
Zhivkov Receives Ethiopian Delegation Leader 7
Women Champion Gymnasts Awards 7
Soviet, Hungarian Visitors 7
Union Protocol With USSR 7
Youth Cooperation With Zambia 7
Brazilian Parliamentary Delegation 8
Youth Agreement With Hungary 8
Economic Efficiency Seminar 8

 [III - EE - 63]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

International Activities of CSSR TU Growing, 'Solidarity' Decried
(V. Kozik Interview; PRACE, 22 Oct 81)..... 9

Different Forms of Economic Crime Discussed
(Karel Pesta Interview; TRIBUNA, 26 Aug 81)..... 12

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Conference Focuses on 'Socialist Culture' for Armed Forces
(NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 Sep 81)..... 18

Two-Day Conference Opens
NVA Political Chief: Culture, Combat Readiness
Defense Minister: Intellectual-Cultural Needs

Tactical Training Activities Highlighted
(Klaus Koenig; VOLKSARMEE, No 41, 1981)..... 24

New Torpedo Patrol Boats Described
(WEHRTECHNIK, Sep 81)..... 27

Engineer Unit Commanders' Duties, Training
(WEHRTECHNIK, Sep 81)..... 28

Naval Vessel Name, Number Designations Examined
(Siegfried Breyer; SOLDAT UND TECHNIK, Oct 81)..... 29

Textbooks Indicate Military Education for Schoolchildren
(DER SPIEGEL, 16 Nov 81)..... 33

Briefs
More Time for Officer Studies 37
Ceremonial Attire 37
Army Mass Initiatives 37

ROMANIA

Shortcomings in Publishing Activity Cited
(Valter Roman Interview; CONTEMPORANUL, 20 Nov 81)..... 38

Domestic Production of Lanolin Delayed by Bureaucratic Red Tape
(Anica Florescu; SCINTEIA, 15 Oct 81)..... 44

YUGOSLAVIA

Changes in Party Bylaws Discussed
(Ivan Torov; BORBA, 8 Nov 81)..... 48

Albanian Nationalism in Serbian Border Areas Discussed
(OSLOBODJENJE, 13 Nov 81)..... 52

Action of Catholic, Orthodox Churches Abroad Criticized
(Momcilo Djorgovic; BORBA, 8 Nov 81)..... 54

Orthodox Church Paper Defends 'Brotherhood' Movement
(Atanasije Jevtic; PRAVOSLAVLJE, 15 Oct 81)..... 57

'Moment of Truth' in Evolution of Self-Management Noted
(Muhamed Kesetovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
18 Oct 81)..... 60

Briefs
Bakali LC Expulsion Urged 65

LEADERS GREET USSR COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

PM111117 [Editorial Report] Comparison of same article in Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Nov 81 with the apparent text of the Bulgarian leaders' message published on page 4 of Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 November 1981 reveals the following variations:

PRAVDA begins [Text] To Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To Nikolay Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Dear comrades, on //picking up Graf one line one, supplying opening:

Graf one line five, PRAVDA reads //Council of Ministers, the fraternal Soviet people and personally to //supplying additional phrase;

Graf one last line, PRAVDA reads //socialist revolution.

The historic significance of the //picking up graf two line one, supplying "historic";

Graf three line nine, PRAVDA reads //system, is a hope and a source //subbing "hope" for "reliable support";

Graf five antepenultimate line, PRAVDA reads //unity with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries //supplying "peoples of the";

Graf six line thirteen, PRAVDA reads //and that the mutual relations of our two //subbing "mutual relations" for "acts";

Penultimate graf last line, PRAVDA reads //triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism //subbing "ideas" for "ideals."

CSO: 2200/30

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION IN SHUMEN

AU281544 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 28 Nov (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, unveiled a big monument dedicated to the foundation of the Bulgarian state, in the town of Shumen.

This is the biggest monument in this country opened in the year of Bulgaria's 13th centennial.

At the opening Mr Todor Zhivkov delivered a speech emphasizing that the monument is inaugurated in the town of Shumen, in that part of the country where the roots of the Bulgarian state are, where its first capital, Pliska and Veliki Preslav, used to be.

Dwelling on the wide-scale celebrations of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state continuing throughout the year, Mr Todor Zhivkov noted: "We do not idealize the past of our state, we soberly and realistically scrutinize the road we have covered so far. But it is namely the reason why we highly appreciate our achievements and take well-deserved pride in them."

The Bulgarian leader expressed gratitude to the peoples on the Soviet Union and of the socialist community, to the peoples of neighbouring and faraway countries, to the progressive world public, to all governments, statesmen, scientists and men of art, who marked through cultural and political events the 1300th jubilee of the Bulgarian state.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed: "With the active participation of all who shared our emotions, thoughts and pride, the jubilee of the Bulgarian state has turned into a great international event contributing to the mutual acquaintance and getting closer together of peoples, to consolidating the cause of peace and social progress."

The monument raised on a hill above Shumen, is built on an area 200 m long and 60 m wide, and its tops is 50 m high. It lies on 2,000 cubic m of granite and 50 thousand cubic m of concrete have been cast to shape its whole body. The architectural and sculptural composition rests on the figure of the founder of the Bulgarian state Khan Asparuk, who has got off his horse and stabbed his sword into the ground. Next to him stand the three great khans of the first Bulgarian state--Tervel, the diplomat who concluded the first treaty documenting the recognition of the state,

Krum, the legislator and warrior, Omurtag, the builder and philosopher. Built into the monument are the figures of Tsar Boris the First. During his time Bulgaria adopted Christianity and the Slavonic letters were created; and Tsar Simeon under whose guidance the Bulgarian mediaeval culture entered its golden century. [as published]. The space around the monument is decorated with small sculptures and mosaics featuring pictures of our mediaeval history. An enormous lion's figure gleams on the highest, 50 m, body of the monument—the symbol of the Bulgarian state.

Together with the monument, in the same town today there were inaugurated new buildings of the history museum named after Lyudmila Zhivkova, of the library and the drama theatre, restored houses of the epoch of the Bulgarian national revival. The opening of the aluminum plant in the town was also officially announced.

CSO: 2200/30

ZHIVKOV LETTERS TO ARTISTS

AU281115 [Editorial Report] Sofia RATOBNICHESKO DELO on 25 November 1981 carries on pages 1 and 2, a 950-word report on a celebration at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia held on 24 November to mark the 70th birthday of Academician Panteley Zarev, distinguished Bulgarian writer, during which Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, presented the Georgi Demitrov order to Academician Zarev. The report is followed by the 250-word text of a letter from Todor Zhivkov to Panteley Zarev, in which Zhivkov congratulates the academician on his birthday and on the high decoration bestowed on him. Zhivkov also notes the writer's contribution to literature, literary criticism and national education in Bulgaria, adding: "Our joint work, our friendly meetings and talks have always given me joy and satisfaction."

RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the same date carries on page 2 a 1,000-word report on the celebration of painter Nikolay Shmirgela's 70th birthday by an exhibition of his works at the Sofia "Shipka" Art Gallery. The ceremony was attended by Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, and other officials. The report is followed by the 350-word text of a letter from Todor Zhivkov to painter Shmirgela, which was read during the ceremony. In his letter Todor Zhivkov greets the painter and congratulates him on his birthday and on the high award presented to him on this occasion--the title "Hero of Socialist Labor"--and praises his "realistic art, as well as the identity of his communist convictions and aesthetic views." Zhivkov expresses his admiration for Shmirgela's works which "have always reflected the crucial problems of our party's current policy," and wishes the painter a long life and further successes in his work.

CSO: 2200/30

BRIEFS

'BTA'-'MTI' AGREEMENT SIGNED--Boyan Traykov, chief director of the BTA News Agency Erno Lakatos, director general of the MTI Hungarian News Agency signed a cooperation protocol for 1982 in Sofia yesterday. The Hungarian News Agency director gen- was received by Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, with whom he discussed questions of further cooperation between the BTA and MTI news agencies in order to more widely propagate the Bulgarian and Hungarian peoples' achievements in socialist construction. The cordial and friendly talk between Stoyan Mikhaylov and Erno Lakatos was attended by Boyan Traykov, chief director of BTA and by Jeno Sebestyen, Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria. [AU231643 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Nov 81 pp 2-8]

GDR DELEGATION DEPARTURE--Varna, 13 Nov--The GDR delegation, headed by Guenter Schabowski, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and editor in chief of the daily NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, visited Varna Okrug today and met Demitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug party committee. The delegation was seen off by Yordan Yotov, editor in chief of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO and by local officials from Varna Okrug, as well as by GDR consul general in Varna, Heinz Hanisch. [AU231643 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Nov 81 p 2]

ROMANIAN DELEGATION VISIT--Grigo Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received yesterday Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Council for Water Resources, attached to the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who is visiting our country. They discussed questions concerning cooperation in efficient utilization and preservation of water resources. Georgi Pavlov, chairman of the Committee on Environment Protection attached to the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, and Petre Duminica, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria, attended the meeting. A cooperation agreement was signed last night between the Bulgarian Environment Protection Committee and the Romanian National Council for Water Resources. The agreement was signed by Georgi Pavlov and Ion Iliescu. [AU231643 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Nov 81 p 2]

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE--The 12th conference of educational leaders from capitals of European socialist countries opened in Sofia today. The participants in this conference will have meetings at the Ministry of National Education, the Sofia People's Council and other institutions in order to become acquainted with Bulgaria's experience in the educational system. [AU231643 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Nov 81]

PEKO TAKOV IN VIDIN--On 16 November Comrade Peko Takov visited Vidin and met the members of the BCP Vidin Okrug Committee's Bureau and the okrug people's council. He was briefed on the work of the okrug party organization and the working people to implement the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. [AU321643 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Nov 81]

INTERNATIONAL COMPUTER CONFERENCE--A 5-day international conference on introducing computers in the enterprises of the machine-building industry has begun near Varna. It was organized by the scientific-technical unions of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, the CSSR, Poland, Hungary and the GDR. Representatives of Austria, the FRG, Italy and Great Britain is also attending the conference, which will discuss problems of building up automated control systems in the production enterprises as well as automating the engineering work in machine-building. [AU321643 Sofie Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 18 Nov 81]

DZHUROV AT BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION--The 80th birthday of Vela Petrova, mother of the heroic partisan Nikola Petrov--"Karadzhata" who died in the antifascist struggle, was celebrated in Dulovo, Silistra Okrug today. Partison Petrov was commander of the legendary Bacho Kiro detachment in the "Chavdar" partisan detachment. The festive meeting was attended by Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, and by other veterans of the partisan movement. Comrade Todor Zhivkov sent a letter to Vela Petrova congratulating her and expressing his respect for her as the mother of a Bulgarian hero and a true Bulgarian patriot. The 9 September order, second class, is awarded to Vela Petrova. This decoration was presented to her by Comrade Dobri Dzhurov who reminisced about hero Nikola Petrov. [AU321643 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 20 Nov 81]

POLISH PARTY DELEGATION VISIT--Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received the visiting working group from the PZPR Central Committee ideological department headed by (Andrej Ciszs), first deputy head of the department. During the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, information was exchanged on ideological work in the BCP and the PZPR at the present stage of development, as well as on the tasks which the two fraternal parties are coping with in the propaganda sector and in ideological-educational work. [Text] [AU321643 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 20 Nov 81]

BRAZILIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION DEPARTS--At the invitation of the National Assembly, a Brazilian parliamentary delegation visited our country from 14 to 20 November 1981. The delegation was headed by (Gilvan Rocha), deputy chairman of the Federal Senate of the National Congress of Brazil. During the talks and meetings, opportunities for expanding relations between the Bulgarian and Brazilian parliaments were discussed. This is likely to contribute to the further mutual cooperation between the two countries in various sectors. The Brazilian guests left our country today. [Text] [AU202018 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 81]

BALEV IN LOVECH--A conference of the Lovech Okrug Party Committee Bureau with the okrug propagandists has been held in Lovech. "Comrade Milko Balev attended the conference. In a speech, he emphasized the need for mastering the enormous theoretical and practical assets comprised in the materials of the 12th BCP Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress." [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 81 AU]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION LEADER--Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and State Council president, received Mr (Adis Tedla), head of the delegation of socialist Ethiopia, member of the executive committee of the commission on organizing a party of the working people in Ethiopia, member of the Standing Committee of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and chairman of the Ethiopian side of the joint commission on Bulgarian-Ethiopian economic and techno-scientific cooperation. At the talks which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, satisfaction was expressed with the development of relations between Bulgaria and socialist Ethiopia and ways and forms of their further expanding and deepening were discussed. Mr (Adis Tedla) delivered to Mr Todor Zhivkov a message by Mr Mengistu Haile-Mariam, chairman of the commission on organizing a party of the working people in Ethiopia and chairman of the Provisional Military Administration Council of Socialist Ethiopia. [Text] [AU032033 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 3 Dec 81]

WOMEN CHAMPION GYMNASTS AWARDS--On 3 December at the Boyana residence, Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, awarded the members, trainers and officials of the Bulgarian women rythmic gymnastics team --world champions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov warmly greeted the award recipients and wished them new successes for the glory of Bulgarian sport. The ceremony was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev and Chudomir Aleksandrov. [Excerpts] [AU032035 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 81]

SOVIET, HUNGARIAN VISITORS--Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, has received and had a friendly talk with [name indistinct], CPSU Central Committee member and first secretary of the (?Chenginski) CPSU Oblast Committee of Kazakhstan, who is leading a delegation of a group of Soviet physicians. Georgi Atanasov also received the delegation of the Hungarian Communist Youth League led by Gjorgh Fejti, first secretary of the league's Central Committee. Georgi Danev, first secretary of the Bulgarian Komsomol, and Jeno Sebastjyen, Hungarian ambassador to Bulgaria, also attended the talks. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 13 Nov 81 AU]

UNION PROTOCOL WITH USSR--A cooperation protocol between the Bulgarian and Soviet cooperative unions was signed in Sofia today. The protocol provides for expanding trade of consumer goods and setting up directives between the cooperative organizations of the sister towns and populated centers of the two countries. The protocol was signed by Ivan Prumov, chairman of the central cooperative union executive committee, and Aleksey Smirnov, chairman of the Soviet central union of consumers' cooperative board. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Nov 81 AU]

YOUTH COOPERATION WITH ZAMBIA--Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)--A cooperation document between Dimitrov Young Communist League and the Youth League of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) of Zambia was signed here today. The two organizations expressed resolution to develop and strengthen their ties in the interests of friendship and cooperation in the interest of youth and peoples of Bulgaria and Zambia, in the interest of the common goals in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, for peace, democracy and social progress. [Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 14 Nov 81 AU]

BRAZILIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION--Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)--A Brazilian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Jiwvan Rosa, vice president of the Federal Senate of the National Congress of Brazil, arrived here today at the invitation of the Bulgarian National Assembly. The delegation was welcomed by the deputy chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, Mrs Drazha Vulcheva, people's deputies and high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 14 Nov 81 AU]

YOUTH AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARY--A cooperation agreement between the communist youth leagues of Bulgaria and Hungary for 1981-1985 has been signed in Sofia. Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, and Gjorgh Fejti, first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Youth League, attended the signing ceremony. The agreement provides for further developing cooperation between the two fraternal organizations in the sphere of ideological, organizational, political, labor and other activities. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 13 Nov 81 AU]

ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY SEMINAR--Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)--A national meeting-seminar with international participation began in Blagoevgrad today. It is mottoed "Experience and Problems in Unifying and Combining Products". In the course of two days scientific workers and specialists of Bulgaria, the GDR, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Greece will read 35 papers and communications on the economic aspects of unification and the methods for calculating the economic efficiency, unification and combining in the national economy achievements and trends for the eighth five-year period. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 13 Nov 81 AU]

CSO: 2200/30

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF CSSR TU GROWING, 'SOLIDARITY' DECRIED

Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Oct 81 p 2

[Interview with URO Secretary V. Kozik by V. Klement: "International Activity of Our Trade Unions Grows;" date and place not specified.]

[Text] Recently the Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions [SOF] was in session in Bucharest; it was attended by the Trade Unions Central Council [URO] delegation, led by SOD Deputy Chairman and URO Chairman K. Hoffmann. We asked a member of the Czechoslovak delegation, URO Secretary V. Kozik, to characterize specifically the session. He told us:

[Answer] The session mainly dealt with final preparations of the basic documents for acceptance by the 10th World Trade Union Congress in Havana in February of next year. Apart from these, some organizational questions were discussed as well as the share of individual member organizations in the political and organizational preparation of the congress.

We paid considerable attention to the preparation of the World Trade Union Conference on the Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament, which is to be held soon in December and will be a representative expression of the determination of all working people of the world to establish a permanent peace.

The approved basic document, Trade Unions and the Demands of the 1980's, was discussed and will be submitted to the 10the World Trade Union Congress. Our delegation participated in preparing this document and put forward some suggestions to increase the effectiveness of SOF efforts. Approval of this document essentially completed the subject-matter preparations for the congress.

Naturally, we have also met delegations of member organizations, primarily from socialist countries, and considered questions of our joint share in the congress' preparations and other possibilities for mutual contact, the exchange of experience and cooperation. It is necessary to say that in recent times the international activity of our trade unions is increasing. These activities concern roughly two areas: bilateral relations and the preparation of some significant international trade union actions.

In the area of cooperation with socialist community countries, consultations and contact actions are regular; we coordinate our work related to all significant problems of trade union life.

Also, we have bilateral relations with trade union centers in capitalist countries. Here we follow cooperative possibilities in those areas where our opinions agree: active participation of trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament, the improvement of living and working environment, the struggle against the influence of international monopolies and so forth. Recently we considered these problems together with representatives from West German and Austrian trade unions, the French CGT trade union center and the GWU trade union center from Malta.

The relations with developing countries have been equally successful. A cooperative agreement has been negotiated with the Afghan and Beninese trade union central offices. We provide material help to developing countries as well as education of trade union cadres in the form of seminars organized by the Central School of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement [ROH]. Recently there were seminars for trade unionists from Arab countries, including Palestine, and from Nicaragua, and we are preparing a seminar for trade unionists from Afghanistan.

We approach international trade union actions with great attention. We were one of those who initiated the idea of the World Trade Union Conference on Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament, to be held in Paris in December. We participated in the work of the initiative group sponsoring the conference and were the hosts at the organizational meeting of the preparation committee in Prague in September.

[Question] Several days ago, a meeting of a URO delegation with a delegation of the national commission for the cooperation of the resort trade unions of the Polish People's Republic [PLR] was held, at which you were present. Can you tell us something about the mutual cooperation of URO and this national commission?

[Answer] Cooperation with the national commission for the cooperation of the PLR resort trade unions, with which we share class and ideological bases and goals, develops very successfully. It was emphasized again at the meeting, held in Ostrava, that cooperation between both organizations was developing successfully even along the line of individual unions and was beginning to develop even between regions and factories. I would like to voice particular thanks from the national commission to all our trade union functionaries, who received with understanding Polish children in the ROH pioneer camps. The degree of cooperation achieved is manifold and is always being enriched in new forms.

[Question] In the context of the so-called Solidarity holding its congress, its leaders assert demagogically that they sent invitations to the congress also to the trade unions of other socialist countries and they are making a fuss about the fact that these organizations did not attend the congress. What can you say to this?

[Answer] The so-called Solidarity leaders must justify themselves before honest working people, who condemn Solidarity's divisive activity, and before progressive world public opinion. While they sent the invitation to American trade unions, the AFL-CIO, ICFTU and other similar "allied" organizations, several weeks before the rally was held, the invitation was delivered to the URO at the last moment, immediately before the commencement; this actually proves that they were not interested in having representatives of the trade union centers from socialist countries attending the congress. Apart from that, such a course of action in international trade union relations is unusual, to say the least, and its actual

essence was unveiled by the leaders themselves of the so-called Solidarity in the unprecedented and outrageous pamphlet inviting the working people from socialist countries to follow their example. This is gross interference in our trade union affairs. It underestimates the political maturity of our working people, who have their own historical experience and are convinced that their power rests in the unity of trade unions, struggling for the development of socialist society. In actuality, as it was rightly said, the pamphlet is nothing other than an attempt to export counterrevolution

It follows from the facts mentioned above, considered along with the explicit anti-socialist character of the congress and the documents adopted there, that it is absolutely inacceptable for us to attend a congress of an organization with reactionary goals. What would our members say if we attended a congress of an organization whose leadership systematically rejects constructive programs and proves in its daily activity that its program is one of destruction and destabilization of socialist social establishment, which deeply damages the Polish working poople's interests and socialist achievements. A considerable number of the Polish working people--not only in the resort trade unions--is becoming more and more strongly aware of this reality and sees that the basic way out of the crisis is in the elimination of accumulated shortcomings and in the consolidation of socialist values. We fully sympathize with these forces; they have our support and we are developing fruitful cooperation with them.

9814
CSO: 2400/39

DIFFERENT FORMS OF ECONOMIC CRIME DISCUSSED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 34, 26 Aug 81 p 4

[Interview with JUDr Karel Pesta, senior prosecutor of the Office of CSSR General Prosecutor, by Oldrich Bilovsky; Date and place not given: "Protection of Socialist Property"]

> [Text] As emphasized by the 16th CPCZ Congress, to promote respect for law and laws, and to strengthen citizens' socialist consciousness is among the foremost duties of mass organizations, school, family as well as of the socialist state. Practically, this means winning over a people for attaining the goals of building a developed socialist society, but also securing their active participation in the protection of everything created by their labor. These are pressing problems. The TRIBUNA interviews with a specialist in penal protection of the socialist economy, JUDr Karel Pesta, senior member of the office of CSSR General Prosecutor, aim at clarification of the problems involved.

[Question] The Czechoslovak penal code distinguishes several groups of economic crime according to the object of legal protection. To put it briefly, the laws punish in the first place criminal acts involving action against the prinicples of the socialist economic system, attacks on economic discipline and on property in socialist ownership. What do we mean by the term "attacks on the socialist economic system"?

[Answer] It is particularly speculation which falls into this category. It is illicit business activity which is known to the members of older generations under the name of "profiteering." The perpetrator is motivated by the idea of making profit which the offender achieves by exploiting momentary shortages on the market and so on. Speculators manage very skillfully to determine even the temporary shortages in supply to the retail trade outlets and to sell virtually everything--from spare parts for cars, to works of art, all the way down to Sparta cigarettes.

[Question] It may be interesting in this context to compare what people were speculating in before and what they are speculating in now.

[Answer] Definitely. While before, say from the beginning of the 1960's, people speculated almost exclusively in indispensable goods--food, textiles, household

appliances--speculations gradually shifted to nonessential goods, that is, to the items which were not essential for maintaining the basic standard of living, but were desirable for its improvement. Thus in the 1960's, for example, it was various fashionable merchandise, cars and also television receivers for a number of years. At the present time, it is primarily digital watches, various foreign-made textile goods of latest fashion. The situation in regard to cars can be regarded as typical: at the present time, when the market is adequately supplied with them specualtion in them virtually ceased. Nevertheless, speculation in spare parts and components continues.

[Question] What is the situation in regard to illicit business ventures?

[Answer] This is another group of attacks on economic discipline. It includes criminal acts and corresponding misdemeanors--illicit business ventures and misuse of socialist enterprise. Among them are so called "fusky" [working for oneself on company time] and "lemouchy" [moonlighting]. These entrepreneurs, either on their own account or within their employment at the socialist enterprise, carry out various repairs, maintenance or similar acitivity.

[Question] Except--many people agree in this respect--that these entrepreneurs actually provde services where community and cooperative enterprises are not able to meet the demand. Moreover, these people work fast and usually also conscientiously. What is your opinion on that?

[Answer] In the first place, it cannot be denied that these people are more flexible and faster than socialist organizations in many instances. I would like to point out, however, that the citizens usually have in mind citizens' assistance which is sometimes called also neighborly assistance. This is quite in order. Our laws, and above all the Civil Code, allow citizens to engage in certain activities, including work, which represent assistance to someone else. Of course--and this is the condition--rendering such assistance must be in accordance with the rules of socialist coexistence. According to the Civil Code, a citizen who helps is in fact entitled to the reimbursement of cost incurred and also to remuneration. This remuneration must, of course, correspond to the nature of assistance. It must be taken into account whether the result was achieved through the personal endeavor of the citizen who helped. In other words, offering remuneration per se need not be in conflict with the rules of socialist coexistence. There is a difference, however, between somebody repairing a neighbor's water pipes or roof at the latter's request and taking remuneration for it, and somebody providing these services systematically as a trade and often taking advantage of emergencies of citizens who urgently need, for example, to have their water or gas supply system fixed and so on.

[Question] How can a citizen distinguish between illicit business venture and neighborly assistance?

[Answer] From what I have said so far it is evident--and everyday practice confirms it--that people themselves without legal help find out when such assistance assumes the nature of a trade which exploits particularly the elderly. I would like, however, to touch upon another problem. It is frequently pointed out that moonlighters charge low prices. Yes, sometimes their prices are low. But it is necessary to see why it is so. After all, these "entrepreneurs" do not pay any taxes and often they

do not pay even for the material which they either steal or the customer must acquire himself. Moreover, they use the machinery and equipment of socialist organizations, do not bear any business risks or other costs. Above all, however, they do not offer a guaranty for their work in the scope and during the period stipulated by law for the socialists organizations.

[Question] In connection with illicit business enterprise, there is talk about considerable amounts of unjustified profit. What is the reality?

[Answer] Unfortunately it is true. At the present time, for example, we are prosecuting a criminal case in which a gypsy with meager education was the organizer of a very extensive illicit business enterprise extending over the entire territory of Czechoslovakia. More than 50 persons are being prosecuted, a number of prominent economic workers of socialist organizations among them. As to the profit: the turnover of this group exceeded Kcs 150 million in cash. This is a turnover equivalent to production of a medium-sized national enterprise.

[Question] To a layman it appears almost impossible. How is it done?

[Answer] I will give you an example for better illustration. The purchasing organization (usually a national enterprise or a budgetary organization) needs something to be repaired, built or manufactured. It has enough funds on some accounts, but wants to save on some items which are particularly closely watched. The expenditures on them serve as an important criterion for determining profit, productivity and so on. Most frequently they try to "increase productivity" in the area of wages. A common denominator usually is the effort to avoid the pressure of economic stimuli and particularly those described in the "Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy." The supplier, usually a cooperative or economic department of the mass organization, works as a partner. It has at its disposal the rubber stamp, invoices and an account in the bank or savings bank. Moreover--and this is an indispensable prerequisite--it must be an organization with socialist morale undermined to such an extent that it is willing to gain unearned income amounting frequently to many thousand Kcs. Its task lies in accepting orders for work which it cannot perform because it does not possess either the necessary labor force or material or even the right to engage in subsidiary production of this nature and in this scope. All this, however, would still not be enough. The existence of these two organizations and above all the willingness to disrupt the socialist economic system makes it possible for the illicit entrepreneur to appear on the scene. It is he who organizes the disruption of socialist legality.

[Question] How does he do it?

[Answer] It is rather simple. It is only a question of organizational capabilities, sufficient funds and the possibility of dealing in the labor force. He acts as a manager. He organizes, speculates and contrives. He usually hires workers either among the employees of the purchasing organization or makes use of the small group of people who avoid regular employment. These managers usually do not need any other qualification. As a rule they only have basic education and sometimes they lack even that. Outwardly, however, they claim to have academic degrees and act as representatives of economic organizations. They ride in luxury cars, reserve suites for their stay in hotels and it is no exception that they are

accompanied by various "experts," and so on. Of course--and this is decisive--the dangerous nature of these new attacks on the socialist economic system is considerable. It is therefore necessary to examine the causes, some accompanying phenomena, to talk about them and to create a favorable climate for combating them.

[Question] Can you give us a concrete example?

[Answer] Recently the Office of the CSSR General Prosecutor started court proceedings against an entrepreneur who specialized in roof repairs. One of his criminal acts had the following course. One institution of higher learning in Prague had to have its roof repaired. It had the necessary permit and also the necessary funds for financing the project. It contacted various socialist organizations and inquired, whether they had free production capacity, At this point--at the right moment--the accused offered his services by phone. He pretended to be an engineer and the authorized representative of socialist organizations. Through his mediation, the university department ordered work to be performed by organizations actually existing at the other end of the republic. However, these organizations were not legally allowed to do this work: they had neither the necessary labor force nor the material. And in most instances they have not even carried it out. Their only "merit" was that they legalized the action of the intermediary--the manager. They simply made charges for work and collected hundreds of thousands of Kcs. The accused together with "his" five employees repaired the roofs. The total bill for this job exceeded Kcs 500,000 and was paid by the university department. From this amount--after deducting the cost of the material which was obtained stealthily--the supply organizations (essentially only for loaning the rubber stamp to the accused) received almost Kcs 160,000. The accused and "his" employees earned almost Kcs 200,000 in wages for several dozens days of work. Even this was not enough for them. They overcharged. The quality of work was low, the material billed did not correspond to its price.

[Question] You have mentioned that many of these intermediaries and managers make use of the employees of the purchasing organizations. How is the "transaction" carried out in such a case?

[Answer] Again, it will perhaps be best to give an example for better illustration. A certain national enterprise needed to manufacture a model of a piece of machinery. I will omit the motives (they are always essentially the same: they aim at improving the specified indicators, try to alleviate the pressure of economic stimuli and so on). It so happened that the model was made by the enterprise employees from the material owned by the enterprise and on its means of production. The invoice, however, was sent by the mass organization which hired the employees of the national enterprise for a temporary period and paid them like members of the labor brigade. It is not necessary to emphasize that the enterprise paid for this a considerable amount (it was substantially higher than what would have been spent on the production of the model itself) and part of it was paid to the mass organization, the illicit entrepreneur. There was a manager in this case, too. The blue-collar workers also got their share because they as the employees of the mass organization earned much more than they would have earned if the action had taken place within the socialist economic system.

[Question] Where does the social danger of such action lie?

[Answer] Such activity seriously undermines the socialist morale of workers: people receive much higher wages than specified by the wage scale for the same work. Frequently for these private projects material is used which was earmarked for some other purpose where it is then missing. It is obvious that trade carried on by illicit entrepreneurs is accompanied by pilfering or illegitimate use of things in socialist ownership of the organizations either employing the perpetrator or those making use of his services. I have in mind primarily trucks, tractors, mobile cranes, instruments, material and so on. In a similar vein, we can speak of other attacks on the eoncomic system which are associated with crimes against economic discipline, bribery, pilfering of property in the socialist ownership, abuse of jurisdiction by the public figures and so on. In this context, however, it is necessary to understand that an increasing importance is assumed by the forms which no longer involve the action of the private entrepreneur who threatens the economic system from the outside, but the effort of responsible officials of socialist organizations to make use of the private capitalist ambition of individuals in order to circumvent the economic rules or incentives or to make them commit other frauds motivated by lack of economic discipline. An accompanying phenomenon is also the fact that mass organizations or cooperatives are frequently misused for these new forms of attack on the socialist economic system. They enrich themselves illegally and moreover fail to discharge their social mission. It is perhaps not necessary to point out that this criminal activity is in gross conflict with the principles of life in socialist society and seriously undermines the economy, relations among people and other relationships.

In this connection, I would like to mention a case which we are now investigating together with the CSR Committee of People's Control. In this case, the respective socialist organization managed without illicit entrepreneurs, but hired the necessary people directly. It so happened that for work which was to be part of its operations it paid almost Kcs 131 million to various private persons over a few years. Yet, it did not record these payments as payments to private persons. There were at least 10,000 names on the payroll with the record of payments to persons who were not employed by the enterprise or did not have permanent employment at all. Their incomes were enormous--as much as Kcs 200,000 per year. Moreover, the contracts with these persons lacked the basic legal requisites--the description of what actually should be done, the deadline within which the work was to be completed and even the certification that the work was done. This and other cases indicate that it would be undialectical to assume that only the positive features of our economy develop and are becoming more dynamic. Part of my profession is also the duty to at least try to foresee how the forms of attacks on the socialist economy will develop in the future and what effective protective measures should be taken against the offenders.

[Question] What can effectively be done against these attacks?

[Answer] In the first place, it is necessary that the actions of the society be more comprehensive and coordinated. It still happens that the organs active in the criminal proceedings, the state fiscal organs, control and other organs which defend the interests of the entire society frequently encounter particular interests. It is by no means an exception that the representatives of ministries or of local interests defend the illicit entrepreneurs and frequently even regard them as helpers in plan fulfillment. On the other hand, the external control and financial organs play a very positive role. The internal control organs and

managerial personnel must follow the same course. After all, the statutes and the Labor Code stipulate the right and the duty to protect the socialist economic system and social relations in general. It is imperative that they intervene directly, through their collectives and organizations, or indirectly, by warning the appropriate organs. From my own practice I can confirm that in those instances when this was done--and there were by no means few cases--considerable damage was averted. After all, crimes against the economic system have never been nor are committed clandestinely. On the contrary, it is usually a so-called open secret, something that people know about. But this is not enough. It is necessary to speak and act against irregularities and attacks on the socialist economy everywhere and always. This requirement was also formulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress: "The living standard of every worker should correspond to his contribution to the development of the society. It is no secret that there are people who live at the expense of the society, who get their wages not for work performed, but simply for the fact that they go to their place of work. It is necessary to vigorously fight against all forms of parasitism and speculation."

10501
CSO: 2400/56

CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON 'SOCIALIST CULTURE' FOR ARMED FORCES

Two-Day Conference Opens

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[ND report from Berlin: "Cultural Conference of the GDR's National People's Army (NVA) and Border Troops Opens: Talk by Col Gen Heinz Kessler—Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann: Growing Demands on Political-Ideological Work—Hosted at the Academy of Arts"]

[Text] A two-day cultural conference of the GDR's National People's Army (NVA) and Border Troops opened on Thursday (24 September 1981) at the NVA Wilhelm Pieck Military-Political University in Berlin. It is being held under the slogan of "With Socialist Culture and Art for High Combat Readiness." Participating in it are commanders, staff and political workers of all staff levels; party, FDJ [Free German Youth] and union officials; soldiers and civilian employees. They are discussing how they, true to the decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress and the humanistic character of the socialist armed forces, are protecting the fatherland, preserving its cultural values and achievements and making use of them to mold the character of the soldier.

Taking part in the cultural conference are Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Minister for National Defense and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED, and his deputies. Warmly welcomed were the SED central committee members Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, Minister for Culture; Ursula Ragwitz, head of the Department of Culture of the SED central committee; and Colonel General Herbert Scheibe, head of the Department of Security Matters; as well as Dr. Helmut Baierl, vice-president of the GDR Academy of Arts. Other guests were Dr. Karl Heinz Schulmeister, first league secretary of the GDR Cultural League and chairman of the People's Chamber Committee for Culture, and Harmut Koenig, secretary of the FDJ Central Council. A warm soldier's welcome was given to Army General Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Nations in the NVA.

In his report, Colonel General Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of defense and chief of the NVA Political Directorate, spoke about the political-ideological activity in the armed forces and the role of spiritual-cultural work in socialist military character education. Amidst the applause of the participants, he thanked the party and state leaders for the continuous concern as well for the spiritual-cultural interests of the armed forces and described the safeguarding of peace and the socialist achievements as a cultural act of the first order.

Among other things, in his speech, Army General Heinz Hoffmann spoke about the growing demands on political-ideological work and, in this connection, stressed the need for overall further improvement in the spiritual-cultural prerequisites for raising performance.

In the stimulating discussion, the conference participants revealed their experiences of organizing spiritual-cultural activity in everyday life in the armed forces.

In the evening, the conference participants were guests at the Academy of Arts. Konrad Wolf, academy president, welcomed the guests that included deputy ministers for national defense Colonel General Heinz Kessler, Colonel General Wolfgang Reinhold, Lieutenant General Klaus-Dieter Baumgarten and Colonel General Werner Fleissner as well as Colonel General Herbert Scheibe. Konrad Wolf paid tribute to the firm alliance between GDR artists and soldiers who together exert their best for peace, human dignity and humanity. After an artistic program, the conference participants had the opportunity to exchange thoughts with academy members in 13 panels.

Those talking with the NVA and Border Troop members were Alexander Abusch, Helmut Baierl, Gerhard Bondzin, Heiner Carow, Guenther Deicke, Ludwig Engelhardt, Wieland Foerster, Wolfgang Heinz, Walter Heynowski, Gerhard Kettner, Werner Klemke, Wolfgang Kohlhaase, Gisela May, Arno Mohr, Erik Neutsch, Dieter Noll, Wolfgang Pintzka, Guenther Ruecker, Helmut Sakowski, Gerhard Scheumann, Maxim Vallentin, Robert Weimann, Manfred Wekwerth, Joachim Werzlau, Klaus Wittkugel, Benito Wogatzki, Walter Womacka, Juergen von Woyski and Dieter Zechlin.

At the close of the meeting, Colonel General Kessler thanked the members of the academy and its president for the joint social evening.

NVA Political Chief: Culture, Combat Readiness

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by ND reporters: "From the Cultural Conference of the GDR's National People's Army (NVA) and Border Troops: Socialist Culture Is Part of Military Life--Col Gen Heinz Kessler: Our Weapons for Peace Include Also the Arts"]

[Text] "There is deep significance to the fact that we have gathered together for the Cultural Conference of the GDR's National People's Army (NVA) and Border Troops in the Military-Political University that bears the name of the first president of our workers' and peasants' state, 'Wilhelm Pieck'," Heinz Kessler said. "The great leader of the workers placed exceptionally high value on the contribution of culture and art to an upbringing that moderates classes and to military training and linked it as closely as possible to political work."

'The mission of our party organization, . . . must be to develop a broad, youthful cultural life. Only a warrior that is innerly happy, that sings and enjoys his life will exert his whole strength to defend his joyful, happy life in a graver hour. Those people, however, who are innerly grumpy, dissatisfied with themselves and their whole life have no courage to defend their own life and the life of their people.'

"This ardent call by Wilhelm Pieck, addressed to members of the officers school in Kamenz at the time, is still today expressing our heartfelt thoughts."

Members of Armed Forces Have Understood the Mission

"In striving to put into effect the decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress and the 12th Conference of Delegates of the SED Party Organization in the GDR NVA and Border Troops, as well as of the 11th Parliament of the FDJ and our 11th FDJ Conference of Delegates, the members of the armed forces, border troops and civilian employees are making great efforts and providing for the greatest possible increase in combat strength and readiness."

By their deeds, said Colonel General Kessler, the members of the armed forces and border troops are proving every day that they have properly understood the class mission of the 10th party congress. Together with the workers, they are contributing to the all-round strengthening of our republic and to increasing its defensive might. At the important Crimean meeting this year between the general secretaries of the CPSU and the SED, comrade Leonid Brezhnev and comrade Erich Honecker affirmed that consolidation and preservation of world peace is of paramount importance today. A great, comprehensive peace program for the eighties was presented to the people on earth by the 26th CPSU Congress. At the 10th SED Party Congress, we too made this program completely a cause of our own. At the side of its allies, together with all responsible political and social forces, the USSR and the GDR are doing everything to further strengthen the indestructible fraternal bond of the socialist community of states as the reliable bulwark of peace and social progress in the world.

"That is the main way of thwarting the adventurist confrontation policy and the imperialist arms race kindled by NATO," the speaker said. With their dangerous, aggressive policy, the reactionary circles of imperialism, headed by the Reagan administration, are jeopardizing everything that mankind has created in the way of cultural values over the millenniums.

Heritage and Traditions Mold the Soldier's Ethos Too

A consequence of the nature of socialist armed forces and their humanistic mission is that the members of the armed forces and border troops are always striving for ever deeper knowledge of the cultural heritage, art and literature of the present and past, as well as the culture of the fraternal nations. Getting involved with art and literature, singing and fellowship, with creative folk art activity is part of the everyday life of a soldier.

In the struggle of our times, the necessity arises of thoroughly mastering and successfully employing both the art of weaponry and the weaponry of art for the cause of peace and socialism.

Efforts full of sacrifice for the military protection of socialism and high culture are prerequisites for each other; therein lies one of the social advantages of socialism.

In his further remarks, Colonel General Heinz Kessler dealt with the cultivation of heritage and traditions within the National People's Army.

Everything that has been handed down in the way of human genius and valuable insights has been used to form communist ideals, value concepts and true military qualities. Special attention is paid to the revolutionary traditions of the working class and the working people from their beginnings to the most recent history of the GDR and its armed forces.

Culture and art are a strong motive force of military thought and affairs for the realization of the class mission. Ever since their establishment, the GDR NVA and Border Troops have been very closely associated with culture in the broadest sense and with literature and the arts. Among the writers, musicians and artists and creative people in the fine arts, film and theater who were there too at the inception of our armed forces are Erich Weinert, Friedrich Wolf, Kurt Barthel, Willy Bredel, Ludwig Renn, Otto Nagel, Lea Grundig, Hanns Eisler, Paul Dessau and Ernst Busch. They taught the soldiers of solcialism that art and culture are an effective weapon in the struggle to carry out the historic mission of the working class. They are, however, also an indispensable means of inspiring the people of the GDR and its arms bearers for the building of socialism and its reliable military protection.

Continuing these abundant traditions today, the close comradely cooperation of troop units, staffs and agencies with artists and people engaged in culture is part of everyday military life. This is a realization of a part of the active alliance policy of the party of the working class.

Colonel General Kessler then dealt with cultural and political work as a main direction of ideological activity of the party in the GDR NVA and Border Troops. In the eighties, it is being shaped by the higher requirements on the cultural level of communists, military superiors and all members of the armed forces and border troops. Objectively growing is the role of man, of class-conscious, disciplined soldiers, noncommissioned officers, warrant officers and officers who act creatively and with thought. "The extent of effectiveness of combat qualities on the battlefield depends on their military skill, their political-moral and psychical hardening, even their whole personality. The incomparably higher standard of the cultural level of the members of the armed forces and border troops stems from this revolutionary course, and the socialist culture of military life is becoming more and more the productive force, intellectual weapon and the source of confidence in victory. There is no combat readiness as we understand it without culture and art."

Proving Ground in Youth Organization

In this connection, the speaker went into the responsible work of the company and regimental clubs as well as the NVA houses and stressed the growing responsibility of commanders, political officers and all superiors. Club work is also a great proving ground for the FDJ organizations. The "FDJ-task 10th party congress" offers many possibilities for rousing the cultural initiatives of the young members of the armed forces and border troops, taking up their interests and needs and giving their leisure time sense and direction. Great importance is attached to the cultural-aesthetic education and training of young military cadres.

Colonel General Kessler referred to the leading role of party organizations in increasing combat readiness. This also applies fully to higher culture in

everyday military life. "Applicable to a communist in the GDR NVA and Border Troops is the maxim that he always and everywhere supports high culture in personal and military activity, cultivates everything creative, encourages a frank exchange of ideas on literature and art and actively participates himself in intellectual and cultural activity." The more success in including socialist culture even more fimrly in the activity of the basic organizations, the higher will be the combat strength of the basic organizations and their influence and ideological effectiveness.

Defense Minister: Intellectual-Cultural Needs

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by ND reporters: "From the Culture Conference of the GDR's National People's Army (NVA) and Border Troops: Give Valuable Impulses Toward a Soldierly Existence: Duty, Optimism, Zest--Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Minister for National Defense, Spoke During Discussion"]

[Text] In his contribution to the discussion, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Minister for National Defense, stressed that socialist culture in everyday military life fulfills the humanistic mission of the armed forces. The socialist relations of class comrades, comradeship and the faith of members of the armed forces in each other have expressed themselves in that. It has involved all aspects of daily service events, combat duty, training and leisure time. "With that lies in all that we do to ensure high combat strength and readiness, always a new challenge and a growing demand on our political and ideological activity and on intellectual and cultural work in the GDR NVA and Border Troops."

A high state of organization of military life, conscious discipline, creative initiative and unconditional obedience are definitely not just elementary requirements of purposeful preparation for armed conflict. At the same time, a definite cultural level also expresses itself in them. The culture of a soldier's life in a socialist army is an important prerequisite for him to be able to feel well, for him to attack the fulfillment of his duties full of elan, and for him to be able to experience the months of his life as a soldier with optimism and zest.

Good Conditions for Organization of Leisure Time

Lenin saw in interpersonal relations, in which man is the measure of all things, in which respect and care for the dignity of man is the supreme precept, the highest purpose and most powerful expression of socialist culture, Army General Hoffmann explained. He reminded that whether a lively, intellectual atmosphere and a life full of culture prevails in the units, formations and staffs depends primarily on the members of the armed forces and border troops themselves.

The clubs down to company level have been equipped with modern radio, television and playback equipment. Each unit has a considerable collection of books, records and sports equipment. It is necessary to make even more meaningful use of these resources in future for the intellectual and cultural education of the members of the armed services and border troops.

Literature and art, as is well known, have an indirect effect on the practical actions of men. Minister Hoffmann encouraged arousing and developing new intellectual and cultural needs and interests that are directly related to the socialist military manner and give the members of the armed forces encouragement and impetus for their military duties in peace as in war. There is enough literature in which the soldier gets a word in, the warrior in the trench, at a howitzer, in a tank or an aircraft. Here situations where worth was proved have become relivable, whether on the training ground or in combat. It is essential to make even more extensive use of these valuable books.

Literature Conveys Important Experiences

Army General Hoffman referred in this connection to such important books as Bek's "Volokolamsk Highway," Chaykovskiy's "The Blockade" and Bondarev's "Hot Snow." In these works by Soviet brothers in class and arms, important questions of military discipline, unconditional obedience, fulfillment of duty and willingness to make sacrifices have been described and answered that have encouraged lively discussions both then and now. This also applies to Walter Flegel's books, "Regiment Commander," and "There Is No No-Man's-Land."

"When I stand up for the esthetic military literature here, that in no way means that we neglect the other resources of art and literature. I still know quite well, for instance, as a young man, how a whole new world was opened up and how much encouragement and intelelctual impetus I got as I became acquainted with the classics of world literature while studying at the International Lenin School," he said.

High Moral and Ethical Standards of Value

"Our Soviet friends speak of a 'kulturnyy chelovek' [cultured person] and mean by that a person who has been brought up and trained well, who is friendly and disciplined, who works conscientiously, cares for his body and mind and keeps healthy, who respects the dignity of man--his own and that of others--and who is guided in his thinking, will and actions by high ethical and moral standards of value."

The uniting and lifting quality of each true art and its capability of arousing, caring for and developing the human traits in man and in his personal relations should always be kept in mind and considered by members of the armed forces and border troops when they are talking about culture and art, so that their lives are enhanced and enriched by it.

8545
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TACTICAL TRAINING ACTIVITIES HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 41, 1981 (signed to press 5 Oct 81) p 11

[Article by Maj Klaus Koenig: "Severely Tested, Well Endured: Put to the Test after a Quarter of a Year"]

[Text[The 6th Company's armored personnel carriers have formed a column of vehicles in a forest lane. First Lt Siegfried Becker, deputy company commander for political work, sits in the rear of the lead vehicle. In his hands he holds the log book filled with observations, thoughts and conclusions about the past days and nights. Finally he thinks about the company firing practice, which was demanding on everyone, and in which the company reached good results. But he had laid the groundwork for that. His political work plan in the workbook is proof for that.

Knowing what the Subordinates are thinking

On 2 pages A-5, First Lt Becker has noted clearly and in great detail where he wants to direct his efforts before, during and after the company's tactical exercises--his theme for the political work during the high point of the training, confirmed by the company commander.

First Lt Becker does not like formal plans. Every plan was in concrete relations to young commanders, specialists, motorized infantrymen . If he wants to be their political leader--this is his motto--he must know what and how they think, he must relate to their moods, opinions and motives, to avoid being abstract and unrelated to their thinking, feeling and acting. The company is to pass the test in the field, be prepared for anything. This is a law of survival in our time, since the NATO well armed, continuously dallies with aggression.

Passing this test is to First Lt Becker almost like passing a test of his knowledge and ability, which he has gained in a 10-month course as deputy political officer. For that reason, he has hardly rested since he first joined the company in June. In many conversations and meetings he had informal friendly exchanges with his comrades and subordinates, in order to get to know their thoughts, moods and motives. His comrades recall that he was restless before this exercise. He could be found almost anywhere, spoke of his thoughts, inquired about the thoughts of others, during discussions with trainers, in meetings, personal conversations, in the park, field, the barracks. He called the company's 17 communists together, explained to them how much would depend on their setting an example, discussed with the party leadership tasks which the individual comrades were to demand. He recommended to the Free

German Youth leaders to farm out concrete tasks. Twenty specific assignments were given, to agitate, to spready enthusiasm in personal conversations, to inspire proper military conduct, e.g., take care of camouflaging.

First Lt Becker contributed his experiences when the platoon and squad leaders discussed how they might begin competition between the platoons during the exericses, and during a meeting of specialists with the gunners, he repeatedly told them why it is necessary to hit with the first round. With the political agitators he discussed the most effective argument, and with the editors of the military paper how they could set the mood for the exercise. The first lieutenant had an entire program to assure success with proven forms and methods of effective political-ideological work. A success, for which a good rating had been planned, and which had to be prepared for.

If Only One of them were To Hesitate in the Last Minute

Whoever observed First Lt Becker in the company's assembly area saw a restless man. A restless man about to find an efficient working style. He was nowhere for long. Whether it was during briefings, decision making at the side of the company commander, during inspection going from squad to squad, his thoughts always revolved around one goal: How he could have the most effective influence. Here he gave advice on how to improve camouflage, and there a tip on how to build ditches more efficiently. In between there were discussions with the company commander on the organization of the political work.

"19.30 h. Voice of the GDR." The voice of a radioannouncer came from the lead vehicle. In a semicircle, squatting on the ground of the forest, the political agitators gathered around First Lt Becker. Pads on their knees, pencils in hand, they jotted down the most important news as basis for discussion for the conversation hour among the agitators which followed immediately, and for discussions in the squads After that the first lieutenant explained the tactical situation to them. He said that this is necessary so that the comrades understand why, in a certain situation, they must act in a certain way and no other way. The deputy named soldiers and collectives who had fulfilled their missions in an exemplary fashion and he pointed out what the agitators should pay attention to during the next phase of the exercise. Even when he was a platoon leader he had already made the experience: The better the agitators are informed, the more effective they can move the collectives to giving their best.

One hour later, First Lt Becker was already engaged in another round of discussions. Young soldiers had to throw their first hand grenades. Calmly he explained to them once more how to handle the grenade. He referred to safety regulations and gave the soldiers courage, he encouraged them to use what they had learned during training for the success of the attack.

First Lt Becker knows what goes on in the heads of young soldiers, when they are supposed to throw their first hand grenade. Feelings of fear make them unsure of themselves, and it would not be the first time if one of them were to hesitate in the last second. Important points might be lacking at the end for the company to get the good rating. And what if one were to hesitate in combat? This thought is not that farfetched when one considers how intensively imperialism is increasing its aggression readiness. To be well prepared, just in case, for that this company also practices throwing the hand grenade. For that they try to be no worse than "good."

To Make a Decision--How Difficult it is

"Charge!" The company commander's order forced the motorized infantrymen from their positions. In file they advance for the attack, covered by the weapons from the APC's and tanks. Hours earlier First Lt Becker had still thought: He had done all that could be done in political work? What counted now was the personal example. But what was he to observe during the firing? NCO Jakobi, a squad leader nearing the end of his first year in service? He was still inexperienced and gave up quickly. Or should he, as deputy political officer, choose his place at the side of Lt Lauenstein? His platoon had to carry out independently a difficult mission--to surround and destroy an "enemy" strongpoint. Independently, because the platoon was operating in a depression which could not be observed by the company commander. And important targets could be expected there with certainty.

How was he to decide?

First Lt Becker discussed it with the company commander. They agreed that NCO Jakobi and his squad would remain in view of the company commander.

But Lt Lauenstein and his platoon formed the point of main effort. This would be the right spot for the deputy political officer. First Lt Becker had read much about the effectiveness of Soviet political officers in the Great Patriotic War. They could always be found in the hot spots in combat. And how often they had swept the soldiers along by their example, and thus assured success. Why then, should he act differently now?

"Assault...!" After this command, First Lt Becker charged forward at the right flank at the side of the platoon leader. He observed how the lieutenant directed the fire. He supported him in pointing out targets. He saw to it that the chain of men did not get severed from the APC's and he helped in quickly regrouping the platoon when one APC broke down. So they advanced. In this way they surrounded the "enemy" and finally fulfilled a decisive combat mission of their company....

The APC's have now formed a column of vehicles in a forest lane. First Lt Becker, deputy political officer, sits in the rear of the lead vehicle. Line after line fills his notebook. Observations from the past hours of trial--evaluations, examples. Among them first conclusions, to further increase the effectiveness of political work: complete fulfillment of party missions, critical analysis of achievements during a company meeting, friendly consideration to the platoon and squad leaders, helpful sponsorships over those less effective....

9328
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NEW TORPEDO PATROL BOATS DESCRIBED

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in german No 9, Sep 81 p 93

[Text] The SHERSHEN (hornets) torpedo patrol boats built in Soviet shipyards have been supplied to the navy since 1968/69. The 35.2 m long and 7.7 m wide boats have a maximum water displacement of 18+ tons with a draught of 1.5 m. They are equipped with three diesel engines supplying a total of 8,830 kW (12,000 hp) and reach a maximum speed of 44 knots (81.4 km/h). They are armed with four torpedo tubes and two radar-guided 30 mm twin guns for engaging aerial and surface targets. The four tubes for the Soviet 53.3 cm torpedo--two each backboards and starboards--are firmly mounted and slanted towards the front. The 30 mm twin artillery is housed in turrets, one on the front deck and one aft. The POT DRUM (NATO code) radar, working on one band, which is installed on the grid, serves for tracking targets; the DRUM TILT (NATO code) radar mounted on a platform behind the mast guides the fire of the twin guns. The SHERSHEN boats carry depth charges to fulfill their secondary role engaging submarines. External characteristics of this class are the noticeably rounded outer edges of the center and rear decks, as well as the superstructure. At present, the GDR has 18 SHERSHEN torpedo patrol boats, together with the OSA (wasp) missile torpedo patrol boats--also of Soviet construction--and the small LIBELLE class, built in the GDR and suitable for deployment in coastal waters, they form the so-called "attack forces" of the NVA navy. These forces are divided into torpedo patrol boat brigades within the sixth flotilla (headquartered at Dranske-Bug on Ruegen Island). Missile and torpedo patrol boat packs are usually deployed together under joint leadership. The missile torpedo patrol boats are to first divert and attack the enemy from a large distance by launching missiles, and, under their cover, the torpedo patrol boats are to annihilate the enemy with surprise torpedo attacks.

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ENGINEER UNIT COMMANDERS' DUTIES, TRAINING

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in german No 9, Sep 81 p 93

[Text] According to NVA terminology, the engineers are special troops within the ground forces, who have at their disposal varied equipment and technology with which they are able to solve missions at any time of the year or day, in any kind of terrain, under all weather conditions, missions such as breaking paths into enemy barriers, assuring that obstacles are overcome, or making the terrain suitable.

The commander bears sole responsibility for the political-ideological education, political schooling and combat training of his men. He must guarantee the combat readiness of the engineering technology, of the armament and of his engineers. He is career officer with a minimum of a 25-year commitment. In addition to the customary prerequisites, such as possibly socio-political activities, applicants for this career should already possess basic military and political knowledge, premilitary training and, if possible, career training in the Society for Sport and Technology as military drivers or divers of the NVA.

Training at the Ernst Thaelmann officer academy in Loebau lasts 3 years and includes, in addition to the obligatory social sciences, military, mathematics, natural sciences, foreign languages and physical education, special training in subjects such as tactics, combat engineering safety, engineering technology, construction of positions, building barriers, bridges, crossovers, the fundamentals of underground workings and technologies. Two practical stints in the field are part of the course.

The graduate is promoted to lieutenant and his first commission will be as platoon leader of an engineering reconnaissance platoon, of an engineering platoon, a technical platoon or a road or fortification building platoon.

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NAVAL VESSEL NAME, NUMBER DESIGNATIONS EXAMINED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 24 No 10, Oct 81 pp 584-585

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "Ship Names and Ship Identifications of the GDR People's Navy; Names of Prominent State Functionaries Reserved for Future Ships?"]

> [Text] Within the past few years, among the GDR's People's Navy's warships--representing a new, second generation of warships--a few names have occasionally appeared, the meaning of which seems to be unclear. What, for example, is the meaning of the name SUEDPERD? Does it represent a name for a special breed of horses? Or is the term derived from the fields of geography or astronomy? And what is the meaning of the number designations of warships, which are designated by NATO as pennant numbers and, translated into German, as "PT numbers?" The following article is to shed some light on the apparent mystery.

The Names of Ships

Until now, ships and boats of the GDT's People's Navy were named after persons of recent history, after cities, geographic locations of the GDR, or after animals, astronomical terms or related areas.

The persons the ships were named after were of course individuals whose political acitivities were in harmony with the political goals of the communist movement, or those who resisted other forms of government in the West. The first frigates were named after the founders of the communist movement and those who forged its path: Karl Marx, Friedrich Engles, Karl Liebknecht and Ernst Thaelmann. Rosa Luxemburg appears to be missing here--but her name had been given to a ship earlier, when the navy was still called "sea police," and it was probably to be given to the 5th frigate of the RIGA class delivered by the Soviet Union, which had to be eliminated due to a fault in operation.

Torpedo patrol boats and missile assault boats--in the GDR often called "assault forces" at sea--have also been named after such persons; ranging from the leaders of resistance movements in the German fleet at the end of the first world war (Albin Koebis and Max Reichpietsch), members of the "Red Band" espionage group (like Adam Kuckhoff and Arvid Harnack), to high-ranking agents in the service of the Soviet NKWD, like Richard Sorge, but also--apparently in order to document political unity--

to politicians of different orientation and to victims of national socialism such as Rudolf Breitscheid. Small landing craft were given the names of crew members of a warship of the former German navy who, in the inferno on the Eastern front and during a rescue mission for hundreds of thousands of refugees had begun a mutiny, deserted, were court martialed and sentenced to death.

Wilhelm Pieck, the GDR's first president, is the only government representative to lend his name. The names of other prominent functionaries, such as Walter Ulbricht and Otto Grothewohl, have so far not been given to any ship. But the names of known German scientists and pioneers in the field of technology, such as Carl Friedrich Gauss, Otto von Guericke, and even Hugo Eckener, are represented.

Ships given geographical names of the GDR are usually named after cities and towns, and rarely after rivers, islands, capes and regions. Names used were not only those of major cities such as Leipzig, Halle, Rostock, Magdeburg, but medium-sized and small towns like Zqickau, Bitterfeld, Dessau, Neuruppin, Riesa, just to name a few. Even small villages are represented: Dornbusch (on Hiddensee Island), Freesendorf (on the East side of the Griefswalder Bodden) and Timmendorf (on Poel Island). A number of islands in the Baltic Sea (Reugen, Hiddensee, Poel and Ruden), as well as capes (Arkona on the Northern tip of Ruegen, Suedperd and Nordperd, both capes on the East side of Ruegen Island).

Minesweepers, submarine chasers and landing craft bear city names. A surprising break with tradition was the naming of the new missile frigates after cities. They received the names of Rostock and Berlin (the latter was called BERLIN CAPITAL OF THE GDR in the GDR military press!). Thus, there are no more ships in the GDR's navy which bear the names of communist historical figures. This leads to the question of whether they will return and are perhaps reserved for future warships, perhaps for frigates which are larger than the two units of the KONI class, or perhaps even for destroyers. It remains to follow the further developments carefully.

The names of animals, such as eagle, buzzard, leopard and tiger had been given to the first submarine chasers; after they were taken out of service, these names have disappeared.

Very few ships (warships never) display their names recognizably on the outside. Only few auxiliary ships, but all vessels given to the Sea Hydrographical Service, show them openly, in white capital letters. The names are painted on both sides of the forecastle, rarely on the stern. (In supply ships, at least in previous years, the name of the home port and commercial shipping line also appeared). The old school ship Ernst Thaelmann (the later Albin Koebis) was the only example in which the name appears in black capital letters (as still today on the paramilitary "Society for Sport and Technology").

The Codes

Since the end of the 1950's, all GDR warships have had three digit code numbers. Apparently the changeover to this from the previously used system represents an adaptation to the Warsaw Pact, i.e., the Soviet system. In contrast to the Soviets, the GDR navy rarely ever changes its codes. Since the beginning of the 1970's, a system has emerged which indicates that the first digit of the number implies a certain type of ship:

1 = frigates (so-called "coastguard ships")
2 = new submarine chasers (comparable to corvettes)
3 = minesweepers (so-called MSR's)
4 = older submarine chasers (HAI class)
6 = landing craft
7 = missile torpedo patrol boats
8 = torpedo patrol boats
9 = small torpedo patrol boats

Number 5 remains open; possibly it is reserved, since it was previously assigned to landing craft of the LABO-100 class.

There are, however, also exceptions to this system: 2-digit numbers, as for example "14" in a landing craft of the FROSCH-I class, and "17" in a submarine chaser of the BAL-COM-4 class, are experimental codes and are probably assigned on a temporary basis only.

Series are recognizable within the code groups from the last digit. Minesweepers of the KONDOR-I class of the "Coast Border Brigate" and missile torpedo patrol boats of the OSA class bear the numbers 1 to 4 (e.g., OSA boats 711, 712, 713 and 714, and then beginning again with 731, 732, etc.), torpedo patrol boats from 1 to 5, and submarine chasers, mine sweepers of the KONDOR-II class and landing craft from 1 to 6. This order is apparently an indication of the number of the boat within the detachment, the smallest unit of a flotilla after the brigade.

Non-warships have numbers preceeded by a letter. These mean:
A = rescue ship, tug boat
B = Anti-torpedo boats
C = fuel tanker
D = vessels of the Seahydrographical Service
E = material/ammunition/food supply ship (dry freighter)
F = fireboat
G = vessels of the "Coast Border Brigade"
H = other auxiliary ships (residential, yachts)
K = diving vessels
R = rescue ships (no longer carried today)
S = schoolship
U = submarine experimental/research ship
V = experimental ships
W = ? (so far seen only twice--on a minesweeper of the KONDOR-I class and a small torpedo patrol boat of the LIBELLE class (both prototypes), whereby the "W" could be referring to the shipyard).

The number designation of these auxiliary ships have 2 digits; one exception is recent schoolships, if they are warships (missile or torpedo patrol boats and minesweepers): They have 3 digits, but preceeded by an "S".

Auxiliary ships which have a name display only it and not the code. This is always true for vessels of the Seahydrographic Service, with other vessels only occasionally.

These code numbers are always displayed on the hull, on both sides of the forecastle, but there are some exceptions:

On submarine chasers, the code number is painted on the front end of the superstructure deck, because at high speeds they probably would not be visible if painted on the hull.

The minesweepers of the KONDOR class and the anti-torpedo boats evolved from their having their codes on both sides of the bridge superstructure.

On the small torpedo patrol boats of the LIBELLE class, the code appears on the hull as well as the forecastle (for planes) and on the stern.

Schoolships and boats deserve special scrutiny, because the numbers following the "S" are so close to it that the "S" is often read as part of the number, as "5", which leads to inaccurate reporting.

9328
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TEXTBOOKS INDICATE MILITARY EDUCATION FOR SCHOOLCHILDREN

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 47, 16 Nov 81 pp 131, 134

[Unattributed article: "GDR: Dead Space"]

[Text] For months, the SED has been heaping praise on the peace movement in the West. But in its own country, it still promotes the education for a commitment to the military spirit and a readiness to fight.

Erich Honecker presented himself as a fighter for peace and disarmament. The SED chief told officer candidates of the GDR military academies that "the number of people from all classes and walks of life who are filled with deep anxiety about peace and the future of mankind" is growing.

But Honecker can only see this "mighty upsurge of the peace spirit" beyond the borders of his own country. The GDR's policies, after all, have been serving the goals of "peace and detente" for a long time. That is why the GDR has been promoting "socialist military education as a part of communist education" for the past 3 years. The aim is, according to a leaflet put out by the SED district organization of Ribnitz, to increase "the military capabilities of secondary schoolchildren; to solidify the commitment to the military spirit and to prepare" boys and girls for the "honorable duty of protecting peace."

Four 2-hour periods during the last 2 years of school are devoted to "problems of socialist national defense." Boys in the ninth form go through an additional 2-week cycle of "military training" at camps and the girls undergo a course in "civil defense." During the last year of school, there are 3 days of "military preparedness." Boys and girls must participate in 10-day paramilitary maneuvers of the Society for Sport and Technology, including target practice.

As for being militaristic, only the others are. "Youth needs peace as a flower needs light and that light only socialism can provide," said FDJ orator Winfried Langner before an audience of 50,000 demonstrating for peace on Potsdam's Alter Markt on the last Sunday in October. Another functionary said "there should be nothing separating people from each other in their joint efforts to prevent the horrors of nuclear war."

Under the conditions of real socialism in the GDR, such dangers do not appear to exist. The official SED newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND can only detect a "threat to peace and security as a result of the madness of the arms race" in the imperialist West.

But it is slowly becoming clear that some of this has rubbed off on the East as well. The evangelical church in the GDR is planning to hold a "10-day peace forum" from 8 to 18 November to discuss new ways of "educating for peace." Authors in the GDR are in the process of organizing a congress on peace and disarmament with the unstated purpose of publicly discussing a home truth otherwise hidden from view in the GDR--that it takes two to make both an arms race and disarmament.

While there is protest in the streets of Western capitals about the NATO modernization plan, there are more and more people in the East now who no longer consider the Soviet SS 20's a more part of the "Soviet peace initiative" as NEUES DEUTSCHLAND would have them believe.

In the long run, the propaganda picture the SED paints of peace and war is too simplistic as is the attempt to pin the militarist label on the West alone.

This applies to the school systems, for example. "While there is a deep crisis in education in the capitalist countries, while the interests of popular education in the NATO countries are being sacrificed at the expense of increased armaments," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND wrote, "the superiority of the socialist social system is evidenced by the fact that we here are able to impart a modern education coupled with solid data to all our children."

If one looks at the official "history 10" text for secondary schools in the GDR, then it is only the imperialists who are engaging in an arms race; then there are arms expenditures only in the NATO countries and new weapons systems only in the United States. A table informs the GDR student about "selected U.S. arms programs" ranging from the MX missile to the B-1 bomber, but says nothing about any Soviet weapons systems.

As for "necessity" of building the Berlin wall, the history book reverts to undisguised propaganda themes:

During the first days of August 1961, the FRG militarists concluded final preparations for a military aggression against the GDR. In early August FRG defense minister Strauss visited the United States. Strauss told President Kennedy and officials of the American war ministry that a "popular uprising" in the GDR was imminent. The FRG government wanted to make use of this opportunity in order to institute a "police action" aimed at conquering the GDR and thereby resolving the "intra-German conflict." To support this plan, NATO troops stationed in Europe were placed in a state of alert. At the same time, the commander of NATO ground forces in Central Europe, the former Hitler general Speidel, conducted an inspection tour along the frontier of the GDR.

It was not until military conscription was introduced in 1962, the East German historians continue, "that the aggressive plans of imperialism directed against the socialist community of states could be thwarted...This helped make peace in Europe more secure."

Before then and thereafter, it was always the West that was to blame, if anything went awry:

On 17 June 1953, agents of various imperialist secret services who had infiltrated in large numbers from West Berlin into the capital and several districts of the GDR succeeded in persuading a small group of workers to engage in temporary work stoppages and demonstrations. In some cities, groups of provocateurs and criminals engaged in looting. They set fires, tore down banners, mistreated and killed labor movement officials, freed convicted war criminals from jail and called for the overthrow of the workers and peasants state.

Another instance:

By infiltrating fascist gangs as well as arms and inflammatory literature and by the ceaseless propagation of anti-socialist slogans over RFE, the internal enemies of socialism in Hungary received active support and prepared a counter-revolutionary uprising...By late October 1956, the preparations for an armed uprising had been completed. In Budapest and other cities, counter-revolutionary gangs engaged in bloody acts of terrorism against communists and government officials.

Still another example:

The planned test case for the imperialist policy of "bridge-building" was the counter-revolutionary attempt to overthrow the CSSR government in the summer of 1968...Operating under the banner of "improving" socialism as well as that of nationalism and anti-Sovietism, revisionist and counter-revolutionary forces engaged in a dangerous attempt...aimed at restoring capitalism. In this endeavor, they allied themselves above all with the imperialists in the U.S. and the FRG, who for their part engaged in multi-faceted counter-revolutionary activities directed against the socialist CSSR.

Even arithmetic is used to help strengthen the military spirit of East German schoolchildren. A group of authors, who apparently stop at nothing, included the following examples in the "mathematics for the tenth form" text:

During a NVA training exercise, an observer spots two machinegun nests A and B at an angle of 130 degrees. It takes him 7 seconds to hear a burst fired by A and 8 seconds for a burst from B. How far apart are the two machinegun emplacements ? The 122-mm NVA howitzer 38 has a horizontal angle of fire of 49 degrees. Its maximum range is 11.8 kilometers. How large is the maximum arc at the periphery that can be covered by its fire ? The anti-aircraft machinegun of a medium tank is fixed to the upper end of the turret at a height of 2.7 meters from the ground. The angle of elevation can be set from -5 to +30 degrees. Compute the radius of the "dead space" around the tank with respect to the turret machinegun!

"Among the laws approved by the Volkskammer," GDR schoolchildren are informed by the "history 10" text, "the law for the protection of peace occupied a prominent place." This law has been on the books since 1950. It states that anyone disturbing "the peaceful relations among peoples" is subject to a prison sentence.

But once again, these strictures only apply to the others—because in the final analysis this law, too, corresponds to SED dialectics and as such figures as a "weapon in the struggle against reactionary forces," as the text book says.

9478
CSO: 2300/70

BRIEFS

MORE TIME FOR OFFICER STUDIES--The officer academies in the GDR are at present undergoing certain changes. Beginning in 1983, training of officers will be uniformly 4 years and every officer will finish his studies with an academic degree as certified engineer or economist. Also changed will be the extent to which the individual subjects are studied. Twenty to 45 percent of the time is planned for military training, approximately 20 percent for social sciences including military pedagogy and military psychology. The rest of the training time of officer cadets--percentages depend on the speciality--is reserved for, among other things, the engineering technical, mathematics/natural sciences and foreign languages. [Text] [Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in german No 9, Sep 81 p 93] 9328

CEREMONIAL ATTIRE--During parades of the NVA, officers carrying cermonial daggers and sabers can be seen again and again. Both are strictly for officers. The saber is part of the equipment of officers leading honor formations, and the dagger can be worn during roll-calls, parades, or on leave; in other words, it is part of personal equipment. [Text] [Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in german No 9, Sep 91 p 93] 9328

ARMY MASS INITIATIVES--As the SED Central Committee announced, during the past 5 training years, members of the armed forces have "made essential contributions to the increase of combat strength of their branches and units through constantly growing achievements in competition." The following numbers are cited as proof for the mass initiatives: 318,000 soldiers and NCO's and 87,300 collectives won the "Best" title, 114,000 ribbons were given to infanterists, approximately 253,000 classification marks were given for military achievements in various specialty areas, and 400,000 badges "for good knowledge" were awarded. In the 1980/81 training year, 95 percent of the members of the armed forces competed for awards. During the five years, 15,600 military and civilian employees of the military made "suggestions" on how to improve training, combat readiness, care and maintenance of technology, as well as for material and financial savings. [Text] [Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in german No 9, Sep 81 p 93] 9328

CSO: 2300/56

SHORTCOMINGS IN PUBLISHING ACTIVITY CITED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 20 Nov 81 p 5

[Interview with Valter Roman, director of the Politica Publishing House; interviewer, date and place not specified: "The Current Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and How This is Reflected in Publishing"]

[Text] [Question] It seems to me legitimate that in a discussion with the director of a publishing house of such a great social importance as the Politica Publishing House we should begin with the contemporary fate of books in general and their role in forming the awareness of the people.

[Answer] I do not want to paint a portrait of or give a eulogy for the books of whose necessity and multilateral social utility we are all convinced. But, because in our times numerous especially powerful and efficient means of mass communication have appeared and because some people are of the opinion that a new culture, that of "pictures" and the "visual civilization," will replace the "book culture," I want to say that since it appeared centuries ago the book has maintained and is maintaining the prominence acquired within the framework of the means of spreading knowledge and culture. Even more, in our times when a true revolution is taking place, the book is fresher and the publishing houses remain, and will remain in the future, one of the most important keys in the framework of institutionalized systems in the field of culture and education.

But, because I would not want to get into a conflict with other important sectors that are nonetheless important (such as the press and radio-television), I can add that between us there can only exist a creative competition serving a common cause, with the two sectors being complementary and parts of an entire coherent grouping.

[Question] From this point of view, the social-political book and that of philosophy, integrated into the vast ideological activity of the creative development of scientific socialism and dialectic and historical materialism, have a determined and determing role in a specific manner. In connection with this, the value of the publisher's activities is given by the dynamic push for scientific and philosophical research and creative activities and by the contribution made to the formation of a revolutionary awareness.

[Answer] Ideological work and all activities for forming social and individual awareness cannot be separated from the transformation of social existence. Numerous

times comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has referred to the scope and complexity of ideological activities and propaganda and has stressed that the problem "of completely eliminating different backward concepts from the people's awareness" and the raising of the level of civic awareness are difficult tasks, from the point of view of being more difficult than "building factories and ensuring economic development." Therefore, the ideological front is asked to make special efforts.

[Question] How are these efforts reflected in the activities of the Politica Publishing House?

[Answer] First of all, through the publication of party documents. To date, 21 volumes have appeared of the Works of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania On the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society." To this, we can add the 19 volumes from the collection "From the Social-Political Thought of the President of Romania," a new volume entitled "From Economic Thought" and two volumes of "From Philosophical Thought." These have also appeared in the languages of the coinhabitating nationalities - Hungarian and German - in a total publication run of 2,600,000 copies. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's presentations and speeches have been published in brochures, totalling, from 1965 to now, 436 titles and 21.5 million copies. Volume 22 of "Romania on the Road of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society" is in its final phases of preparation for release, as is "Selected Works" in three volumes, as well as new volumes in the three synthetic collections: from the social-political, economic and philosophical thought of the president of Romania. Similarly, we will also publish manuals, collections of lectures, studies and so forth. We give great attention to collections and series - in history, economics, philosophy, sociology and foreign affairs. We will continue to publish the collections: "The Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," "Ideological Discussions," "Files of History," "Contemporary Ideas" and so forth. We will continue to publish (and republish) the classical works of Marxism. We feel it is a requirement of providing information to publish certain translations of social-political literature from the other socialist countries, as well as from the progressive literature of other countries.

[Question] I ask that you now detail the requirements that social-political and philosophical literature in our country must respond to in order to contribute to raising the level of awareness and to make revolutionary awareness an important factor for progress.

[Answer] By its own nature social-political literature is designed to reflect the processes and phenomena that occur in our country and the world, to explain these processes and phenomena and to contribute directly to the masses' understanding and mastery of our party's creative policies and to the mastery of the materialist-dialectical concept about nature and society. Under the conditions of creating a multilaterally and harmoniously developed socialist society, the changes that occur in modelling the profile of social-political books - regardless of whether we are talking about economics, history, philosophy, sociology, juridical sciences and so

forth - I think can be summarized in the form of two great requirements. One which requires that the investigation will thoroughly study our realities and achieve an organic link between theory and practice; the second, intimately correlated with the first, has in mind the priority importance of those research efforts that can offer, through their specific and original nature, solutions to the decisionmakers. At the same time, of top priority is not just the informative role, but the formative role of social-political books and its substantial contribution to the formation and development of the workers' socialist awareness.

[Question] Beginning with the idea that a publishing program must reflect in its own manner a stage of socialist construction, with its structure and dynamics, it can be said that in your publishing house the books that appear correspond for the most part to the current stage of development. Not all, however, fill the requirements that you outlined, which makes me ask whether we can speak of a shortfall in the social-human sciences compared to the natural sciences. If so, how is this explained?

[Answer] I think that the problem of a shortfall in the social sciences can be viewed not in relation to the natural sciences, but in the dialectical correlation between social theory and practice. And, it must be remembered that the theoretical research efforts and results have remained behind social practices. The elimination of the gap- by covering certain major problems in our society and by dealing with certain cardinal problems of the contemporary times - is a fundamental task of our ideological front and, therefore, our publishing house. Thus, you are right; the major themes of the socialist revolution and construction are still not present to the necessary degree, either in the number of titles or in the number of copies. Still missing are the works for spreading the vast experiences of our party. If somehow there is a retrospective, historical literature, we need more and better prospective works that can contribute to bringing closer together the present and the future that is foreseen. To date, there still has not appeared such fundamental works as the history of Romania, especially about Romania's political history during the inter-war period, the history of philosophy, art and technology in Romania and so forth. I say this not just self-critically, but also critically. Our country still does not have its own great encyclopedia.

We still have not seen fundamental works with regards to dealing with certain universal themes from our point of view, such as world history. Nor do our positions in the contemporary dialogue of ideas fulfill the attributes of the desired quality.

[Question] This is from the point of view of the diversity of the themes discussed, a necessary reflection of the complexity of the work of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and the complexity of the contemporary world. The observation made also referred, however, to the manner of dealing with these subjects, and this is necessarily different according to the different categories of readers.

[Answer] Let me begin with one finding. In Romania, the interest in the social-political book is ever more lively and it involves the most diverse and broad

categories of people. This is attested to by, among other things, the rapid depletion of certain works (sometimes in substantial production runs) that requires their republication. This requires on our part, the publishers, a special care to give the readers the books that they are awaiting, that will answer their questions, that will respond to certain concerns or help them in their work and that will open new horizons of knowledge for them. Books, especially social-political ones, should not be easy to write and hard to read, as some authors unfortunately believe, but rather the reverse: to be written with great effort and be read with ease. Nonetheless, it must be said that in the so-called "conflict" between the head and the book, the book is not always at fault. Let me remind certain authors who are in a hurry to write for the sake of writing of the words of comrade Nicolae Iorga: "When I am writing a book I feel that I am doing something especially good; when a receive notice to take it to the publisher, I begin to have doubts about the book. And, when I finally find it in the library I ask myself if it is a successful work and, in any case, I decide that there is cause to write something better."

It should also be said that the necessary attention is not being given to literature for the villages, just as the presence of books at the middle and elementary level is also poor. As fas as we are concerned, we have taken a series of measures to fill this blank spot as quickly as possible. In any case, I feel that in their activities the publishing houses must guide themselves according to the principle that all the styles in which books are written are good, with the exception of one - that which bores people. The ideal situation is for the reader to find in just a few pages as many ideas as possible and, wherever possible, original and useful ideas. One of the causes of this type of shortcoming, which are not just in our publications, is the lack of preparation and exigency of the publishers. Under the pressure of events and the authors and sometimes under the requirement to fulfill the plan, books have been published whose value has suffered from every point of view.

[Question] Can you give us a specific example?

[Answer] It is difficult... it is not pleasant... to speak about unpleasant things. And since the phenomenon is not specific to merely our publishing house, it is easier for me to report on a type of book, that of history. Naturally, no one can live in the past. Certainly, no one can live without the past since the lessons of the past represent an important guide for our future. Some of our history books, and I am referring here to historical novels, do not reflect accurately, unfortunately, our distant or recent past. Certainly, no one can have the pretensions that historical novels are certain dissertations on history, but even historical novels must respect the historical truth. And, any novelist, just like any conscious citizen of our country, must know, as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in 1971, that "there is the past and the past." There is a past "of sad remembrance" and there is another past that we are proud of." The blurring of the light or the shadows does nothing but deform reality.

[Question] Because we are giving less than pleasant examples, and I understand how you feel, that are difficult to give, allow me to give an example from your publishing activities. I am speaking of the collection "Contemporary Ideas" where translations appear from the works of certain thinkers of our century, as well as original works, some of high content value. With regards to the utility and audience of some of these books there is no need, I think, to have a discussion. But, there are aspects that do not satisfy us. There are too few appearances of these books. And, this despite the numerous promises under the heading of "To Appear." Then, in the original works the numerical and value preponderence goes to those works dealing with the philosophy of science - especially the natural sciences. Specifically I am referring to, for example, those dealing with the implications of the scientific and technical revolution where there is too little coverage given to the problems of psychology, sociology, anthropology or culture. Therefore, we once again encounter the problem of the gap between the natural sciences and the social-human ones.

[Answer] First, I assure you that the announcements have a real meaning. The appearances are actually infrequent, six to seven volumes annually. This year there will be eight. There are many reasons for this. First of all, there is the difficulty of making selections from so many books that appear today in the world. Let me stress again that we do not have a sufficient number of specialized editors. Then, there are the difficulties related to obtaining the necessary amounts of paper and publication space. I can tell you, however, that soon an anthology of texts will appear from the works of Stefan Lupascu, "Racism in the Face of Science" (a book published under the aegis of UNESCO). Next year, books will appear such as: "The Third Wave" by Alvin Toffler and "World Defiance" by Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber. We are trying hard to give a picture of the contemporary confrontation of ideas through introductory studies that will orient the reader and express our position with regards to advanced ideas and through such books, as well as those that have appeared to date. The problem of the gap that you raised again in this discussion is very complex and I feel that it deserves a special discussion. Now, I would merely quote some of the words of the scholar and recipient of the Nobel Prize, P. L. Kapita, whose anthology "Experiment, Theory, Practice" was translated here in Romania, who said that "As long as the social sciences are not unified, they will not be able to be developed."

[Question] Certainly, the discussion could go on for a very long time. Let us stop here, however, with the request that, in conclusion, you emphasize several of the principal ideas that relate to the current and future publishing activities.

[Answer] I will begin with those that satisfy neither the reader not us. We still are not carrying out an active publishing policy to a satisfactory degree in the sense of guiding and helping the creative search of an ever greater number of authors. This is an important task of publishing activities. To a certain degree, some plans are still the result of certain fortuitous effects and not of a conscious policy in which the needs of our society can find their expression.

I feel that in the future books in general and social-political books in particular, alongside and in harmonious cooperation with the press and radio-television which are pursuing common goals, will continue not only to maintain but even to amplify their role as the priority means of educating and influencing people and as a factor of culture and civilization. Naturally, there will be a continuing increase in the informational content of books, the formative and educational purpose of books. Certainly, as Mihail Sadoveanu wrote many years ago: "There are books and there are books. Some are destined to vanish right from the beginning since they are not a light within the light of humanity. The others are destined to survive as long as man lives under the sun: in these we have the aspirations and ideals of the generations, these are our best legacy." Adapting this to the context of our discussion, the words of the great author, I would dare to add that we, the publishers, have the duty now and in the future to contribute to the greatest degree possible to this legacy through the books whose appearance we ensure.

8724
CSO: 2700

DOMESTIC PRODUCTION OF LANOLIN DELAYED BY BUREAUCRATIC RED TAPE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Anica Florescu: "Lanolin's Long Road From Conception to Production"]

[Text] Lanolin - a valuable ally for women who want to protect their beauty. This is a definition that any cosmetician could agree with. Since lanolin, the heavy base of creams and other cosmetic products and the product obtained by processing the residual waters used in washing wool and fur skins, is one of the raw materials required not only by the cosmetics industry, but also by the leather goods industry and the footwear industry for use in the higher treatment of hides. It can also be used as a substitute for whale oil and other oils that we currently import. Similarly, in recent times the steel and iron industry has required larged quantities of lanolin. This is without mentioning the fact that on foreign markets the demand for lanolin and lanolin products is unlimited and the prices being offered are especially advantageous. So many uses for a product obtained from... nothing! But...

In our country, residual waters containing lanolin are thrown away! The potential of the gross lanolin resources represents over 4,000 tons yearly, but the use of this potential does not exceed three percent! On the contrary, year after year numerous enterprises show up as importers of lanolin.

Last year, in June, on the occasion of a visit by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the "Aurora" Enterprise in Bucharest, an original Romanian procedure was presented for extracting lanolin from residual waters and for purifying this substance. We are talking about two inventions by engineer Ion Cocrean of the "Vidra" Enterprise in Orastie: "The Procedure for Obtaining Lanolin from Waters Used to Wash Sheepskins" and "The Procedure and Equipment for Purifying Lanolin."

The secretary general's directive was as clear as it can be: to quickly move to using lanolin obtained from residual waters, providing the necessary amounts of lanolin for the national economy and, at the same time, protecting the environment.

The so-called "Aurora" program was immediately put together for the purpose of accelerating the implementation of this tasks. If we keep in mind that the necessary technology has existed for over 5 years, the following question is justified: How much more time will go by until the entire amount of lanolin necessary for our economy will be produced in-country?

The lanolin in the waters being used to wash wool and hides comes in quantities that are too great and clogs the collectors and filters in the purification stations. This water, arriving in the rivers, threatens the beauty and existence and these bodies of water. In order to avoid shortcomings, they have resorted to the most damaging solution in these units: the destruction of the lanolin! Yes, lanolin is being destroyed! Using efforts, funds and specialized personnel. But, is there not some other way to save the beauty and existence of the rivers? That is, while also saving the lanolin by spending the money and making the effort to recover, not destroy the lanolin?

It is unbelievable how much effort is being made to destroy the lanolin that exists in our country while the necessary amounts of lanolin for the national economy is being obtained from imports using hard currency. We are talking about an annual requirement of hundreds of tons that, to date, has never been fully met. And, it is equally unbelievable that we are paying prices for a ton of anhydrous lanolin that are approximately five times greater than a ton of crude oil!

The idea of making better use of lanolin is rather old and engineer Ion Cocrean from the "Vidra" plant has been calling for it since 1975. His inventions have been patented for over 4 years and these patents are still protected until the end of next year. In the opinion of certain specialists, Romanian lanolin in sufficient quantities - approximately 800 tons yearly - will be available only beginning in 1984. Thus, from the future to reality there has been but one step, but this step has taken too many years! It is certain, however, that the timeframes established for the recovery and use of this raw material are totally unsatisfactory. Especially when we are talking about rescheduled timeframes compared to the pledges that were made and, especially, compared to the existing real opportunities.

At the Design Institute for Light Industry, we were having a discussion with project chief for the Orastie project, engineer Virgiliu Marcusanu:

-- It was possible and we should have had lanolin back even in 1980, our interlocutor tells us. Let us not forget that the invention goes back a number of years and the prototype facility at Orastie has been operating experimentally for 2 years with encouraging results. There is more raw material than we would need. If only there was not so much mistrust in new things, a mistrust that still exists in the mings of certain people...

-- What is the status of the documentation?

-- It has long been ready. Our institute has practically completed its mission. We started our work prior to actually receiving the orders in order to gain time. Time that was lost, unfortunately, because of diverse bureaucratic procedures.

To continue to delay the implementation of the Orastie experiment on an industrial scale and to continue to import lanolin when we have it here in-country at our disposal is, in the final analysis, a crass attitude of indifference toward the requirement of better using all the material resources we have available. The

annual losses caused by the waste of the raw materials necessary to produce lanolin, according to the caculations made together with certain specialists, reach approximately 10 million lei.

At the Wool Central, engineers Stefan Danciu and Victoria Coreanu from the central's technical office did not hesitate to tell us that they are afraid of a... fiasco, a fear which serves as the reason for building merely a single model at Sighisoara in its first stage (necessary for extracting the raw lanolin), with the remaining five others to be built in stages. A situation exaggerated by many precautions precisely at the Wool Industry Central, that is, precisely where there should be an expression of a real interest and complete support for implementing on an industrial scale a valuable idea, an idea attested by two patented inventions.

A statement: the unit that should have the most to gain in the undelayed production of lanolin in our country is the Central for the Leather Goods, Rubber and Footwear Industry.

Thus, that is why we are here on the scene at the Central. We are having a discussion with a group of specialist about the twisting path being followed by the Orastie inventions. The only thing that we are trying to clear up is whether the Central can provide the proteinic concentrate, that base that is strictly necessary for the production of raw lanolin, as requested by the Wool Central for the fall of next year. We have been told that it is impossible; the prototype facility at Sighisoara is operating way below the projected capacities because of a lack of a proper atomizer, an absolutely necessary piece of equipment...

Naturally, we cannot conclude the investigation into using lanolin without knowing the point of view of the Ministry of Light Industry, which coordinates the two centrals involved in finalizing the Orastie inventions at the industrial level. We note several of the ideas worth remembering from the discussions with the specialists and authorities there.

Viorel Ocico, director in the investments directorate:

-- I find out from you that the earlier installation of an atomizer would have been a solution for the earlier production of lanolin. But, did anybody ask us for this atomizer? No one! How can the ministry guess what each enterprise needs?

...And more, in discussing this with specialists in the ministry with regards to the much disputed problem of the atomizer, we find that for several years our industry has been producing this piece of equipment. In the case of the technological process for lanolin, the question is one of miniaturizing the atomizer. This is something that we are convinced our specialists are capable of doing with complete success. But, we repeat engineer Ocico's statement: what is important is that the production of this piece of equipment must be requested. Why such indifference?

Susan Remus, the chief of the technical office:

-- The simple fact that we are removing pollution from the water and creating the premises for the recycling of the water is a reason to speed the final work on the investments regarding the production of lanolin. I agree that the price can still be discussed. The price can and must be recalculated. Since it is natural that we should take into consideration not only a narrow economic interest, but also the fundamental requirements of the national economy, in this case that of the undelayed use of the resources we have available. We must condemn the delays and the tendency of pointing the finger at others, instead we should ask ourselves what do we have to do first.

Yes, we believe that through this last point of view we can dot the "i". The main party at fault in the "odyssey" of lanolin is precisely this mentality of passing on responsibilities to those authorities who are called upon to work with all their energies to promote new things in the economy and to stimulate the creative initiatives of the workers.

It is absolutely necessary and fully possible to provide as quickly as possible, using our own resources, the lanolin that we need. It is necessary because our economy annually spends hundreds of thousands of dollars to obtain this product while we have the raw materials at hand. It is necessary because we are actually talking about a precious material resource that is being thrown away. It is necessary because by this means we can achieve not only important hard currency savings, but also resources with which to increase our exports. At the same time, it is completely possible for us to use all the lanolin we have available at the level of the national economy. This is because we have the technology, we have the specialists and we have sufficient resources.

8724
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CHANGES IN PARTY BYLAWS DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 81 pp 6-7

[Article by Ivan Torov: "The Times Are Changing the Bylaws"]

[Text] This past week of political developments in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will certainly be remembered for an extremely important and constructive discussion: there was a meeting of the commission of the LCY Central Committee whose task it is to summarize all the suggestions, proposals and opinions submitted so far on possible changes of the LCY Bylaws.

Though it was felt for a long time that the 12th LCY Congress should not undertake major changes in the bylaws (and it is in that framework that the discussion was conducted until recently), there has been an ever greater awareness that the present moment in politics and public affairs and the period before us call for resolute action toward further and more consistent democratization of the LCY, which in turn entails a reassessment of certain experiences and procedures (including those related to the bylaws). The League of Communists must be more responsive and decisive in confronting and adapting to everything which reality imposes on it. That is the origin of the vigorous opposition to the view that "the best thing at present is for all arrangements to remain unchanged."

The Congress in a Passive Position

The debate on changes in the bylaws (and this was indeed confirmed at the last meeting) has actually raised essential issues about the alignment and mode of operation of Yugoslavia's top-level political structure, but it has also initiated a reassessment of certain arrangements throughout the LCY which until yesterday were almost unchangeable.

We will take them in order:

1. The observation that secret elections at all levels--from the primary organization of the League of Communists to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee--cannot be superfluous for us in the effort to further democratize the LCY has initiated a broad debate. By and large there is no one any longer who agrees with the present provision in the bylaws to the effect that political executive bodies are elected by secret ballot only at the level of the opstina

organization of the League of Communists, but views differ as to which new arrangement is the most democratic--to undertake secret balloting everywhere or to apply acclimation everywhere.

So that this issue, which at the moment is undecided and is a crucial one for relations in the LCY, isn't dealt with "in haste," the commission has taken the position of offering two alternative solutions for further discussion: either elections of political executive organs at all levels would be secret everywhere or would be public everywhere.

ii. The manner of election of members of the LCY Central Committee has also attracted exceptional attention in direct relation to the previous issue. It is worth recalling that the members of this supreme organ of the LCY, as the provisions of the bylaws now stand, are elected in the interval between congresses by secret ballot in congresses of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces, and the LCY congress merely verifies that election. Many people are not happy with this arrangements, pointing out that the LCY congress, to which the LCY Central Committee is in fact accountable for its work, has thereby been placed in a rather passive and restricted position and cannot essentially influence election of the members of that body. To be sure, the rules of order of the LCY congress affords the possibility of contesting the individual election of a member of the LCY Central Committee, but it is a fact, the judgment runs, that this procedure is rather complicated and, still more important, it has never been invoked even once as yet.

Advocates of this view feel that the thing should be turned around: that members of the LCY Central Committee should merely be nominated in republic and provincial congresses, but should be elected at the LCY congress. This election would be by secret ballot, room would be opened for more than one candidate to be nominated for a position, and that candidate would be elected who received more than 50 percent or two-thirds of the votes of the delegates to the congress.

Adherents of the present provision of the bylaws on the other hand emphasize that adoption of the first alternative (election rather than verification at the LCY congress) would to some extent be an expression of lack of confidence in the republic and provincial organizations and congresses, who have already used the institution of the secret ballot once. They say that any possible change in election procedure would open up an essential debate concerning certain basic principles of the LCY and concerning the independence of the republic and provincial organizations of the League of Communists.

Since this is an extremely important political problem, the commission decided for the present not to undertake a discussion of alternative solutions, but to propose that the provisions in the rules of order of the LCY congress (which afford the possibility of contesting election of members of the LCY Central Committee) be carried over--with certain improvements--into the LCY Bylaws. This does not mean, however, that the door has been closed on further discussions. This is a major issue on which there certainly will be more debate before the 12th LCY Congress.

Many Decisions, Little Execution

iii. The dilemma about electing the chairman of the Presidium or the chairman of the LCY Central Committee has opened up a fundamental debate concerning the objective status of the LCY Central Committee and also about the relationship between the LCY Central Committee and the Presidium, its political executive organ. Sponsors of the proposal that the chairman of the LCY Central Committee be elected from among members of the Central Committee (the procedure that is followed, incidentally, in the republics and provinces) say that this is the right way to strengthen the leadership position of the Central Committee of the supreme organ of the LCY in the interval between congresses. It would thereby "put things in their proper place." The Central Committee would have political primacy over its political executive organ (the Presidium), and it would also strengthen its role in following up the implementation of policy and decisions. Tendencies said to exist in the direction of the Presidium's turning more toward decisionmaking and less to implementing decisions of the LCY Central Committee would be thwarted.

The proposal for election of a chairman of the Central Committee also assumes that he would supervise the work of the Central Committee and the Presidium and would coordinate the work of commissions.

The procedural problems implied by a solution of this kind have, however, been pointed out. Were the chairman of the Central Committee to be elected from among the members of the Central Committee, upon expiration of his 1-year term, he would no longer be a member of the Presidium. The frequent change in the membership of the Presidium, it has been said, could adversely affect its effectiveness as a political executive organ. Others say, however, that the chairman of the Central Committee (who is at the same time the presiding officer of the Presidium) would be put in a position of exercising oversight over himself in view of the role of the Central Committee with respect to the Presidium. That is why advocates of this view feel that the present election of the chairman of the Presidium should be retained.

The commission has decided that the further discussion should be conducted without alternatives, feeling that there should be more discussion of the views, opinions and proposals which have been presented. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the point of departure of the entire debate is that the overall situation in society and indeed in the League of Communists as well makes it imperative to reassess what has up to now been practice and operating procedure at the top level of the party. Quite a few participants in the debate have expressed the judgment that we still have too many bodies in which decisions are made, and too few of those which see that the decisions and conclusions of the party are carried out. These shortcomings are unquestionably having an effect on developments in society.

Summing up this discussion, the commission has suggested to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee that it discuss once again the past experience concerning its organization and its operating procedure and that it propose to the LCY Central Committee measures to improve its effectiveness as a political executive

organ, including as well a discussion of the possibility of reducing the number of members of the Presidium from the present 23 to 17.

More Than One Candidate for Each Position Within the Vanguard

iv. If there has been unanimity on any point, then it was in the debate in which there was insistence that Tito's view expressed at the 11th LCY Congress, to the effect that more people should be proposed and nominated than are being elected to all positions in society, including the most responsible ones, be vigorously and consistently applied, above all in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The choosing of one of several candidates (not, of course, after the conventional representative pattern) will be a potent means, it has been said, for strengthening the personnel of the League of Communists and an impetus for party and political action, and all of this together constitutes a big step toward democratization of personnel policy. It would at the same time constitute a barrier to the privatization and bureaucratization of that policy.

As personnel policy has been conducted up to now, we have pretty much defeated constructive and progressive competition of personnel, we have restricted opportunities for a broader group of people to display their commitments and abilities even in the most responsible posts. In our behavior we have instead created a climate in which it is taken as almost an insult if a man is second or third on the list or if he loses 20-30 percent of the votes and is not elected.

It is often forgotten that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the vanguard of the working class, that it is composed of the most politically mature people, and that if we are not decisive and consistent here--it is vigorously asserted--how can we expect people in other domains of society to behave differently? If the principle of "multiple candidacy" is consistently accepted and implemented in true communist style, it will be much easier to deal with all the problems and reservations that might arise, for example: that we are a multinational community, that consideration must be given to the representation of all strata of society, that elections will become complicated....

The recent debate has unquestionably opened up a number of issues which until yesterday were thought not to be a sufficient occasion for discussion in the League of Communists. If one is to judge by the early going, we can expect that the upcoming public debate of party members in the precongress activity will furnish the right answers to many problems and outstanding issues and will thereby enrich still more the content of the 12th LCY Congress and the overall organization, effectiveness and democracy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

7045
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ALBANIAN NATIONALISM IN SERBIAN BORDER AREAS DISCUSSED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 81 p 16

[Account of meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP on the political and security situation in the Southern Morava region: "The Situation Is Still Problematical"]

[Text] The counterrevolutionary activity in Kosovo has had an impact on the political-security situation in the Southern Morava region, especially in three opstinas with marked ethnic diversity--Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja, whose population also includes members of the Albanian minority. The situation in these opstinas, though the assessment is that no major acts of irresponsibility organized by counterrevolutionary forces could occur, is still problematical and necessitates still broader and better organized political activity to overcome and suppress cases of exclusiveness, vacillation and opportunism.

This observation was made at today's meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP, which examined and adopted a report on the political-security situation in the Southern Morava region. Aside from combating and prosecuting those who write hostile slogans and commit similar irresponsible acts, it was pointed out, it is very important at this juncture to develop the broadest activity in exposing the enemy's propaganda and goals, which are assuming a more disguised form.

About 55,000 members of the Albanian ethnic minority, that is, about 10.5 percent of the population of this region, live in three opstinas in the Southern Morava region. Those opstinas--Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja--are markedly underdeveloped and have a per capita national income which is less than 30 percent of the republic average.

Sima Jovanovic, chairman of the SAWP Interopstina Conference of the Southern Morava region, presented encouraging data on the operation of this region's economy in the first three quarters of the year, which suggest stabilization and improvement of the political situation.

105 Participants in the Demonstrations Have Been Identified

Among the approximately 1,200 secondary and university students from these three opstinas who are attending school in Kosovo 105 participants in the demonstrations have been identified. One of them has been sentenced to 13 years in prison for extremist nationalistic activity, and 14 were sentenced to 60 days in prison for misdemeanors. There were no organized actions by sizable groups in these opstinas, but leaflets with hostile content were discovered as early as 27 March in Presevo; thanks to the rapid intervention of the police and individual citizens they were not for all practical purposes distributed. Later there was some writing of slogans in schools and on walls. Charges were filed against three members of the Albanian ethnic minority--university students at the School of Technology in Leskovac, who in their official student records gave as their place of residence "SR [Socialist Republic] Kosovo" and as their nationality "People's Socialist Republic of Albania." Last month a hostile slogan was written in oil paint on asphalt roads, but the offenders have not been discovered.

Following the hostile demonstrations in Kosovo a tremendous number of working people and citizens in this region, in these three opstinas especially, have condemned those events and initiated organized activity to become familiar with the true character of the demonstrations and a campaign for ideological-political differentiation. Discussions with university and secondary students attending school in Kosovo and with their parents have been organized. The campaign for ideological-political differentiation has differed from one to another of these three opstinas, and it is judged that the best campaign has been conducted in Medvedja, then in Bujanovac, and the worst in Presevo. Incidentally, so far 43 members have been expelled from the League of Communists, 15 have been punished with a last warning, and 4 were issued a warning in connection with the events in Kosovo.

Analysis of Changes in Migration

However, there is still a certain exclusiveness, silence, leniency, a fear of reporting things, an opportunistic and passive behavior on the part of individuals, indeed of organizations of the League of Communists, and even of certain leaders in the opstinas. It has been pointed out that an opportunistic attitude must not be tolerated on behalf of "preserving personnel."

This year's enrollment of students from these opstinas at Pristina University was subject to the consent of the opstinas, and the scholarships of certain scholarship holders who participated in the demonstrations were terminated. It was noted that enrollment of students from these opstinas at Zagreb University has increased, though university schools in Skopje, Nis and Belgrade are much closer. It was also noted that over the last 2 or 3 months there have been considerably fewer statements by Serbian nationalists, which were especially evident immediately after the demonstrations in Kosovo. During the discussion the question was raised of demographic and migrational changes in these opstinas, which, it seems, are not following an altogether natural pattern. Quite a bit was also said about the use of textbooks in Albanian, which will soon be a topic of discussion in the Education Section of the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP. Especially responsible tasks lie ahead in exposing the intensified hostile propaganda from Albania, particularly after the Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, which did not just happen to coincide with new hostile actions.

7045
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ACTION OF CATHOLIC, ORTHODOX CHURCHES ABROAD CRITICIZED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "What Does the Clergy Want: Who Else Are the Church Bells Tolling For"]

[Text] Perhaps this is just an anecdote, but, knowing how enterprising the clergy is, it may perhaps be true. Not long ago, then, the youth organization in one of our villages bought its president a motorcycle which broke down after 1 year. It was purchased by a local priest, who repaired it and organized a course in riding a motorcycle. This case demonstrates how the churches use every means, even altogether profane means, in their patient and persistent efforts to win over sympathizers.

The following opinion was expressed at a recent meeting concerning the activity of religious communities: "Before the war the church operated from positions of power, and we fought for every man. Today the situation is the reverse." The extent to which the situation has been "reversed" is perhaps best demonstrated by the case of Yugoslavs employed abroad temporarily. There our religious communities, the Catholic community especially, have "tackled" every kind of nonchurch activity which makes it possible to bring our people together. Clubs and folklore and athletic groups are organized, there are programs for children and young people, there are large group pilgrimages, and "knowledge" tournaments are organized. And all these forms of activity often function much better than the programs set up by our official agencies.

Missions, But What Kind?

We have finally decided to reflect a bit on this activity of Yugoslav religious communities abroad, which has gone on for several years, and to say a few words about it. In the past 2 weeks a meeting has been held on this topic in the Socialist Alliance, and then the Federal Social Council for International Social Relations also met. The data on the activity of religious communities to date are incomplete, but sufficient. Unless the statistician is mistaken in the datum that 65 percent of the children of Yugoslav workers in West Germany are receiving instruction in nonschool and school institutions organized by churches from the SFRY, then the data are in fact alarming.

The Catholic Church from SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia and SR Bosnia-Hercegovina has about 250 priests in overseas countries, 161 priests in western Europe, and 164 social workers and parish assistants working in 470 cities. The greatest concentration is in West Germany. The Catholic Church from SR Slovenia has 300 priests in overseas countries, 200 of whom are political emigres; and in western Europe there are 36 priests and social workers at work.

The activity of the Serbian Orthodox Church is most intense in overseas countries, especially in the United States and Canada, where along with 3 bishops there are also 95 church school districts with 80 priests and 56 church school districts with 40 priests of the dissident Dyonisian Episcopate. In the West European Episcopate there are 53 parishes with 30 priests. To be sure, we should stress that the leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church has at times distanced itself from the hostile activity of Orthodox priests abroad--which by no means is the case of the leadership of the Croatian Catholic Church.

The Religious Aspect and the Ethnic Aspect

Since we are an open society, and this was pointed out at the meetings we have mentioned, we certainly cannot by definition be opposed to missions and religious activity of churches from the SFRY abroad. Aside from that, the political situation in the world--which is full of tension, constant exacerbations, dangerous crises and dangerously opposed interests--is mobilizing the churches to become involved on the international scene in pacifying and avoiding military conflagrations. Yet there are also other kinds of involvement, commitments which we can freely refer to as inflammatory: connections with the political underground, which is particularly unwelcome for us when it involves an "embrace" with Ustasha and Chetnik leaders and organizations. Hoping to undermine the "communist regime" in Yugoslavia by establishing ties with the political emigre community, the churches in this case are actually favoring all the clandestine and public destabilizing factors on the world scene.

Nevertheless, the circles which have advanced the furthest in this kind of involvement in their various ways and to varying degrees are those associated with the Croatian Catholic Church. This kind of behavior logically follows from statements like this and many similar ones: "Trust between self-management socialism and religious communities and the churches--and this will not come about soon--necessitates a new historical period."

The "new historical period" is being persistently and patiently prepared in various ways even outside the borders of our country. Hostile indoctrination among our citizens abroad and emigres is being carried on constantly, cleverly and perfidiously--throughout all aspects of group and individual life. Clerical circles of the Croatian Catholic Church are claiming more and more openly that they are the legitimate leaders of the nationality in maintaining ethnic awareness and in "national liberation," and in so doing they firmly link the religious aspect to the ethnic aspect in all their statements.

The subversive and hostile activity of the churches cannot be combated by measures of the government. That would not be in the spirit of our system. A broad

political campaign is needed, one in which religious people themselves would be involved, one that would not infringe upon their religious sentiments. In the meeting of the Federal Social Council for International Relations we were even to hear harshly intoned criticism addressed to the Socialist Alliance. It was stated that this our organization with the largest membership has not displayed the best response to the offensive of the clergy either in its methods or in the breadth of its action. The liturgy concerning the "new historical period," which is supposed to be inaugurated cloaked in a cassock, needs to be exposed in political terms and with sound arguments. A finger must be pointed at the malicious interests, interests altogether alien to our people, which are concealed behind the politically tainted ringing of the church bells.

7045
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ORTHODOX CHURCH PAPER DEFENDS 'BROTHERHOOD' MOVEMENT

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 81 p 13

[Article by Atanasije Jevtic, Orthodox monk: "What Is Darkness? or: On the Attacks Against Orthodox Zealots"]

[Text] When in the last century Vuk Karadzic was translating the New Testament into Serbian, this is how he translated Christ's well-known words about true believers in the Gospel according to Saint John (John 4:23): "But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true zealots shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such zealots."

Certainly Vuk did not invent the expression "zealots," but rather it came into being with the Serbian people, since there were Serbian Orthodox zealots who at precisely that time, at approximately the time of the "Hungarian revolt," began to make themselves more vigorously evident in our people in the form of the "movement of the pious": "Groups (brotherhoods) of zealots made their appearance; they broke out as swollen sources of our concealed, but still unextinguished piety.... This was a religious-moral rebirth on a purely Orthodox basis, and it came from below, from the people." That is the testimony concerning our zealots given by calmer spirits from times when there was no lack of attacks on the zealots and on the movement of zealots in our people.

After the hardships of World War I, when the movement of the zealots suddenly grew and numerous brotherhoods--Christian communities, were created, once again, along with the inevitable criticism and attacks, there were sober assessments and evaluations of the movement of the zealots and of the brotherhoods of zealots in the Serbian Church by outstanding figures of that time (Jovan Vuckovic, Milos Andjelkovic, Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic, Justin Popovic, Stevan Dimitrijevic, who was dean of the School of Theology, Ilija Beleslijan, Damaskin Grdancki, and others). Thus the history and character of the movement of the zealots in our country is well known, just as the criticism and objections which had been made to it, which are still being made to it today, or which might be made to it, are well known. The zealots themselves, though they have striven and do strive to remain [(?) survive], in an endeavor to be closer to that ideal of Christ's concerning the true believers, know that they are neither infallible nor perfect. After all, the earthly paradise is far off, but earth is not hell either.

But Vuk's times have passed, and the times of the "Hungarian revolt" have passed, as have the hardships of World War I and World War II, in which even the true zealots--not without sin or fault, but not as "zealot-criminals" either (since there truly is no connection whatsoever between the one and the other)--suffered and suffered again for their faith and their piety, especially in Bosnia, where even now they are under the fiercest attack. The times have also passed of the postwar movement of the zealots when they stood apart and suffered for their faith and loyalty to Christ and to the Church, loyalty to their Orthodox faith as such, to their glorious and not "dark" tradition, to their Serbian national piety and church spirit. If there was someone who did not like that, or if someone does not like it today--there is plenty of room for him to speak, write and do what he likes against the honorable and peaceable Serbian Orthodox zealots.

We who are not zealots like them, who have not come from families or brotherhoods of zealots, see and know their human weaknesses, but we would be blind and unconscionable if because of those weaknesses of theirs, which are incidentally those of humanity generally and are less than anyone else's, see in them only "darkness," "revival of darkness," "religious fanaticism," "religious and ethnic exclusiveness," "abuse of the faith," "meddling in politics," "obscurantist machinations," "fomenting religious intolerance," "all sorts of foul dealings," "very risky political escapades," "the blackest darkness," and so on and so forth, in short, as though, according to the folk poem, "darkness fell heavily on all of Kosovo...."

There is no point in enumerating here everything that has been said and written and the origin of such writings and statements which have been made over the last 1.5 months against our zealots (especially in the Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE and the Belgrade POLITIKA). This has been and will remain documentation that can stand on its own and will also stand for future generations. There is a point, at least for us, in pointing up the fact that the very faith of these people has been attacked, and that means our faith as well. After all, if zealotry is "darkness," then the faith is also "darkness," and what is the point of the hypocrisy of not admitting this publicly both to ourselves and to everyone. Incidentally, we have long been accustomed to hear these and similar descriptions of the faith, beginning with the very classics of Marxism-Leninism, but nevertheless we will continue to prefer to stand by the "darkness" of the faith, just like our brethren the zealots. Perhaps that "darkness" helps us to see better what others are doing "in the light," as Boza Knezevic would say.

Practically every day in the press we are exposed to a "criticism of the faith"--presumably as a "prerequisite of any criticism," stating the kind of faith and the "measure of faith" that we and our zealots are supposed to conform to, even though this faith of ours is being spoken about and interpreted to us by those who have nothing in common with the faith at all. That is why we cannot fail to recall Dostoevsky's melancholy words: "They criticize me for my supposed unenlightened and reactionary faith in God!... Those who in their lack of belief only prove the limited nature of their view of the world want to teach me and laugh at how limited I am.... If I believe in God, it is not as a stupid person and fanatic that I do so."

In the outcry of slander against the Orthodox zealots, especially in eastern Bosnia, where some of them, together with their priests, have even been put in jail, the only thing being achieved is what has been shown and confirmed by age-old Christian experience (Second Timothy 3:12). That is why we are not protesting, since not even an explanation and protest of the Holy Synod of the Serbian Church has had any success, even though otherwise "relations are good with the religious communities." There is nothing for us to do but remain silent (as we remained silent when we were aware that Bishop Nikolaj, leader of the zealots, was not a "war criminal"). And also--to staunchly believe that the truth is nevertheless stronger than slander and falsehood. Otherwise how would we believe even in the faith itself?

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'MOMENT OF TRUTH' IN EVOLUTION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1607, 18 Oct 81 pp 12-13

[Article by Dr Muhamed Kesetovic]

[Text] This fall we face a moment of truth which has been in preparation and postponed for a long time. The very fact that it has taken so much time to achieve agreement in evaluating a notorious matter like our economic situation points up more important, serious and lasting problems in our domestic development. There can hardly be any doubt: all the achievements of the struggle of the working class expressed in socialist self-management are facing the test of time and their greatest trial.

For a long time now we have been witnesses of the potential conflict between two basic currents: that which has never accepted socialist self-management as a strategy and lasting commitment, but has seen it as an optional transient tactic, and that current which firmly believes in self-management. This potential conflict has grown to become a real one and could have fateful consequences. Everything is also occurring within the framework of the same movement, within the framework of the League of Communists, and indeed even within the limits of its forums.

By all appearances the forms of that conflict will very soon be manifested straightforwardly in the form of a confrontation concerning the system, its foundations, its specific solutions and practical actions on behalf of self-management.

A considerable portion of the forces which have taken up self-management as a tactic occupies important positions in the system itself, has organized itself and is aware of their interest, which is alienated from self-management. Overcoming this situation requires in turn a return to Marx and Lenin and to their admonition that the "greatest danger" to socialism "comes from its own bureaucracy."

The technobureaucratic way of thinking, which has today become a captive of the difficult economic situation--which in large part it itself created--is on the offensive.

Technocracy of the Balkan Type

At the heart of our concrete problems is a conflict between centers of political power and the technobureaucracy on the one hand and the working class on the other, that is, a conflict of republic-provincial, opstina, economic, SIZ [self-management community of interest] and other statism--with socialist self-management.

In many respects our political, government and economic bureaucracy differs from that in state capitalism and from that in statist socialism. However paradoxical it might seem, in both those social systems the technobureaucracy is more responsible and creative than ours for the simple reason that there it is not the owner of the means of production and is accountable to whoever does hold those resources in his hands. Our technobureaucracy, aside from the fact that it is Balkan (it does not have democratic traditions or the mentality of responsibility for the public good), occupies a more comfortable and different position which allows it irresponsibility and parasitism. That is, it makes decisions and squanders funds in the name of self-management, but it does not bear any consequences whatsoever. That is the key to the phenomenon of irresponsibility in our context.

The root and evolution of the present situation lies in the crisis which federal centralism and statism fell into in the early seventies. The change of the base of society in the production relation in which that crisis occurred did not sufficiently keep pace with the overcoming of that crisis.

The statist and group-ownership production relation became the material basis of the bourgeois ideal: the national state. The idea of statehood has spread even over the provinces, and indeed the opstinas as well. Edvard Kardelj warned that "we dare not treat equality and independence in a statist way, i.e., solely as a division of government jurisdictions. That is the method and approach of bourgeois nationalism."

When the basis of the nation becomes more the state and less self-management, then remnants of bourgeois society begin to sprout: nationalism, narrow-mindedness, exclusiveness, fabrication and magnification of differences, and so on. And beyond that where has this led?

The decentralization of federal statism has not been accompanied by any essential changes in production relations, and republic-provincial statisms have developed on those same foundations. Now these new statisms are once again reproducing federal statism, seeking from it solutions when they have been otherwise unable to find one.

Consequently, if one wishes to strengthen the constitutional status of the republics and provinces, then there must be a change in behavior, there must be a more profound change in socioeconomic relations, which will strengthen the constitutional status of associated labor, and only through that status the status of the nationality and ethnic minority as well, i.e., the status of the republics and provinces.

The squabbles with federal centralism and statism typical of the outset of this decade, gave way to direct conflicts of the eight centralisms and statisms with one another, bringing all the consequences we now confront.

Second, when a negative example (the trend of separatistic and petty bourgeois nationalism) became a model and was not resolved in time at the federal level, and above all in the League of Communists--the vanguard of the working class and of its historical interests contained in socialist self-management, the phase of an unbridled technobureaucracy ensued. And income-sharing relations, though they even be the most favorable, simultaneously unite and disunite, since even the market joins together and sets at odds in performance of its revolutionary role in development of the productive forces. That is why a vanguard which sees further and better is needed. That is why there is no greater danger than for the League of Communists to slip into a partial interest. This is the key issue in our present ideological situation. When the League of Communists does slip into a partial interest and identifies itself with it, it loses the attributes of the "collective thinker" of the working class. And the complexity of the interests of the working class is contradictory. That is why it needs a vanguard in protecting it against the danger that its immediate and partial interests will cloud over its lasting interest. That danger is all the greater the further the working class is from direct decisionmaking concerning the conditions and results of its work.

The republic-provincial and opstina mania for investment and spending, which were aimed at demonstrating the capability and vitality of a romanticism based on statehood and nationality, have seriously shaken the cohesive forces of our unity and society's objective capability for its own construction and development. A period came when a fetish was made of the movement of things (political factories, pretentious monuments, magnificent cultural centers, universities, academies and institutes, all this on a wave of spiritual disintegration), while the social relations of self-managers remained something which was still to be discussed in the appropriate studies. This is most eloquently indicated by the disturbing frequency with which the self-management rights of the working people have been violated, which has even taken on the proportions of a problem of respect for the constitution.

The material basis and trend of development have thrown up to the surface people who are "obedient," people of mediocre or even lower ability, people who in the face of the "great" technobureaucratic eminences fell into a blindness in which the danger to "their own" nationality, "their own" republic or province, was measured by repulsion and resistance toward others. The failure to reach agreement, the failure to implement what was agreed on, the reduction of the general and common interest to a fabricated abstraction, are only the other side of the same problem.

And both objectively and subjectively there was a race to be the first to wave the red flag in front of the bull--"if the other fellow can do without me, I can also do without him." This created a particularly difficult situation with the population, encouraged nationalists and cleronationalists and all other stripes of enemies of socialist federal Yugoslavia and of its nationalities and ethnic minorities.

Responsibility of "Those Who Deserve Most of the Credit"

Given the difficulties and problems we now confront, various saviors have been emerging at the present moment, among them the better educated and probably more able technobureaucrats, who, criticizing the system, are actually criticizing technobureaucratic practice for inefficiency and failures, since those who up to now have been the "creators" were not capable of "predictions" and of building a "purer" technocratic model. In so doing they make use of the falsehood that the source of the troubles lies in the "Kardeljization" of the system, overlooking that it is the technocratic, "de-Kardeljized" practice that has prevented the application and verification of the system.

The removal of the working class from decisions on investment projects and on expenditure in general, the confinement of expanded reproduction to a zone in which decisions are made by technobureaucratic centers, has also removed social policy as a whole away from self-management, and to that extent it has deprived it of its class essence and meaning.

The working class has no motivation to put up with the shortages and restrictions and to respond to appeals for a linear tightening of the belt, yet the condition of society at this moment requires this without delay. There is obviously a need for an extensive prior Marxist critical analysis of the road that has been traveled, of successes and achievements, but also of failures and oversights, and on that basis there has to be a search for our lasting commitments (LCY Program) and solutions, and a need to discover room for large new advances.

It is not out of the question to anticipate a logical reaction by the working class in this situation in this sequence: responsibility of those who "deserve most of the credit" for the present situation; guarantees that commitment to overcoming the present economic situation will alter the social and class--self-management status of that part of society which creates the original material and spiritual values.

Indeed there is no more complete and successful self-management on the disrupted flows of reproduction, but likewise there is no straightening out of those flows unless there is a more thoroughgoing and complete self-management. We are not referring here to the myth of self-management, but to a comprehensive action, an action not confined to economic aspects alone. It is a question of a program from which the workingman will know why he is fighting and how much that commitment of his is worth. The situation we are in at the moment requires such a program, and it would not be a good thing for much time to pass without arriving at a unified assessment concerning the need for such a program.

It is true that in the recent past we have managed to overcome even incomparably greater difficulties through the will, unity and belief of the working class and all our nationalities and ethnic minorities, and in the recent past we have said and written a great deal about this. All of that was possible because it was based on the belief that what was being gained was greater than any sacrifices. Those great experiences of ours, those inspirations and lessons will, of course, be repeated under the same conditions, which necessitates a clear and strong

program, a program of the times and of the passing moment. In practical terms this means that the working class will certainly take upon itself the burden of economic stabilization insofar as it is assured that by achieving stabilization it will be improving its own material and social position. Put still more simply, it means that our society and system are confronted with the necessity of resolute achievement of what has been set down in the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and the decisions of the LCY Congress.

The entirety and the seriousness of our situation make it imperative that we reflect about the need for a program of strategy and action. We are not referring to a program based on economism and planning (which must, of course, exist), but of a program of social action, a program for the new stage of development. Drafting it cannot be the concern of narrow circles and self-qualifying politicians and revolutionaries. This program must ultimately be the result of a general discussion and agreement by the party, the working class and the people. It must present to the working class and all our nationalities and ethnic minorities a precise and clear conception of our material strength and capability, of our human potential and of self-management creativity. It must be the program of society and of the revolution in the next stage, which presupposes involvement of all the various aspects of the country's potential--scientists, experts, practitioners, of experts along with politicians. How and to what extent are these aspects of the potential to be used effectively in the present situation, to what extent are they being used, what results are they yielding, what sort of results could they yield under other conditions and circumstances, what are those conditions, and how are they to be created? That would be the basis for a creative tightening of the link which pulls the chain, the basis for responsibility and trust.

Even abroad the approach to our situation in assessments and expectations is from the standpoint of the outcome of the conflict between socialist self-management and statism, and that then determines the overall domestic and foreign position and social developments within Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, if we take as our point of departure the social and class dimension of our present situation, then the starting point must be trust. Throughout the world the crisis of systems is essentially a crisis of confidence. More and more attempts are being made to find ways out of that crisis on waves of self-management. We have that, but confidence is shaken. This has occurred in our system because of the lag and deformation of self-management, which at the same time indicates the directions of the way out. This is our obligation to our revolution, but also to progressive and revolutionary developments in the world. If this crisis situation of ours were to become still more acute, this would discourage our friends, it would greatly encourage reactionary forces in the world, including the forces of the hostile emigre community which are turned against Yugoslavia.

7045
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BRIEFS

BAKALI LC EXPULSION URGED--On the basis of the report of the commission of the presidium of the LC Central Committee of Sergia and of the LC Provincial Committee of Kosovo which established the party responsibility of Mahmut Bakali, there are entirely convincing and well-argued proofs for his expulsion from the LC. Considering the fact that despite all this Mahmut Bakali has not been expelled from the LC, it is entirely logical in this connection to ask: In addition to the irrefutable facts which the commission has already established, what kind of other evidence is still needed to prove that Mahmut Bakali should be expelled from the LC?! Does not this example eloquently attest to the fact that even more irresponsible action and conduct by LC members are stimulated by such an opportunistic attitude? Is this not an expression of privilege associated with the high position of Mahmut Bakali as president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee which was reflected in the mild criteria used in establishing the level of his responsibility compared to that of other LC members who are being expelled from the LC for incomparably less serious omissions and mistakes? Is it moral, honest, and in the spirit of the LCY Statute that less responsibility? [Excerpt from Letter to the Editor signed by Pero Grk, Belgrade] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 81 p 21]

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23 December 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1952

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Ashani Addresses Anniversary Meeting in Tirana
(Tirana Domestic Service, 28 Nov 81) 1

Superpowers' 'Nuclear Blackmail' Criticized
(ATA, 21 Nov 81) 2

AWP Organ Outlines Failure of Soviet Economy
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 19 Nov 81) 4

Leaders Attend District Anniversary Meetings
(ATA, 29 Nov 81) 6

Leaders Attend Lezhe-Shkoder Railroad Opening
(ATA, 23 Nov 81) 7

Youth Organization Celebrates Anniversary
(ATA, 24 Nov 81) 9

Meeting Marks Anniversary
Enver Hoxha Congratulates Organization

International Airlines Flight Schedules
(BASHKIMI, 31 Oct 81) 12

Briefs
Mexican Ambassador's Credentials 13
Foreign Trade Minister Activities 13
Tirana Liberation Anniversary 13
Jannina Trade Chamber's Arrival 13
Scientist Delegation's Return 14
Albanian Scientists Visiting Germany 14
Officials Greet Lao Leaders 14
Electrical Power Production Overfulfilled 14
Ioannina Delegation's Departure 15
Mexican Ambassador's Reception 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Synods Discuss 'Social Peace Service', Church Unification
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 21 Oct, 10 Nov 81) 16

'Social Peace Service'
Church Unification

HUNGARY

Conscript' Political Training in People's Army Described
(Antal Nemeth; PROPAGANDISTA, No 4, 1981) 20

Theologian Stresses Marxist, Protestant Similarities
(Peter Szanto; ELET ES IRODALOM, 14 Nov 81) 25

POLAND

Past Performance, Future of SZSP Assessed
(Ilona Morzol; TRYBUNA LUDU, 11 Nov 81) 29

Commander Discusses Air Defense Capabilities
(Longin Lozowicki; PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU, Oct 81) 33

Political Bureau Position on Youth Affairs Reported
(SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 1 Oct 81) 38

ERRATUM: In JPRS 79626 of 9 December, No 1949 of this series, in the article entitled "ZNP Statute" on page 87, insert the following paragraph immediately following the subheading I. General Provisions:

Article 1. The Polish Teachers' Union is a self-governing trade union which unites education and upbringing employees and employees of higher schools and scientific institutions. The union operates on the principle of the federation of two autonomous member unions, united in separate organizational structures:

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives New CSSR Ambassador
(AGERPRES, 23 Nov 81) 42

Delegate Addresses MBFR Talks in Vienna
(Bucharest Domestic Service, 20 Nov 81) 43

Problems of Secondary School Education Examined
(Iosif Tripsa; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Sep 81) 44

Discussion of Sociology Continues
(Catalin Zamfir; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Sep 81)..... 50

Comaneci Refutes Hungarian Report of Her Attempted Suicide
(Nadia Comaneci; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 21 Nov 81)..... 59

Corruption of Baptist Clergy Exposed
(Cici Iordache; FLACARA, 29 Oct 81)..... 63

Briefs
Stanescu Holds Economic Talks 67
Trade Agreement With Thailand 67
Trade Protocol With Canada 67
Obituary of Jurist-Academician 68
Ceausescu Receives Yugoslav Ambassador 68
PZPR CC Plenum 68
Ceausescu Receives New Zealand Envoy 68

YUGOSLAVIA

Proposed Changes in Local-Level LC Organization
(Velimir Filipovic; KOMUNIST, 30 Oct 81)..... 69

LC Defends Democratic Centralism Against 'Bourgeois Concept'
(Petar Mandic; KOMUNIST, 13 Nov 81)..... 72

Tito Biographer Dedijer Interviewed on Latest Volume
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 8, 15 Nov 81)..... 76

Text of Interview
One Reader's Reaction, by Ljubisa Manojlovic

Origin of Fire at Patriarchate of PEC Remains Unclear
(Stevan Stanic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 8 Nov 81)..... 85

Consequences of Shortage of Tractor Fuel Sighted
(Scepan Rabrenovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
25 Oct 81)..... 90

Briefs
Kosovska Mitrovica Renamed 95

ASLLANI ADDRESSES ANNIVERSARY MEETING IN TIRANA

AU282035 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Summary] A solemn meeting was held this afternoon in Tirana to mark the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of Albania's independence and the 37th anniversary of Albania's liberation. The meeting was organized jointly by the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the General Council of the democratic front and the Tirana District AWP Committee at the Theater and Opera Palace.

The meeting was attended by vanguard workers of production and work centers, sociocultural institutions and central departments, war veterans, members of families of war martyrs and others. The meeting was also attended by AWP Politburo members Adil Carcani, Simon Stefani and Muho Asllani; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; members of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government.

The meeting was declared open by Gaqo Nesho, Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary. The speech on the occasion was delivered by AWP Politburo member Muho Asllani. He said that the 28 and 29 November holidays were again being celebrated by the party and people in an atmosphere of high revolutionary optimism and with considerable successes on the production front. He stressed that the Albanian people have blazed their path in history with the sword, defending their freedom and independence against numerous enemies. Great successes have been achieved and great transformations have taken place during the past 37 years of Albania's free life under the leadership of the party. "The country is seeing the crises, unemployment, inflation, corruption, rising prices and other phenomena corroding the bourgeois and revisionist world." The people are building a happy life for themselves and are ready to defend it at all times, "relying constantly on the great Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance."

After speaking about some problems of the international situation, Comrade Muho Asllani said that "the AWP has waged and will continue to wage a determined, principled and consistent struggle to unmask modern revisionism of all hues, in defense of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism. This historic struggle, which has found and continues to find a brilliant reflection in Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, constitutes a contribution by our party to the common heritage of Marxism-Leninism." Comrade Muho Asllani then dwelt on the directives of the 8th AWP Congress and the magnificent prospects it opens up for the country, stressing that all the plans will be fulfilled "with no credits or aid whatsoever from anywhere."

After the speech, an artistic program was performed for those present.

CSO: 2100/23

SUPERPOWERS' 'NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL' CRITICIZED

AU211759 Tirana ATA in English 1730 GMT 21 Nov 81

["Atomic Blackmail by Superpowers in Europe"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 21 Nov (ATA)--The aggravation of contradictions between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union has considerably increased the tension also in our continent, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in an article. The situation has been aggravated among the others by the new threats by Reagan to wage a limited atomic war in the European territory as well as by those of Brezhnev for an unlimited nuclear conflict.

Naturally, the newspaper writes, this is not the first time that U.S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialism threaten Europe with a new war. The conventional weapons that they have deployed on the two sides of Europe are not the only means of threat and war. But now, contrary to other times, the stress is being laid on the use of mass extermination atomic weapons.

After exposing the falsity of the clamorous promises made for years on end by the Americans and Soviets that allegedly they will never use nuclear weapons, the newspaper writes that the deployment of nuclear warhead missiles by the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists in Europe and the strengthening of the atomic potential of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have increased still more the possibilities of transforming Europe into an atomic testing ground. In the meantime, the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and of the inter-imperialist rivalries, in the first place between the two superpowers, made the situation of uncertainty precipitate further, carrying with itself the fevers of atomic war.

In order to justify themselves before the world public opinion for the grave situation they have created and which is fraught with the danger of war, the superpowers shift the blame on each other, the newspaper writes further on, underlining that this is a known fraudulent tactic of the enslaving policy of the superpowers.

The atomic blackmail against Europe, the newspaper underlines, is exerted by the two superpowers to reinforce their present diplomatic offensive so as to weaken and subjugate the European allies. They in Washington know well that a united and politically independent Europe, as the big European capital claims to do it,

may become one day a more recalcitrant partner for them than a Europe full of U.S. atomic bombs. Likewise, the Soviet Union through the atomic blackmail is trying to establish "order" in the "socialist community," already corroded by numerous crises and contradictions, to which the "Polish crisis" has been added.

By further intensifying this diplomatic offensive, accompanied with an uninterrupted atomic threat, the two superpowers aim at hitting the European countries and at spreading the illusion that at present they have no other way out, except for the acceptance of the U.S. and Soviet atomic umbrellas.

But this blackmail may intimidate only those who live under the shadow of the Americans and the Soviets, but not the peoples of the old continent, who know not only how to fight with determination and courage, but also how to win over their imperialist and revisionist enemies.

The peoples in various countries of the world are enhancing their national political consciousness in order not to allow their countries in the mercy of imperialist superpowers. The numerous manifestations organised in several European countries recently against the deployment of the new U.S. missiles in Europe and against the danger of war, are another proof of the determination of these peoples to oppose the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

CSO: 2020/11

AWP ORGAN OUTLINES FAILURE OF SOVIET ECONOMY

AU252123 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Nov 81 p 4

[ATA article: "Admission of Insurmountable Failures and Difficulties in the Critical Soviet Economy"]

[Excerpts] Moscow. 18 November: According to TASS, a plenum of the Soviet Revisionist Party's Central Committee was held recently to discuss the country's economic problems. Brezhnev's speech at the plenum was in fact an admission of the impasse in which the Soviet economy, relodged on capitalism's rails, has found itself for some time. He mentioned, among other things, the "great damage in agriculture and in the whole economy for 3 consecutive years." He indirectly admitted the stagnant situation in industry, expressed his "regrets" about the irregular food supplies to the people, the lack of major food items, especially meat, milk and dairy products. Similar admissions were heard in the recent session of the Soviet Union's Soviet Supreme in Moscow, which, according to [TASS] "began its proceedings with a difficult task: to find economic solutions to get the country out of its crisis."

These bitter admissions prove that the stale demagogy, which was not lacking even in the above-mentioned meetings, cannot hide the reality of the deep crisis the Soviet economy is experiencing. Failures and difficulties in a number of important economic branches have become more prominent this year.

The capitalist road of development has led the Soviet economy directly into crisis. The symptoms of this crisis have been manifest for some time, but at the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties the Soviet capitalist economy was completely engulfed in a crisis and insurmountable difficulties.

Soviet agriculture is especially engulfed in a deep and insurmoutable crisis. Brezhnev was obliged to admit that 1981 was "a year of weak grain production" and he once again attempted to blame this situation on "bad weather." But the facts reveal that the critical agricultural situation has been this way for years and there is no sign of improvement. Gross agricultural production fell by 3.8 percent in the last 2 years. For the fourth consecutive year, grain production fell by about 60 million tons, which sets a record dating from 1975. There has also been a drop in the production of meat, milk and other livestock products. According to facts, the per capita meat consumption remains at the 1975 level

and that of milk has fallen below that level. There is a chronic lack of necessary items, the black market is thriving and prices are continually rising in an open or disguised way.

According to the foreign press, there are systematic price rises in retail goods in the Soviet Union and inflation is about 15-20 percent per year. The Soviet bourgeoisie uses this as a means to realize its redistribution of income and to raise the level of the broad working masses' exploitation in order to increase its own profits.

The disease of the Soviet economy is incurable because it is nurtured by the continual decay of the ruling state monopoly capitalism of the Soviet Union. The phenomena of this crisis are becoming sharper in the midst of the feverish militarization of the economy, which swallows one-third of the national income. Speaking about "factors" which influence the economic situation in the Soviet Union, Brezhnev also mentioned the "complication of the international situation" and let it be clearly understood that the militarist course will be intensified in the future, including the arms race, which serves the Soviet social imperialists' aggressive and expansionist plans. All this shows that even more difficult times await the Soviet economy.

CSO: 2100/23

LEADERS ATTEND DISTRICT ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS

AU291717 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Tirana, 29 Nov (ATA)--On the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence and the 37th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, the party committees, the executive committees of the people's councils and the presidencies of the democratic front of different districts of the country, organized solemn meetings. Attending were vanguard workers and cooperativists, veterans of war and labour, members of martyrs' families, militarymen, young men and young women.

The meeting organized at the "Tekstilisti" Palace of Culture in Berat was attended by the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Mehmet Shehu.

On the occasion of these marked events a solemn meeting was held in Kruja. Present was also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Ramiz Alia.

Such a meeting was organized in the "Skampa" theatre in Elbasan, in which the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Kadri Hazbiu took part as well.

Such a meeting was also organized in Saranda. Present was also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Foto Cami.

Besnik Bekteshi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party attended the solemn meeting organized in Kukes.

Present at the meeting organized in Tepelena was also the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Shefqet Peci.

Such a meeting was organized in Fier, too. Present was the member of the Central Committee of the party, Pilo Peristeri.

In this context, a meeting was held in the hall of "A. Moisiu" theatre of Durres. Present was also the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Spiro Koleka.

CSO: 2020/11

LEADERS ATTEND LEZHE-SHKODER RAILROAD OPENING

AU242013 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Tirana, 23 Nov (ATA)—Yesterday, the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the LYUA [Union of Working Youth of Albania] Organization, Lezhe-Shkoder railway line was inaugurated.

The member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Simon Stefani, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Besnik Bekteshi and Qirjako Mihali, the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania Spiro Koleka, the minister of communications, Luan Babameto, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Lumturi Rexha and others had come also to take part in that nice celebration of the inauguration.

Amidst applauses and cheers for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Simon Stefani cut the ribbon of inauguration.

In the square in front of the Shkodra railway station, a rally was organised. Besnik Bekteshi greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and the beloved leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally.

The tasks the party has entrusted to our youth for the construction of the railway lines, he said among the other things, have been constantly honourably carried out and in the set time-limits, and precisely in this jubilee year, only 7 months after the inauguration of Lac-Lezhe railway line, we gathered again to inaugurate the Lezhe-Shkoder railway line.

About 7,000 volunteers form various districts of the country poured off their sweat and toil for the setting up of this railway line. Other still greater projects he said further on lie in store for us.

The 7th 5-year plan adopted by the ith congress of the party [word indistinct] congress adopted, open brilliant prospects to the flourishing and progress of our party.

The party has full and firm confidence in our heroic, loyal, wise and gold handed youth. The youth has carried out with honour everything the party has entrusted

to it. It will always come out victorious even in the other important works and undertakings of the 7th 5-year plan in implementing the decisions adopted by the historic 8th congress of the party, such as the conclusion of the railway line from Shkodra to Hani i Hotit (border), of Fier-Vlore railway line and the other actions the party will entrust to it.

May these undertakings, too, Besnik Bekteshi said in conclusion, become a new expression of socialist patriotism, of the revolutionary spirit, and firm determination of our wonderful youth and its loyalty to the line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the LYUA the secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Etemije Zeneli, greeted.

Spiro Koleka procliamed the brigades and individuals decorated with different orders and medals accorded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The letter of the representatives of the 137 brigades of volunteers and veterans of the first undertakings of the youth addressed to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was read out at the rally. [Passage indistinct]

CSO: 2020/11

YOUTH ORGANIZATION CELEBRATES ANNIVERSARY

Meeting Marks Anniversary

AU241721 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Tirana, 24 Nov (ATA)--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the LYUA [Union of Working Youth of Albania], the Central Committee of LYUA and the committee of the LYUA for the Tirana District organized a solemn meeting at the "Partizani" Palace of Sports in Tirana yesterday afternoon.

Present were hundreds of young men and young women that had come from all the parts of the country, veterans and former cadres of youth, members of martyrs' families, representatives of mass organizations and other guests.

Present were also the comrades Ramiz Alia, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Hajredin Celiku, Foto Cami, the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Spiro Koleka and Shefqet Peci, the president of the General Council of the WUA [Women's Union of Albania] Vito Kapo, the first secretary of the Tirana District Party Committee Gaqo Nesho, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Tirana District People's Council Nesip Ibrahimi, members of the Central Committee of the party, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the government.

The meeting was declared open by the first secretary of the Committee of the LYUA of the Tirana District, Drini Nushi.

Amidst the enthusiasm and applause of those present, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Foto Cami read out the message of greetings that the beloved leader of our party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha has addressed to the younger generation of Albania on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the LYUA.

A speech on the occasion was delivered by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the LYUA, Lumturi Rexha.

Enver Hoxha Congratulates Organization

AU241730 Tirana ATA in English 0700 GMT 24 Nov 81

[Text] Tirana, 24 Nov (ATA)--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of the Albanian Communist Youth (today the Labour

Youth Union of Albania), Comrade Enver Hoxha had addressed a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Labour Youth Union of Albania, which reads among others:

It is a special joy for me today to convey to you, representatives of the younger generation and, through you, to all the youth of our country, the ardent greetings and the best wishes of the Party of Labour of Albania, its Central Committee and my own, on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of your militant organisations. Some 40 years are completed today from 23 November 1941, when, on the instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, I had the honour to participate in the founding of the Organisation of the Albanian Communist Youth, loyal auxiliary of our party. Therefore, today, I am with my heart and mind amongst you in your great joy.

After writing about the contribution made by the Albanian youth during the last 4 decades, both in the great struggle for the liberation of the homeland and later on in the reconstruction of the country destroyed by the foreign occupiers and the construction of socialism, the message of greetings says that the party and the people are proud of the sons and daughters of our country, who, gathered in the Labour Youth Union of Albania, forge ahead resolutely on the road of the party, which is the road of socialism, the road of prgress and all-round strengthening of our beloved homeland.

The 8th congress of the party concluded its proceedings only a few days ago, the message of greetings reads further on. It was a great assembly which defined the tasks and endorsed a magnificent program for the development of our country in the future. The proceedings of the congress were characterized by a feeling of responsibility towards the people and the cause of socialism, the unity of the ranks of the party and loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the penetrating ideopolitical and scientific analysis of the questions discussed.

Pointing out the great mobilization of the working masses in Albania to carry into life the decisions of the 8th congress of the PLA [Albanian Workers' Party], the message of greetings reads: One feels a great joy when he sees that, just as always, the creative activity and the selfless work of our heroic youth stand out, first and foremost, in this all-round mobilisation. You, comrades of youth, with your innovative and offensive spirit, with your militant drive and optimism, stand on the forefront of the advanced initiatives and actions being undertaken everywhere to turn into reality the tasks the party set at this congress.

As always, you are characterized by your vigorous action in the carrying out of the tasks, by your irreconcilability with routine, bureaucracy and sluggishness at work.

I express the conviction that, in particular, you comrades of youth, by assimilating more profoundly the teachings of the party, for which you nurture a boundless love, will study more persistently so as to ever better master the sciences in all the fields. In this way you will better serve to the homeland and the people, who, under the leadership of the party, are rearing and educating you with great care.

The active participation in the struggle for the construction of socialism and the strengthening of the defence of the homeland, the work to uninterruptedly increase the level of knowledge and culture, are tested roads that our youth temper itself with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party, with the love for the people and socialism, that it be always unflinching in the class struggle against the imperialist and revisionist enemies, against any alien manifestation and remnant which hinders us from our forward march toward the communist future.

Since the period of the anti-fascist national-liberation war and constantly the party has charged the youth with tasks of great responsibility and in all directions and it, no matter how difficult they have been, has always carried them out through to the end displaying great devotion to the people and the homeland. The party is proud of this and I congratulate and thank you in its name and, at the same time, express the firm conviction that our glorious youth, to which socialism has ensured a happy life, the guarantee for the present and the brilliant future, keeping always aloft the triumphant banner of the Party of Labour, will intrepidly and proudly forge ahead on the same road, the message of greetings reads in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/11

INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES FLIGHT SCHEDULES

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 31 Oct 81 p 4

[Announcement from Albtransport]

[Text] From 1 November 1981 to 31 March 1982, the flight schedule for aircraft of international airlines will be as follows:

1. INTERFLUG (IF 390/391), of the Civil Air Transport Enterprise of the German Democratic Republic flies on Monday, every other week, on the Berlin-Budapest-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1055 and departs Rinas at 1155.

2. OLYMPIC (OR 115/116), of the National Air Company of Greece flies on Tuesday, each week, on the Athens-Janina-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas airport at 1140 and departs Rinas at 1240.

3. TAROM (RO 251/252), of the Civil Air Transport Enterprise of the Socialist Republic of Romania flies on Wednesday, each week, on the Bucharest-Tirana-Rome route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 0900 and leaves for Rome at 0950; it returns from Rome at 1400 and departs Rinas for Bucharest at 1500,

4. JAT (JU 480/481), of the Civil Air Transport Enterprise of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia flies on Wednesday, each week, on the Belgrade-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1040 and departs Rinas at 1125.

5. MALEV (MA 430/431), of the civil air transport enterprise of the Hungarian People's Republic flies on Thursday, every week, on the Budapest-Belgrade-Tirana route and the return route. It arrives at Rinas Airport at 1005 and departs Rinas at 1105.

Note: Passengers should be at Rinas Airport one and one-half hours before the departure of the plane. If they do not do so, Albtransport is not responsible for their failure to depart.

CSO: 2100/29

BRIEFS

MEXICAN AMBASSADOR'S CREDENTIALS--Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Javier Zambrano, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Mexican States to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in the reception hall of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on 17 November. The Mexican ambassador presented his credentials. Taking part in the credentials presentation ceremony were Foreign Minister Nesti Nase; Xhafer Spahiu, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Bashkim Pitarka, director of the Second Directorate of Foreign Affairs Ministry and Jovan Antoni, chairman of the protocol branch of Foreign Affairs. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 81]

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER ACTIVITIES--Minister of Foreign Trade Nedin Hoxha received this afternoon the delegation of the Ioannina Chamber of Commerce and Industry led by its president, Ioannis Doumas. The reception was also attended by Marko Xega, deputy minister of foreign trade, and Nikolla Profi, president of the Albanian Chamber of Commerce. [AU231659 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Nov 81]

TIRANA LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY--A solemn meeting was organized by the district's AWP Committee, People's Council Executive Committee and Democratic Front Council's presidency in Tirana on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of its liberation. Taking part were workers, veterans, cooperativists, martyrs' family members and others. Also present were Comrades Manush Myftiu, Qirjako Mihali, Prokop Murra; Gaqo Nesho, first secretary of the district's AWP Committee; and other comrades. Nesip Ibrahimi, chairman of the People's Council Executive Committee, opened the meeting. Xhelil Gjoni, secretary of the district's AWP Committee greeted the meeting on behalf of the district's AWP Committee; the People's Council Executive Committee and the presidency of the Democratic Front Council. He emphasized that the workers of Tirana are celebrating this anniversary in an atmosphere of mobilization inspired by the 8th AWP Congress. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 81]

JANNINA TRADE CHAMBER'S ARRIVAL--A delegation of the Trade and Industry Chamber of Jannina, Greece, led by its leader Ioannis Dumas, arrived in Albania. The delegation was received by Nikolla Profi, president of the Albanian Chamber of Commerce. Also present was (Nikolas Kristogelas), charge d'affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the Republic of Greece in Tirana. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Nov 81]

SCIENTIST DELEGATION'S RETURN--The delegation of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Tirana University headed by Prof Luan Omari, scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences, returned to Albania from Turkey. It took part in the international conference devoted to the 100th anniversary of Kamal Ataturk. The delegation was welcomed by Prof Kole Popa, deputy chairman of the Academy of Sciences, Prof Besim Daja, vice rector of Tirana University and others. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 81]

ALBANIAN SCIENTISTS VISITING GERMANY—A group of scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Aleks Buda, the academy's chairman, began its lecture tour of the universities of the Federal Republic of Germany. The group of scientists stopped at Innsbruck University before moving on to Germany, where they lectured at Bonn University on Albanian history and language. They met with various academies and friends of Albania who expressed warm feelings toward Albania. The delegation continues its tour. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 81]

OFFICIALS GREET LAO LEADERS--Comrade Enver Hoxa, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and premier of the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic; and Souphanouvong, president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic: On the occasion of your national holiday, the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, we send you and the Lao people our warm greetings and wishes on behalf of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers and ourselves. The Albanian people sympathetically follow the progress achieved by the Lao people and wish them further successes in the development of their well-being and in defending their national independence against the interventions of the imperialist powers. We hope that the friendly relations between our two countries and peoples will continue to develop in the future. Tirana, 1 December 1981. [AU020755 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Dec 81]

ELECTRICAL POWER PRODUCTION OVERFULFILLED--Tirana, 25 Nov (ATA)--The Albanian working people of electric power system fulfilled the annual plan on 2 November. The production of electric power was overfulfilled 17.2 percent. They gave export 19.4 percent more electric power. A good job was done in particular by the working collectives of the "light of the party" hydropower station in Fierza, those of Vau i Dejes, Bistrica, Ulza, Shkopet, etc. Growing results were also recorded by the working collectives of the thermal power stations. During this period they overfulfilled the plan by 30 percent. The working people of the thermal power stations in Fier, Cerrik, etc, are in the forefront. On the other hand, increased care has been shown by the consumers of electric power, who have saved approximately 35,000,000 kilowatt-hours. Both the producers of electric power are defining their tasks to carry into life the decisions of the 8th congress of the party, that is, to discover and exploit all the existing reserves and possibilities for the attainment of even greater results. [Text] [AU250942 Tirana ATA in English 0700 GMT 25 Nov 81]

IOANNINA DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--Tirana, 22 Nov (ATA)--The delegation of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Ioannina, headed by the chairman of this chamber, Ioannis Doumas, left our country. During its stay in our country the delegation had talks at the Chamber of Commerce of the P.S.R. [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the enterprises of foreign trade of our country. Likewise, it visited several industrial and cultural centers in the cities of Tirana, Gjirokastra and Kruja. The delegation was seen off at the airport by the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce of the P.S.R. of Albania, Nikolla Profi and others. Likewise, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece to the PSR of Albania, Apostolos Papasliotis was on hand. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Nov 81]

MEXICAN AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION--Tirana, 15 Nov (ATA)--The minister of foreign affairs, Nesti Nase, received yesterday the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of Mexico to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Javier Zambrano, in regard to the presentation in the near future of of the credentials to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 15 Nov 81]

CSO: 2020/10

SYNODS DISCUSS 'SOCIAL PEACE SERVICE', CHURCH UNIFICATION

'Social Peace Service'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Nov 81 p 6

['epd' report, datelined Berlin, 6 November: "Five GDR Land Churches Support Demand for 'Social Peace Service'--Young People Admonished To Be Patient With State --Synod Conferences in Dessau, Goerlitz, Halle, Schwerin and Zuessow"]

[Text] In separate consultations this weekend, 5 of the 8 Land protestant churches in the DGR expressed their support for a "social peace service" to be introduced alongside existing military service and the unarmed construction units of the GDR Peoples Army. Some 4,000 persons appealed to the synods of the Land churches and the Church League of the GDR in petitions seeking support for this demand. As the Saxon Land synod had done earlier, the provincial synods of Saxony, Anhalt, Goerlitz, Greifswald and Mecklenburg now asserted in letters to the young people, that through resolutions concerning the church's responsibility for peace, passed by the synods of the GDR Church League in September, that they considered the peace declaration to represent their own view.

The large number of signatures to the petitions was seen by the Saxon provincial snyods as "a sign against resignation". They encouraged the mostly young signatories not to abandon hope, even if their demand is not met in the foreseeable future. To this point it was stated in the unanimously approved document of the synod, "Show that your will to peace extends further than its present possibility for fulfillment." In addition, it asked the young people to prepare themselves for a six-month term of social service even before a final decision is made concerning the introduction of an "alternative" to military service. In its decision the Goerlitz synod stated that the credibility of such a will to peace would be all the greater "if there were an attempt even now to find further opportunities for social service". The synod of the Greifswald Land church, which convened in Zuessow, expressed the hope that the legally recognized alternative service in the construction units of the GDR army would not generate handicaps for participants. The synods jointly expressed the wish that church leaders, in discussions with state authorities, continue to seek opportunities that would relate to the concerns of young people, even though the state had until now taken a generally negative attitude.

The proposed plan for the phased merger of the 8 protestant Land churches and their 3 parent organizations into a single "united Church" in the GDR, found widespread

approval at the synodal conventions in Dessau, Goerlitz, Halle, Schwerin and Zuessow. The two draft resolutions which had been presented by the Synodal Federation, describing on the one hand the step-by-step merger process and on the other the modifications to the federation constitution, were accepted by the synods. In an appended statement, some of the synods expressed their particular wishes for the process of church unification and the form of the proposed federative community.

In line with the synods' own declaration concerning the threats to peace and their support for the introduction of an alternative to military service, there was unanimous concern expressed regarding the continued armaments race and the increasing militarization of GDR society. The provincial Saxon and Mecklenburg synods were particularly distressed at the intensified civil defense exercises in the GDR which frequently extended over whole localities and urban districts. The members of the synods viewed these exercises, which include even children in the first grade of school, as posing the danger of "playing down a possible nuclear war". The members of the Schwerin synod stated, "We know today that there is no effective protection for human life in a war carried on with nuclear weapons." The Halle synod pointed out that "on the one hand fear is provoked, while on the other hand people are being made accustomed to the idea of a possible war".

The members of the Halle synod stated particularly strong objections to the concept of securing peace through military means. In their peace resolution they urged, "a carefully planned preliminary movement toward disarmament, jointly agreed upon with our allies, (e.g. reduction of the number of SS-20 rockets)" and for "defensive, low-threat security systems (e.g. reduction of the numerical superiority in tanks) and in favor of a new basis for trust in Europe from our side out..

Like the Magdeburg church authorities earlier in their annual report, the provincial Saxon synod expressed its concern "that understanding and reconciliation with the Polish people is again threatening to dreak down". In a position paper, it characterized as "very disturbing" the manner in which events in Poland were being portrayed in the GDR media "because they threaten to generate the image of an enemy". For this reason all existing connections should be maintained and not abandoned thoughtlessly. In a unanimously supported letter to the congregations of the church province, the synod expressed its concern "that the tendencies to condescension and generalizations on Poland can be put forward and accepted by Christians so thoughtlessly".

Concerning the equality of opportunities for Christian pupils in state educational institutions, the Halle synod called to mind once again the discussion of the Church League with GDR chairman of the council of ministers, Honecker, on 6 Mar 78, in which "equal rights and equal respect for all citizens" was assured. The synod failed to understand why "serious breaches of (this assurance) still occur". During the convention in Halle, it was reported that a girl pupil in the 11th grade of the comprehensive high school in Bitterfeld, who had been baptized at the beginning of November, was summoned to a conference by the school authorities and urged to submit a request for dismissal from school. To help prevent such incidents, which are contrary to the expressed policy of the state, the synod demanded a clear declaration from the government "by which teachers, parents and pupils could abide".

Church Unification

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Oct 81 p 5

['epd' report, datelined Dresden, 20 October: "GDR Churches Intend To Preserve Old Ties--Reorganization Before Dresden Synod--Concerns About Militarization]

[Text] Land bishop Hempel gave assurances today at the meeting of the Saxon synod in Dresden that the protestant churches in the GDR, in the event their planned merger should become reality, would maintain their contacts to sister churches in the FRG. These contacts, he said on Monday evening, could only be broken off "under compulsion". This position had been repeatedly expressed to representatives of the state. In the bishop's words, the relationships between the churches in the two countries have become "more matured and more partnerlike", and are concentrated increasingly upon objective tasks. They are "relationships of complete trust", said Hempel.

The central focus of the synod's third day of consultations was the merger of the 8 regional protestant churches in the GDR into one "united church". Two documents on this isuue were up for discussion, one of them a "joint resolution" in which the several steps on the way to the merger were described, plus the draft of a church statute for changes in the constitution of the previous "League of Protestant Churches in the GDR". Both texts had to be approved by all synods by a two-thirds majority before they could come into force. With the consultations in Dresden, the Saxon provincial synod had begun the complex process of decision which should be completed by the end of this year.

During the controversial discussions in Dresden, the argument was repeatedly brought forward that the planned merger would not create a simpler, more transparent ecclesiastical structure, but rather a more complex and cumbersome one. The present proposals gave only scant evidence of what had been formulated in 1979. The present product of the discussions was said to represent an "alienation from the church rank and file". Concern was also voiced that the denominational basis of the merger was still not clarified.

Over the weekend the synod discussed the almost 800 petitions of more than 2000 young Christians seeking support for a "social peace service" as a civilian alternative to military service in the GDR army. All speakers supported the concept.

Some critical comments were also aimed at the young Christians. Despite all agreement with the cause of the initiators of the "social peace service", it would have to be recognized that the number of persons obligated for military service choosing unarmed service in the construction units of the GDR Peoples Army, now numbering about 400 to 500, is not exactly large. Land bishop Hempel stated that the credibility of the church's peace committment would suffer if it were directed to a greater individual need for freedom.

In the public debate several church representatives expressed concern over the increasing militarization of further areas of GDR society. There were repeated reports of large scale civil defense exercises which have recently included whole towns or urban districts of larger GDR cities. In these instances what is being exercised is not defense in the event of an outbreak of hostilities, but rather

behavior in the event of a nuclear attack. Concern over the increasing militarization of public life and the creation of an image of the enemy, as remarked at the synod, was shared by a large part of the population even though not always vocalized.

The protestant churches in the GDR were continuing to strive, said Hempel, for a discussion with the Ministry of Education concerning the problems of young Christians in state educational institutions. Such a discussion had not yet come to pass. Hempel stated that with respect to the problems of "communist education", there were "difficulties that are to me inexplicable" to be found from the side of the state authorities. Yet the impression had been gained during the conversation of the synodal federation with the secretary of ecclesiastical affairs, that "the modalities for the execution of such a concept would now have to be prepared with more precision".

9878
CSO: 2300/61

CONSCRIPT' POLITICAL TRAINING IN PEOPLE'S ARMY DESCRIBED

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 4, 1981 pp 175-182

[Article by Antal Nemeth: "Political Education of Draftee's in the Hungarian Army]

[Text] The Hungarian People's Army was born and developed together with our new socialist social system. Our army was created to defend and increase our socialist achievements and together with the brotherly armies assure the conditions of peaceful creative work. The past three and one-half decades have shown that the Hungarian Army always completely fulfills its tasks in the spirit of the Constitution. In addition to preparations for the defense of our country and assuring a high level of combat readiness, the soldiers of our army have honorably taken part in assisting in the producer work of the economy and in warding off natural disasters or in eliminating their consequences. While carrying out its basic mission well, the army has also educated the masses of young people entering the service to love the socialist homeland, to respect other peoples and to foster and follow progressive democratic and revolutionary traditions. It is in the army that many youth have become familiar with basic political questions and the social tasks of socialist building and defense.

As a result of the organized political education and continuous education work, the young soldiers receive appropriate basic information to orient themselves in the complicated international situation and recognize the main causes and inner springs of events. As a result of all these things, the outlook, mode of thinking, the relationship to social questions and tasks of the soldier on returning to civilian life go through significant and positive changes. Dozens of letters from the managers of work places, from some parents sent to the armed forces express appreciation for and acknowledge the human and character-building influence of the army, and its role in the preparation for adult life. It is in the army that many young people are stimulated to deal more consciously with social policy, our economic building work, and the question of international life; and in the interest of more fundamental knowledge they continuously read and beome better educated.

Our experiences over the years with measuring the political consciousness of young people entering the army show that they are increasingly better educated politically, more interested in political questions, more sensitive to the contradictions of society, more capable of debate, and increasingly committed to the cause of socialism.

It can be established with approximate accuracy that about 8 to 15 percent of the youth entering the army have a good level of political knowledge, 50 to 60 percent have about average information, and about 25 to 30 percent begin their military service with weak and deficient political knowledge. A role is played in all this by schooling, the social-public life activities of the young, the family, the circle of friends, and finally social influence as a whole.

It is not my goal now to analyze the nature and effectiveness of this influence. I wish to stress that during the period of military service an essential change in knowledge composition takes place. By discharge, the ratio of those lagging behind drops from 8 to 10 percent, and the ratio of those with good political knowledge rises to 25 to 30 percent. This positive change has an importan effect on the later life of these youth. It seems to us that it is possible to build well on the knowledge acquired in the army, on the skills and on the socio-political activity developed in the military milieu.

In this article I wish to give an account of the substantive questions pertaining to the political education of enlisted men, pointing out those foundations on which it will be possible later in civilian life to build.

The basis for good fulfillment of military service is a high-level political and moral commitment.

The ideological-political education of the enlisted men in the Hungarian Army is an organic part of military life and a major educational branch. In 13 percent of total training we are imparting basic socio-political information. This ratio corresponds to practice in the armies of friendly countries.

In the ideological-political insturction of the enlisted men, we place emphasis on establishing education in a well-founded world outlook and in the formation of a social view. We strive to see that the rank-and-file understand the main goals of party policy, identify with these, and actively participate in socio-political practice. We assure them in a manifold way that socialist building and defense create unity, and their fulfillment is a patriotic and internationalist obligation, a matter of honor.

First of all, the young soldiers are familiarized with the goals and basic requirements fo the country's armed service. The essence and importance of the military oath, the substance of military obligations and their mode of fulfillment, and the socialist military life style are made known to them. They become familiar with the progressive military traditions, the lives and noble examples of the predecessors who strove for progress.

We make the soldiers aware that the most important creative element of the socialist homeland is in the workers' power and the socialist system, which becomes more perfect with the purposeful work of society as a whole. We make clear in a manifold way the close relationship between the individual and society, the social factors and possibilities of individual success. We familiarize them with the essence of socialist patriotism, and the class content and everyday practice of active patriotism as manifested in deeds. Various subjects of the instruction serve to help them

recognize that socialist patriotism and the defense of socialism does not end at the borders of the country but requires a joint effort and internationalist unity in wake of the combined efforts of socialist countries to defend the achievements and values that are being created. To this end, we devote a great deal of attention to showing life in the brother socialist countries, to an understanding of the common laws of socialist building work, and to a recognition of the importance of ideological, economic, political and military cooperation. The deepening of the idea of friendship among the progressive peoples strengthens at the same time the feeling of socialist military comradeship in arms. The real strength and value of this is shown in the exercises of the Warsaw Pact, and in the exemplary, shoulder-to-shoulder execution of the tasks.

Political instruction for the soldiers deals with the essentials of our times, the essence of imperialism, its nature, and the main problems of the international class struggle. The soldiers become familiar with the practice of peaceful coexistence, the concept of detente and its contradictory aspects. The socialist countries adapt, above all, the goals of the Soviet Union's peace policy and the place and role of our armies in the struggle for peace. They recognize that a new world war would be disastrous for the future of human kind, and therefore the prevention of a thermonuclear war is a primary task, and this can be assured only by maintaining a military balance and constantly strengthening our combat readiness.

Various subjects deal with the characteristics of the class struggle conducted in the ideological field, and with its forms of manifestation. The decisive majority of the soldiers understand that the principle of peaceful coexistence can be used for a world-wide ideological struggle. Cooperation in certain political questions and in economic and cultural areas are inconceivable in ideological questions where the principles expressing the interests of the working class and the capitalist class cannot be harmonized and merged. The instruction prepares the soldiers to recognize the essence of ideological diversion and to perceive and see through the various hostile views. We take great care to see that the soldiers have adequate arguments for seeing through and negating erroneous ideas.

About one-third of the teaching material in various subjects includes problems of domestic socialist building work. We deal with the circumstances under which the Council Republic was formed, its achievements, the struggle of the Hungarian communists, the evaluation of the historical importance of our liberation, and the victory of the people's democratic revolution. We teach as a historical process the conditions for the creation of working class power and the struggle for the consolidation of power. We show in a many-sided way the process of strengthening socialist national unity, and its role in the building of socialism.

In the framework of a number of subjects, we deal with the development of the economy, the resolutions dealing with the economic building work of the 12th Congress. We show in a many-sided way the close relationship between politics and economy, the goals of economic-political measures, and the social importance of their realization. We explain the requirements of intensive economic development, of a change in the product structure, of economy and savings as well as the concrete tasks linked to their realization. In accordance with its importance, we deal appropriately with the tasks of a multilateral cooperation among the CEMA countries, making it understood that mutual exploitation of the advantages latent in the international work

distribution is in the interest of every participating country and an accompaniment of peaceful coexistence between the two world systems.

We show in a many-sided way the role of successful economic development in the whole of social progress, in the solution to our socio-political and cultural tasks, in the development of our defense capability, and in the development of living standards. We devote a great deal of attention to making it understood that the protection of the living standards already achieved demands more purposeful, organized and superior work from the country as a whole.

In instruction we deal with the basic questions of ideological and cultural life, the basic principles of the socialist military mode of life, the essence and forms of socialist democracy, and its role in our development. Our experience shows that many young people who enter the army underestimate the importance of work place democracy, and regard the operation of democratic forums as superfluous. Therefore, we devote a great deal of attention to suppressing of erroneous views relating to democratic forums by using convincing arguments.

Given the nature and basic mission of the army, we devote a great deal of attention to instruction in basic questions of the socialist defense of the country. In the course thereof, we vitalize our people's progressive, historical and freedom fighting traditions, and the heritage of our revolutionary past. Intellectual and emotional identification with the instruction materials is promoted by military museums, collective fostering of troop traditions, and the discovery and recognition of the revolutionary past of the garrison troops. We teach the history of our army, its development, characteristics, and how the Warsaw Pact Organization was established to counter the aggressive imperialist bloc. The soldiers become familiar with the composition of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact states and with the life of our brothers-in-arms. As a result of the instruction, the ideas of socialist defense and faith in the strength of the socialist defense federation are strengthened.

By outlining the subjects that are taught, I wished to give an awareness of the main substantive elements of the ideological-political work conducted among the enlisted soldiers. This instruction is well supplemented by a system of bimonthly political lectures at which foreign and domestic political problems are generally treated. In these, we devote great attention to see that in addition to explanations of the main events in world politics, the soldiers also receive continuous information about questions of domestic building work and the life of the country. We provide the soldiers in every barracks with daily newspapers and periodicals to inform them of daily questions. The soldiers regularly watch television, listen to the radio, and read in the subunit club houses during evenings and leisure hours. The army maintains a well-developed library network, where political writings can be found in addition to literary works. We are very pleased that the great majority of the soldiers show no disinclination for reading. Our troop libraries are well visited, and in fact many young people continue to be regular book readers even after discharge.

The System of Instruction

Planned political instruction is conducted in training time, in the framework of instruction days. A given instruction day consists of five fifty-minute hours. The first element of the instruction process is the lecture; this is followed by a viewing of training films (motion and filmstrips), and the individual study of textbooks.

With the conclusion of the individual learning, the soldiers fill out a short test form from which the activity leaders can assess right away what stuck in the soldiers' consciousness from the lecture and the additional information, what they learned, and how they grasped the course materials.

We regard group activity as one of the most essential and valuable parts of the instruction day, where they discuss the subject matter, supplementing and enriching it with their own experiences. The activity groups are those small military groups in which the soldiers live and work together. The great majority of the activity leaders are the officer commanders of the soldiers.

A solid foundation for the effectiveness of the training-educational work is provided to a large extent by the fact that the activities of the rank-and-file are guided by commanders who are ideologically and politically well prepated and who have rich educational experiences and a propagandistic background of many years. Their preparation and the work of the propagandists is also helped by the activity leaders' auxiliary materials which contain lecture outlines for given subjects, suggestions for demonstrations, table outlines, recommended questions for group discussions, and so forth. The preparation is also assisted by the Cabinets of Political Work, where recommended literature and selections are available for the propagandists in addition to aids for the techniques of instruction.

We devote great care to demonstrations. Most of the various data sources are provided centrally. We will rewrite, modernize and reprint the textbook following the year of the party congress and the so-called midterm Central Committee session. The users receive the textbook and the auxiliary materials of the activity leaders free of charge.

The political instruction of enlisted men in our army develops in the direction set forth in party resolutions and in harmony with social practice. But we can see that there is still plenty to do. Our main goal is to increase the effectiveness of our instruction. An essential index of this is theory and practice, the strengthening of the unity of word and deed in training, service combat activity, building work, and private life. We want to improve the unity and the harmony of propaganda, agitation, political information, and public education activity. We also want to make progress in developing illustrative material. We prepare propagandists with great care for their tasks, and we attend to the continuous development of their theoretical and practical knowledge.

In the foregoing, I wished to show the substance and the system of political instruction for enlisted soldiers with the intention that it can be taken into account in their daily work by the party propagandists working in civilian life.

6691
CSO: 2500/57

THEOLOGIAN STRESSES MARXIST, PROTESTANT SIMILARITIES

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 14 Nov 81 p 7

[Article by Peter Szanto: "Protestant Communism? A Discussion on the Reconcilable Contradictions of Religion and Marxism"]

[Text] Several weeks ago, a conference of theologians and materialist philosophers was held in Debrecen. On the first day, they held a sumposium on the theory of religion and, on the second day, a Marxist-Protestant dialog. Most of those who made comments at this religious-historical dialog spoke chiefly of common, cohesive elements. Is there identity in the teleology of religion and Marxism? What is the difference between Christian morality and Communist self-discipline? On which side of the front line can religion be found in the present world situation? We talked about these problems with Dr Laszlo Makkai, deacon of the Debrecen Theological Academy and the scientific advisor of the Historical Science Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Science.

[Question] Will religion become the superstructure of socialist society?

[Answer] There is no outlook for this, although at times the peace between state and church arouses such an appearance. However, I must emphasize--as a Marxist philosopher also expressed himself at the conference--the Hungarian situation is unprecedented even in respect to the neighboring countries. It must be said, however, Marx believed that the church and religion itself must be the fantastic mirror of an impoverished society. This is how it was at least in the times with which Marx was dealing. But we must not forget that the church as a significant progressive past. Consider only the role of Calvinism in the early bourgeois revolutions in the Netherlands and England. Or look at the fermenting effect of the Reformation on the German peasant wars! The demand for a hard self-examination appeared on behalf of Christian churches even before 1945--in a word, it is not true that they arrived at the present situation from opportunism but rather from a rigorous theoretical clarification. Even before the liberation, the main question was the following: how did the church which gave us Bocskay, Molnar Szenci, Apaczai, and--in final analysis--"produced" Moricz and Ady, come to where it became an identified part of the Horthy system, that is, for an oppressive, exploitative system?

[Question] But still there are basic differences, are there not, between the progressivism of religion and Marxism?

[Answer] We must acknowledge this basic difference before any further reflection or any further thought. Marxism is an immanent philosophy and Christianity transcendent. The belief in God is antithetical to Marxism, and not only in the subject area of atheism. There is also a dispute, for example, over the question of the two kinds of Hegelian dialectics. They say about Marx that he turned Hegel around from his head to his feet, while we are still working with the dialectic that "was left standing on its head." Its major heir, the philosophy of Kirkegaard, is the basis of modern Protestant theology, the so-called dialectic theology. There is also discussion of the death of the church. Marxism says that the church will die in a socialist-communist society. (Well, of course, later on the state also will die.) We believe that religion will come to an end with human fulfillment, with the coming of the Kingdom of God. We wait for the end of religion as Marxists wait for the end of the state. As the conference ended, we jokingly wished one another the death of the two institutions as soon as possible.

[Question] There also was discussion of ideological identity, or similarities.

[Answer] The main debate, for example, in which both sides are seeking for the answer is whether man is basically good. Can man redeem himself, cast off all forms of alienation? To put it in Christian terms: can he be without sin? In Marxist terms: is he capable of perfect self-realization? Another similarity is in the fact that both are teleological and that transcendence is not lacking from Marxism. But the utopian makes concrete existence transcendent. However, this philosophy continues the utopian path in actual existence, it remains immanent, whereas in religion the path continues on the transcendental plane.

[Question] What kind of answer does Christianity give to modern social phenomena? How does it explain, for example, the bad phenomena evident among the nonbelievers? Can it give counsel on how to overcome these things?

[Answer] There was a great deal of discussion at the conference regarding the relationship of puritan morality and communist self-discipline. These two have in common their cult-type respect for family and work. Puritan morality was born at the beginning of capitalism among the English petite bourgeoisie and the early proletariat. This way of thinking does not belong unconditionally to capitalism. Obviously, this cannot be applied to the large capitalists, who of course never thought of denying themselves the task in the interest of some moral goal. This morality was not alien to the early workers' movement. Those men invested time and lives in matters of which they knew that, at the best, it would bear fruit for very distant descendants. The relationships of the two moralities also can be demonstrated historically, in fact, also in the writing of the Marxist classicists.

[Question] You said that this kind of morality was not alien to the early workers' movement. In the view of Christianity, is it alien to modern socialism?

[Answer] We Christians feel that it has been deemphasized by Marxism. Well-being is unprecedented, although in the present world economic situation we can hardly permit this for ourselves. The excessively great range of variety, the luxury consumption, the uninhibited imitation of a consumer society is burying morality. Both religious and atheist morality.

[Question] I believe that this problem was raised in the 1960s in the discussions on frigidaire socialism. He is not unconditionally a good Marxist who has nothing to lose but his chains. I do not believe that the frigidaire, the automobile, or the villa on the Balaton will in themselves endanger morality.

[Answer] It is not a question of frigidaire socialism at all. This question has already been solved for themselves by the believers and the nonbelievers alike. The question is whether our manipulated variety policy is correct. The pursuit of productivity for its own sake, the widest commodity abundance possible, its variety--this is capitalist morality. I do not believe that we should be imitating the wasteful consumption of capitalist society, or its prestige consumption.

[Question] Undoubtedly, socialism also is opposed to prestige consumption, the tasteless consumption pretensions of the poor, the enthusiastic fulfillment of false demands. But what is the solution?

[Answer] At the time of the Abigel debate, many people attacked the author, Magda Szabo, for raising to great moral heights such vital principles as are alien to life and "prudish." Fortunately, it was the critic of NEPSZABADSAG who defended the TV film. In essence, he said that the morality which restrains itself in order to serve others is not only a Christian but also a Communist morality. In brief, our common heritage should receive greater emphasis in the education of people. It is all the same whether we call it puritan morality or communist self-restraint. We should induce people to make sober judgments on their lives. With a sober measurement of our resources, we should work out a demand system which is not nomastic but modest. Not everything should be ungainly, grotesque, but we should not forget that the plain beautiful can also be beautiful. Let us have culture, attractive designing of consumer goods, variety, but for people not for consumption. Let us concern ourselves more with the upbringing of the soul, not only with the "right" commodity abundance.

[Question] Plainly speaking, are we talking about the "service principle"?

[Answer] There are disputes between religion and materialist Marxists over how to judge man. At the time, Marx said that the wretched are oppressed and that is why they are grotesque. When he sought for a practical way out of this situation for mankind, he rationally did not research whether man was good or bad. Christianity feels that the Marxists have not made a decision in this question. The Christian churches, of course, are pessimistic, they believe that man cannot realize himself alone, the good can be liberated in him only by God. On the other hand, man is educable, must be educated! Both sides agree on this. But educable for what? For a life form in which the other man is the true value. The individual undertakes to do the service precisely for the sake of the other person. For the other person, for the future, and for himself. In order for this to be realized in Hungary, it will be necessary to rethink fundamentally the teaching of antagonism.

[Question] No matter how we think of the matter, the belief in God and atheism are irreconcilably opposed to one another.

[Answer] Theoretically, they will remain so. But for a long time now, the two ideologies have been moving in other than the world of pure abstractions. Therefore, we maintain that certain antagonisms will fade away. The front between worlds is no longer between the believers and the nonbelievers but between the believers in a future and the nihilists. Of course, this refers to practical activity, but it would be a laughable matter if the entire society were to occupy itself incessantly with the philosophical and world outlook problems of atheism. Let everyone according to his own belief await the coming of communism or the Kingdom of God if the essential thing is to confront jointly the nihilists, who believe in nothing--perhaps only in the neutron bomb.

[Question] Then this is the camp which struggles for the future?

[Answer] We can actually classify people into four groups. There are the believers and the nonbelievers in religion, more precisely those who hold the principles of materialism and Marxism. Then there are the humanists, who have lost their faith in one of the two, but do not believe in the other one, or they never were and never will be believers in either one. However, since they believe in the future, we are in the same trench with them. And the fourth group consists of the nihilists.

[Question] Which group is the strongest among the four? Obviously, not the first three because then we would not have to wage a worldwide struggle against the fourth group of people, whom I would call the indifferent rather than the nihilistic. This could include the nihilists, but I believe that indifference is even more dangerous.

[Answer] At the conference, someone asked how many of those present were absolutely conscious, well-prepared, and unshakeable Christians. And how many Marxists of the same high level? And if there are 40 of us in each group, how many can there be in the whole country? Several hundred, several thousand. Between them, however, are the indifferent masses. It is the common task of these two groups--with the help of the humanists--to awaken the unconscious, indifferent masses. This is a common task which will reduce the difference between the believers and the nonbelievers and force the antagonisms into the background as we have enormous, common problems that can be solved only in common.

6691
CSO: 2500/55

PAST PERFORMANCE, FUTURE OF SZSP ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Ilona Morzol: "The Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) the Year After Its Congress--What Next?"]

[Text] Following its renewal proclamation the SZSP was the first organization to convoke its own extraordinary congress--a congress which duly sanctioned only those changes initiated at the earlier conference of the aktiv in Uniejow. The SZSP declared itself as an independent, political organization of Polish student youth, but at the same time it did not renounce its union activity. In the new declaration it adopted an open world outlook for the union and its internal democratic structure, the guarantee of which was to be the great importance of collegial officials. Specification of an upper age limit, once and for all, was supposed to prevent workers from becoming detached from "the crowd."

At the congress a number of demands were made on the party and the government calling for the democratization of life in Poland and for radical social and economic reforms. But the SZSP did not formulate its own program of political and organizational activity; in the renewed organization this program was supposed to be built from below and to result from everyday practice.

The fact that students and not permanent workers fulfilled most of the functions on the school and district councils allowed people to hope that the SZSP would become a truly student organization. As if to confirm this, in its declaration the SZSP appealed to the traditions of the Polish Student Association (ZSP) and Rural Youth Union (ZMW), organizations which once really mattered in the student community.

In practice, however, the hopes raised by the congress turned out to be difficult to implement.

In the New Situation

In the year since it lost its monopoly in student affairs, there has again been an outpouring of a great deal of criticism at the SZSP--on the one hand, criticism that, despite its declaration of independence, the SZSP continues to "be led by the nose by the authorities," and on the other hand, criticism that in losing its former look, it had not managed to define itself anew, criticism that it had become an organization without character which, having called itself political in its declaration, in reality had relinquished this sphere of activity without a struggle to the supposedly apolitical Independent Association of Students (NZS).

The Lodz strike, which proved that an abyss remained between the bottom and the top of this organization, also added to the criticism. Rank and file SZSP members took an active part in strikes at all the schools and made up the Lodz strike committee; the chief authorities of the organization remained passive to the end, limiting themselves to formal support for the strike.

The position of the SZSP in the schools also changed in substance. Sharp political divisions were created in many schools by newly selected academic authorities expressly opposed to the sole student organization which had been patted on the head not so long before this. In some schools, for example, the art schools, the organizations ceased to have any meaning in general.

It seems, however, that the factor most damaging to the SZSP is its internal problems, and primarily the inertia of the collegial bodies which are supposed to decide on the look and activity of the union. One month after the congress, at its first plenary session, the Supreme Council had difficulty beginning its deliberations, since already at that time it lacked a quorum in the room. This situation was repeated at all the subsequent plenums, until it was necessary to make a decision concerning the takeover of the functions of the Supreme Council by an Executive Committee composed of a dozen or so members.

It is not hard to imagine how unfavorably such a situation affects the authority of an organization among its own members, and also its credibility in the community.

Such an important document as the political program came to be ratified only at the third plenum which was devoted to this matter. This situation certainly was influenced also by the myriad of important political events in Poland, before which the internal affairs of the organization had to take a back seat. But this does not change the fact that, aside from discussions on truly essential matters in Poland, at the meetings of the Supreme Council there were also lengthy procedural arguments which--it is apparent--could not affect the formation of the specific look of the union. Several quick reactions to political events in Poland, such as the position adopted on the matter of the events in Bydgoszcz, for example, can constitute proof that union authorities are not a group of people devoid of a political face. Yet this certainly is not enough to imply that the entire organization possesses such a look.

An attempt was made to find this look at this year's council in Uniejow, where a position was adopted on the most important issues in Poland. Declaring itself in favor of the socialist development of Poland and in favor of maintaining the status quo of authority, the SZSP in its next course of action expressed its attitude toward the main political forces responsible for Poland's fate: "The Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) and Solidarity must (...) recognize that the achievement of social harmony and stabilization is possible only if there is a conscious self-limitation of both forces. The PZPR must turn over part of its authority to self-governing bodies and to democratic citizens' institutions. Solidarity must give up its political aspirations, its unconcealed aspirations to usurp authority (...). We believe that it is necessary to form an alliance of sensible people, where our place also must lie.

Questions without Answers

It is only a shame that even the chief authorities of the union could not approve this document, since again they failed to turn out in force. I thought that more than 200 members of the aktiv of the SZSP came to Uniejow not only to state the need to find their place in an alliance of sensible people. It seemed to me that they came also to define that place.

Of course, the unstabilized situation in Poland does not help to define the place of individuals or, all the more, of organizations; even those who most likely found themselves in a new reality after August 1981 are feeling something akin to shortness of breath today. Yet the situation in the student community seems so much clearer that the NZS defined itself in practice quite distinctly as a political organization drifting to the right. In this situation, the need for a strong left-wing organization in the schools is all the more apparent.

From the moment of the NZS uprising it was understood that a political struggle would take place in this community that would be perceived as a battle of arguments arising from differences of opinion. This does not exclude collaboration in purely student affairs, but it assumes a struggle when essential questions such as constitutional principles or the binding legal order in Poland come into play. Only the specific position toward the NZS adopted this year in Uniejow concerned criticism of its disrupted activity in the international student movement. For its own national bailiwick, the SZSP adopted the tactics of hiding its head in the sand. This follows, I believe, from the lack of a consistent program of political work, which was not elaborated either at the congress or during the subsequent year. And, in my opinion, this has some significance for the basic elements of the union.

A man who is a member of a political organization (and I want to believe that at least half the students who challenged the legitimacy of the SZSP did so with conviction) would wish not only to read in a successive document that he should declare himself for socialism and fight for it but would also want to find out what practical significance it has for him. And he has a right to believe that the aktiv of his organization can manage to declare itself specifically on this subject.

Outline of the Program

At this year's meeting in Uniejow there was a shortage of the faith and optimism characterizing the previous year, and although the discussions were heated more than once, their temperature resulted more from the general mood of irritation with tensions in Poland brought to Uniejow both by students and invited guests. Out of the jumble of opinions and evaluations of what is happening in Poland, in the academic community, and in the organization itself, they still did not succeed in drawing conclusions on how the SZSP is to function in the future and work in the schools as a political union organization.

In regard to the second goal, however, we can already speak of a certain program outline. The Economic Commission of the Supreme Council has elaborated a plan for a new system of material assistance for students and students' families and its own proposals for solving the problem of employment of graduates and for improving the state of the academic health service and nutrition.

The SZSP also took an active part in the social projects of the Commission, elaborating a draft law on higher schools and announcing its essential views on matters of financing this school system, the participation of students in collegial bodies, and the shaping of the self-governing body.

The new academic year is supposed to answer the questions, how large will the SZSP be, and how will its relations turn out not only with the NZS but also with the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP), just entering the schools? It should also bring an answer to the question, will the union become the actual support for the academic left-wing, or will it regain its credibility? I would hope that these answers would be consistent with the expectations--as I see them--of a large segment of student youth.

8729
CSO: 2600/73

COMMANDER DISCUSSES AIR DEFENSE CAPABILITIES

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish Oct 81 pp 5, 7, 8, 9

[Article by Division General Longin Lozowicki, commander of the national air defense [OPK] forces: "Guarding the Air Boundaries of our Socialist Nation"]

> [Text] For the national air defense [OPK] forces the year 1980 was a year of implementing tasks in a complex political-military situation in the world and socio-economic in the country.
>
> Following the Soviet proposals presented in Berlin, there occurred contrary to expectations of a positive reverberation, the December NATO decision regarding the deployment of Euro-strategic arms in Europe. In the leading capitalist nations, rightist and revisionist forces became active, whose primary goal is to increase military potential and to sow the psychosis of threat. Political activity was accompanied by an intensive development of the material bases of armaments and confrontations with socialist nations. Tensions mounted constantly in the Near and Mid-East.

The military-political situation in the world requires constant alertness, resistance and above all, a high degree of defensive readiness within whose framework, our forces perform one of their basic tasks.

The socio-economic situation in the country was also not conducive to the implementation of the tasks standing before us. The events of the second half of the year, especially those of August and September were particularly difficult for the country and the party. They placed our country in a profound state of socio-economic crisis, which we experienced in common and whose effects can still be felt today; and within our capacity as soldiers, we are doing our part in overcoming it.

Despite tension and unrest in the country and frequently felt bitterness and disillusionment brought out by the depth of the crisis and its causes, the cadre of OPK forces did not succumb to the atmosphere of the moment and to despair but unselfishly carried out planned tasks, stayed with the soldiers, exhibiting political wisdom and judgment in explaining the country's current situation.

The high level of political culture of the professional cadre had a significant effect on the attitudes of soldiers in basic military service and on civil employees, military families and on strengthening the fellowship of the military community.

The strength of the formed attitudes reveals itself today as well, through conscientious service and a high degree of ideological and ethical-moral maturity of party members in an, after all, rather difficult period of consolidating party energy around the plan for leading the country out of the present crisis.

The resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Assembly of the KC [Central Committee] of the PZPR, which have initiated the process of changes, were passed in all communities of OPK forces, receiving general approval.

Ardent, objective discussion during sessions of echelons and at party meetings; during military meetings, information and political work, particularly during the period preceding the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress--fully confirm the high degree of concern on the part of soldiers for the fate of the country and the nation and their readiness for earnest and unselfish service to socialist Poland.

The year 1980 was the last year for the implementation of tasks of the 5-year directives of MON [Ministry of National Defense] and for the fulfillment of tasks of the 5-year plan.

The balance of the 5-year period of implementing tasks standing before OPK forces--is the daily concern of our military population [stanow osobowych] for the maintenance of a high level of combat readiness, operating efficiency of technical equipment and expert mastery of the principles of its operation. The last year of the past 5-year period was especially difficult for us. It should be stated with true satisfaction that in this complex and difficult situation, the national air defense forces carried out honorably all tasks of the final year of the binding directives of the National Defense minister regarding the activity and training of armed forces.

We fully maintained the held opinion of the Polish Army as the leading branch of the armed forces. We confirmed this with the results from drills, inspections and controls carried out by various levels with the Command of the Combined Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact and with daily service in all elements of our air defense system. All the soldiers of our forces carry out their duties with dedication--from this, they have their own, personal contribution to and a reason for honest soldierly satisfaction.

The past year brought to all environments, further improvement in the atmosphere of coexistence and human interrelationships. We bear in mind, however, that in the light of the country's complex, socio-political situation, continued concern over the proper structure of human interrelationships has a particular significance. Leadership, party and political-upbringing responsibility for the proper culture of coexistence--that is the observance of laws and responsibilities, the unity of words and actions; it is trust and goodwill towards people and their daily and official life's matters.

In the past period, the process of ideological upbringing of all communities of OPK forces proceeded with regularity. The ideological commitment to the best accomplishment of tasks resulting from party resolutions and directive-type documents was molded successfully. All elements displayed constant concern for a high moral-political state. Our soldiers' contacts with soldiers from units of the Soviet Army forces, the NAL NRD [German People's Army of the GDR] and the CzAL [Czechoslovak People's Army] served well the shaping of internationalist bonds.

The guiding force of these undertakings was a well prepared, educated and ideologically committed cadre as well as party and youth organizations in our units.

Commitment, a high level of ideological awareness; the ability of soldiers of the OPK forces to take advantage of opportunities, which are made available by modern combat materiel; high qualifications of commanders, of flight personnel, rocket forces personnel, technical and support personnel--these are the essential qualities of a high degree of combat readiness of our forces, which defend the country against the unexpected action of enemy air attack forces.

These qualities enable us to maintain a high level of our forces' combat readiness, improve on the system of combat duty tours and raise the efficiency of the command system, particularly in terms of its vitality.

The radio-technical forces recorded considerable accomplishments last year. In a dynamic fashion, they worked on improving the system of radar detection, control and reporting. A number of undertakings were accomplished, related to the improvement of the radar range, the automation of processes of forwarding radar information, the support of the activity of rocket forces and the fighter air force of the OPL [antiaircraft defense]. In complex checks such as drills, training [exercises], controls and inspections, a high level of combat readiness of the radio-technical forces was confirmed and of their capacity for the effective detection and tracking of air targets. The regularity and timeliness of collecting radar information from subordinate subunits is evaluated highly. Vigilance in fulfilling daily duty tours on combat elements has also increased. Much attention is devoted to the expansion of the training base and improvement of instructional and upbringing activity.

Within the national air defense system, the OPK rocket forces fulfill a responsible task. They destroy enemy air attack forces before they can reach the task fulfillment line [rubiezy wykonania zadania]. They can successfully fight with air enemy forces in all weather conditions, during the day and night, at great distances and heights.

Proof of the proper training of our rocket forces is evidenced by very good evaluations obtained during rocket firings in training areas.

The rocket forces have achieved a high level of competence in combating air targets and have increased resistance to jamming. Much progress has been made in combating small targets at small heights. The operating efficiency of equipment has increased in the rocket forces. Many initiatives have been also undertaken for the purpose of maintaining a high technical state of rocket systems and their modernization.

The constant increase of requirements in the area of combating modern air targets, compels our rocket forces to increase their knowledge and specialistic capabilities by, among other things, acquiring class qualifications and mastering alternate specializations.

The OPK air forces concentrate their activity primarily on pilot training, which as is known, is a complicated, long-term and continuous process. The goal of this training is expert mastery of the technique of piloting in difficult weather conditions at night and during the day. Attention is focused on skill in conducting a battle with a specific enemy and on opposing enemy action with personal battle tactics. In service training and action, the need is recognized for perfecting professional qualifications with other air force specialists, without whom the modern air force would be unable to perform combat duties.

The liaison and flight support forces of the OPK forces have also merited special recognition and emphasis. The principal directions of their work were political and professional activity, innovation and rationalization, work safety as well as economic and operational effects. Last year, for the second time, they took first place among districts and branches of the armed forces.

The implementation of material-technical and economic support of our forces proceeded in exemplary fashion. The technical personnel was well-prepared for the operation and servicing of automated command equipment and air force equipment. This enabled the efficient and failure-free introduction into operation of new types of armaments. Extensive activity was carried out in the area of improving the principles and methods of rational management and searching for reserves as well as liquidating useless materials; repair workshops planned and completed a series of repairs and tools and the recycling of replacement parts, which with the present supply difficulties is exceptionally valuable.

Considerable effort was put into the continued engineering development of units, command posts and airfields.

The accomplishments of OPK forces are to a considerable extent, the result of the implementation of joint, allied training undertakings; they influence not only the effectiveness of our national defense but also the efficiency of defense of the entire socialist camp.

The obtained training results were made possible due to the unselfish and committed attitude of the unit membership of OPK forces and, in particular, owing to the experienced, expertly handling and servicing combat equipment--cadre of our forces. The assumption has been fully confirmed that well organized leadership and competition form an integral part of the training-upbringing process and constitute an important instrument of effective action in the formation of committed attitudes and the emotional attitude of soldiers towards military service and towards better execution of service duties.

Within the context of tasks for the upcoming years, we shall pay particular attention to the perfection of our forces in terms of detecting and combatting small air targets acting under conditions of disturbances and at small heights; to the improvement of the firing aim of our own and subordinate operational-level

[army, front] forces and equipment. The object of our activity will also be the continued development of unit command and staff personnel in the operation of the automated command system, which has an exceptional significance for the maintaining of a high level of efficiency of military activity.

The implementation of our plans should be accompanied by principles of rational and economical management of operating limits, material supplies, military possessions as well as electrical energy and fuel. We shall strive so that in every case, in the implementation of every undertaking, maximal training goals will be achieved with minimal outlays and costs.

I am aware of the difficulties, which will accompany the implementation of our tasks. High specialistic-professional requirements, the unlimited working time of our cadre, difficult duties and the great responsibility for people and military possessions result in making military service particularly difficult today. Nevertheless, despite difficult working and service conditions, our cadre works unselfishly and fulfills its party-military service reliably. Fully committed, it cares about soldierly honor and dignity and about the good name of its units.

In the implementation of tasks, we are counting on the commitment and collective wisdom of party and youth organizations, which mold patriotic and internationalist attitudes among soldiers.

The high standard of training of our forces will contribute to the celebration of the 38th anniversary of the formation of the Polish People's Army.

The significance of the national air defense in case of a possible armed conflict is particularly important. On its effectiveness and strength may depend not only the proper functioning of the nation and the armed forces but also to a large extent, the results of combat on the external front [combat zone]. This is the gauge, which should be used for measuring the role and significance of the National Air Defense Forces in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Army as well as in the unified air defense system of the Warsaw Pact nations.

With the above National Air Defense Forces in mind--they will fulfill with honor and dignity their important mission of the effective defense of air boundaries and our nation's productive work and, by the same, that of our entire socialist union in a close alliance and brotherhood of arms with the air defense forces of fellow armies of the Warsaw Pact.

9853
CSO: 2600/64

POLITICAL BUREAU POSITION ON YOUTH AFFAIRS REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 1 Oct 81 pp 1, 5

/Text/ Affairs of Youth Demand Special Care

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR (Polish United Workers' Party) at its last session on 29 September examined the current situation in the youth movement and the problems concerning young generation. The fact that this very subject was discussed in the present complex socio-political situation was--one should think--not only recognition of the young people, but it also is proof of how valuable the role of youth is to national life. Also, it is a result of the complicated problems that appear in that environment. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, fulfilling the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is expressing its views that the youth problems should have a priority [position] among all the affairs that require special attention of the party and society.

The facts are simple. The profound crisis in which our country has been immersed for many months is affecting young Poles in a special way. August 1980 uncovered errors and deficiencies in our system of upbringing, causing the definite system of values and many rules to break down: at the same time, enormous expectations of youth were released. The degree of these tendencies varies according, of course, to the environment. The further, often stormy, changes in the evaluation processes take place in our very eyes.

Example--the complex situation in the environment of the young working class. This class was, as we know, in the vanguard participant in the turbulent summer of 1980 and an active participant in the workers' protest; still today it plays the significant role in shaping social situation and the course of political events; it decides about the results of management. Nearly 50 percent of all employees are younger than 30. The Political Bureau--let us note--brought our attention to the fact that the economic consequences of the crisis have hit living conditions of young families the hardest.

Taking into consideration the specifics of the environment, one can speak about the similarly difficult situation of the students. The progressing disintegration of social consciousness can be observed everywhere in the influence of the multiple ideological trends, the feverish search by the youth for their generation's identity. The system of upbringing is eroding from various sides. The

results today are negative. Indifference can result in further, more painful consequences.

The transformations that were and are taking place in the youth movement are serious. The movement is a particularly attractive territory for infiltration of various forces, some of which have nothing to do with renewal or with socialism. That is why indications by the Political Bureau regarding the necessity of the firm counteraction against using young people for purposes contradictory to the interests of Poland, of the working class, and contradictory to the best traditions of Polish democracy are so significant.

The activity of the socialist youth unions is of great importance for the party to aggressively fight to solve the concrete problems of everyday life, like studies and youth work, and fighting in the ideological sphere for socialism, party, and state.

The socialist youth unions corroborated their ties with the party at their recent meetings. In a practical way, these unions confirmed in recent months that they do not intend to participate in the historical processes that occur in the country, but they would assist in economic reform, make concrete suggestions, draft various laws, and try--more or less effectively--to solve real social welfare problems. The process of reconstruction by the unions and their credibility and authority is not, of course, exempt from restraints and errors given the fact that it is taking place under conditions of a sharp struggle.

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, in its program resolution, strengthened the important fact that profound change in the relationship of the party to youth affairs and to the activities of the youth movement. Paternalism and false promises, so common in the past, were completely abandoned. Discrepancies between aroused aspirations and the possibility of their fulfillment, between proclaimed programs and implementation into practical life have resulted in weakening the youth's trust in the intentions and political life of the party. Many facts taken from the everyday life of the party organizations give evidence that this phenomenon has become an anachronism and it is not--it must be emphasized--the result of the procrastination caused by the difficult economic situation of our country, but simply a return to the basis of Lenin's party's policy toward the younger generation. Two aspects of that polich have--in the current situation--particular significance. Party acknowledges that political education of the youth is as important as the rapid resolution of the urgent social, welfare, and educational problems of young families and the socio-professional upward mobility problems of young families. The present and the future demand is that the party organizations strengthen their influence among young people, who should play a more active role in backing the socialistic renewal to reform the state and lead the country out of the crisis.

It is high time that the party precisely define the goals and substance of ideological upbringing. At the Political Bureau meeting, many educational tasks were considered of equal importance, such as: propagation of elementary civic values and virtues, the sense of responsibility for the country's fate, creation of respect for the national traditions to permit a better understanding of the present events. Knowledge of history, acquired through studying history to

protect youth from choosing improper roads and values. Today the relationships between party organizations and the youth are based on partnership and mutual trust. The youth organizations, based on socialist values, have conditions for the genuine participation in creating a program of ideas for PZPR for active, statewide political struggle to represent the endeavors and aspirations of the youth. It can be expressed also with the words: Independence of Socialistic Youth Unions--yes, but not separation of their activities.

The session of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee determined in fact that the youth organizations are under strong obligation to shape the political unity of the younger generation. As a matter of fact, the fulfillment of an unusually important condition to build the strength of those unions is at stake. That strength will be greater, when the unions are consolidated, uniform in their ideological character and promote socialist values. In many spheres, a common front of activity of the Polish leftist youth is indispensable, but it does not exclude autonomy in programming and the specific functioning of each individual organization. While supporting these initiatives, the party does not impose itself on anything: it will, however, take care that favorable conditions are created in which organizations, standing on the same ideologico-political platform, can cooperate mutually.

It is easy already to see all the numerous social and welfare problems of the young generation that for years have been waiting resolution. At the initiative of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, a report was prepared on the living conditions and professional careers of the young people beginning careers. All these problems are presented explicitly. The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, as well as a team of social experts, point out in their report the enormous need to create equal opportunities in the professional, educational, and intellectual fields and in the sports, tourism, and culture. The final remarks of the report propose tasks to be undertaken now and in the future. The economic situation, still unstable, brings up new problems. Their solution depends on how soon we get out of the crisis. Does it mean that we are to wait with our arms folded? The youth organizations have special reasons to start acting right now, in their own interests wherever possible. The important matter is, of course, that the young producers work effectively and honestly in every field and on every position.

The youth unions, as well as other institutions created for this purpose, should step forward more daringly in the face of the negative societal events, events that appear with particular sharpness among the young people, such as: increase in crime, parasitism, narcotics, alcoholism, and so on. Going back to the principles of organic work, basic work is one of the main precursors of the youth organizations attaining the real support of the young people. So it is good that there is more and more initiative on the part of the socialist youth unions in connection with housing construction; labor cooperatives; comradeship help; and, for the last several weeks, with the problems focused on by the economic reform, such as translocations on the labor market and employment of school graduates.

The session of the Political Bureau has initiated a further stage of preparations for the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, at which the problems

of the younger generation will be discussed exclusively. This puts under even stronger obligation the Central Committee Youth Commission and the youth commissions of the party committees that are currently in charge of yough affairs and its organizations. One should expect that, in the preparations for the plenary session, all elements of education and upbringing will enter in. The problems are so enormous and so urgent that every voice will have to be listened to and every opinion taken into consideration.

9654
CSO: 2600/24

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW CSSR AMBASSADOR

AU232133 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 23 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Nov (AGERPRES)--On 23 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Josef Simon, new Czechoslovak ambassador to Bucharest, who presented his credentials.

The address presented on the occasion mentions the Czechoslovak people to appreciate highly the successes of the Romanian people, and to enjoy sincerely the permanent development and deepening of the Czechoslovak-Romanian collaboration in the political, economic and cultural fields, the strengthening of the mutual collaboration within the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA. This collaboration, the address goes on, has created a lasting base for a continuous multilateral development of the relations between our fraternal countries, to the advantage of the peoples and to the interest of the socialist community as well as of socialism and peace worldwide.

In his response address the Romanian head of state stressed that the working people in Romania should appreciate highly the activity carried out by the working people of Czecholsovakia and pointed out the traditional relations of friendship and bilateral collaboration: "We are happy to learn on this occasion, too, that between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic there have been established and developed relations of tight friendship and collaboration, grounded on fully equal rights, mutual esteem and respect," the address reads, expressing at the same time the conviction that the Romanian-Czechoslovak multilateral collaboration would witness even stronger development in the future, to the advantage of the two countries' peoples, of the general cause of socialism, detente and peace in Europe and worldwide.

The address points out that Romania carries out an extensive international activity for the assertion of a policy of peace, of halting the deterioration of the world situation, the cessation of the arms race and the passage to disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, the settlement of all conflicts and litigious issues by peaceful means, by negotiations.

We pay special attention--the address reads--to the collaboration with the member countries of the CMEA, as well as with [those] in the Warsaw Treaty, to the development of the relations of friendship and solidarity with the developing countries, with the nonaligned states. We also promote broad relations with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

CSO: 2020/9

DELEGATE ADDRESSES MBFR TALKS IN VIENNA

AU201406 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 81

[Text] The peace and disarmament appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], initiated by President Nicolae Ceausescu, was presented at yesterday's plenary session of the Vienna talks on the reduction of troops and weapons and on accompanying measures in central Europe.

Our country's appeal for disarmament and peace, the head of the Romanian delegation stated, vigorously calls for energetic action, now, before it is too late, to stop the dangerous trend toward arming and military spending and to put a halt to the deployment in Europe of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and of the neutron bomb and to proceed to disarmament, and primarily nuclear disarmament, to preclude a new world war and ensure peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The Romanian representative presented our country's concept according to which ensuring a balance of forces must be achieved by firm measures aimed at reducing weapons and military expenditures in a balanced manner and under appropriate international supervision, so that the security of all countries and of all nations will be ensured.

The Romanian people are determined to act, together with all progressive forces, so that from one end of Europe to the other the peoples' will to live in peace, stop the arms race and renounce nuclear weapons and the neutron bomb can be heard clearly.

The contents of the SDUF appeal and President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept regarding eliminating the danger of a war were also presented at the press conference that followed the plenary session of the Vienna negotiations and met with--as everywhere in the world--broad and keen interest.

CSO: 2700/91

PROBLEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 20 Sep 81 pp 10-12

/Article by Iosif Tripsa, state secretary, Ministry of Education and Instruction: "Current and Long-Range Problems of High School Education"/

/Text/ This fall about a million youths are starting out as pupils in the two stages of high school, in day and evening courses. Many million textbooks, thousands of new educational and production aids, hundreds of classrooms, study halls, laboratories, shops, agricultural plots and zootechnical farms will enhance the high school inventory in the new school year, making it possible to improve the process of education and instruction and to bring out and exploit each youth's qualities and capacities in order to provide future graduates with a broad scientific and cultural background as well as a sound training in basic occupations and a good humanistic, patriotic and civic indoctrination.

As a basic factor for civilization and culture and the main means of training the labor force to meet the general needs of the nation and of each and every community, the schools now have the necessary resources for the radical changes in subject matter required by the generalization of the first stage of high school in Romania as part of 10-year compulsory education. The complete integration of education with research and production has brought about an improvement in all its basic parameters, namely organization, material resources, scholastic plans and programs, and textbooks. As it was said at the 12th RCP Congress, in general the process of reorganizing Romanian education on a new and modern basis has been completed and school activity is to be further perfected by continuing improvement in the process of education and instruction, for which purpose steps have been taken by the First Congress on Education and Instruction.

Nevertheless we regard modernization of education as a task aided by several elements in education and in other fields as well, and we feel the need of constant efforts to analyze and evaluate the various aspects of school activity and to expedite improvement of the entire process of education and instruction.

Levels of Graduates' Training and Integration in Work

Romania's socioeconomic development in the present decade (to be the decade of science, technology, quality and efficiency) also makes new demands on manpower training, especially because education is a very valuable investment but also one that takes a long

time to produce. The present pupils and students will start work in production or other fields toward the end of this five-year plan and will be employed until the year 2025 or thereabouts. There is no question that throughout their active lives they will have to cope with the many radical changes wrought by the scientific-technical revolution as well as some highly complex economic realities. The future workers, technicians and specialists will be handling production means greatly improved over those now known as well as superior technological processes, and they will use systems of labor and production organisation that are as yet unknown in order to secure several times greater productivity and to make incomparably better products than the present ones, with practically complete use of the raw materials and energy that may even be in new forms unprecedented today. In other words, the socioeconomic effectiveness of the future classes of graduates will be far greater. That is why we are making every effort to give the present graduates who are starting to work in production an increasing ability to make a rapid improvement themselves in all the technical-economic indicators, especially in those of product quality and competitive power, and also to contribute to consistent application of the new technologies and systems of organization, including the new economic-financial mechanism, and to participate in scientific-technical creation and in improvement of the products, equipment and production processes. Most of the efforts of high school education are intended to meet those requirements.

Yet we now find that integration of high school graduates in production is still too slow and difficult in many cases. In the first months the labor productivity and product quality they achieve are rather low. Moreover their participation in scientific-technical creation is inadequate and their efforts to improve themselves professionally are sporadic.

Because of these and other failings of the high school graduates, some enterprises prefer to hire graduates of trade schools or even of short-term qualification courses instead of high school graduates with bachelor's degrees and certificates of qualification. Usually under family influence, some high school graduates express preferences which become demands for easier, so-called "clean" jobs with the highest possible extra incomes while such basic sectors of the economy as the extractive and metallurgical industries, construction and agriculture do not have enough manpower. Graduates with such demands who quit their jobs aggravate the instability of the labor force in in major industrial enterprises.

Too great differences in the levels of training of high school graduates are found, both in the basic sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology) and in occupational instruction. In the same graduating class peak results are to be found, obtained especially in the international competitions in physics, chemistry or mathematics, but also a great deal of mediocrity. There are also great differences in specialized training, indicated by some graduates' fulfillment of the production norms even in their first days at work, but also by others' failure to meet those norms even by the end of the probationary stage.

The high schools and the higher authorities, including the Ministry of Education and Instruction, are primarily responsible for these results. Despite the measures taken, they have not succeeded in eliminating all the failures and defects in the pupils' theoretical and practical training and in their education. The reasons why these failings persist are indicated by the finding that there is still a discrepancy between the body of knowledge the graduates have and their ability to apply it in practice. This proves that too many disciplines of an informative nature, some of which

are outmoded and others pointlessly repeated in different subjects, are still being taught to the detriment of the formative function that should predominate in all instruction and education.

The inherited practice of making pupils memorise quotations, formulas, expressions and rules, usually mechanically, and of grading them by their ability to recite what they have learned is still strongly entrenched in high schools. Modern teaching technology, based on methods of active participation and capable of interesting all pupils in learning by experiment and immediate application of the knowledge acquired in the work done in study halls, classrooms, workshops or in production, is still progressing with too great difficulty despite the efforts of the responsible elements and the real successes achieved by means of it.

But not every pupil in all high schools has been provided with a work place of his own in study halls, laboratories, school workshops and production experience. Although there are enough laboratory kits, only a few of the pupils perform experiments and assemblies while most of them either watch their classmates' work or think about something else. In too many school workshops and and most often in production experience the pupils do not have work places at all but are assigned in groups of two, three or more to a single work place. Consequently some of them work effectively for only a small part of the time specified in the school programs, to say nothing of the fact that many of the operations they perform require a low level of qualification below the standards of the practical instruction program. To remedy the defects of this kind the Ministry of Education and Instruction jointly with the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and other ministries have taken the necessary steps so that all pupils will be provided with work places of their own as well as the specialists, raw materials tools and equipment needed for their practical instruction.

Yet it must be said that a number high schools, especially those organised by the county people's councils, still lack adequate technical equipment and the necessary materials, and they have difficulty in obtaining orders for the school output from the pupils' productive instruction. Discussion of the above problems between the high school directors and those of enterprises assigned to sponsor the high schools has proved effective, since those discussions are arranged by the municipal and city RCP committees and implementation of the established measures is carefully checked.

The investigations show that when some high school graduates are hired in production they find it difficult to observe worker discipline, including technological discipline, indicating that order and discipline are below the necessary standard in the high schools that graduated them, that the pupils are unaccustomed to strict observance of the standards and rules of conduct, and that the teachers take an unprofessionally indulgent view of violations of discipline, waste of time, and deterioration of public property.

This also explains the youths' lack of interest and even indifference to the discussions of production problems at the workers' general assemblies in the sections and enterprises where they work, and their failure to play an active part in the public organizations and the various vehicles of workers democracy (commissions, councils and cultural, social and athletic programs), indicating deficiencies in the indoctrinational work in high schools. To remedy these failings, much closer contacts between high schools and enterprises must be established through all public organisations and joint programs must be started that will appeal particularly to pupils in the final grades (10th and 12th).

Emphasis on Formative Quality of Education

In giving priority to the foregoing problems, it is unquestionably necessary to adopt and consistently enforce measures to improve the high school graduates' training and to considerably improve the overall efficiency of their performance on the job. For this purpose it is highly important to enhance the formative quality of all instructive-educational work in schools, to clear the lectures of obsolete material, and to eliminate repetitions and descriptive elements. This means all the instructors must be familiar with the graduates' future jobs and must collect from them examples, exercises and projects to analyze at the proper time in the course of school work. For example, the idea of the RCP committees in Dimbovita and Galati counties, who arrange tours of duty in production for high school teachers, has proved useful. This experience has produced good results, and it must be continued and generalized because it has enabled the instructors to interest their classes more and to better correlate the lessons with the real necessities of the graduates' future jobs.

In all the high schools we have an extensive inventory of educational aids including many motion picture projectors, tape recorders, TV sets, and even closed circuit TV installations which, when skillfully used, permit generalization of modern teaching methods. In 1980 the Ministry of Education and Instruction organized an intensive course in modern teaching methods in Alba Iulia for inspectors and instructors throughout Romania, who are assigned the task of becoming instructors in their counties so that all teachers will start applying the methods of active participation to all school activities.

The problem was taken up again at the conference organized by the Ministry of Education and Instruction in June 1981 in Pitesti, where the responsibilities of teachers in all counties in this respect were determined. Although good results have been obtained, they are unfortunately sporadic. For example, use of the modern teaching methods in several Iasi high schools proved very effective, where they began to apply those methods to all disciplines in the last school year, using the results of a small but excellent collective of pedagogic researchers at Iasi University. It was found in all cases, but especially in the Iasi high schools, that the pupils took a considerably greater interest in school as reflected by fewer excused and unexcused absences and by an improvement in the schools' efficiency and in the results of occupational instruction. Accordingly the Ministry of Education and Instruction intends to generalize the new teaching methods in all high schools during this school year.

Use of the methods of active participation greatly reduces teaching activity properly speaking, replacing it with analysis and in-depth study, along with the class, of the disciplines that are to be acquired and applied. Moreover judgment of the pupils' capacities for practical application of acquired knowledge as well as the occupational skills they master becomes one of the main standards for evaluating and grading them.

Since science is becoming more and more a productive force and since this characteristic will be intensified in the near future, the problems of the most prompt and efficient application of the new data and laws that are discovered are becoming increasingly urgent, and consequently the training the high schools provide in the basic disciplines (mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology) is acquiring a growing importance. This certainly does not mean merely memorizing and reciting the various hypotheses, theories, laws or axioms howver. The various phenomena and processes must be studied, especially experimentally, and the various possible applications of new technologies based on those phenomena and processes to the future occupation must be mastered.

A very interesting conclusion has been drawn from the many analyses and studies made by the pedagogic and psychological researchers concerning the main reason why high school pupils are overloaded, namely the great waste of time in some activities and especially in practical-productive instruction. Therefore steps must be taken to make full use of the time for all activities, especially those in school workshops and enterprises, through more rational organization of the activities but also through better guidance of the pupils by instructors, specialists in production, and instructor-craftsmen. In all cases practical instruction of pupils in the final grades (10th and 12th) should take place in enterprises, through actual work on the future jobs where they are to be employed after graduation.

Meanwhile the technical standard of school production must be raised by all possible means, including manufacture of new models of products or models of future products in the school workshops. High schools have a labor force on a high theoretical level that is inadequate in many enterprise shops for models and single-design products, and it is this shortage that is often given as a reason for nonfulfillment of all plan tasks for technical progress in some industries. For example, creative sections could be assembled in the workshops of the appropriate high schools from a number of light industry enterprises.

In another connection, it is very important to form and develop the progressive attitude toward physical work in close conjunction with intellectual work on the part of the pupils. This is essential for strengthening order and discipline in schools and in practical-productive activities and also for civic education and a greater sense of responsibility for growth of the national wealth through the most rational use of energy and materials, greater labor productivity, and better quality and greater competitive power of the output. There is also a need of further involving all the educational elements including the family in the proper scholastic-occupational guidance of youth, since the labor force must be trained according to sectors of the economy and regions. In order to train the manpower needed for the priority sectors of the economy (the extractive and metallurgical industries, construction and agriculture), all youths who qualify for scholarships are to be enrolled and maintained in courses, and their desire for higher learning in evening or correspondence courses is to be encouraged.

The measures established by the party and state administrations for organizing the first stage of high school in all rural communal centers in at least one school, as provided by the Law on Education and Instruction, are vital to the objectives we have mentioned. There are many advantages to this provision. It facilitates completion of compulsory 10-year education by youths in rural areas while they are benefiting by the educational influence and supervision of the family and the warmth of the parental home. It also increases the number of youths being trained to work in agriculture.

The first stage of high school is being organized this year in 728 more rural communes, raising their total number to more than 1,700. Organization of the first stage in all communal centers is to be completed next year. New classrooms, laboratories and workshops have been built for the efficiency of the first stage, and study halls have been equipped. The uniform agroindustrial councils and the cooperative and small industry units, whose manpower is being trained in these schools, must also give them all necessary support.

To enhance the occupational improvement of CAP [Agricultural Cooperative] members and IAS [State Agricultural Enterprise] and SMA [Agricultural Mechanization Station]

workers in the trades of agricultural machine operator and agricultural mechanic, agroindustrial evening schools are being organized to begin this year under every uniform agroindustrial council. These schools will include the whole population employed in rural areas and will be compulsory up to the age of 40. This year 15,000 agricultural workers will be enrolled in them, and 26,000 next year. They will teach modern agricultural methods, operation of tractors and agricultural machines, and maintenance and operation of installations for industrial processing of agricultural products. The technological courses for workers in crop production will be held in winter, with practical training during the agricultural campaigns by direct participation in field operations, and those for zootechnical workers will alternate with production experience, being organized in the intervals between the scheduled activities on the zootechnical farms.

Further expansion of evening courses in high schools, trade schools and schools for craftsmen is a consideration with far-reaching implications for Romanian schools. This year the total number of evening pupils in the second stage of high school will be more than those in daytime courses, and their number will be further increased to accommodate the youths who want to start their active and productive careers earlier. This trend appears in all the developed countries and it is associated with accelerated psychosomatic development of youth.

Consequently the number of young evening pupils has become predominant and that of adult ones has declined, a fact which calls for reconsideration of the teachers' conception of evening high school education. In their age and training structure, the evening grades are becoming more and more like those in daytime education.

As a result the instructive-educational process is becoming increasingly uniform in evening and daytime education. It still depends upon the pupil's individual effort, but in evening education that effort must be made in the classroom alone because the idea that the evening pupil can train himself outside of class is an illusion, since he has employment obligations, public activities and family concerns.

In the light of the points made in this article, it can be said that the problems of broad social significance that confront Romanian high school education call for revaluation of the Romanian schools' rich traditions on a higher level, as well as rapid modernization of this education in keeping with the technical-scientific revolution and society's current and long-range needs.

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DISCUSSION OF SOCIOLOGY CONTINUES

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/Article by Catalin Zamfir: "Whither Romanian Sociology?" Fifth in the following series of ERA SOCIALISTA articles: "Values and Limits in Current Sociology" (No 12, 1981), "Investigation of Social Realities As Basis for Development of Sociology" (No 14, 1981), "Young Sociologist's Position" (No 16, 1981) and "Sociology Faced with Social-Human Realities" (No 17, 1981)/

/Text/ ERA SOCIALISTA's start of an important discussion of the present stage of Romanian sociology and of the extent to which it meets the demands of the present evolutionary stage of Romanian society is welcome. It affords the opportunity for an exchange of views in which we wish not only sociologists would share but also those who actually or potentially benefity from sociological activity.

I see no need to dwell upon the importance of sociology to Romanian society at the present time. It is sociology's highly responsible task to help devise and implement the new strategies for social development that are required by the qualitatively different stage we have entered.

It is time for us, the sociologists, to ask ourselves a direct question that is essential both to the future of this discipline and to the way it serves to improve Romania's socialist society: Is Romanian sociology ready to respond promptly and effectively to the practical demands of Romanian society? And furthermore, is it in a process of development that will meet in the years to come the expectations that will surely be increasingly high as regards its contribution to the solution of the various social problems and to the implementation of effective developmental strategies?

In view of its critical bent, sociology should be first of all critical of itself. No formal, self-assuring approach can be of the slightest use. On the contrary, it cannot lead to any attitude favoring the development of our discipline because it hinders formulation of the real problems that must be solved. Therefore I think the discussion should concentrate upon diagnosis of the difficulties and problems and upon formulation of their solutions.

Beyond a number of noteworthy successes, I feel Romanian sociology's present image is predominantly one of stagnation and "marking time." And this is not, as we would

like to believe, any "crisis of growth," inevitable in a certain period but presaging a rapid future development. It is the result of many factors, including some wrong developmental strategies that we sociologists adopted at the start and have not corrected but perpetuated for lack of more thorough analyses. Perhaps this judgment will appear unduly harsh to some. Actually the overall estimate is not as important as analysis of the particular main difficulties of Romanian sociology at present and, more important, discussion of the measures to be taken. I shall try to review some of them.

Empirical Sociological Research

Under the conditions of Romanian society, which is committed to a planned social development and is trying new forms of social organization, an active sociology primarily takes the form of undertaking extensive empirical research projects. The first aspect that must be analyzed is the thematic, quantitative one. There is no question that investigation of the great social processes characteristic of Romanian society has been emphasized by Romanian sociology from the start. Ion Ungureanu's analysis of the subject matter of the sociological journals shows that sociology has readily responded to the party and state administrations' efforts (See ERA SOCIALISTA No 7, 1980). But while the great social processes characteristic of socialist construction were treated in general, less research effort was expended upon analysis of the difficulties and problems that such an undertaking inevitably has to face.

After a period of enthusiasm characterized by the start of many research projects that was not always sustained by adequate professional capacities, a certain limitation of the projects was to be expected. The initial experience was of a kind to demonstrate that sociological research leading to satisfactory results cannot be accomplished by enthusiasm and good intentions alone but requires a good theoretical and methodological preparation.

At present the number of extensive empirical sociological studies under way has declined and is even seriously limited. Many subjects important to the development of Romanian society are practically uninvestigated sociologically. Normally there should be at least two or three research groups working independently for every great process or important aspect of Romanian social reality. That does not mean duplication or waste of forces but is essential to rapid scientific development. Work "in parallel" provides the necessary variety of approaches and opinions, mutual stimulation, cumulative results and a distinctive scientific community that can support a rapid development of knowledge in every one of the investigated fields. Because of its many aspects, social research can be done more effectively through supplementary developments, as each team explores a possible viewpoint and applies a group of methods. The results obtained that way are compared and mutually validated.

It is not only the number of empirically treated subjects that is deficient. There are broad fields of sociology for which we have no adequately trained specialists au courant with the world technical literature who would set high enough standards of professionalism. To go on with the quantitative appraisals, it may be said that every important field of sociology requires at least three to five good specialists to provide the necessary knowledge acquired throughout the world, to initiate the necessary studies, and to provide for the training of new generations of specialists, and such a situation is still a long way off.

From the standpoint of quality, empirical sociological studies show definite progress. In the 1960's sociological research was done by "beginners" who were sustained more

by good intentions than by adequate scientific capacities, but in time those who remained and specialized in sociology progressively improved their scientific qualifications. Yet there is still much "amateurism" in research, and there are too many studies not characterized by any clear idea of the purposes pursued and suffering from serious theoretical as well as methodological defects. Some of them are still started considerably below the level of the acquired knowledge, so that they are marginal and underproductive from the beginning. This explains why a good many sociological studies produce no noteworthy results although they engage impressive human resources. There is still a great discrepancy between the efforts expended on the studies and the quantity and quality of the results obtained. Many studies are abandoned before any of their findings is placed in final form, and even when the results are published they are often limited to endless tables of figures that present no significant facts. Few solid facts and empirical generalizations are to be found in Romanian sociological literature that would inspire enough confidence to encourage new studies or to substantiate theoretical development. Recently in particular the number of books and studies systematically reporting the findings of the various empirical studies has been very limited and even seems to be diminishing to some extent. Somewhat higher scientific standards have also contributed to this, which is a very good thing, but the small number of studies, as well as the mediocre quality of many of them, are certainly important factors too. This explains why Romanian sociological literature is lacking in reference works concerning empirical analysis of the great social processes characterizing Romania's evolution.

Application of Sociological Research Results

This is now one of the crucial problems of our discipline. The low effectiveness of the recent sociological studies is also to be explained by a conception, which I think is wrong, of the methods of social application of the research results.

On the one hand, there is often a misunderstanding about sociology's contribution to solutions of the practical problems confronting society in its various areas. Some sociologists have underrated sociology's theoretical as well as actual capacity at a given point to formulate such solutions. What I wish to maintain is that some sociologists, with the best of intentions, have uncritically undertaken tasks beyond the actual possibilities by simplistically interpreting the effort to solve the social problems. The fact must be considered that practical social activities, in their entirety, have many social, psychological, economic, political, legal, moral, ecological and other components, while sociology provides access only to some facets of reality and not to all of them. Therefore a solution to a practical problem usually cannot be formulated by a sociologist alone but must be the result of multidisciplinary collaboration.

On the other hand, the sociologist is oriented differently from the practical expert. He is more of a researcher, concentrating on recording the facts and detecting the real mechanisms, and less of a technician or engineer creating new social systems. What is called "social engineering" is still not very far developed and probably will not be confined to the field of sociology. The fact is the present sociologist is primarily a researcher. Often he is even insufficiently familiar with the whole activities of the actual social systems wherein he is asked to make his particular professional studies. In order to suggest satisfactory solutions, the sociologist needs effective collaboration with the practical expert in the respective system. The practical experts are usually in a much better position to formulate solutions than sociologists coming from outside the respective systems who cannot understand some

very important practical aspects. The sociologist can aid a practical expert with his specialized knowledge and specific research findings. He can enhance the practical expert's capacity to formulate effective solutions, especially by means of the "sociological awareness" that he is helping to develop. Accordingly the best practical solutions are more likely to result from the dialogue between the practical expert and the sociologist, and of course it is advisable to include other specialists in the dialogue as well.

I think the source of the dissatisfaction frequently expressed by sociologists because their solutions are not given sufficient consideration is to be understood chiefly in this light. This happens primarily, but not exclusively of course, because their solutions are not invariably practical, to say nothing of the fact that this dissatisfaction of the sociologist results from an attitude that is uncritical and from another point of view. Adoption of a solution by a social system is a social process par excellence which itself is within the province of sociological research. The sociologist should not complain because his suggestions are disregarded but should try to understand why it happens and to determine the causes and possible sources of resistance to the process of change, and he should try to overcome them.

The research reports are deficient not only in the formulated solutions but also in their "form." I would say we have not yet determined a style for the sociological research report addressed to the practical expert or the specialist in a field other than sociology. Most of the research reports are unreadable to anyone but a sociologist and consist of a conglomeration of theories, methodological considerations and figures couched in unduly technical language carelessly and vaguely written. For a great many reasons the stage of writing the report is the most hasty one, and little importance is attached to the way it is done.

The totally inefficient way (from the standpoint of communication) in which the research reports are drafted is chiefly due to the lack of any clear idea of their function. And there is another contributory factor. It is the current practice to make several copies of the research report, one or two of which go into an archive while a few others (usually just one) are lost in the desk drawers of a supposed beneficiary. This situation cannot encourage any sustained effort to edit the report or to find the most suitable form of effective communication.

A research report is actually used to provide specific information that the practical experts have only in an unsystematic, intuitive form and to indoctrinate them in sociology (what we have called creating a "sociological awareness") by enhancing their ability to understand the social components of the activity they are performing. But in order to perform this function the sociological research report should not be addressed to a limited number of people, even if they are important administrators in a system, but should be widely circulated to all those engaged in the activity of the respective system to become one of the instruments of self-management and participation in all bodies concerned in any way with the respective kind of problems.

The current system of research reports is also deficient in another respect. It contributes to the researchers' isolation from each other and impedes communication among them and any active social continuity in research. Reproduced in an extremely small number of copies, the research reports cannot come into scientific circulation in the community of sociologists even if they reach the responsible authorities in some system. Another sociologist called upon to investigate the same kind of problems cannot benefit by the experience and results acquired by those who preceded

him. He often has to repeat the entire job from scratch. In other words, "scientific application" of research is practically nil in such a system.

Scientific application of an empirical sociological study means disseminating its results in professional circulation and making them the collective "property" of the scientific community from which other researchers will proceed. Therefore sociological research reports should be circulated not only in all the social systems concerned but also in the sociological research system itself, as a basic form of communication among specialists that also contributes to development of the cumulative nature of scientific research.

As we know, application in the form of books and studies published in technical journals is very important but generally limited, not only in time (publication often takes far too long) but also in content. There are a number of data of more restricted interest that normally do not require more general journalistic circulation. Therefore the research report addressed not only to the practical experts but also to the specialists interested in the respective problem is an indispensable means of scientific application. As a matter of fact, this technique has long been established in the countries with a developed sociology.

Besides ensuring effective practical and scientific application, wide dissemination of results in the form of research reports also serves other purposes. It motivates a researcher to write a research report of good quality (You write material differently if it will be read by hundreds of persons than if it is for the probable perusal of a few). Moreover it is the most effective means of professional control that the scientific community has, and it promotes high professional standards. Often these reports are the only way the scientific community can evaluate sociologists' work.

It is platitudinous to say that a science exists through its publications, books and the studies published in technical journals. There the values created in the field of the respective science are made objective, both as the basic material for its progressive development and as an external influence on practical activity. And good results have been obtained in this respect. The quality of sociological journalism has steadily improved. But the same cannot be said of its volume, which appears to be stationary. But the content of sociological journalism also has a number of drawbacks. And even if they are not characteristic of current sociological journalism as a whole, many of them not even being predominant, they exist and I think their presence is significant enough to warrant pointing them out.

Theoretical Sociological Research

In the previous discussions a certain "obsession" with methodology and epistemology was mentioned, and an excess of efforts of this kind. Clearly no one would contest the importance of methodological and epistemological studies in developing a discipline. I think it is also easy to agree that their excessive presence in proportion to the studies directly treating problems of content properly speaking of sociology is a symptom of immaturity or even of stagnation. Methodological efforts "in a vacuum" without actual research and undertaken in the hope that the results will be useful to others in future studies risk being underproductive for development of science and may even be marginal. To be sure we need good specialists in methodology, but it would be difficult to concede that we can have a good methodology with poor scientific research. Methodology can develop only in close connection with actual research experience. Otherwise it may become more of a scholastic exercise

with few prospects of actually influencing research. We would have greater need of some good textbooks on methodology, translated or originally written, to disseminate the gains already made throughout the world.

I agree with Mihu Achim that the excess of epistemological studies is also a defect of Romanian sociological journalism. No theory of sociology can be developed if the actual practice of it is insufficient. Epistemological considerations tend to become mere specualtions with no effect upon actual scientific research unless they are on the real ground of science rather than the imaginary one. But I do not think these two kinds of obsessions, real to be sure, are the worst features of Romanian sociological journalism.

Theoretical and methodological amateurism, lack of scientific information at the developmental level of sociology, and misuse of the research methods are among the defects that are still quite frequent. Theoretical naivete as well as elementary methodological errors are still to be found in the Romanian publications.

I think the main shortcoming of Romanian sociology is theoretical rather than methodological. The view was held for a long time that Marxist philosophy provides sociology with a complete theoretical basis to be directed more toward empirical research. This resulted partly in an underdevelopment of the theoretical components and partly in a superficial empiricism. The theoretical gaps were often filled by endless and sterile discussions of the meanings of the various sociological terms (which in fact have no significance outside of a coherent theoretical whole) or by interminable and usually superficial citations (sometimes apologetic, sometimes severely critical) from other works. If we analyze the references in some published texts we shall be surprised to find they occur more in expressions that seem to sound well and in sentences taken out of context with little significance except in theories properly speaking or in distinct theoretical pronouncements.

The theoretical deficiencies caused difficulties in understanding the great social processes in Romanian society, leading to a superficial empiricist description of reality. What characterizes the empiricism that some sociological studies display is not excessive descriptivism but, paradoxically, its profound break with reality. They do not offer the reader facts or descriptions of the social reality and the processes and mechanisms that operate there but only the results of some processed questionnaires presented in dozens of tables with hundreds of figures. The finding from a questionnaire is still not a fact. It does not become one until it has been critically examined by a sociologist and its true significance has been established. Lack of such a critical analysis may lead to a wrong picture of reality. Such situations sometimes occur. The picture resulting from research differs radically from what is indicated by common sense and experience. The data are not coordinated in an articulated and credible picture of reality, but forced meanings and uncritical projections of rudimentary theoretical patterns are associated with them.

It has been noted that there is a mania for the questionnaire in sociology in general and especially in Romanian sociology. But in their campaign against this mania some show excessive negativism devoid of constructivism. The error appears only when the questionnaire is the sole channel for collecting information about reality. Then you have the impression that the questionnaire is a barrier between the sociologist and reality rather than an effective means to empirical knowledge. Sometimes the sociologist visits the social unit he is investigating only occasionally, and the questionnaire is almost the only way he takes cognizance of his subject, and sometimes it

is even applied by others! Unqualified use of questionnaires that is not guided by a clear theoretical background is a major source of errors in sociology, and their results contain very few clear or distinct facts.

Continuity and Cumulative Quality of Research

One of the most conspicuous defects of Romanian sociology, characteristic of the beginning stage, is the poor continuity and cumulative quality of the studies. A science can live only if it is conducted in a scientific community as a result of collective cooperation, and this is particular true of sociology. We may speak of Romanian mathematics for example, but when we say "Romanian sociology" we have something much more specific in mind. By the very subject of its study (social reality not only in general but particularly the specific reality characteristic of a community), sociology has a marked national character. To employ Gusti's expression, it is to a great extent a "science of the nation."

I do not think we should say that there is an international sociological movement that we should join and benefit by its results. What I mean is that there are many things that only the sociologists who live in a given country have in common. A great part of their effort is expended on investigating them. Therefore the need of cooperation, communication and accumulation of the results on the level of the national scientific community is far more urgent for sociology. You might say that the Romanian publications lack the "sense" of belonging to the Romanian scientific community. This lack appears very clearly when we analyze the bibliographical references included actually and functionally but not formally in the published works. It may be normal for most of the quotations and references to be to foreign sociologists. But a large part of these references should be made to Romanian authors as regards both the general theoretical statements and especially the facts brought out and the theories about the Romanian reality.

As a rule Romanian sociological literature is more of a marginally constituted output in extension of the universal one, with poor internal communication so important to formation of a real national scientific community. I do not think this is to be explained by the subjective orientation of Romanian sociologists but basically by the poor quality of many of the publications. In many of the published studies it is very difficult to distinguish ideas, theories or even facts formulated clearly and distinctly enough to become a frame of reference for other sociologists.

Romanian sociology already has a history, having had a number of good and bad experiences. To become an effective movement, it must take cognizance of itself, its history and the particular path it has taken, and it must learn lessons from past experiences. The internal coherence of a scientific community is conferred not only by receiving the contributions and accumulating the results but also by the critical spirit and the disputes that help the community rid itself of errors sooner and discern the sound acquisitions with more perception.

The Sociologist As a Practical Expert

The formation of a profession of practical sociologist is one of the most difficult problems of current sociological development, and this also applies to Romanian sociology. Outside the system of professionalized scientific research and that of teaching sociology, the sociologist has begun to be involved in the practical activity of the various social systems. Accordingly the industrial sociologist and the

enterprise sociologist have appeared as, especially in Romania, the emphasis has been placed on practicing sociology in the industrial system. There are also other social systems that now include sociologists as specialists who will make their own contribution along with the others to the efficiency of the social activities. Formation of the profession of practical sociologist is a sore point of Romanian sociology.

The first emphasis was place on education. There was a need of turning out young sociologists. I think two interdependent mistakes were made. In the first place, in emphasizing education in order to launch sociology as a practical profession, sociological research in its institutionalized and professionalized forms was neglected. And second, production of practical sociologists was accelerated too much. The absence of a stong research system, in my opinion, deprived Romanian sociology of the support of needed knowledge. Especially in the first developmental stages of a new professional field like that of practical sociology, research plays a crucial part. It must produce the knowledge and operational techniques essential to the practical expert. A practical profession is to a great extent the result of a collective accumulation of operational techniques and knowledge. Especially at the start, when the teachers themselves were not yet trained in the new discipline, education could not effectively train sociologists ready for practical activities. They provided only some basic knowledge and generated a professional vocation and a social and professional status rather than the tools of an effective practical activity.

Let us take the profession of industrial sociologist as an example. It was intended that every enterprise should have its sociologist, which is not bad in principle. But in practice the situation was as follows: The young graduates appointed to sociologists' positions in enterprises found themselves completely unequipped professionally. They had illusions and good intentions instead of actual kowledge. Actually, their profession was not crystallized as a profession on the level of the sociological community. Every young industrial sociologist was supposed to determine himself the problems on which he would work and to develop his operational tools. The idea was tacitly implied that every graduate can establish his own profession himself. But that is impossible. A profession is a collective product and not an individual one. The scientific system could not provide the practical expert with the works essential to his professional training and development. Romanian sociological literature is still too impoverished quantitatively and qualitatively to support such a process.

Accordingly I think the difficulties the practical sociologist is experiencing under Romanian conditions are primarily due to the lag in scientific research. The sociological situation can be remedied first by special emphasis on more rapid development of the research system and by promoting journalism of good quality. Practical sociologists cannot be mass produced until the research system succeeds in producing enough for the foundations of the various practical sociological professions to be laid.

Therefore the question is not that of recognizing the profession of industrial sociologist or not (although that too is obviously important), but one of effective preparation of the profession, which primarily depends upon the contribution of the research system. The latter must also assume its function as a methodological and professional forum for all sociologists working as practical experts. The situation can be remedied, partially at least, by expanding and institutionalizing the system of contacts between the practical sociologists and the research centers and teams, and by engaging them in the sociological research projects. And it is also clear that sociological research must also supply the scientific material essential to sociological education.

Even the strategy for practicing sociology in the practical social systems was fundamentally questionable from the standpoint of effectiveness. To take the example of the industrial enterprises again, the assignment of sociologists to enterprises was based on the implicit idea that the social problems they were to help interpret and resolve are predominantly local, characteristic of each enterprise, and soluble on the latter's level, whereas actually that is not true.

The development of the Romanian industrial system entails a number of more general social processes that can be better controlled on the higher management levels, especially in a society based on planned management. Therefore it was natural for the sociologists to be employed in investigation and formulation of solutions to the various social problems of industry beginning with the central management levels of the industrial system (industrial sectors and county management) and not on the enterprise level until the second stage. Under these circumstances, a central institute of industrial sociology could make a decisive contribution to the operation of the more general social processes and to methodological improvement of industrial sociologists in enterprises.

And finally, we must briefly discuss the problem of personnel. There are major differences there between generations because of the historical conditions under which Romanian sociology evolved. There are few representatives now of the old generation that was trained before the war and made a substantial contribution to the revival of sociology in the 1960's. The sociologists of the generation between 40 and 60 years of age came from other fields, usually from philosophy. They benefited by certain favorable conditions, but under the pressure of events they had to be professionalized rapidly, and such a situation was bound to have its effects. Those approximately between 30 and 40 years of age are the first who received a special sociological education from the start. But few of them could be kept in the system of scientific research or higher education, since they had good conditions for professional development there. But there are relatively few of them, since the phenomenon of personnel aging occurs in the field of sociology too. I do not consider the present procedure for personnel training in sociology adequate for the modern standards of the profession, and it may perpetuate amateurism and large gaps in training.

At the present time we see a growing interest in sociology in Romania, on the part of both the various administrative authorities and the mass of researchers. That is to be expected in a period of qualitative changes in the strategies of social development.

In order to cope with the increased demands on the profession of sociologist responsibly and effectively, it is our duty to analyze thoroughly the present stage and the problems and difficulties confronting us and to find the best solutions on that basis. There are many aspects of sociological research that are already under consideration by the various responsible authorities in the field. I only wished here to bring up some more general problems for discussion by my colleagues.

I am sure a frank confrontation on this subject will stimulate sociological activity in Romania by enabling it to contribute even more effectively to the solution of the great problems to be resolved by the development of Romanian society in the years to come.

5186
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COMANECI REFUTES HUNGARIAN REPORT OF HER ATTEMPTED SUICIDE

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 21 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Nadia Comaneci]

[Text] Although it had been suggested that in today's column I should offer you the questions in the new contest entitled "Who Knows Wins an Autograph," along with the answers to the regular letters, I feel obligated to postpone starting the contest so that I can dwell on something much more important.

An envelope sent by a student from Oradea contained two pages from KEPES SPORT, No 42, which appeared in Budapest on 20 October 1981. Our friend from Bihor also sent a translation of the article signed by newsman Feleki Laszlo, asking me what and how much was true from what was written there. And, so that I do not make you wait so long, here is the text published by this paper:

"David Sandor's book entitled 'Freedom of the Leap' cannot be obtained now even under the counter. Written very well and competently, it owes its popularity to Chapter 10, as Andras Ko also points out in the Sunday issue of NEPSPORT. David is a scrupulous person and everybody knows how calm he is. He is a television commentator. He does not broadcast in a spectacular style and with him the volcano is replaced by his competence. And now, if he writes about gymnastics, he is doing such a well-founded work that I would call it a scientific work if it was not so pleasant to hear the lesson. Chapter 10 in short is concerned with that human torture through which trainers transform little girls into world-class gymnasts. Yes, he transforms them, if necessary, with palms, with hitting, with the locker room or with being humiliated. Known throughout the world, Nadia Comaneci tried to commit suicide when she had to lose 10 kg. The joints of some girls are similar to those of a 75-year-old man. Perhaps the truth should be uncovered for the public at large. Because one thing is certain: at the price of such means, we do not need Olympic gold medals anymore!"

I shall save one passage from the end of this text for later. For the time being, let me dwell on the above and I think we are less interested in who Feleki Laszlo is because he did nothing but write about what he read in David Sandor's book. For a start, then, we should ask who David Sandor is in gymnastics. Personally, I have never heard of him, ahthough I know very many newsmen in the specialty from all over the world, including from Hungary, with articles signed by Peter Szalay or Istvan Gyulai always being interesting and to the point. The possibility that this particular television commentator is a technician knowledgeable in the problems of gymnastics, without also making his presence felt as a newsman in the specialty, is

reduced, if not impossible. And, yet,here is David Sandor rushing into the "territory" of gymnastics, not just in any old way, but through a book published in a large number of copies, in which he issues evaluations and gives absolutely ridiculous verdicts.

In his case, for him to talk about competence seems to me to be nothing more than a joke, but to label his incursion into gymnastics as a "scientific work" is something taken beyond the limits of the good sense of the"commentator." And here is why: any scientific work has research, personal work and one's own experience at its base as well as successes in the particular area. Which does not exist in D. S.'s case since he did not feel it right, even from respect for his readers, to solidly document before placing serious assertions on paper, which encroach on the work and results of trainers and sportsmen throughout the world of gymnastics. So that D.S.'s declarations are nothing more than gossip and painful hearsay, in no way judged to be valuable for the world of gymnastics or for the readers.

I do not know on what basis D. S. asserts that one reaches world class in gymnastics through tortures, palms, humiliation and lock-ups. In my training (or that of other Romanian girl gymnasts), D. S. never attended. From what I know, the other big schools of gymnastics in the world, such as the Soviet, East German or Czech, work as we do, that is, scientifically, with passion, with pleasure, with love for this sport. True, there are palms, but they are our own, the ones we work with and which are proof of the work, palms meeting the equipment, not with cheeks, as the author insinuates insultingly. If you wish, there is also humility, but before the element of great difficulty and before perfection, which is so hard to achieve, just as fighting, but on the trampouline which propells us in the jumps, the beam or parallel bars. Sometimes even tortures exist but with the accent on the first syllable [translator's note: torturi is the Romanian word for cakes] that is, sweet ones of chocolate which repay us for our efforts, sweetening our work and accompanying our victories!

I know rather well the gymnastics of Hungary and I know and appreciate the value of its technicians, its exceptional sportsmen. Zoltan Magyar, the great champion of the vaulting horse--I always have applauded him, admiring his talent and expertise, not to speak of Eva Ovari or my old friend and partner in the competitions, Martha Egervari. Could they have reached the nice results they have obtained, through fights, humility and torture? It is hard to believe. Even if the explanation for the dark vision which D. S. has about the training methods for modern gymnastics could come from attending (by chance) Martha Egervari's training, where she might have accepted more harsh training methods. There is nothing more normal, however, in this case, bearing in mind that her training takes place within the family, since the trainer is her own...husband! Or D. S. did not know this minor detail or he knew it and wanted to come out against the conventional-educational measures practiced here and there in the family! However, there are cases when "a palm" from a parent is welcome, somethingthe author of "Freedom of the Leap" probably did not know.

And now, to come to what hurts me more, I should tell you how I committed suicide! Actually, I shall do nothing more than to give a passage from my book "Victory for My Country," which is to appear at the Bucharest Sport-Tourism Publishers, but also a passage which appeared in the volume of "Nadia, My Own Story," recently published in London:

"I was staying temporarily at the 23 August Sports Hotel in Bucharest and, that evening, I had planned to wash my clothes! I had prepared several outfits, training socks and some underwear, but I saw that I did not have any detergent. Taking a container, I went out in the hallway to ask the maid for some soap solution; I made some noise and inevitably the trainer appeared who commented that I was not sleeping although "lights out" had been called for. I showed him that I had taken some detergent to wash my equipment and angrily went back to my room. I put the container on the desk , next to another, identical, one, in which I had taken some fruit juice from the restaurant, and I began to write my mother a letter. After a while, absorbed in what I was writing and nervous, my mouth dry, I put out my hand instinctively to the container with the fruit juice. I remember perfectly that it was on the left,that is, both were, one next to the other. I took it and put the one further from me to my mouth. The one in which there was detergent and not fruit juice, as I thought! I started to take a healthy sip, in the next moment feeling the taste of lye of the solution and suddently understanding, I began to shout and hold my stomach, throwing myself down. The first to come was Dana Turner. I was able to explain what I had done and in several minutes I was taken to the Center for Sports Medicine, where the doctor on call gave me a very unpleasant stomach wash. After two days I returned to training.

"And, so that is how I did not succeed in killing myself, but concluding absolutely that it is not recommendable to drink detergent at night! You should drink juice!"

Thus, an amusing and not a tragic accident, an accident which was not a premeditated suicide because I had to lose 10 kg (!?), as several reporters hurried to write in FRG, Italy and England and as David Sandor, also totally misinformed, did later.

As for the Romanian newsmen, they found out the whole truth the next morning and, whenever we meet, some of them have begun offering me fruit juice...in a bottle!

However, all joking aside, we should dwell a moment on the problem of maintaining my weight. It really is a real problem, but not only for gymnasts but also for the male gymnasts, boxers, wrestlers or even the cosmonauts! To control your weight means to know how to fight with yourself, with your appetite, with your preferences for sweets, which I have. So it is a matter of losing, but not as demanded by someone in particular, but by the sportsman himself who wants high performance. The 10 kg written about in the book and in the particular article were only 5, but 5 kg means two days of strict diet, intense training, sauna and running and in no way a reason to panic!

Now, I shall return to the passage I saved from Feleki Laszlo's article: "I feel the note by the SPORT editors at the end of Chapter 10 is absolutely correct: 'In this chapter, the author writes his own opinion about some very complex problems, thus, his personal opinion which, at the same time, may be considered as summing up the opinions received from a group of specialists (editor's note: ???). His arguments can be opposed by contrary ones, but we are ready to hear any counterargument in our publication, 'Current Problems of Physical Education and Sports.' The Editors."

The editor's note seems eloquent to me with regard to the conviction with which the particular editors viewed the author's "views." I do not wish to make counterarguments to what David Sandor wrote, but I wanted to show what actually is the truth in this volume entitled "Freedom of the Leap." It really was much too free a leap. But...over the horse. So let me ,for once, be the judge, giving the mark of 1.00. But not like in Montreal!

P.S. To Comrade Eugen Barbu, in SAPTAMINA No 57 of 13 November 1981, my photograph appeared with Octavian Vintila.

Thanking you for your initiative in congratulating me through the magazine you head, at the same time I should inform you that the text accompanying the photograph includes an error in the date on which the interview was given. Actually I was in Brussels on my birthday.

8071
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CORRUPTION OF BAPTIST CLERGY EXPOSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 29 Oct 81 pp 1, 10

[Article by Cici Iordache]

[Text] Some time ago our editors received a completely unusual letter. Dumitru Stefan of Bucharest, aged 72, brought to our knowledge acts of corruption, fraud and theft from church funds, being committed by some Baptist pastors in the Bucharest community. Since he dared to speak publicly about them, he was expelled from the cult (one asks puzzled, why pastor Vasile Talos was not expelled from the cult following the shameful act he committed, together with other brothers concerned with counting money , obtaining large amounts from the church collection for personal interests. The amounts were taken out before the money was counted. A fact known by the leadership of the Bucharest community, that is, the president and secretary, but silently overlooked). Of course, if the problem of religion and the belief of the person who wrote us is a personal matter of his, which the country's constitution guarantees and respects, if expelling the corrupt pastor is a matter for the particular cult and other organs, in the name of the laws and morals of our society, however, we cannot be indifferent to the fact that a citizen--even if he is a pastor--changes religion into a springboard for troublesome businesses and that he is hiding acts of corruption under the shield of it and defying social structures.

The old man's letter led us to settle other similarly inadmissible acts.

We Are Refused Any Explanation

Of course, our first steps were to the leadership of the cult's Bucharest community. In an austere office with many working tables where nobody was working, its president greets us; this is pastor Iosif Sarac, who refuses to have any talk with us. We hardly had said who we were and why we had come when he accused us "of interfering in the cult's affairs." (!!) He does not even allow us to answer, he speaks by himself in a raised voice, fighting we don't known whom, asserting, sustaining, that "the church decides what it does with its money and in no way does FLACARA." In his tirade, with deformed logic, he does not realize that he is betraying what is understands by "church." That is, himself, the president of the community and its clan in sacrileges. But let us allow the facts to speak for themselves.

Masked Embezzlement

Of course, how could the very initiator, encouraging and concealing, explain to us the figures and motivation for a theft of 651,699 lei? In his capacity as president

of the Bucharest community of the Baptist cult, by abusing his function, the pastor Iosif Sarac had at his disposal the community's money however he wanted it, ignoring any financial discipline and legislation of the country, which is valid equally for the cult organizations, as well, with its being a question of the state's money. The methods of withdrawing it and establishing an "autonomy," where--in his opinion, a curious opinion--nobody was allowed to penetrate, not even a state financial organ with checking functions, were many and very clever. "The money is ours and we do what the church decides with it!" he maintains forcefully, confusing the church and the cult members with himself and the several supporters he carefully had selected. The pastor president does not feel dutybound to give an account of what he did with the community's money, not even to the Executive Committee of the Union of Christian Baptist Communities, the highest forum, and he feels wronged, considering as "interference" even the basic management check made during this year by specialists, legally undertaken following some complaints and notifications by some of the cult's members. The main tactic and his cover were disorder in the recordkeeping method and in the preservation and deposits of the cash coming from the churchgoers. The cash register was kept unnumbered and not initialed, contrary to all valid legal provisions for all organs, forums and organizations which handle money. Large amounts of between 1,000-17,000 lei were kept on balance, from which the so-called payments were made, with the well-calculated purpose of avoiding bank checks on the issuance and utilization of the cash. Since the same person Ioan Olariu--a fact incompatible with the law--was holding both the job of cashier as well as the community's accountant, a check of the receipt documents and payments was not being made or of the correctness of the balance written in the register of cash. Who was going to do it? Should Ioan Olariu check on Ioan Olariu? If he were to become too scrupulous in his respect for legal financial standards, he could anger Iosif Sarac, the pastor president, reminding him that he could not have at his disposal and parcel out the money received from the parishioners as funds for the cult affairs and support of the churches (as the state provides)! Because he would have harmed his own pocket first,the one which the amiable pastor filled plentifully. Anyway, the shirt is closer than the jacket! Although a state retired person, Ioan Olariu innocently received his complete pension and salary as cashier, damaging the state social security fund, without recalling the law which regulates receiving a salary and a pension. So, illegally, he received more than 12,000 lei, plus "aid," plus "allowances" plus "prizes" from the "leadership fund." The "leadership fund," another defiance of financial discipline and of the provisions of Decree 85/1976, another broad, very broad channel through which the parishioners' money flowed like rivers into the pockets of the small clan: Iosif Sarac, president of the community; Pascu Geabou of Alexandria, pastor secretary, and cashier Ioan Olariu. Here is what the documents say. In less than two years, the first one gave himself "exceptional allowances" valued at 9,544 lei in about three successive stages through abuse and without legal basis around the winter holidays. In legal terms this means embezzlement of the church wealth, a public wealth! Following the president's example, the pastor Vasile Brinzei presented himself with even more substantial "allowances of 7,500 lei in 1979 and another 7,500 in 1980,each quarter and sometimes even bimonthly. In 2 years, 15,000 lei, along with his salary and other incomes obtained in the cult! Some pastors in the Bucharest community, besides the manner shown by the person who wrote us, completed their budget by giving themselves "gifts" from the church money. They signed payment orders in order to give themselves birthday presents of coats, shirts and ties. In other words, one "brother" works and another spends! But the manner of the "aid" (as provided by the cult's statutes)more often was used even more flagrantly in order to load the pockets of those few. (How could the contributing members of the cult not react, when it is a matter precisely of the pastors and not just any pastors, but the ones elected to the community's leadership?!) Using the motive that he has many children and has a right to "aid," Pascu Geabou obtained 6,050 lei along with his salary as pastor, along with the allowances for leadership as secretary of the Bucharest community, along

with the "exceptional allowances," along with other incomes obtained in the cult, from two churches (nursing from two sheep) in Alexandria and from Nenciulesti Commune. On top of that, he is harsh with others in social life as well as his "brother" Iosif Sarac and is turbulent in relations with the official state structures and institutions. On his own account he took the initiative to have the church in Tiganesti demolished, doing this as a kind of rebellion, not to put it another way, on the day of our people's national holiday, on 23 August, and promising the parishioners that he would build another one, more splendid, with the hard currency he would obtain through his relations abroad. He loses another 14,000 lei, buying a building for a house of prayer without legal authorization and from a citizen who cannot provide legal proof that he belonged to him and that he was its owner.

In order to see Geabou Pascu's moral appearance, we give you part of Marin Stanescu's letter:

"I am a 71-year-old citizen who has enjoyed the freedom of conscience and of belonging to a cult in conformity with Article 30 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania until 1974, the date from which I no longer have enjoyed this right. The reason is that preacher Geabou Pascu is at the Baptist church in Alexandria; he removed me from the Baptist cult because I reminded him not to date a certain woman anymore, but he pushed me wildly and injured me, I found myself all bloody, cut by the window and held by the hands as he was trying to strangle me and I began to shout and the militia came and saved me. From that dangerous scandal, I have been left with an illness which have now been aggravated. If we have been ensured freedom, we must be people who are of use to society, good people and not for preachers like Geabou Pascu to strangle us."Cashier Ion Olariu also is somebody "aided" (probably for him to improve on his amnesia when it comes to legality) with consistent amounts: 6,000 lei in 1980 alone. And these are the amounts which, in exchange, "aided" people whose family difficulties perhaps were acute: Alexandru Ferche, 2,500 lei (1979 and 1980) in 2 years and Radu Ilie--500 lei. This is how the cult is understood and respected by its president-pastor Iosif Sarac, the person who, proven to be tendentious and irrational, interprets our right to resolve the workers' letters, regardless of belief, as "interference in the cult's affairs!" Investigating the truth and revealing the embezzlers, we are giving proof of respect for the country's constitution, respect for a religious cult, recognized by the state and the members of which, in context, are required to respect the laws of the state. But let us go further. The methods of stealing funds from the community's wealth, as we were saying, were much more numerous, with disorder and offences being spread to all chapters of the budget of the Baptist community of Bucharest. Including that of salaries. Not even in this sector, where speculations can no longer be made, the standards of the Code of Labor and of other regulations in effect are not being respected. Iosif Sarac and Pascu Geabou were being paid supposedly by the hour for their jobs as president and secretary with amounts which were 50 percent greater than the salary for the basic job as pastors of the church contrary to the legal provisions for salaries for personnel in cult units. The former received 5,316 lei additional in 3 years and the latter--5,492. Pastor Vasile Brinzei, although he has a secondary school training and around 10 years' seniority in his job, is employed in a higher grade of salary than due him, with his being paid 3,600 lei additional, until the financial check. Pastor Buni Cocar was paid 20,718 lei as "allowances" and "collaboration prizes" during 7 months, exceeding by 8,000 lei the legal amount for his job and seniority. Payments were made--tens of thousands of lei--in the form of "aid" to persons who could not be identified and, thus, who could not confirm the intent of the money. Employment of persons also was made without legal basis, without work contracts, however, paying them salaries

"by ear." Fixed assets were obtained, also without support of the law. Tens of thousands of lei were spent for official dinners, without justifying acts, with the regulations of the cult themselves being violated.

Contributing members of the church give the money they have worked for honestly at their jobs, while others send it to the devil! It is not merely from their own po ket and work; what is more, they are rounding out their own personal incomes as best they can. If these acts legally could be called embezzlement, an abuse of one's job, fraud, negligence in management of financial resources of the community, what could they be called morally? Are they not incompatible with the very statute of the cult and of any faith? Of any morals ?! The Executive Committee of the Union of Christian Baptist Communities of Romania, through its president, pastor Cornel Mara, and the secretary general Paul Barbatei, an attorney, ensured us in August that these violations would be discussed at the September meeting of the committee, when recommendations would be made for the particular churches to take measures. Coming back in October, we found that nothing was begun, with just 12,065 lei having been recovered on the basis of a receipt, representing "recovery of salary" from the one with the lay job, from the cashier Ion Olariu. But when will the 651,699 lei be covered? Who is interested in supporting such a group? Is it not cause for the investigative and criminal organs to intervene?

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BRIEFS

STANESCU HOLDS ECONOMIC TALKS--Amman, 26 Nov (AGERPRES)--Ion Stanescu, head of the Department for Construction Activities Abroad, now on a visit to Jordan, analyzed together with Marwan Dudin, Jordanian minister of agriculture, and with other officials of the host country the ascending course of the bilateral relations and their role in expanding Romanian-Jordanian cooperation in constructions. A series of concrete measures were covenanted for further developing the economic cooperation in the spirit of the Romanian-Jordanian understandings concluded at top level. [Text] [AU261823 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 26 Nov 81]

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THAILAND--Thailand and Romania have agreed to double two-way trade to the value of $200 million per year over the next 5 years. The trade agreement was signed in Bangkok on Friday [27 November] by Thai Deputy Commerce Minister Prakaiphruk Sarutanon and his Romanian counterpart, Marin Traistaru. According to Thai estimates, the value of two-way trade this year is expected to amount to only $90 million. Under the new agreement, Thailand will sell mainly agricultural goods in exchange for Romania's tractors, fertilisers and chemicals. [Text] [BK290728 Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 29 Nov 81]

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH CANADA--Ottawa, 20 Nov (AGERPRES)--The proceedings of the eighth session of the Joint Romanian-Canadian Governmental Commission for promoting economic trade and cooperation concluded in Ottawa. A. Margaritescu, Romanian minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and R. E. Latimer, deputy minister of industry, trade and commerce of Canada, signed in Ottawa a protocol providing for measures for the further development and diversification of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation between the two countries, for facilitated collaboration between Romanian enterprises and Canadian firms in achieving economic projects on third markets. [Text] [AU201929 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 20 Nov 81]
Ottawa, 19 Nov (AGERPRES)--In Canada to attend the session of the Joint Romanian-Canadian Economic Commission, Alexandru Margaritescu, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, had interviews with Mark Macguigan, secretary of state for external affairs, Herb Gray, minister of industry, trade and commerce, Eugene Whelan, minister of agriculture, and Ed Lumley, minister of state (trade). He also met with James Donnelly, president of the Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd, as well as with executives of the Ministry of National Revenue and of the Agency for Trade Development. On those occasions the stage was analyzed of the Romanian-Canadian commercial relations, the two sides' interest being highlighted in the further development of the Romanian-Canadian cooperation on multiple planes. [Text] [AU191950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 19 Nov 81]

OBITUARY OF JURIST-ACADEMICIAN--The Presidium of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Ministry of Education and Instruction announce the death of Academician Traian Ionescu, outstanding personality in the fields of science and university education in Romania. He was a doctor in juridical sciences, specializing in civil law and international private law. In the years of socialist construction he made an important contribution in the area of the juridical sciences by participating directly in the drafting of important legislative acts and norms. He was a member of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of prestigious international juridical associations. He was a deputy in the Grand National Assembly and, in a number of legislatures, he was chairman of the Assembly's juridical commission. He was a member of the Romanian Communist Party. [Excerpts] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Nov 81 p 2]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR--This morning, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Yugoslav Ambassador Trifun Nikolic on a farewell call at the end of his mission to our country. On the occasion the two had a talk in a warm and comradely atmosphere. [Text] [AU021134 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 81]

PZPR CC PLENUM--Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 1 December carries on page 4 a 400-word factual AGERPRES report on the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum--date not given. The report states that the plenum adopted a decision criticizing Solidarity for organizing strikes; pledged to "struggle against threats to socialism," and reasserted the Central Committee's "desire to establish a front of national accord," and determination to continue the "process of social renewal." [Editorial Report] [AU031122]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW ZEALAND ENVOY--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, this afternoon received Francis Anthony Small, ambassador of New Zealand in Bucharest, on a farewell visit in connection with the end of his mission in our country. The ensuing talk took place in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU191930 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 81]

CSO: 2700/91

PROPOSED CHANGES IN LOCAL-LEVEL LC ORGANIZATION

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croation 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Velimir Filipovic: "According to the Requirements of Practice"]

[Text] Although no great changes can be expected from the changes and additions to the LC [League of Communists] Statute that are to be adopted by the forthcoming party congresses, it is already quite well known that the Statute should be supplemented with the regulations attained from practical experience of the League of Communists.

First of all, Tito's initiatives on collective work, leadership and responsibility must be included in the new Statute, as well as some changes in the procedural and organizational methods of Party organizations, which practical experience between the two congresses has imposed as a necessity.

All of these changes, that is, the proposals to change and supplement the statute, were drawn up and explained in extensive material prepared by the appropriate commissions of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC, and they are being discussed right now in the LC intercommune conferences in Serbia.

More Precise Definitions of Democratic Centralism

At a meeting of the chairmen of the commune statutory commissions and the members of the statutory commissions of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee, which took place at the beginning of October in Nis, all of these proposed changes received wide support. It must be said right off that there were no problems with including Tito's initiatives on collective work, leadership and responsibility in the new party statutes.

Likewise, not much time or words were spent on the part of the discussion regarding the need to further strengthen and define more precisely democratic centralism, as the basic norm for party life and work. It was especially requested that the LC's responsibility for overall relations within our community be emphasized more. This applies not only to the implementation of the decisions made by higher agencies by lower ones, but also to the rights and responsibilities of the lower agencies to establish and prepare the decisions to be made "at the top."

In connection with this, a proposal was accepted that a change be made in the present statutory provision concerning the LC inter-commune conferences, which have

up until now only been a place for agreement and coordination or the positions of commune party organizations from the same region. According to the new proposal, the LC inter-commune conference will be high-level LC agencies, links between the commune conference and the Centrl Committee. Their decisions are to be binding on all commune organizations, thus achieving greater unity within the region and breaking down divisions along commune borders.

According to the material prepared for these discussions, the most changes are to be made in commune LC organization, i.e. the commune conference. It is not very precisely defined in the present statute, but it has been the highest party agency in the commune, and a forum. According to the proposals for changing and supplementing the statute, which are supported in Nis, in the future it is only to be a forum. It will meet once during its mandate, when it will adopt a working program and elect the members of the commune committee. The committee will elect a presidium as its executive political body.

What Is Achieved By This?

First of all, as was stated during the discussions in Nis, it would increase the responsibility of the committee both to the commune organization and to the higher party agencies and forums, and it would make the work of the committee more efficient.

Accepting these additions to the statute, the participants in the talks proposed that the new statute provide for the possibility of having the commune conference hold an extraordinary meeting when this is indicated by special requirements, without having to wait for the next elective meeting. In addition to this, a request was also reiterated during this discussion to have this establishment of the commune Party leadership approved during the next elections through special decisions by the Central Committee, so that elections at the beginning of next year or after the congress would not be held by the old method, a few months later by the new method.

It was also proposed that the present action conferences for several local communities, which were defined at previous congresses as action forms of LC organization in the large communes, be transformed into permanent forms of organization, while the Nis communists are arguing for regional LC conferences.

Changes in the LC and Associated Labor

In spite of the tangible results from the action organization of the LC in the larger COURSs [basic organizations of associated labor], firms and companies, many weaknesses with respect to this were also encountered during the period between the two congresses. First of all, greater affirmation of unity, and united actions by several basic organizations [of LC], were lacking, and so a partialization of interests and a separation of the basic organizations within the OUR framework were substituted.

In order to avoid this, and in particular for democratic centralism, which has more and more often been pushed into the background here, to be more fully expressed, it is being proposed that permanent conferences be elected for all of the LC basic organizations from a single firm from the area of a commune.

It should be said at once that this change caused a considerable amount of discussion. It was first of all requested that the new changes and additions to the statute define more precisely the method and content of the work of the newly proposed permanent organizational forms, especially the rights and duties of its leading bodies, since a fear was expressed that an LC thus constituted within associated labor would reduce the independence of the basic organizations, especially of those who during the period between the two congresses became actively capable of operating in a new way.

During the discussion in Nis, it was proposed that party work and organization at all Yugoslav universities be uniformly regulated, and it was considered most appropriate for the university LC organization to have the rank of a commune LC organization. In accordance with this proposal, a conference with a committee and a presidium would be constituted at a university, as well as in a commune.

Also aired at this meeting were some more views on defining a quorum in the work of the LC basic organizations, ideological and political measures in the League of Communists, and other issues, but it was decided that the proposed material to change and supplement the statute would be supported, with the "main discussion" of it to take place in all commune organizations, when the Central Committee commissions draw up a complete proposal to change and supplement the Statute, which is to be adopted at the LC congresses.

9909
CSO: 2800/88

LC DEFENDS DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AGAINST 'BOURGEOIS CONCEPT'

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croation 13 Nov 81 p 20

[Article by Petar Mandic: "The Bourgeois Concept of the Party"]

[Text] Since the beginnings of its formation, the Communist vanguard has been faced with tendencies of bourgeois thought that are trying to dissolve it ideologically and organizationally and thus make it incapable of fulfilling its historic role. The opportunism and reformism of the Second International have left a deep mark in the Communist movement, with recrudescences of which, although in various forms, we have been faced up until the present day. The central issue over which the battle with opportunists of all shades is being wage is democratic centralism. Challenging the value of this principle has always been closely associated with challenging the role of the party itself in the development of society.

We also encounter these ideas in the Yugoslav social democratic parties before the creation of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]. The dilemmas over the role of the party, and the method of its organization and activity, including the resistance to building the Party on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, which originated with the Second International, were manifested in these parties, especially in those under the influence of opportunistic Austro-Hungarian social democracy. The petty bourgeois and opportunistic ideological influences that flowed from these parties are, in fact, the ideological sources from which resistance has come for a long time to the organization and activity of the CPY on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism.

The Platform of the Liquidation of Democratic Centralism

We were also faced with anarcholiberalist ideas regarding the role of the CPY at the beginning of the 1950s, in the form of Djilasism and challenging the role of the League of Communists and its organization on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism. This challenge to the role of the LCY and the principle of democratic centralism, however, has deep social roots, and is closely linked to a misunderstanding of the essence of self-management and the possibilities for its development.

The class limitation of anarcholiberalist thought is manifested in its inability to perceive self-management as a historically new form of the organization of society and production relations; this does not endanger the unity of society, but rather

consolidates it, and on democratic foundations, which gives this unity a special character. The anarcholiberalist concepts of self-management do not exceed the limits of the Proudhonist concept of socialism, in which the emphasis is put on the pluralism of interests of economic groups, while "workers' democracy" is based on principles that take most into account personal interests and the interests of one's own group, which, according to Proudhon, cannot be sacrificed at any cost to histocial interests of the working class and to the general interests of society.

Erroneously interpreting self-management as a spontaneous social trend and as ensuring "unlimited democracy for everyone," Djilas arrives at the idea that it is also necessary to give political expression to the changes that, in his view, are taking place in the everyday social life of socialism, i.e. that self-management, as a form of "economic pluralism," must also be given a political expression in the form of a multiparty system. Inspired by the illusion of a pluralist democracy, Djilas falls back on the positions of the bourgeois criticism of socialism, and doubts the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of society and the ability of the working class and the League of Communists to complete the socialist transformation of society. For the apologists of the bourgeois criticism of socialism, socialist revolutions do not bring anything new to the work class; they are authentic only during the revolt of the masses against the old authorities, but end in a blind alley when the bureacracy comes to power and when it constitutes itself as the "new class."

A corresponding concept of the League of Communists is also derived from the anarcholiberalist concept of the organization of society. This idea sees the way out of the "vicious circle" as removing the League of Communists from the political scene, feeling that it has completed its social and historical mission and that it has already become a conservative force and a factor that limits more rapid democratic development of society. As a matter of fact, anarcholiberals are fully aware that during all of the stages of the revolution, the League of Communists has been confirmed as the undeniable vanguard of the working class; that it still represents an ideological factor that has a crucial influence on the class nature of social relationships; and that without eliminating it, it is impossible to undertake any successful measures aimed at the restoration of a pluralistic system of bourgeois democracy.

In order to eliminate the League of Communists, anarcholiberalist thought is first of all speaking out against the LCY's organization on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, expanding on the thesis according to which democratic centralism is the source of the LCY's bureaucratization. At the same time, a myth is being developed about the need to expand "absolute democracy" within the LCY. This, in fact, has been a platform for the abolition of democratic centralism and the legalization of factions and the coexistence of different ideologies within the LCY. It has been suggested that the League of Communists become a forum for expressing all idological currents, regardless of the class nature.

The Ground for a Restoration of Bourgeois Democracy

Demanding minority rights and the legalization of factions, anarcholiberalist thought is "pushing" the League of Communists into the position of an ordinary bourgeois party, since without democratic centralism, and ideological and

organizational unity, the League of Communists would not exist as the true ideological and active vanguard of the working class. The liquidationist tendencies in regard to the League of Communists are especially expressed in Dijilas's positions on the role of the membership and the primary organizations of the LC. He sees the primary organizations of the League of Communists as groups of people "whose work and activity should not be controlled or directed by anyone, nor should they receive a [policy] line from anyone, but rather they, in accordance with their own feelings and through the theses and discourses that are discussed, should themselves determine their position toward the circumstances of the milieu in which they live and work."

For Djilas, democratization of the League of Communists consists of abandoning organized work and of a temporary, arbitrary, and nonobligatory gathering of the membership. He thus advocates a complete abandonment of permanent forms for the LCY's organization and activity, while he idealizes the method of spontaneous individual work by LC members as "free spirits" who act as they see fit. Everything is aimed a liquidating democratic centralism, in order for the League of Communists to cease in this way to act as the united and organized vanguard of the working class.

Djilas's version of LCY democraticization--based on overcoming democratic centralism--has the nature of a demand to convert the League of Communists into several parties or factions, of which "some could be less democratic and some could be more so." In this, the way is seen to "lead" society to a new "style of living" that would finally find its political expression in a bourgeois multiparty system. Dijilas is aware of the fact that nothing will come of his anarcholiberalist illusions if the League of Communists continues to retain its position as the ideological vanguard of society and if it acts on the basis of democratic centralism. This is why he is arguing so heatedly for an ideological and organizational weakening of the LCY, because this would at the same time mean removing the League of Communists from the main currents of the ideological struggle. In place of the League of Communists as the vanguard of development, social currents would surrender to the spontaneous relationship of class forces, whose main characteristic would be free competition in the economy, and political pluralism in politics.

We again encountered the ideas of anarcholiberalism at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's. These were new attempts by the defenders of these ideas to participate in their own way in the processes that were initiated in the democratization of society and in the League of Communists. The approach taken by the protagonists of these ideas has the nature of ideological preparation for creating an anarchic situation in Yugoslavia under the guise of the struggle for self-managing democracy, and thus preparing the ground for a restoration of a plurlistics democracy with a bourgeois ideological content. The first step in this direction was attacking the League of Communists as a "bureacratized" social force that had to be repressed at any cost. For this purpose, the thesis is being presented that the LCY and its activity on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism are opposed to self-managing production relations, and that the League of Communists has for this very reason become a hindrance to the continued development of self-management.

In order to disguise the counter-revolutionary motives behind such slogans, a thesis was developed according to which self-management has already achieved such a

level of development that is has made is possible to resolve all of the problems and contradictions of society without any intervention by the League of Communists. What is more, the viewpoint has also been defended that the less the League of Communists interferes in issues that are decided upon by self-managing agencies, the more rapidly self-management will develop.

This illusion has been used to justify abandoning the working class to the spontanous relationship of forces and to uncontrolled trends in society. It was desired that a "neutral" space would be opened up in society, without the ideological power of the LCY, thus making it possible for bourgois ideology to penetrate and to influence the main currents of social development.

9909
CSO: 2800/82

TITO BIOGRAPHER DEDIJER INTERVIEWED ON LATEST VOLUME

Text of Interview

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1610, 8 Nov 81 pp 26-29

[Interview with Dr Vladimir Dedijer, historian and author of "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito], by Milo Gligorijevic, NIN editor: "A Biographer's Confession"]

[Text] "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito], this is a book which is being talked about, which has been denoted as a turning point in the writing of contemporary history. I see peace of mind in the face of its author, Vladimir Dedijer, member of the academy, since the second volume is already in the hands of the readers, and the third is at the printer's. Dedijer declares: "I owe boundless gratitude to the late president for having supplied me with the methodology of writing contemporary history. In the letter he wrote to me in 1952 he says that we contemporaries cannot render the final judgments of his life and struggle. This can be done only by future generations of historians. Tito expressed the same idea in the preface to his 1977 'Sabrana djela' [Collected Works]."

We conducted the interview at Dedijer's house in Belgrade, which is located in Kopitareva Gradina. Around us is furniture which might belong to some poor man's household and many books and notes and letters. Dedijer obviously does not use money to purchase the satisfaction of luxuries. In donating 500 million old dinars to humanitarian causes, money received exclusively from "Novi prilozi ...," he obtained a different and far greater satisfaction.

But before I put the first question, I have to copy down his credo as a scholar from the second volume of "Novi prilozi ...":

"As I write the first lines of a chronicle of the life and struggle of Josip Broz Tito, a man whom I loved and respected, it is my duty to constantly bear in mind his devotion to the idea of truth, justice and impartiality. I will adhere to that principle if I am able until I complete the very last line of this book, since I, too, have a duty to be governed by Tito's legacy as to the need to respect the truth and justice in every matter, including the writing of chronicles and histories."

And I will also copy these sentences:

"Accordingly, all of us who have been participants in contemporary events must be aware that the scales of history is our sole judge. It will determine what was accurate and what was not. I apply this sacred rule not only to my own writings, but also to those of all other contemporaries, including Tito himself."

Now the interview can begin.

[Question] For decades now you have been gathering material on Tito's life. I see that you have documents from the confidential Roosevelt Archives. Roosevelt's wife Eleanor, who had a great respect for Comrade Tito, released them exclusively to you. You obtained the secret wartime correspondence between Hitler and the Japanese leaders in which Hitler informed the Japanese about his operations against Tito. You have obtained pearls from the British Archives. You also have certain documents from Soviet Archives which have never been published in Yugoslavia. Finally, I see that just before his death Comrade Tito issued an order that all our archives be opened to you. How much of this material have you used in writing "Novi prilozi ..."?

The Theory of Distance

[Answer] Only one-fifth. The second volume was conceived as a book of 600 pages, but it has twice as many. Of course, it was not only the enormous amount of material that dictated refraining from publishing certain facts today. As an adherent to the theory of distance, I deliberately refrained from using those documents which on the basis of my conscience as a scholar I believe should remain under lock and key for some time yet.

[Question] Please give us examples of this restraint.

[Answer] In certain cases I felt that I dare not reveal certain facts for the sake of my country's security. I say this openly. And I add: this is not any reason of state, but an act of patriotism. I do not wish to publish a single document which would weaken the defensive might of my homeland. Those are motives which I think any honorable man will find sufficient.

[Question] And examples in which the provisions of the theory of distance had a part to play?

[Answer] I will tell you that 6,000 confidential documents passed through the hands of Josip Kopinic, a man with an exciting biography, a man who fought in Spain, and the head of one of the centers for the Comintern's communications with 8 communist parties. The documents are in Moscow and at one other place. It is not my business to ask Kopinic where. When he told me about the investigations against Tito in Moscow, about how Srebrenjak was after Tito's head, I was compelled--as an historian--to compare that testimony with other sources and information. I took my conversation with Tito in June 1951, when there was also reference to investigations and when Tito said to me: "The time has not yet come for that to be published." I concluded that Kopinic's account sounded

rather authentic, but, intending to use it along with the original documents, I sent a researcher Vjenceslav Cencic to Moscow at my own expense. Cencic was very well received in Moscow and he obtained all the numbers and registers of documents concerning the investigation against Comrade Tito. When Kopinic found out about this, he became a bit testy. He said: So you don't believe me! I said: It is not you I doubt, but above all myself and everything I have written.

How Kalabic Ended Up

[Question] I have the impression that the fact that some participants are still alive has deterred you from a detailed description of certain events.

[Answer] Of course. That is also in conformity with the theory of distance. In 1950, on Rankovic's order and with Tito's consent, I wrote an account of the seizure of Draza Mihailovic on the basis of the most confidential documents together with Krcun Penezic. I delivered it to Rankovic, and he--in a gesture of confidence--gave me a copy. Even today I cannot publish the entire text of the account. It contains a description of the murder of Nikola Kalabic, the Chetnik general who betrayed Draza. An agreement had been made with Kalabic. Kalabic was given his life and offered a chance to go abroad, but that arrangement fell through because Draza Mihailovic related to his lawyer the circumstances under which he was captured. Then Kalabic was assigned a place where he was to stay in a village, but he liked to come to Belgrade, he liked carousing. According to the documents I obtained and the account of Krcun Penezic, one of the participants in Kalabic's murder is still among the living.

[Question] Are there also ethical reasons why a chronicler might pass over certain names and facts in silence?

[Answer] In two or three of his books Djilas has expressed an unfavorable opinion concerning the wives of certain high-level Yugoslav leaders whose politics did not agree with his in 1954. He wrote that two of the wives had been all but women of easy virtue before their marriage. One of them I have known since her youth and I know that Djilas' assertion is untrue. You know, in the West he could not have done this if it involved women in the West, he would not have dared to publish it! The laws there strictly prohibit that. But this is the Balkans, and Djilas was waging a political struggle which suited certain circles in the West, and so--in this specific case--he turned out to have been hasty and base.

Now I will give you a different example, a case of virtue, and at length I will answer your question. The late Bertrand Russell, a great philosopher, was married and divorced four times. He had some theories of his own about the relationship between men and women, but--as he himself says--they all broke down in his life. Never in the divorce proceedings did Russell wish to respond to the charges nor utter an unpleasant word about his former wives. Never did he reveal the reasons why the marriages broke up. With one wife he had a contract concerning complete sexual freedom, with the proviso that children were not to be conceived in extramarital affairs. However, it came to pass that the lady was incautious and became pregnant while he was away in the United States. How

did the famous philosopher behave in this case? With chivalry. He obtained a quiet and dignified divorce, entrusting his feelings only to papers which will see the light of day only at some distant date in the future. Russell the humanist did not wish for ethical reasons to publish those sentiments of his. Had he delivered an attack on the peace of mind of his former wife, it is quite certain that he would have menaced the peace of mind of his progeny as well.

[Question] It says in "Novi prilozi ..." that you obtained a great many eyewitness accounts from people who hold high positions and from ordinary people. You call this history from above and history from below.

[Answer] You have to realize that "Prilozi ..." is not any kind of government book, not any sort of official book, but one of the 400 books about Tito. At one time I asked Tito himself that we assert this: that "Prilozi ..." is only one of the views of his life and struggle. And he concurred in this without hesitation. Such a book cannot, of course, be written without documents, and I therefore went to certain comrades as well as to those who had witnessed events firsthand, and I described those meetings and conversations. I was greatly helped by Edvard Kardelj, Vladimir Bakaric, Cvijetin Mijatovic, Milos Minic, Petar Stambolic, Jakov Blazevic, Dobrivoje Vidic, Stane Dolanc, Lidija Sentjurc, Aleksandar Grlickov, Bosko Siljegovic ... but there were also leaders who did not reply at all to my letter or to my question. That is their right. There were also certain comrades who agreed to see me, but when they heard what I was asking, they avoided meetings with me. They also have the right to behave in that way.

[Question] How do you interpret this difference in behavior?

[Answer] Ours is a pluralistic society, there are differing desires and differing interests in it. But, my lad, I prefer to speak about those who behave well than about the others. Bakaric, displaying a trait that sets him apart, wrote to me: "I will not interfere." One leader from Serbia, a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee (he has asked me not to divulge his name), said: "Vlado, I will read your book only when it is published." And I therefore emphasize: I am very proud that I have written this book freely in my own country. I believe that I am the only person who has managed that and it is my desire that other authors win that same right.

Blows From Every Direction

[Question] In the second chapter of the second volume you speak about your apartment being broken into in Belgrade, you speak about abnormally frequent power failures and telephone failures in Istria, about a sudden flood, about missing documents, about threats you and your collaborators received. How do these facts fit into your story about writing the book freely?

[Answer] It is true that for a time the going was not easy for me and that the battle for this book was more difficult than the battle on Sutjeska. There we knew the positions of the German 369th Division and the 1st Alpine Division, where the enemy was taking cover and where he was firing from. But in this case

the enemy would appear suddenly and from all directions, and I often had to exclaim: God save me from my friends, I will take care of my enemies myself! There were demands for the book to be banned because it was pro-Djilas, because it was anti-Kardelj. Glows began to come immediately after the publication of Tito's two telegrams in NIN, which contained the criticism of Hebrang's separatistic and nationalistic aspirations in Croatia. There were, then, attempts to censor Tito, to suppress the material about Hebrang. There were also blows that came from here in Belgrade. I was not able to depart from my basic view and Tito's legacy. I sent out letters, I explained that I was not writing this book in a coproduction with any official body or any individual, that I am respecting the laws of this country and that I am accountable to historical truth and to my reviewers. I must acknowledge that those arguments of mine were accepted by the top leaders in this country, and I finished the book in complete freedom and without pressures. I repeat that this only does honor to my homeland. Thanks to Vladimir Bakaric, a man of profoundly democratic leanings, I was given the occasion to shatter those accusations in an interview published in START.

[Question] Now that you mentioned the interview in START, I cannot but recall your statements that you asked Aleksandar Rankovic for his opinion about bugging Josip Broz Tito. In "Novi prilozi ..." you included Bakaric's hypothesis that Rankovic and Jovanka Broz eavesdropped on the president. Consistent with your basic position that all relevant testimony should be heard, you turned to Aleksandar Rankovic. What was heard from him?

[Answer] You're asking a great deal. Certain individuals, when they gave me responses, rightly asked that certain rules be respected. All I can say to you about this case is that I received from Rankovic's people a copy of the material on eavesdropping and the use of tapes. That response also contains the assertion that Rankovic himself was bugged. I have now gone to work with my researchers to find documents which will either confirm or refute this thesis of Rankovic's.

The Story About Jovanka Broz

[Question] In gathering material for "Novi prilozi ..." did you also call upon others who once held high positions of leadership?

[Answer] I certainly did. I would be a poor historian if I turned only to Rankovic as the witness of important historical events. For example, I will tell you in confidence, I also wrote to Jovanka Budisavljevic Broz and Stane Kavcic and certain other individuals. But some people, to tell you the truth, are afraid to make statements. Yesterday I met a great war hero from Serbia. When I asked him about his removal from office, he clammed up completely. I felt very sorry for this great man of our revolution.

[Question] We have arrived at a new question: history from below.

[Answer] I consider firsthand accounts of ordinary people to be most valuable sources. I will give as an example of such an account the one I received from a comrade, a Partisan, a man who spent 22 years alongside Tito performing a

technical function. My telephone had been cut off in Sipar, where I work, so I went over to Opatija. I spent 5 weeks there shut up in a hotel, up on the top floor, and there I finished the book. They installed special telephones so that I would be able to communicate with archives in Yugoslavia and abroad. Every day I would go out to lunch in a restaurant, I would order stuffed peppers, and after lunch I would drink coffee and listen to the stories this interesting man told. He recounted to me, for example, a characteristic that does credit to Jovanka Broz. Mrs Broz was a good housewife, she oversaw everything. On the eve of Nasser's arrival on Brioni she made a last inspection to see that everything was in order. To her horror she saw that the oranges on the little plate were marked "Jafa"--Israeli oranges. Since she was a politically aware person, she immediately removed those oranges. I think that accounts like those that man gave me tell a great deal about people, about their characters. He also told me, I might add as well, who was the only individual to raise his voice in a conversation with Comrade Tito.

[Question] Who was that individual?

[Answer] Well, you see, here again the laws of the theory of distance are operative.

[Question] When we spoke last May in Zagreb, you said that Tito was a man of broad range, with passions and faults, but a man of noble feelings. How has your thesis about his magnanimity been confirmed now that you have studied the most recent historical material concerning Tito?

[Answer] Consider how Tito behaved toward the people who had tried him, who had arrested and beaten him. He did not go after their heads. He was not a man who sought revenge. To be sure, I did hear the opposite opinion from certain people who were not in power.

I think that Tito inherited the mildness I speak of from his mother. At one time I committed a major oversight in not having described that figure in closer detail, and I am now making up for that lapse. It was she who gave him gentleness. You know, as I once said, I was also trying to figure out which was predominant in his traits, decisiveness and firmness or mildness and warmth. But the more documents I gathered, the more of them people sent to me, the more I became convinced of his magnanimity. Take, for example, his love for Davorjanka Paunovic. Uninformed people have asked me if it was true that Davorjanka was murdered. Here, I am leafing through the case history of her disease, which is written in a physician s uneven hand. I see that all her crises where life hung in the balance have been described, and I know that Tito's letters reached her in the days before she died. Tito knew that there was no hope for her, but he wrote as though this girl would live a long life. He did not display this attitude solely toward poor Davorjanka, who was a Vlach from eastern Serbia, but also toward the other women he was close to. In this attitude of his he differed essentially from certain of his fellow warriors who after the war left their good wives, peasant martyrs, and abandoned their children, in order to marry ornamental little butterflies from the city.

The Bitter Fifties

[Question] What was Tito's relationship to comrades with whom he parted ways?

[Answer] Tito had said somewhere: "No one can ever charge me with having destroyed them." But a complete answer would require talking to all such people.

[Question] What was Tito's attitude toward you after 1954, after the Djilas case? And what were your feelings in the second half of the fifties?

[Answer] Here is what I wrote in "Novi prilozi ...":

"Often, even against Tito's wishes, Rankovic systematically organized ways of punishing me.

"I have left abundant material on this, a journal written day by day, especially concerning the sufferings of those closest to me, and even the parents of Olga [Dedijer's first wife, killed in the war], and of my wife Vera, who had rejected the demand that she leave me and five children because of my treason, as it was put to her in a party meeting.

"I was thrown out of the School of Philosophy, all employment was taken away from me, but I had to feed five children in the house and the three of us adults. All of my books had been withdrawn from sale, and for all of 13 years not a single book of mine was published in Yugoslavia, right up until Rankovic fell from power.

"However, those hours which were bitter for me personally and especially for my family did not create hatred toward Tito and the country, since I do not look upon their struggle and life from a narrow personal viewpoint. That is why now, in undertaking to write this book, I cannot forget that tortured period of my life, when I was in conflict with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia even against my will, but neither can I allow one tree to block my view of the entire forest."

[Question] I do not know whether you are aware, Professor Dedijer, that "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" is at the top of the best seller list. How do you explain that fact?

[Answer] All books about Tito based on fact sell well, all those which do not resemble lives of the pharaohs, which do not have the tone and style of hagiographies, books in which facts rather than adjectives are strung one after the other. That sad book about Tito's funeral sold, I believe, 160,000 copies. Maclean's book has also sold well. Forgive me, but as one who has been tied to Tito, I must conclude on this basis that Tito's influence is growing stronger even after his death. You will say that that is a subjective view, and fine--so be it, it is subjective. My book is also subjective. This could be a fault, but at the same time a virtue. I must tell you that I have never concealed my subjectivity, not even in conversation about other people and other things. For example, when I was giving a lecture at Harvard this last time, a member of the

audience asked me to give my objective opinion concerning Draza Mihailovic. I asked him: "How can I give you an objective opinion of him when I am carrying his shrapnel which I received at Milanovac? When the weather changes, I feel pain in my knee, so how am I to be objective? Another occasion, then, for me to mention the necessity of applying the theory of distance."

The Case of Gojko Djogo

[Question] Since I have finished the interview at this point, allow me to put you one more question which falls outside it. As Tito's biographer, as a truthful man, please tell us if you have ever been dissatisfied because of the use of Tito's name?

[Answer] I am dissatisfied with the temperature that has risen over Gojko Djogo's collection of poems "Vunena vremena" [Woolen Times]. Poets are the only ones who are awake in this unjust world crisscrossed with boundaries. They are oversensitive creatures, and every human trouble disturbs them. Just consider: never has there been more talk about peace, but since 1945 we have had more wars than in any other period of history. We are witnesses of disintegration both in the West and also (unfortunately) in the East, of many ideologies and structures we thought to have been eternal. Poland is in flames. The poets are the most accurate seismograph of people's anxieties. The court is no place to elucidate their creations, in a courtroom life is crammed into citations from the criminal code. If we set about politicizing poetry at this point, there will never be an end to it, we will pass into the world of Rashomon, everyone will have his own version of the truth.

I understand the concern of the public prosecutor to defend Yugoslavia's integrity in difficult times. It is true that assaults are being made on us from every side. But he has made a turn in the wrong direction. In giving his narrow and pragmatic interpretation of Gojko Djogo's poetry and finding in it insults addressed to Comrade Tito, he has not been mindful that he is speaking in a courtroom, before our own and the world public. And so the wire services from all four corners of the world have proclaimed that a poet is being tried because of Tito.

[Question] Were Tito alive, how would he behave in this case?

[Answer] When you read the third volume of "Prilozi ..." you will see how he behaved in a different case, but by reflecting on that different case you yourself will easily arrive at an answer. In 1950 Tito kept a diary for a short time, but unfortunately his undertaking as a chronicler came to naught. In one passage Tito describes an unpleasantness which occurred on the way back from a hunt: he met a peasant from Srem who publicly cursed him in front of his entire entourage. Tito protected him, shielded him from punishment, but in his diary he asked why the peasant had done this.

[Question] Finally, what does the author of "Novi prilozi ..." have to say to his readers?

[Answer] What his message has always been: criticize me, send me corrections, additions and clarifications. If you think it is not time to publish your eyewitness accounts, write them down and keep them. I would also like to say that I would be very unhappy if my book were used in our political struggles, especially in the skirmishing among the republics. This book is imbued with Tito's endeavor to preserve the country's integrity and the quality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities at any price, an endeavor which the late president stressed until the moment of his death.

One Reader's Reaction

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1611, 15 Nov 81 p 2

[Letter by Ljubisa Manojlovic, Belgrade, in response to Milo Gligorijevic's interview with Vladimir Dedijer entitled "A Biographer's Confession": "When a Confession ..."]

[Text] In the last issue of NIN Milo Gligorijevic, who is talented, demonstrated once again that he knows how to put interesting questions in an interview with an interesting subject. And that is one of the reasons why the interview given him by Dedijer (strong in every respect) proved to be exceptional in many ways.

Nevertheless, it seems to me, since the writer of "Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita" has also furnished in passing new contributions for his own biography, that Gligorijevic might have put one more question to Dedijer. In connection with the scholar's account of the unpleasantnesses which he experienced after his fall from power, when he was left even without a way to make a living, it would have been natural to ask:

[Question] Comrade Dedijer, when you were in power was there ever a case when you yourself persecuted someone, threatened his life, destroyed his means of making a living, left him without the means of subsistence, and the like?

I believe that Dedijer, given the broad openness and concreteness which are characteristic of him, would answer quite specifically. A man like him would thus be certain to furnish a worthwhile contribution to contemporary knowledge about the psychology of power.

I must mention that Vladimir Dedijer has never persecuted me, so the question, then, should not be taken as a personal question of my own.

7045
CSO: 2800/102

ORIGIN OF FIRE AT PATRIARCHATE OF PEC REMAINS UNCLEAR

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian, No 1610, 8 Nov 81
p 33-35

[Article by Stevan Stanic: "The Frescos Recall Something Else"]

[Text] From Madrid, from the Prado Museum where our icons from the Pec Patriarchate and Decan and the frescos from the St George columns are presently located face to face with the great geniuses of painting, Velasquez, Goya, Surbaran, and El Greco, at the exhibit of "Art in Medieval Serbia from the XXIIth to the XVIIth Century," the news is arriving about the great discovery, and the amazement of art experts over the inscrutable secrets in the blue abysses of Byzantium, over that "marvelous higher symmetry, over that hierarchy of order over disorder until now unknown in world art..."

From Vienna, following the conclusion of the International Congress of Byzantinists, where what our experts say is, as in no other scientific field, listened to with the most attention, and resounds most authoritatively, the news arrives from one of the sections that the Pec Patriarchate is presently the greatest beehive for the preservation and restoration of medieval art...

From the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural and Historical Monuments of Serbia, a third report arrives: that the architect Marija Jovin has completed and submitted the design for the new residence at the Pec Patriarchate, in which she has brilliantly worked out a play of masses, each with its own size, while taking into account authenticity, in accordance with the old photographs; and that the cost of the new building will be about 2.2 billion dinars.

Here Comes the Joke

A very large and comfortable museum treasury is planned to be in the new residence, and until the building is completed, the old manuscript books and the "wounded church books" will be under treatment at the Belgrade National Library, while the icons have been distributed for cleaning to institutes in Pristina, Novi Sad, and Belgrade.

These three short reports a few days ago took us to the Pec Patriarchate, which really does resemble an actual beehive. Several workers are using lead sheets to finish covering the central cupola and the roof of the church of Saint Nikola.

Two curators with linked specialties, a brother and sister of Albanian nationality, the master in art history Afrim Etemi and the art historian Hidajeta Etemi, are skilfully using a new procedure by the Italian couple Moro, which, without the laborious scraping with a scalpel that results in [cleaning] one square centimeter per day, cleans and removes several square meters of the ancient fog deposited by saltpeter on the surface of the fresco. Under the effect of this emulsion and the cleaning, the frescos of the best of our painters of those days, master Radule, from 1673, which remind one of enlarged magical stories from the old Persian miniatures, come out into the light of the twentieth century under the hands of this brother and sister, in their full splendor. And while the policeman on duty, Inspector Mijat Roganovic, walks quietly and slowly by himself through the monastery churchyard, the nuns hurriedly move into the just completed residence, which was saved then from the fire, and which will be formally consecrated and inhabited according to the church rules on Saturday, 7 November... but almost 8 months have passed (since 16 March) since the great fire at the monastery residence of the Pec Patriarchate and the dramatic rescue of the great medieval cultural treasure from the burning treasury, and whether we wanted this or not, the hidden fire of suspicion, cast first toward one hearth of Kosovo nationalism and then toward another, is still smoldering. Is it really necessary to unroll again that almost amateurish film of clumsiness--from the initial suppression and postponement of the news about the fire, and through those hasty reports (before the reporters arrived on the scene) that the old electrical system was probably responsible for the fire, to conclude with how this fire was met with so much distrust and unpreparedness, and almost as a blow to our old benign tolerance?

Already now it is easier to remember, that when a little time passes, everything can be borne more easily, and the joke that remained after that event--"Arsenije Carnojevic forgot when he made the great move in 1960 to turn off the electricity and take the plug out of the socket in the Patriarchate's residence"--still manages to amuse even the most hardened "tragedians." Possibly only Bogdan Babarogic, an employee of the Institute for Urbanism in Pec, a highly skilled electrician and plumber who put in and installed this electrical system and to whom this joke directly applied, is still seized by a nervous shivering when he thinks of the initial conclusion about the cause of the fire. "Even though I knew that during the work I used the most solid materials, and even doubled it and gave it excess capacity, I began to doubt myself."

After only a few days, when the findings of one of the two experts were ready and above the expert signature of graduate electrotechnical engineer Gasi Seljam stood "the fire in the monastery residence could not have resulted from the electrical installation, because the electrical installation that was put in ten years ago with PP cables, with the appropriate circuit breakers, fully satisfies the technical regulations for this type of installation," a load was lifted from Bogdan Babarogic's mind.

What Judge Hoti Says

There remained, however, the opinion signed by the other expert, graduate construction engineer Tomislav Markovic, which states that "if the furnaces for heating the premises in rooms 5, 9, and 10 on the second floor of the monastery

residence were used, a potential existed for a fire to break out in the building's attic because of the defective chimney."

An investigation was begun on the basis of these hypotheses and doubts. Since 16 March, when the residence burned down, over 7 months have passed, and thus there has been more than enough time for us to dare, with a certain unwritten right to accurately inform the public and to write down and establish how far the investigation has come. The word "dare" implies a quite understandable caution at a moment when a counter-revolutionary conflagration of Albanian irredentists has broken out, when any similar incident (and even that time was preceded by several fires, burned houses and burned forests) could easily and rashly be linked, as it also implies the political dilemmas of those peaceful and composed people with considerable and lengthy political experience and their comments "that this political moment is not that suitable" [for discussion of this subject].

Reminders of these scars are still fresh, and this journalist's fear of wounding, and of again inciting the disagreements which have shown their ugliest face once already have at least been dispersed in the secure, open, and friendly reception encountered among the people who worked on the investigation. In this case, this journalist was offered all of the existing investigation documents to examine and copy. This was possibly because one thing is clear to everyone--remaining silent means leaving it up to everyone to make use of this fire as he sees fit.

Let us turn then first of all to the investigating judge in Pec, Ibis Hodi:

"We have accurately determined that there is no question of any human involvement, and that the fire could not have come from outside, but rather that the fire occurred because of the furnace that was lit with sawdust that night, and [because of] the defective smokestack and the asbestos pipes in the chimney."

"Did you cooperate with the experts?"

"I worked with them before, during, and after the investigation. Here, look, their findings are typed out there in front of you on ten pages; they served to show which direction the investigation should take."

A Supposition Is Not a Conclusion

One of the nuns at the Pec Patriarchate, Sister Haritina, who was responsible for stoking the fire and with whom we spoke, says that that day was exceptionally warm for March, that it was somewhere around 15 degrees [Centigrade], and that there was no need to light the fire. She and the prioress of the Devic convent, Paraskeva Simeonovic, who was their guest for those evenings, remark that there was not just one center of the fire, but two, that they were at least 15 meters apart, and that they were not connected with each other by fire; and that the flame was sort of light and dark blue, and smelled of oil and gasoline.

But here is a statement from the interrogation of the old gardener, 76-year-old Djordj Kovic, who refutes the statements by the nuns and confirms the correctness of the investigation. The old gardener of the Devic convent, who accompanied the prioress Paraskeva here that day in order to teach the Pec nuns how to make

hotbeds, stayed for the night in the very room of the residence in which, as the investigation asserts, the furnace was lit... "When the sister took me to the room, she did not stay very long; I can say that this lasted around 5 or 6 minutes. After she left, I noticed that the room was warm. I moved over to the furnace and saw that it was lit."

After this, here we are on the way to the Devic convent, along part of roadless Metohija that still furrows its agitated face, like some fertile paradisaical Biblical Egypt, with wild and unattractive gorges and ravines, shaky bridges across mountain rivers and impassible roads, and peasants, with a plow and oxen, on the last step of poverty. We could not have done anything more absurd than to urge this old gardener, Djordj Kovic--caught between an insecure existence within the shelter of the monastery, the interrogation at the investigating court, and the confused pictures of the frightful fire at the entrance to the Rugov ravine, in the darkness of the monastery cellar, where young wine is poured--to read again what he signed at the interrogation after the fire: "After the police came, around noon, one of the sisters told me that in case someone asked me about the fire, I should say that the fire had not been lit in my room and that there was no light... I could recognize this sister if I saw her..."

What and how much is a new assertion worth now, however, and how much can one trust this frightened man when he says: "They can write whatever they want, I did not say that."

What we were told by one of the experts--construction engineer Tomislav Markovic--contributes to the Rasomon nature of the story. He, clearly disturbed, rejects the possibility that his expert testimony could have served as a basis for the conclusion of investigating judge Ibis Hoti that the fire broke out because of a defective chimney.

"With my findings I requested laboratory tests, which should have been performed for the findings to be complete," says Markovic. "Without this, no supposition can be used as a conclusion, at least not on the basis of my findings."

News From Nerodimlje

Since for the time being there is officially no hypothesis of deliberate arson, let us then close the logical course of the investigation, which finally had to come to the author of the "suspect" chimneys, and thus to the Pristina urbanist Slobodan Mikic and the builder Andrija Kostic, who had worked, as designer and contractor respectively on the reconstruction and restoration of the roof structure and the roof covering of the old residence of the Pec Patriarchate. The investigating judge of the commune court received the criminal charges from the Pec police only around 1 July and a request that Mikic and Kostic be investigated, because they "acted contrary to regulations and thus greatly endangered human life and property because the necessary construction of the chimney was not included in the above-mentioned reconstruction..."

The focus course of this investigation thus stopped precisely with a twofold university graduate, lawyer and architect Slobodan Mikic, who as the recipient of a scholarship from the United Nations, after 10 years of study and acquired knowledge from India, Trinidad and Sweden, returned to his native Pec, to clean and straighten up his city as the commune urbanist.

In the spring of 1976, the Patriarchate in Belgrade contacted him with a request to propose a solution for restoring the roof on the old residence, because there was more and more leakage through the worn-out tiles. After the conclusion of the work, the church requested a technical review, and only after a commission, did it acknowledge the execution of the work according to the established legal procedure for construction operations. Unfortunately, the old chimneys, which had withstood so many decades, now restored, and some completely new ones, as the investigators suspect, have caused a fire after only five years of use.

The request for the investigation was returned from the district commune court and now everything depends on the commune investigating judge, Sadri Cosja. "So far, from 1 July until now," says Cosja, "I have had to open an investigation."

The news that has arrived from the small village of Nerodimlje near Urosevac, however, that the Orthodox church there was recently vandalized and defiled with nationalist and irredentist slogans, and the destroyed and uprooted orchard in the Devic convent, and the continual vandalism and arson at the Mark church in Koris near Prizren, which even the most objective people have a hard time not ascribing to the same vandals, will possibly accelerate or further expand this unfinished process.

And, while we stand once more in the courtyard of the old Pec Patriarchate before our departure, up above the cupolas, on the stone road that leads from Rugov, stand small elementary school children with linen school bags. Some stand, turn toward the church, and cross themselves. Others, they say, throw stones at the old monastery cupolas after night falls.

None of them know what the Pec Patriarchate is, and how many accumulated centuries of lofty spirit and art are here together in these small churches that are heaped up, as if some pure childlike genius were playing.

As nowhere else in the world, you can follow in one place, in these five churches, the development for five centuries in a row, from 1230 in St. Apostoli to 1680 in St. Nikola, of the mysterious and enigmatic world of Byzantium, which is no longer the spiritual inheritance of any one country, but rather of the great world of art. We doubt that on this occasion any of that art will be able to peep out through the depressing court records, the complicated investigation proceedings, and the small personal tragedies.

Still, is great art really so feeble? If it is, then why not continue with the same openness with which we have spoken in the last few months about much more crucial and unpleasant matters? Especially since the secretariat for internal affairs in Pec says that "this matter should still be considered open and unresolved."

9909
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CONSEQUENCES OF SHORTAGE OF TRACTOR FUEL SIGHTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1608, 25 Oct 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "White and Red Peasants"]

[Text] A cold rain was drizzling, and the numerous tractor drivers jamming the approaches to the gasoline station with their tractors were getting wet. The station operators did not reply, but only shrugged their shoulders when asked when the tank trucks would arrive with diesel fuel. It was already twilight, the rain was not stopping, but the tractor drivers were not going away. There had been a rumor that this was the station where there would be "diesel," and there were more and more tractor drivers. Three policemen were barely able to organize traffic on the highway past the gasoline station.

That was the situation a few evenings ago at the Jugopetrol gasoline station in Gornji Milanovac, but traffic jams and uncertainties of that kind have recently been occurring at all gasoline stations in Serbia. And not only in Serbia. Farmers tending field crops have suddenly found themselves in trouble: their fields need to be plowed, and this fall they need to plant more than 1.5 million hectares to wheat. But there is no fuel. On Monday there was a report from Leskovac that more than 4,000 tractors were standing idle in the South Morava region. Tractors are also standing idle in Stig, a fertile farming region.

A few days ago we were in the Valjevo area. In the village Slovac the peasants assured us that this fall many fields would go unplowed because of the shortage of tractor fuel and that they would plant much less wheat than they intended. Andrija Petrovic said: "No one any longer has oxen for plowing, but we would be glad to have them now."

On Monday we went to the Federal Executive Council building and visited engineer Milovan Zidar, chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, and asked whether the Federal Executive Council was going to do something to solve this problem. This is his answer: "We have decided to put on sale certain quantities of fuel from the reserves of the Federal Directorate for Agricultural Machines so that the most important fall farm work will be done on time. In a telegram which we have sent to the republics and provinces we have requested that priority in supply be given to farmers. We have also called upon the republics and provinces to take steps to provide petroleum for farmers and to

avoid all speculations. What we plant this fall will be what we reap next summer."

Petroleum is not in Milovan Zidar's "jurisdiction," and he was unable to explain to us all that had happened and how in general it could have happened that farmers be left without fuel for tractors and combines at precisely this time. After all, it is not just a question of planting wheat--the corn harvest is also approaching, and it is possible that all the combines will not be able to go in the fields. Along with all this, land that has lain fallow needs to be plowed up and prepared for spring planting.

Certain Old Divisions

In Vojvodina farmers tending field crops were given priority in the supply of petroleum even by the beginning of the week, and the provincial secretary for agriculture, engineer Petar Ilic, announced that everything had been agreed on with Naftagas concerning those priorities.

The fact that fuel rationing coupons have been distributed is evidence, though, that there will not be enough fuel for tractors and combines (that is, these coupons always make their appearance when shortages of certain products are altogether certain).

Our correspondent from Cacak, Rodoljub Petrovic, has informed us that the coupons have been introduced in that opstina as well. Farmers with tractors will be able to get 80 liters of fuel apiece at gasoline stations if they present coupons. That is, the view is that this is sufficient to prepare the land and for other planting operations on 2 hectares. Stanislav Tanaskovic, chairman of the opstina agriculture committee, told our correspondent that fuel would also be issued for coupons to those owners of tractors who prove that they will plow not only their own field, but also the fields of other farmers: "We will not make a distinction between associated farmers and those who do not belong to associations in distributing the fuel. We need wheat from both groups." But that is not the case everywhere. On Monday the Belgrade City Executive Council supported the proposal of the city's cooperative alliance that preference be given in the supply of fuel to associated farmers. News is coming in from other areas as well that such distinctions have been made.

Engineer Milovan Zider, chairman of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, made this comment: "If some farmer wants to operate as a liberal factor on the market, if he does not join an association, then let him bear the consequences."

So, once again we are in the midst of the old divisions which we thought had been forgotten. Back some 15 years ago the socialized sector was receiving a premium for certain of its products, but the private sector was not. The justification for this was that the premium, as an economic category, was supposed to stimulate the faster development of the socialized sector. But that was not the only justification: we believed that the peasant would in time "die out," that is, that in time the private sector in agriculture would also vanish. Peasants still comprise about 35 percent of our total population, nor have they been obstinately resisting "extinction," but in view of overall development, among

other things, it could not have been otherwise. It was said at the time that there was "red" and "white" milk, that is, "red" and "white" agriculture. Later it turned out that granting premiums to the socialized sector did not stimulate its development as much as we hoped. How otherwise to explain that even now the private sector has 97 percent of the total livestock population and 85 percent of the total cropland?

But these were not the only reasons for abolishing the privileges of the socialized sector of agriculture. In time the view was adopted that the food is the same regardless of which fields it was produced on. The shortage of fuel for tractors and combines persuades us that we gave up those sectarian views only temporarily and that we still have an aversion to the private sector in agriculture.

The Reasons for the Existence of the Nonexistent

Now, it is true, there is no longer a division into the private and socialized sectors, but there is, there you have it, a division into associated farmers and those private farmers who are not members of associations.

What are all the things that give rise to divisions of this kind? First of all, the interests of those who are afraid that the private farmers will become economically independent and an independent "economic factor."

This view overlooks the fact that the private farmer himself, if he produces in large quantities for the market, cannot do "without socialism": How will he market his goods if not in collaboration with the socialized sector? And if the peasant is poor, the degree of his poverty is also a measure of how far he is "from socialism." And also of how long he will remain in that poverty.

In spite of all that the formation of associations is now being pushed forcibly in accordance with certain formulas devised in advance and usually suitable to only one side: usually that side which has been insisting on the formation of associations (read socialized sector). And the private farmers, lacking anything better such as the opportunity to organize on their own, have had no choice. As members of the association they have had the obligation to "deliver" only those products in which the other side is interested and the right to protest if that kind of cooperation did not suit them.

A meeting of the Presidium of the Cooperative Alliance of Yugoslavia, held on the 14th of this month, was specifically concerned with the reasons for this hasty formation of farmers' associations. It was stated at that meeting that some 20 or so cooperative members or cooperators have to support the same number of office workers, that self-management is not developed either in the cooperatives or in the organizations for cooperation, that the cooperative alliances are "oriented more upward than downward," and that given the inconstant economic policy we have, there is no way to motivate the private farmers to enter into associations.

It was also said at that meeting that we would have more associated farmers if we should leave the choice as to forms of association more to the farmers

themselves. This is the nexus: the farmers are not opposed to association, they know that they cannot survive on the market individually, but the forms that have been prescribed do not suit them. That is why it is no accident that a question like this was put at that meeting: Why should they join associations if it is going to be worse for them than for those who do not join?

That is what is being said in the Cooperative Alliance of Yugoslavia. Incidentally, we have cooperative alliances at all levels, but yet we have very few cooperators. Perhaps because we first established the cooperative alliances and "commissioned" them to establish cooperatives or organizations for cooperation. Instead of the cooperatives establishing the cooperative alliances as their own organizations and assigning them tasks. And so that the cooperative alliances might now justify their existence, they are insisting on the division into "white" farmers (who are not members of associations) and "red" farmers (who are members). And now when there is not enough fuel for tractor and combines, the cooperative alliances see an opportunity to use such divisions to "boost the membership of farmers' associations."

Tired of the Potential

Ilija Ristanovic, a private farmer from Preljina near Cacak, whom our correspondent talked to at a gasoline station in that village, says that the private farmers are not at fault for the slow formation of associations: "So why should those who are not members be hurt in the distribution of tractor fuel?" But they will be.

The consequences of these current divisions will be evident in the fields even this fall. But those will not be so evident as the consequences in next summer's harvest. In Slovac we heard this kind of assessment from private farmers: "Those who stand to gain now are the ones who did not deliver wheat from last year's harvest. Not only because they will be assured of food for their households, but also because in a year's time they will be able to earn much more from that wheat."

The farmers are defending themselves against the uncertainties and pressures of monopolies by not taking to market any commodities they are not required to. That is the explanation as to why only half of the approximately 4.3 million tons of wheat produced this year has been purchased. For that reason we will have to import nearly 1 million tons of wheat, but if all the quantities harvested had been purchased, we would have enough wheat, there would even be some surplus.

So there will be no cause of amazement when this fall the corn ends up in barns instead of going to the market. The credit for that can be placed not only on the short-term economic policy, on high inflation, but also on the division into "white" and "red" peasants.

But we have already become tired of furnishing evidence on the kind of potential we have for food production. And of reiterating the assurance that our food is our petroleum.

[Box, p 10] The Impact of Shortages

As far as agriculture is concerned, this fall will be remembered for numerous shortages: there is not enough livestock feed, there is not enough manufactured fertilizer, nor enough chemicals for protection of plants and livestock against pests and diseases, nor spare parts for agricultural machines. Farmers have dealt with the situation as best they knew and could.

In the Business Community for Agricultural Machines they say that about $10 million are needed to import the most necessary spare parts. This money is lacking, so that the farmers are going abroad to obtain some indispensable bolt. According to certain estimates, about 200,000 farmers went to Italy this year precisely because of spare parts for their tractors, mowing machines or planters. A simple calculation could easily prove that more money was carried out than was necessary for the imports. And that is not even to mention the time that was lost.

Yet the situation is most difficult with chemicals for plant and livestock protection. If they are not furnished on time, the specialists say, the yields could be cut in half.

Not only did the farmers lack foreign exchange for imports, they also lacked the foreign exchange to enter into association with the importers. The reason: agricultural products are subject to export permits. Which means that they cannot be exported unless the permit is obtained. And the permits are rarely issued because of the fear that the country would be left without food.

7045
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BRIEFS

KOSOVSKA MITROVICA RENAMED--Kosovska Mitrovica, a town of miners and engineering workers, has been named after Tito and will be called Titova Mitrovica beginning today. This act has been symbolically carried out at the formal session of the municipal assembly and of organs of sociopolitical organizations with the reading of the charter and with the adoption of the decision naming Kosovska Mitrovica Titova Mitrovica on the very day when this town, and the surrounding area is observing the 37th anniversary of its development in freedom. The function was attended by many guests, delegations of sociopolitical organizations, delegations from other Kosovo towns, representatives of the Yugoslav people's army and by many others. [Text] [LD240330 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 81]

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END

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CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs
Slovak Students' Foreign Scholarships 1

BULGARIA

Protective Measures Against Neutron Bomb Suggested
(Ivan Nikolov; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1981) 2

Measures To Improve Civil Defense Training Outlined
(Dobrin Dimitrov; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1981) 6

Profiles of Local Civil Defense Leaders
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1981) 10

Glossary of Civil Defense Terms
(GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1981) 15

Herbicides--Effective Military Weapon
(Ilich Efremov; GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA, No 10, 1981) 21

POLAND

Implementation of Social Agreements Assessed
(TRYBUNA LUDU, 7 Sep 81) 24

Goals, Activities of Peasant Party Outlined
(Roman Pstrong Interview; GAZETA POMORSKA, 19 Nov 81) 49

Creation of Youth Housing Cooperative Proposed
(Andrzej Roginski; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 14 Oct 81) 52

YUGOSLAVIA

Grlickov Interviewed on LCY Congress Preparations
(Aleksandar Grlickov Interview; START, 10 Oct 81) 55

Belgrade Official Derides Political Cliches
(Zirorad Kovacevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 29 Nov 81) 69

Catholic Brothers Accused of Links to Emigres, Dissidents
(Djuro Kozar; OSLOBODJENJE, 21 Nov 81) 71

Tenants, Owners of Housing Argue Over Draft Legislation
(Ratko Boskovic; START, 10 Oct 81) 76

BRIEFS

SLOVAK STUDENTS' FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIPS--Of the more than 1,200 scholarships available to Slovak students in foreign countries, almost 60 percent come from the USSR and represent 63 colleges in 13 cities. Almost half of the 695 students follow studies in technical fields, natural sciences and about one-third social sciences. About 180 students study technical subjects, social sciences and agriculture in Hungary. Over 146 students study at 11 colleges in 8 cities in the GDR, mostly in Leipzig, Dresden and Marseburg, attending mostly the technical faculties. In Bulgaria, more than 80 percent of Slovak students study agriculture and food processing. Following criteria must be met by applicants for foreign studies: less than 26 years of age, very good educational record, good moral-political profile, knowledge of Russian for the USSR study and German for the GDR study and completed compulsory military service for applicants from the industry. The scholarship subsistence amounts to 90 rubles in the USSR, 330 marks in the GDR, 2,340 forints in Hungary and 120 leva in Bulgaria. The students who maintain excellent and very good scholastic record are paid after their first year of the studies up to 20 percent of their subsistence money in addition to their basic subsistence. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 3 Dec 81 p 1]

CSO: 2400/95

PROTECTIVE MEASURES AGAINST NEUTRON BOMB SUGGESTED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 4, 30

[Article by Professor Doctor Ivan Nikolov, director of the Scientific Institute of Radiobiology and Roentgenology of the Medical Academy in Sofia, and Senior Scientific Associate Georgi Vasilev: "The Neutron Weapon and Protection From It"]

[Text] The decision of President Reagan's administration to include the neutron bomb in the U. S. military arsenal was announced at a time when the peoples were hoping for the initiation of talks on detente and disarmament. The proclaimed intention is to deploy this new mass destruction weapon in some Western European countries and eventually to use it in battle under the imaginary pretext that the neutron bomb is not a strategic but an ordinary tactical weapon for defensive rather than offensive purposes. This decision has been noisily publicized by the American mass information services, which depict the neutron bomb as just about the most humane weapon of this century.

Following are the views of two noted Bulgarian scientists from the Institute of Radiobiology and Roentgenology, who were asked by the editors to comment on the nature and effect of the neutron bomb and on protection from it.

The neutron bomb belongs to the so-called "third generation nuclear weapons, the first two being the atom and hydrogen bombs.

The neutron bomb has four main striking factors: the shock (explosion) wave; light radiation; penetrating radiation (gamma radiation and neutrons); and radioactive contamination.

Penetrating radiation -- neutrons and gamma rays -- can spread over a considerable distance, striking at living organisms which have survived the shock and heat waves. In the case of a 10 kiloton explosion, the lethal radius (the distance at which penetrating radiation is lethal), is about 1 km for gamma rays and 1.2 km for neutrons; in a 1 megaton blast it is about 3 km for gamma radiation and 1.5 km for neutrons.

The biological effect of gamma radiations and the neutrons is related to the ionization they create in living tissue. Both types of radiation are indirectly ionizing, i.e., they do not cause ionization directly. The gamma quanta take the

electrons out of the electron shield of the atoms and it is these electrons that are the cause of ionization. The neutrons interact mainly with hydrogen, which is an important component of the biological tissue (about 10 percent). The strike propels the energy of the neutrons to the hydrogen nuclei, resulting in bouncing electrons and gamma radiation. The released protons are a direct tissue ionizing agent. The development of these processes depends on the energy of the neutrons.

Neutrons with a great variety of energy charges are released in a nuclear explosion, ranging from a few electronvolts to several megaelectronvolts. The characteristics of the structure of the biological tissue, the high hydrogen content above all, create conditions for the neutrons to have a considerably greater biological effect than gamma radiation. This is expressed in terms of the so-called "relative biological effectiveness." In the case of the neutrons, it varies from two to 10, depending on their energy. With equal doses, the biological effect of the neutrons is stronger by a factor ranging from two to 10. Thus, for example, the lethal neutron radiation doses range from about 2 to 4 Gray, i.e., they are considerably lower than in cases of gamma radiation.

Depending on the radiation dose, the radiation disease may assume various forms, raging from light, with 1 Gray (for gamma radiation) to death from radiation in a few days in the case of doses ranging from 6 to 100 Gray. With even higher doses the so-called ray death, i.e., death in a few minutes, takes place. In cases of radiation within the lethal range (2-8 Gray), the organism may survive and radiation illness may disappear gradually. Residual and latent consequences of radiation, however, are inevitable. They affect virtually all systems of the human body. The symptoms included headaches, loss of memory, general weakness, increased susceptibility to various diseases, intensive aging, development of sclerotic processes, endocrinal disturbances, permanent pathological changes of the skin, etc.

The sexual glands are severely damaged, leading to sterility, high incidence of stillborn children, deformities, and mental and physical degeneration of newborn children. The sharply increased likelihood of the development of malignant lethal tumors is particularly characteristic of radiated organisms. To this day, such effects are still noted and continue to cause casualties among the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagazaki atom bombs and the victims of experimental nuclear tests conducted by the United States in the Pacific in the 1950s.

It is against this background that the Pentagon strategists are trying to present the neutron bomb as humane. The neutron bomb is a nuclear system whose main and essential purpose is the destruction of humans with a maximum preservation of installations, buildings and other material values. It attacks exclusively living organisms.

In the neutron bomb the blast and light radiation are greatly reduced at the expense of penetrating radiation -- neutrons and gamma rays. The latter account for 95 percent of the total energy released by the blast. A variety of engineering and physical solutions are used in order to achieve such results. Some synthesis and fission nuclear reactions yield a higher number of neutrons and gamma quanta, while the kinetic energy is reduced. Reactions with some heavy nuclei, such as Californium, are possible, or with a so-called "subcritical mass" with an additional source of neutrons for the purpose of maintaining the reaction. The blast wave may be reduced and radiation increased by reducing the thickness of the shield of the

nuclear charge. The result is a bomb with a so-called "zero shielding" which is different from conventional nuclear systems in which the shielding is as strong as possible so that it may prolong the explosion time to the maximum and thus to gain more substance, raise the pressure and increase the shock wave.

Naturally, the press does not inform us of the precise reactions to the neutron bomb. It is known, however, that these reactions develop far more slowly than those caused by conventional nuclear systems. The neutron bomb is a relatively "quiet" weapon without the huge ball of fire and the huge mushroom. Naturally, there is fire and destruction, but on a very limited scale. The Western press has reported that nuclear neutron charges with a stre effect of about 10 square km are being prepared. This means that the lethal radius would be about 1.7 km. It has also been reported that in all likelihood, such a system would be used not on an isolated basis but in clusters of 24 bombs, which means that the lethal radius will be about 5 km. Despite the tremendous area which will be affected by the lethal radiation dose the destroyed and possibly burned down area will not exceed a few square meters. Buildings and installations remain virtually intact, while the people are killed.

The residual radioactivity in the area is relatively weak and is caused mainly by short-life secondarily induced radioactive isotopes. After a few days, radioactivity drops so drastically that the area is once again safe.

The term "neutron bomb" comes from the fact that about 80 percent of the striking effect of penetrating radiation is caused by neutrons. The bomb may be taken to the target by cruise missiles which fly very low above the ground and are difficult to hit by enemy defenses, or through other means such as air-to-ground missiles, artillery shells, aviation bombs and ballistic missiles. Like all nuclear weapons, the neutron bomb is a typical weapon for nuclear aggression, which can be used at all stages of a combat operation.

Protection from neutron radiation is based on the familiar principle of "screening defense." People must hide in shelters or other protective installations, whether special or adapted. The characteristics of the interaction among neutrons and the substances they go through must be taken into consideration in the selection of shielding materials. As we pointed out, neutrons interact particularly actively with hydrogen nuclei.

That is why hydrogen-containing substances, such as water, paraffin and concrete, are extensively used in protection from fast neutrons. In practical terms, protection from penetrating radiation in a nuclear exposion may be provided by moist dirt and concrete. For example, a 25 cm-thick concrete layer reduces the neutron dose tenfold; a 50 cm-thick layer lowers the neutron dose 100 fold. The addition of bits of iron or iron ore to the concrete substantially improves its shielding properties not only in the case of gamma radiation but of neutrons as well. A two-layer shield consisting of a 25 cm layer of packed dirt and 25 cm-thick concrete wall reduces the neutron dose by more than a factor of 1,000. The shielding property is improved by adding boron or boron compounds to the protective materials, because boron can capture the slow neutrons. Twin-layer screens consisting of paraffin and lead or paraffin and steel are particularly effective against the neutron flow. They may be used in the building of special protective equipment and screens.

Naturally, the introduction of the neutron bomb will face the Civil Defense System with major medical, organizational and tactical problems, which must be studied extensively with a view to the organization of effective protection. The best defense, however, is the energetic struggle and opposition on the part of progressive peace-loving forces aimed at preventing the production and use of the neutron bomb, which would inflict indescribable suffering to millions of people.

5003
CSO: 2200/28

MEASURES TO IMPROVE CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING OUTLINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 6-9

[Article by Lt Gen Dobrin Dimitrov, deputy chief of Civil Defence of the Bulgarian People's Republic: "Practical Skill Is the Main Feature of Training"]

[Text] The decisions of the 12th BCP Congress are the new embodiment of the party's April line. They apply to all areas of life of the party and the country, and call for creativity and daring in reaching new heights in the building and defense of socialism. After assessing the difficult international situation, the congress decided that in the future steady concern and attention must be devoted to means for strengthening the country's defensive power as well. This means above all that the combat power of the Bulgarian People's Army must be increased and, along with it, the readiness of civil defense as an inseparable part of the complex set of defense and protection measures necessary at the present stage in the development of means of warfare and military concepts.

The expediency of this party requirement was confirmed even more strongly lately, after the decision of the U. S. President on the production and stockpiling of the neutron bomb. This sinister weapon, whose purpose is mainly the destruction of people, is now being rattled by the warmongers. The plans to use it in a "limited nuclear war" are essentially an attempt to lower the nuclear threshold, i. e., to bring the world closer to a new world war.

That is precisely why the party's efforts to increase the defensive power of the country, manifested in improving army training and civil defense, are fully justified. In recent years, as a result of the party's concern, many successes were achieved in the training of staffs, services, formations and the population in carrying out defensive assignments under difficult circumstances. The leading and command personnel and the staffs and services are organizing the training process with increasing skill and efficiency. The ways and means of training are being improved at all civil defense levels.

Thousands of manages, chiefs and commanders attended courses and received proper training at interokrug civil defense schools. The personnel of the various formations, part of the population and the students improved their practical training as a result of tactical-drill training and exercises and in comprehensive exercises conducted by enterprises and obshtinas. The "Prepared for Civil Defense" review dedicated to the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state

and quiz shows for students and population training groups proved to be effective practical training methods.

More effective methods, such as demonstration exercises, explanations with subsequent demonstrations and exercises, practical training classes and others, are being applied in instructing the various categories and groups of trainees.

There has been a considerably improvement in training activities as a result of the increased methodical skills, better material support facilities, and effective political, ideological-educational, agitation and propaganda work. Managers, chiefs, commanders, specialists and the thousands of fighters in the formations and working people in cities, villages and national economic enterprises have changed their attitude and are making greater efforts in civil defense training. Such training is becoming an imperative of the time in which we live and is developing as a responsible nationwide project.

This year, many collectives organized their civil defense training effectively. Training within the civil defense system of entire departments, such as the Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Light Industry, Ministry of Public Education and others is being successfully carried out. Positive results were achieved in this direction by entire okrugs such as Plovdiv, Varna, Stara Zagora, Pleven, Sofia City, Gabrovo, Pernik and others. High training results were achieved by the Stara Zagora, Kazanluk, Pleven, Svishtov, Plovdiv and other obshtinas. Good training achievements were scored by many enterprises, which are making skillful use of ways and means leading to greater practical results. This applies to the Lenin SMK [Construction and Installation Combine] in Pernik, Vitosha DIP [State Industrial Enterprise] in Sofia, G. Genev VTK [Foreign Trade Combine] in Gabrovo, G. Dimitrov OTsZ [Consolidated Cement Plants] in Kurdzhali, D. Blagoev KTsM [Nonferrous Metals Combine] in Plovdiv, APK [Agroindustrial Combine] in Slivo Pole (Ruse Okrug) and others. These successes are a good beginning and a base for raising the standard of the civil defense training process even higher.

Nevertheless, shortcomings are still allowed to occur in training work, hindering the acquisition of lasting practical skills and the ability to organize defense work and the training of staffs, services and formations for operations under complex conditions, the use of mass destruction weapons by the enemy, natural disasters and major industrial accidents.

In the case of many staffs, services, formations, training groups and other units this is not achieved mainly because the most effective ways and means of training are not sufficiently used; training is not sufficiently aimed at practical results. In some areas, the implementation of tasks and steps for training formations and the population suffers from formalism. In many civil defense courses training consists of lectures or talks. Training problems are not sufficiently related to resolving practical problems of the defense of the population and the national economy, mastering the ways and means of individual and group defense and training for SNAVR [Rescue and emergency damage repair work] under complex wartime circumstances and in the case of natural disasters and serious industrial accidents.

The inability of some okrugs to make effective use of facilities and equipment in the conduct of rescue operations and the unskillful and imprecise use of many formations in such operations became apparent in the struggle against natural

disasters at the start of the year. This proved that the practical training of the formations was insufficient. The same fact was confirmed by the many comprehensive obshtina target exercises and the review-competitions in civil defense activities among secondary school students.

Instructors in civil defense courses, chiefs, commanders and heads of training groups are not always able to direct the trainees properly toward acquiring practical skills in the course of their training.

Unquestionably, the formations, the population and the students we re able to acquire the required minimum of theoretical knowledge of basic defense and SNAVR problems during the preceding training stage. A certain level of training and readiness of staffs, services, formations and the population in conducting successful rescue operations in the case of enemy attack has been attained. However, this training does not meet current requirements, when the formations and the population may be asked to operate under very difficult circumstances such as areas of combines strikes.

The only way to upgrade the training standard is to reorganize the training system and to make decisive changes in it above all by intensifying the practical aspects in all types of civil defense courses, and in formations, population training groups, schools and VUZs. This calls for improving the training process mainly from the qualitative viewpoint. This is entirely possible, for the necessary prerequisites to this effect already exist. Considerable organizational and methodical experience has been acquired. Civil defense courses have been strengthened. The instructors' skills have been improved and they are able to set the tone in the struggle for following a practical direction in student training. Training facilities have been enlarged. They are being steadily improved and make a practical orientation in training the various units possible. In this respect rich experience has been acquired by the USSR Civil Defense System, as reflected in the periodical VOYENNYYE ZNANIYA, an experience we too could use.

What must be done in order to follow a practical direction in the overall training process during the new school year?

Above all, the command-teaching personnel in civil defense schools must improve the organization and implementation of practical work in such a way as to help in the overall training of staffs, services and formations through the leading cadres they train. The substance of each topic or exercise must be found, for it has a definite value in improving defense and gaining the practical ability to act in difficult circumstances.

In the forthcoming instruction-methodical rallies which will be organized by staffs and services at all levels, the training must be such as to contribute to the greatest extent possible to the practical interpretation of the topics to be covered. This will make it possible to master most thoroughly the ways and means of doing successful work in a stricken area and under difficult peace-time circumstances. This method can be used not only at the beginning of the school year, for staffs and services in all departments, economic trusts, plants and obshtinas will have the opportunity to organize and guide chiefs, commanders, heads of training groups and instructors throughout the year in setting up displays and

providing instructions on how to chose topics and training themes and how to ensure their best possible coverage in order to reach the best possible practical results.

The assessment of each training class attended by formations, training groups and students must be based on its contribution to the practical activities of the trainees and to their ability to carry out defense assignments and to engage in rescue operations. In assessing the results of the socialist competition, it would be expedient to take into consideration mainly the ability of troops and commanders to carry out practical assignments in defense and rescue work. Naturally, lectures and talks will be given on some theoretical problems. However, they must be used skillfully and must encourage the trainees to work harder to acquire the necessary practical skill.

Meeting the norms for various activities offers great opportunities for developing practical skills during training. Both the meeting of the norms and the preparations for meeting them during the training period create conditions for work on a number of practical aspects related to seeking shelter, use of personal defense kits, giving first aid, decontamination, putting out fires and many others. It would be expedient for the command personnel to plan such training and to struggle for the full implementation of the plans.

Available training facilities will have to be used even more fully and efforts will have to be made to ensure their expansion and improvement, so that the training of any unit may feature practical aspects and help the troops, students and working people to acquire the skills they will need in organizing defense work or operating in a stricken area.

The creative work which staffs, services, chiefs. commanders, managers and instructors must do to support and direct the training process must be developed to the maximal extent. Such an approach will enable them to implement the urgent task of giving a practical direction to training and to achieve new successes in civil defense training and preparedness within a short time.

5003
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PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 24-25

[Report: "Rewarded for Services to the GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Most of the life of Boris Ivanov Nichev, chairman of the Vratsa Obshtina People's Council has been inseparably linked to the development and strengthening of the economic stability of the city and the conurbation system. This has been consistent with his training. After completing a construction technical school he attended the Karl Marx Higher Economic Institute, where he majored in industrial economics. He attended the 2-year Higher Party School in Moscow and successfully defended his thesis for candidate of economic sciences. He then spent several years in responsible positions in industrial projects and at the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee and the trade unions.

Boris Ivanov Nichev

For the past 5 years, Boris Nichev, chairman of the obshtina people's council has also been head of the obshtina civil defense system. This is a responsible and difficult duty which requires the use of the knowledge acquired in the specific area of preparations for the protection of people and material values under critical circumstances. He did not fail. He brought the conurbation system to a leading position in the okrug and deserved the high award presented by the GO command.

It is a pleasure to discuss GO problems with Boris Nichev, bearer of the "For Services to the GO na NRB" badge, first class. He can describe the course of the competition in the various services and formations, the active role he plays in resolving some problems, moral incentives and the methods used to develop a high feeling of duty in troops and commanders, in detail and knowledgeably. In this city of the chemical industry particular attention is paid to readiness for rescue operations under difficult circumstances caused by industrial accidents or the elements. Boris Nichev has frequently faced the obshtina people's council with this perennial problem and made the necessary decisions on improving the readiness of the staffs and formations for action under such circumstances. Suffice it to recall last year's natural disasters, when torrential rains were followed by floods and interruptions of water supplies and electric power. Skillfully headed by the chairman of the obshtina people's council, the civil defense formations did their duty. He names the Gavril Genov Machine-Building Combine, the Vratitsa State Cotton Weaving Combine and the chemical and cement combines among those which proved their high ability to act under critical circumstances.

Boris Nichev's example as GO chief has enthused the mayors within the conurbation system, who are also working actively for its defense. That is why GO activities have reached a high standard in the Vratsa conurbation system which has maintained a leading position in the okrug for a number of years. In recent years, the red challenge banner of the okrug staff has been awarded to the Vratsa conurbation system on several occasions.

On the initiative of its chairman, the executive committee of the obshtina people's council has adopted a system for encouraging champions in GO training. This may be one of the reasons for GO successes and for the high-level activeness of the people.

Aleksandur Videnov Bozhilov

The regular training of the formations in an enterprise took place at the GO training grounds in Sofia's Kirkovski Rayon. The excellent simulation conditions were made as realistic as possible. Fires broke out, bomb explosions shook the rayon, victims moaned and called for help. People in GO uniform, wearing gas masks,

could be seen through the smoke. Medical unit personnel carrying first aid bags hurried to give first aid and save the lives of those buried under the "wreckage."

Aleksandur Bozhilov, rayon GO staff inspector in charge of communications and announcements, confidently operated the panel from which all of these effects were controlled. Everything here has been made according to his own design, including the building and electrical engineering facilities. His long experience in the GO system helped him to implement a long-planned idea. Today, the training grounds have an area perfectly fitted for the psychological training of the personnel. Sound effects were very difficult to achieve. However, with the help of specialists from the feature films studio in Sofia this difficulty as well was successfully eliminated. Now, in addition to sound recordings, the simulation control panel can generate more than 25 different types of action in various parts of the grounds. A simple push of a button (depending on the purpose of the training) can generate fire or smoke and the sound of an explosion in front, behind, on the side or under the feet of the soldier. It is also possible to simulate a nuclear strike area, something which considerably facilitates the work of officials in command-staff training or exercises. That is why this area, which is the result of his persistent searches, ambition and creativity, can make a great contribution today to the development of mental firmness in the rayon personnel on the level of modern requirements.

Aleksandur Bozhilov properly realizes that regardless of the accuracy of decisions made by chiefs and commanders, nothing can be accomplished properly unless they are related promptly. That is why he makes sure that the communications equipment is always ready and that the people who handle it are perfectly trained. Bozhilov considers malfunctioning equipment anywhere an exceptional event.

A restless and curious person, together with Vasko Vasilev, his colleague in Mikhaylovgrad, Bozhilov undertook to create a radio transmission center. This improved the quality of rayon communications considerably. Currently, he is at work on a system for the remote control of equipment through a radio channel. All of this -- from idea to implementation -- is carried out during the time which remains after checking the sites, giving instructions, teaching class, and helping performers. It is thus that, day after day, for 20 years, this respected GO worker has been dedicating his work and knowledge to the highly noble and responsible GO work.

People who hate stagnation may be found in any labor collective. They live and work in such a way as to be always among the leaders. Such is Petur Shishkov, civil defense chief of staff at the Todor Kableshkov Plant in Panaguyrishte. For the past 20 years he has held this position with legendary zeal and love. The noble feeling of responsibility which guides all of his actions is worthy of emulation. He may have inherited the devotion to his work, order and obedience from the old people of Panaguyrishte of whom he is the worthy heir. Or else, these may be the qualities and habits he acquired in the border troops, where he spent his army service.

Petur Shishkov has been employed at the plant as an accountant since 1957. Shortly after his appointment, the plant management became aware of his qualities as an organizer, his ability to lead people and his high personal discipline. He was entrusted with the duties of plant civil defense chief of staff.

Petur Delchev Shishkov

It would be hard to determine the number of problems resolved under Petur Shishkov's tenure as chief of staff. However, the successes which were achieved in maintaining the state of readiness of the formations are quite visible. The formations are structured on the basis of plant shifts on the initiative of the chief of staff. This has increased the effectiveness of the training process sharply.

If you were to ask Petur Shishkov which are the leading formations at the plant he would unhesitatingly mention the fire-fighting crew headed by Atanas Karakonchev and the medical units headed by Anka Uteva and Penka Ogurelkova. They regularly take part in city and okrug competitions and always end up in leading positions. The other formations also train conscientiously. It was no accident that last year the Todor Kableshkov Plant took first place in the city and second in the okrug in civil defense training.

A while back, when downpours flooded the Luda Yana River bed and the plant was threated with flooding, the formations responded to the alarm signal and mounted an uneven struggle against the elements, in which the will power, skill and preparedness of troops and commanders were tested. The prevention of the disaster and the rescuing of valuable property proved that the efforts invested in regular good quality training and concentration on practical results had paid off. The confidence of the chief of staff was given practical confirmation. His efforts were properly appreciated by the plant, the party committee and the management. Petur Shishkov has received many moral and material rewards for his dedicated work. He is the bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" second and third class.

According to engineer Angel Dimitrov, director of the Plovdiv Okrug Communications Service, in civil defense training and exercises the other services can simulate actions while the communications system must always function in real terms. Perhaps that is precisely the reason for the successes achieved by the okrug's Communications and Announcements Service he heads. For many years, this service has remained the champion in the civil defense socialist competition. This year, once again the service was named okrug champion.

Angel Ivanov Dimitrov

GO personnel from various parts of the country and from some fraternal socialist countries frequently visit engineer Angel Dimitrov with whom they share progressive experience. What new things can they see here? The shelter in the building where the service is located serves also as a civil defense training center. It includes modern and fully equipped classrooms where the trainees may hear a lecture, study a specific topic, or watch a training film or slides on formation activities under critical circumstances. Helped by the creative spirit and initiative of Ivan Denev, chief of staff of the service, Comrade Dimitrov has given his full cooperation to the making of thousands of color slides and several GO training motion pictures with the help of the local formations. The premises also include a shooting range of the OVTPN. In one of the premises visitors may note the ready individual kits of every employee. Each kit contains the carefully packed equipment which the GO worker will have to carry in the case of sudden alarm.

The center is visited and used by a number of enterprises for GO training purposes.

Engineer Dimitrov takes great care to maintain the equipment and the siren-notification system in the okrug in order and in a state of constant readiness. Regular training and exercises are conducted with a view to improving personnel training. By virtue of the nature of their work, the personnel of the communications formations are in contact with all okrug enterprises and establishments and enjoy general respect. That is why everyone was sincerely glad and presented their congratulations when the solemn announcement was made that they had been declared the winners of the okrug GO socialist competition and that engineer Angel Dimitrov, head of the okrug Communications and Announcement Service, had been awarded a high distinction: the honor badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" second class. Today, everyone takes the Communications and Announcements Service as a standard, which imposes even stricter obligations on its chief.

5003
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GLOSSARY OF CIVIL DEFENSE TERMS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 27-28

[Reference: Selected Specific Civil Defense Terminology and Most Frequent Errors"]

[Text] Term and Most Frequent Errors	Map, Table, Chart, Etc. Acronym
Civil Defense	GO
Organization of the protection of the population and the national economy (not "organization and protection of the population and the national economy")	OZNNS
Rescue and emergency damage repair work (not "rescue and immediate damage repair work")	SNAVR
Center of combined strikes (not "combined (comprehensive) strike center")	OKP
Center of nuclear strike (not "nuclear center of strike")	OYaP
Center of mass contamination	OMP
Center of biological contamination (not "biological (bacteriological) center of contamination")	OBZ
Center of chemical contamination (not "Chemical center of contamination")	OKhZ
Center of chemical contamination with industrial poisons (not "chemical center of contamination with industrial poisons")	OKhZPO
Combat toxic substances	BOV
Toxic substances	OV

Organophosphoric compound	FOS
Organophosphoric substance	FOV
Sanitary-chemical laboratory	SKhL
Departmental chemical laboratory	KhL
Chemical reconnaissance instrument	PKhR
Microbiological laboratory	ML
Radiological group	RG
Radiological laboratory	RL
Mobile chemical laboratory (not "field chemical laboratory")	PKhL
Fuelling station	ARS
Automatic hot-air degassifier	AGV
Army chemical reconnaissance instrument	VPKhR
Semiautomatic chemical reconnaissance instrument	PPKhR
"Communications and Announcement" (Service)	SO
"Order and Security" (Service)	RS
Fire fighting safety service (not "fire safety service")	PO
Accident rescue service	ASS
"Shelters and Covers" (Service)	SU
"Water Supply and Sewerage" (not "Water Mains and Sewerage")	V i K
"Power Supply and Blackout" (Service)	ES
"Radiation and Chemical Defense" (Service)	RKhZ
Permanent washing center	SUP

Organophosphoric compound	FOS
Organophosphoric substance	FOV
Sanitary-chemical laboratory	SKhL
Departmental chemical laboratory	KhL
Chemical reconnaissance instrument	PKhR
Microbiological laboratory	ML
Radiological group	RG
Radiological laboratory	RL
Mobile chemical laboratory (not "field chemical laboratory")	PKhL
Fuelling station	ARS
Automatic hot-air degassifier	AGV
Army chemical reconnaissance instrument	VPKhR
Semiautomatic chemical reconnaissance instrument	PPKhR
"Communications and Announcement" (Service)	SO
"Order and Security" (Service)	RS
Fire fighting safety service (not "fire safety service")	PO
Accident rescue service	ASS
"Shelters and Covers" (Service)	SU
"Water Supply and Sewerage" (not "Water Mains and Sewerage")	V i K
"Power Supply and Blackout" (Service)	ES
"Radiation and Chemical Defense" (Service)	RKhZ
Permanent washing center	SUP

Clothing decontamination center	SOO
Transport facilities decontamination station	SOT
Material and technical procurements	MTS
Automatic gas warning indicator	AGS
Antiradiation shelter	PRU
Filtering and ventilation systems at hand	PFVU
Oxygen insulation instrument	KIP
Air danger	VO
Danger of radiation contamination	ORZ
Air danger all-clear	OVO
Veterinary and plant protection reconnaissance	VMRZR
Disinfection-showering installation	DDU
Disinfection-showering motor vehicle	DDA
Violent toxic substances	SDOV
Stable toxic substances	UOV
Unstable toxic substances	NOV
Individual protection kit	IZP
Individual degassification kit	IDP
Special treatment center (not "sanitary processing center")	PuSO
Surface active agents	PAV
Fuelling station	ARS
Medical support detachment	OMO
Medical unit	SD

Medical center	SP
Medical control point (not "medical control post")	SKP
Antiepidemiological detachment	PEO
Antiepidemiological group	PEG
Hospital complex	BK
Main hospital	GB
General surgical hospital	OKh
Traumatological hospital	Tr
Burns hospital	Iz
Therapy hospital	T
Infectious diseases hospital	I
Neuropsychiatric hospital	NP
Reception and triage ward	PSO
Light casualties gathering center	PSLP
Temporary light casualties gathering center	VrPSLP
Okrug transfusion hematology center	OTsTKh
Distribution post (not "distribution point")	RP
Mobile pharmacy supply group	APSG
Automotive medical column	ASK
Medical distribution point (not "medical distribution post")	MRP
Specialized medical assistance group	GSMP
Hygiene-epidemiological inspection	KhEI
Medical-sanitary defense	MSZ

Hospital complex administration	UBK
Hospital complex administration group	GUBK

Expressions:

Close formation ranks (not "formation ranks are formed")

Civil Defense Chief of STaff (not "Chief of Staff for Civil Defense)

Chief of Radiology Control Service (not "Chief of Radiological Control Service")

5003
CSO: 2200/28

HERBICIDES -- EFFECTIVE MILITARY WEAPON

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 10, 1981 pp 32-33

[Article by Engineer Ilich Efremov: "Herbicides -- Helper or Enemy of Man?"]

[Text] The American imperialists used herbicides as a chemical weapon for the elimination of farm crops during their aggression in Vietnam. The nature of the active agents they contain, methods of delivery to their targets and means of use make them very similar to classical war poisons. The only difference is in the target -- in this case the vegetal organism.

Like any other chemical weapon, herbicides are a factor which must always be taken into consideration, for they can be used in a variety of ways, depending on the enemy's targets.

The public's insufficient familiarity with many phenomena related to the use of herbicides in military operations calls for supplying some information on this problem.

Combat Properties of Herbicides

In terms of characteristics and possibility of utilization, herbicides may be classified among the means for mass destruction of plants. However, their direct effect may also result in manpower losses or substantial drops in efficiency.

According to a group of world-famous specialists, who were asked by the United Nations to conduct extensive research in this area, a substantial number of herbicides may be used as war chemicals for the destruction of plants -- as defoliants and dessicants. They cause the fast defoliation of forests and are an excellent means of detecting personnel and combat materiel concealed in forests or among other vegetal species.

At the time of their use, the herbicides are disseminated over wide areas, water surfaces and animal and human production facilities. This may cause mass poisoning in humans.

A characteristic of herbicides is that they can remain in the air, on the ground or on various objects for very long periods of time. Most of them settle and last 2-3 months or, in the case of some of them, years, for which reason areas treated with herbicides remain contaminated for long periods of time. Herbicides may be

classified into two groups according to the nature of their influence on vegetation: total (general), which destroy all vegetation, and selective, which destroy a specific species only.

The division of herbicides into total and selective, however, is arbitrary, for depending on the amount used they may have either a total or a selective effect.

Under peace-time conditions, total herbicides are used when the destruction of all vegetation becomes necessary, such as on roads, yards, landing strips, embankments, canals, abandoned sites and railroad tracks.

According to their effect, herbicides are classified into contact and translocation types.

Contact herbicides destroy only the area exposed to them. For this reason, in some cases plants may survive, new shoots appear and the vegetation is renewed.

Translocation or systematic action herbicides penetrate the plant's organism through its circulatory system. Such herbicides, regardless of whether they have affected leaves, stems or root only, rapidly circulate throughout the surface and ground parts of the plant and cause its destruction.

The struggle against perennial weeds would be inconceivable without such herbicides.

In some cases, the chemicals used as herbicides are known as sylvicides -- used in the destruction of forests; arboricides -- used to kill trees and bushes; defoliants -- which cause leaves to fall before the harvest; algicides -- used for the destruction of harmful weeds; and dessicants -- used for dessicating plants.

Defoliants and dessicants are similar to contact herbicides. Contact herbicides frequently act as defoliants and dessicants. Either can be used in combat operations for the purpose of locating enemy camps and targets.

Based on chemical stability, herbicides can be classified into very stable -- with a breakdown time into nontoxic components of more than 2 years; stable -- with a decomposition time of 6 months to 2 years; moderately stable -- from 1 to 6 months; and unstable -- decomposing into nontoxic components within 1 month.

Herbicides can be classified into four groups according to toxicity and average lethal dose: first group: LD_{50} = 1-50 mg/kg; second group: LD_{50} = 50-250 mg/kg; third group: LD_{50} = 250-1,000 mg/kg; and fourth group: LD_{50} = 1,000-5,000 mg/kg.

Toxicity is one of the most important characteristic of the effect of a specific herbicide on living organisms. Toxicity depends mainly on the property of the herbicide to react to various biological substances.

A substantial number of initial data must be available in assessing herbicide toxicity, due to their varying effects. The effect of herbicides on the respiratory system depends on their concentration in the air and the duration of their contact with the organism. This dependence can be expressed with the formula

$$D = c.t,$$

in which c is the concentration of the herbicide in mg/m^3, and t is the exposure time in minutes or hours.

The effect of the herbicide on the human organism depends on the volume of inhaled air. It can be determined roughly on the basis of the following criteria: in a state of rest, 8 l/min; in walking, 30 l/min; fast walking, 40 l/min; running 200 meters, 70 l/min.

Therefore, the actual amount of herbicides inhaled by a person may be computed with the following formula:

in which c is the concentration of the herbicide in mg/l;
t is the time of exposure in minutes; and
v_z is the average speed of replacement of the air in the lungs in l/min.

In the case of unprotected people, the herbicide usually settles on their clothes, shoes, weapons or hands, from where it can pollute the body itself. Herbicides may enter the organism through the consumption of polluted food or water.

Depending on the absorbed dose and on a number of other factors, herbicides can cause severe illness, damage vitally important parts of the body or cause death (loss of hearing and hair, drying the milk in nursing mothers, increasing the frequency of spontaneous abortions, etc.).

There are data showing that some herbicides (such as 2.4-D and 2.4.5-T) have teratogenic or mutagenic effect on the offspring. Cases of increased number of newborn children with congenital defects have been noted in Vietnam as the result of such influences. Experimental tests have shown that absorbed in a dose of 100 mg/kg live weight, the commercial chemical 2.4.5-T was lethal in 80 percent of the experimental animals.

In the case of mass use of herbicides, specialized GO formations and facilities must be used for decontamination operations. In all cases, it must be remembered that herbicides do not destroy material objects but that they penetrate into various facilities, buildings and shelters with the polluted air and cause not only poisoning but negative mental reactions as well.

The medical formations must be properly familiarized with the toxic effect of herbicides used as chemical weapons. They must apply specific antidotes and measures based on symptoms in treating human and animal casualties.

A surprise destruction of farm crops in an area in which population and animal nutrition has not been organized in advance with a view to dealing with critical situations may have catastrophic consequences. All of this proves that in an eventual war the use of herbicides as weapons would create a number of problems because of their toxic effect not only on people but on domestic animals, game, birds and fish. In the final account it is the human organism that faces the biggest threat.

5003
CSO: 2200/28

IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL AGREEMENTS ASSESSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 3, 4

[Information received by the Polish Press Agency (PAP) from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs]

> [Text] Through PAP we have received extensive information from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs which discusses implementation of social agreements: the understandings from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, as well as many others

The information emphasizes that the total costs of fulfilling the commitments that were made will amount to over 1,400 billion zlotys by 1985, of which 607 billion zlotys will have to be expended in the immediate future. In the part pertaining to wage regulations, changes in collective contracts, and shortening of working time, there is a reminder that as of November 1st, last year, all employees received wage increases. At the same time, the basic minimum wage was increased to 2,400 zlotys a month. On January 1st of this year family allowances for working families with minimum incomes were increased.

Working time was shortened. This year, the government is to negotiate a 40-hour workweek with the trade unions.

Work on the preparation of new collective contracts is going on. They will go into effect after January 1, 1982 and in some occupational groups changes in these contracts have already become effective.

The chapter pertaining to social services emphasizes that the retirement age for certain employment groups has been reduced. The number of persons belonging to category 1 employment will be greatly increased and the retirement age for persons employed under conditions that are particularly unhealthy and arduous will also be reduced.

The first stage of increases in annuities, disability pensions and family pensions has already begun. It is expected that in the future the "old file" benefits, annual increases in benefits paid, etc., will be eliminated.

In discussing problems of health and social welfare, the information from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs emphasizes that in 1981 outlays for this purpose will increase 36 percent.

Further on the information deals with activities relating to improvement in working conditions, housing construction problems, market supplies, and particularly food articles. Separate chapters deal with matters relating to the activities of the independent, self-governing trade unions and commitments of a general nature.

The information from the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs emphasizes that "the broad democratization of public life and the consistently conducted process of social renewal, in their scope go beyond the liberally formulated agreements--and were acknowledged by the Polish United Workers Party at its Ninth Congress to be a lasting achievement of the working people in Poland".

The actual execution of the provisions of the "social agreement", however, will require a reversal of the crisis events in the economy and the active support of the government in these activities on the part of the trade unions. "Yet," we read in the text of the information given to us, "despite various declarations, including declarations made at the time the agreements were signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, the government has not really obtained understanding and active support for economic activities. During the entire past year a state of tension has existed as a result of the various pressures and demands, protests and campaigns, conducted by elements of "Solidarity". This has a very negative effect on the socioeconomic stabilization of the country and on the ability to fully implement the agreements."

(The full text of the assessment of the implementation of the social agreements is given below.)

At the turn of August and September 1980 in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, representatives of the government and representatives of the striking workforces signed a protocol of understanding acknowledged to be a social agreement.

At a later period, commissions acting upon the authority of the government or the individual ministries, signed a series of understandings regulating wage and social conditions in the subsectors. Due to the breakup of the union movement and the complex social situation, several detailed understandings and protocols of decisions of a local nature were signed in the ministries with the trade unions or the strike committees. The central idea of the subsection and local understandings complies in principle with the protocol from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, or is a detailed extension of the protocol. In addition to the protocol from August 1980, the understandings in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne and the March 30, 1981 declaration are of national importance.

The talks between the government and the working contacts between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the headquarters of the trade unions fulfill an important role in the implementation of social agreements and the shaping of the relations between the government and the trade unions. The government, in all of these talks, has demonstrated good will, the will to concentrate all social forces to bring Poland out of the socioeconomic crisis. The obligations resulting from the social agreements are being implemented, and in a number of matters they even go beyond these agreements. In view of the state's deteriorating economic situation the fulfillment of these obligations is becoming more and more difficult and their effects in the sphere of wages or an increase in free time do not produce the proper social satisfaction.

In accordance with the agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, a decision was made to increase the wage fund by 260 billion zlotys. This sum included a wage increase for all workers and also in annuities and pensions. Other social benefits were also increased and the working time was reduced. The total cost estimate for the agreements made shows that their implementation will cost over 1,400 billion zlotys by 1985. Part of these costs, something like 800 billion zlotys, especially those pertaining to housing and social construction, will be spread out over a 5-year period, however the costs of bonus increases, social benefits, and private farmers incomes, amounting to about 607 billion zlotys, will fall in the immediate period.

Thus these are serious liabilities, whose repayment will require a reversal in the crisis occurrences in the economy. An improvement in society's standard of living is dependent simply and only on economic results--the results of the work of all the people.

The agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab were in the nature of bilateral obligations. They were signed taking into account the declarations of the strike committees and counting on the fact that the new social climate, the idea of social agreement, will bring an increase in production efficiency and labor productivity, and a growth in the national income.

Unfortunately, it happened otherwise. Production fell, and especially dangerously so in the extraction industry, and the national income is shrinking rapidly. The compliance with social and wage commitments is more and more difficult, and at the expense of a deceleration in the development of the economy which is a threat to Poland's future. Social tensions, the intensifying crisis phenomena in the economy, jeopardize Poland's reliability as a partner in economic cooperation. They undermine our international position and limit the freedom of the government's economic maneuvering. The Polish People's Republic (PRL) authorities have also undertaken a series of measures to implement agreements in the social sphere. The broad democratization of public life, the consistently conducted process of social renewal, in their scope go beyond the liberally formulated agreements--and were acknowledged by the Polish United Workers Party at its Ninth Congress to be a lasting achievement of the working people in Poland.

The independent and self-governing trade unions are freely developing their activities. Their active support in the difficult work of leading the country out of the crisis is anticipated. However, despite the various declarations, including the declarations made during the signing of the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab, the government has not actually obtained understanding and active support for economic activities. During the entire past year a state of tension has existed as a result of the various pressures and demands, protests and campaigns, conducted by elements of "Solidarity". This has a very negative effect on the socioeconomic stabilization of the country and on the ability to fully implement the agreements. Contrary to the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab and to the union's statute, "Solidarity's" bulletins, leaflets and posters sometimes undermine our allies, the party's leading role in the state, and the PRL's political principles. Campaigns undertaken by some elements of "Solidarity" bear the mark of a deliberate attack on state institutions and economic and administrative authorities. They limit their ability to function, therefore they are aimed to weakening and paralyzing the authorites. This cannot help but affect the efficiency of their operations, their efforts to overcome the crisis, and by doing so, to improve the living conditions of society.

The government has assumed a partnership relationship with the trade unions, a relationship in which there is place for a difference in opinions, even for protest actions, but in which the primary goal can only be the good of all of society, the good of the People's Republic. The Polish people have placed and continue to place great hopes in the social agreements. The government wants to fulfill these expectations. But this is possible only if both sides implement the social agreement and focus all their efforts on solving the most important economic problems, on the constructive cooperation of all social forces in the country. The obligations ensuing from the social agreements concern the following groups of problems:

1. Wage regulations, working time, and changes in collective working contracts.

2. Monetary social benefits.

3. Health protection and social welfare.

4. Working conditions.

5. Housing construction.

6. Market supplies, and particularly food articles.

7. Activities of the independent, self-governing trade unions.

8. Obligations of a general nature.

The material contains an assessment of the implementations of decisions of national importance embodied in the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab agreements, according to the accepted record, and also an assessment of the financial results ensuing from implementation of subsector agreements.

I. Wage Regulations, Changes in Collective Contracts and Problems Relating to Working Hours

1. Wage Increases

The decision was made to institute gradual wage increases for all working groups and above all for those earning the minimum wage. In accordance with the agreements signed at the Gdansk Shipyard, the government is obliged to make an analysis of wages in all subsections and present, by October 31, 1980, a program of wage growth from January 1, 1981, as agreed-upon with the trade unions, for those at the minimum wage level, taking into account families with many children.

In the Jastrzab agreement the date for beginning the implementation of general wage increases was determined to be the fourth quarter of 1980. In the Hard Coal Mine (KWK) "Manifest Lipcowy" agreement it was also determined that beginning with January 1, 1981, a ceiling for minimum and maximum wages will be designated.

Detailed recordings on wage increases are contained also in ministerial and subsector agreements.

Implementation

Council of Ministers Resolution No 81/80, dated September 6, 1980, specified the date and amount of wage increases for all those employed in the socialized economy. As of November 1, 1980 all workers were covered by the increases. At the same time the basic minimum wage was increased to 2,400 zlotys per month.

On January 1, 1981 family allowances for low-income families were also increased.

Proposals for further changes in the system of family allowances are, since January 1, 1981, in the hands of the trade unions for consultation.

On the basis of the preliminary analysis of the establishment of a social minimum, the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs has prepared a proposal fixing the lowest remuneration for normal working time for workers in the socialized economy. The draft of the Council of Ministers Resolution in this matter is, as of January of this year, being coordinated with the trade unions.

As to maximum wages, it is proposed that their level be regulated by means of an equalization tax. Proposals on this are being discussed with the trade unions. The spread in the workers' earnings was decreased as a result of past wage regulations, which allowed for an increase in the lowest wage rates while the highest basic wage rates of workers paid monthly remained unchanged.

2. The Social Minimum and Compensation for Growth in Living Costs

It was agreed in Szczecin that by December 31, 1980 a social minimum will be determined and announced publicly. According to the Gdansk agreement the government was committed to prepare, by the end of 1980, the principles of compensation for an increase in living costs, taking into account the problem of a social minimum. These principles should be submitted for public discussion and, after agreement, put into effect.

Implementation

In January of this year drafts of Council of Ministers Resolutions on the following matters were sent to the trade unions for consultation:

-- on determining and examining changes in the social minimum, and

-- on compensating for increases in living costs.

After consultations with the trade unions, on August 10 of this year the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on the principles of determining and examining the social minimum. At present work is going on on determining the social minimum for working families as of the third quarter of this year and for families of private farmers. The calculated social minimum will be helpful in making decisions on wages and social benefits as well as on compensation for growth in living costs.

3. Travel Allowances and Separation Supplements

The Szczecin agreement provides that beginning January 1, 1981 the travel allowance will be increased. The government will present a proposal on this matter by September 30, 1980. It was also agreed in Gdansk that the separation supplement will be increased, with the date for submitting a proposal to be no later than October 31, 1980.

Implementation

After several months of consultation with the trade unions, on April 17, 1981 the Council of Ministers passed:

--resolution No 78 on benefits for workers who are temporarily transferred, in which the supplement for separation was fixed at 100 zlotys for each day at the place of temporary employment;

--resolution No 79 whose most important provisions are an increase in the travel allowance to 100 zlotys per day, and in the lump sum payment for hotel accommodations (outside of Warsaw) to 70 zlotys, and equalization of fare entitlements.

4. Working Time

It was agreed in Gdansk and Szczecin that by December 31, 1980 the principles and the method of implementing a program for introducing free paid Saturdays or another method of regulating the shortened working time will be prepared and presented. The records in Gdansk show that this program will provide for an increase in the number of free [nonwork] paid Saturdays as early as 1981.

However, in Jastrzab it was determined that all free Saturdays and Sundays for miners will begin with January 1, 1981, The principle of voluntary work on the statutorily free days will be unconditionally observed, beginning with September 1, 1980.

Implementation

As a result of the agreement by the government and the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission (KKP) concluded on January 30th of this year, the following principles and methods of shortening the working time were accepted:

a. A 40-hour workweek and an 8-hour workday are accepted as the ultimate standard for shortening the working time and as a general standard. Workers who now have a shorter work schedule will retain that schedule, with the exception of workers employed under conditions that are injurious to health and are arduous, whose working time will continue to be gradually reduced.

Separate principles apply to miners, in accordance with the agreements signed in Jastrzab.

b. The time for reaching the 40-hour workweek standard will be negotiated by the government with the trade unions this year.

c. For 1981, the introduction of a 42-hour workweek was agreed-upon and this working time standard can be applied, after coordination with the trade unions, to the detailed subsector problems dictated by the specific nature and type of work.

5. Collective Labor Contracts (UZP) and Industrial Subsector cards

The Gdansk and Szczecin agreements provided that changes will be made in the cards of the dockworker and health service worker. As a result of subsector agreements made later, it is expected that changes will be made in collective labor contracts and subsector cards in most sectors of the national economy.

Implementation

In talks with KKP NSZZ "Solidarity" it was agreed to postpone the application of new collective labor contracts until after January 1, 1982. This principle has not yet been finally coordinated with the remaining trade unions. Preparatory work for changing collective labor contracts in the ministries is going on. Despite the earlier agreements with certain occupational groups (longshoremen, printers, teachers, woodworkers), both "Solidarity" as well as the other subsector unions demanded that changes be made in collective contracts as early as this year.

Such changes were made in relation to certain occupations (most recently in August of this year), determining, at the same time, that no further wage movements should occur this year.

In the protocols for collective labor contracts, the nightwork differential in most subsectors was increased from 15 to 20 percent for persons working permanently on a shift schedule. For persons working mostly only on the night shift (e.g., bakery workers) the night differential was increased to 30 percent. In most subsectors a differential amounting to 10 percent for two-shift work was also instituted.

Comments

The combined effects of the increase in social benefits remunerations and the shortened working time are estimated to cost on the order of 225-260 billion zlotys annually. This amount includes the sum of about 77 billion zlotys resulting from ministerial agreements.

The basic problems resulting from agreements in the area of wages have been settled. Further wage increases will be dependent upon economic results and the management of funds after January 1, 1982, as the longterm program of wage policy and changes in collective contracts are implemented. Economic reform will create the conditions necessary for greater independence of enterprises in this area.

As pertains to health service workers, there has been no agreement on working time for doctors. The trade unions are demanding that the workweek be reduced below 40 hours.

II. Monetary Social Benefits

1. Lowering of the Retirement Age

The government commission decided that it was not possible under the country's present demographic and economic circumstances to fulfill the demand made by the Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS) in Gdansk that the retirement age for women be lowered to 50, and of men to 55, or after 30 years service in the PRL for women and 35 for men, regardless of age. At the same time it declared that this matter may be brought up for discussion in the future.

The MKS in Gdansk demanded that this matter be examined by December 31, 1980 and that the possibility of earlier retirement (by 5 years) by workers employed under arduous conditions (age 30 for women and 35 for men), and in the case of particularly arduous conditions, by at least 15 years, be considered. This should take place at the request of the worker.

However, the government commission in Jastrzab accepted the demand of the MKS that the retirement age of the miners working underground be lowered to 50 years and the retirement age of the remaining miners be lowered by 5 years. Also the principle of allowing full retirement to workers who have worked underground for 25 years regardless of age was accepted. These demands will be submitted to the PRL Sejm [parliament].

Implementation

On December 31, 1980 the Council of Ministers' decree on the retirement of drivers of certain mechanical vehicles, which provides for a gradual lowering of the retirement age for truck drivers, bus drivers and streetcar motormen, as well as drivers of vehicles that have the right of way. However, the demand made in Jastrzab by MKS on lowering the retirement age for underground mine workers from 55 to 50 cannot be met in one stroke, for this would cause a very great reduction in mining employees (by about 43,000 miners). Therefore, the Ministry of Mining has proposed a gradual reduction in the retirement age for miners. Based on this proposal and after consultation with the PRL Sejm commissions and the trade unions, a draft of a Council of Ministers resolution has been prepared which is now being coordinated in all its particulars.

A draft of a Council of Ministers' decree has been prepared and submitted for consultation which changes the decree relating to the first category of employment. The change will add about 200,000 persons to category 1. On July 1, 1981, a draft of a Council of Ministers' decree was submitted for consultation which deals with the retirement age of certain groups of workers employed under conditions that are injurious to the health or arduous.

Furthermore, the material prepared by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs (MPPiSS) titled: "Fundamental Directions of Change in the Annuity-Pension System", contains a proposal on making it possible to obtain early retirement in particularly justified social situations. It pertains to a further reduction (to age 55) in the retirement age of workers whose work demands particular physical and mental efficiency (e.g., divers, flyers), for workers in category 1 with long years of service, and for group 1 and 2 disabled persons.

This material was sent to the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission (KKP), the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Unions, and the Autonomous Trade Union (AZZ) Executive Committee. Thus far a joint position has not been worked out.

2. The Size of Annuities and Pensions

In Gdansk, in reply to the demand that the annuities and pensions from the new and old files be equalized and the increase in livings costs be considered, the government commission's declaration was accepted, which stated that an increase in minimum annuities and pensions will take place each year in conformity with the country's economic cabilitity and that increases in minimum wages will be taken into account. The government will present an implementation program by December 31, 1980.

The government is preparing a proposal to raise the minimum annuities and pensions to the so-called social minimum, based on research conducted by the appropriate institutions, made available to the public, and submitted for inspection by the trade unions.

The Szczecin agreement stated that after the state's budgetary capability is examined, the minimum annuities and pensions will be raised to the proper amounts effective January 1, 1981.

Implementation

On January 1, 1981, by Council of Ministers' decrees dated September 6, 1980 and December 16, 1980, annuities, disability pensions, family pensions awarded before January 1, 1976, and benefits not exceeding 3,000 zlotys awarded to the end of 1979, were increased 500 zlotys (the first stage of the increase); benefits awarded during 1976-1979 amounting from 3,000 to 5,000 zlotys were increased by 300 zlotys, or 400 zlotys. Farm pensions awarded before January 1, 1978 were raised by 400 zlotys, or 300 zlotys. Supplements for wives of annuitants and pensioners in families with incomes up to 2,000 zlotys per person were increased to 400 zlotys. Supplements for children of annuitants and pensioners were increased on the same basis as family allowances for workers.

In the "Fundamental Directions of Change in the Annuity-Pension System", prepared by the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, provisions are made for eliminating the benefits from the "old file", instituting the statutory principle of annual increases in benefit payments, adapting the closest benefits to the changing social minimum, and reducing the disproportions in the level of benefits.

3. Equalization of Family Allowances

On the matter of the demand that family allowances be equalized for all occupational groups, it was agreed in Szczecin that this equalization should occur in three equal annual instalments, and that the first instalment should be implemented effective January 1, 1981. However, in Gdansk a target date was established by which the government is to present a program of action on this matter, the date being December 31, 1980.

Implementation

The Council of Ministers at a meeting on September 6, 1980, passed Resolution No 80 on conducting a reform in the system of family allowances which was to equalize, by 1983, entitlements in this area for all socio-occupational groups. The first stage of this reform was instituted on January 1, 1981. It provides for increased assistance to families with relatively low incomes, particularly those with more than one child. In addition, directional proposals were prepared for further changes in the family-allowance system, which established the assumptions for the next two stages of increases in this allowances and to attain, in 1983, the demanded equalization for all socio-occupational groups. These proposals were sent to the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission, the Subsector Trade Unions Consultative Commission, and the Autonomous Trade Union Provisional Cooperation Committee. At present, consultations are taking place with the trade unions on these long-range solutions.

4. Paid Maternity Leaves

Regarding the Inter-Factory Strike Committee's demand in Gdansk that a 3-year paid maternity leave be introduced, it was decided that by December 31, 1980, in consultation with the trade unions, an analysis will be made of the national economic capability and a time-period and amount of monthly benefits will be established for women taking advantage of the now-unpaid maternity leave for bringing up a child. In the Szczecin agreement the time for drawing this benefit was set at 3 years, and it was further agreed that by December 31, 1980 the government will present to the Sejm a draft of an applicable modification of article 187 of the Labor Code.

Implementation

The proposals to increase the state's assistance to mothers who interrupt their work to raise a child were sent to the trade unions on September 1, 1981. They were also discussed at the meeting of the Sejm Commission on Labor and Social Affairs on February 13 of this year.

The Council of Ministers' decree of July 17th of this year, dealing with upbringing leaves, became effective on July 1, 1981. It contains the following provisions:

1. An allowance for fathers or mothers who interrupt their work for a period of 18 calendar months from the end of a maternity leave. In the case of twins, or more children born at one birth, or a child that is crippled, or a female worker who is bringing up the child alone, the allowance will be paid for 3 years.

2. The upbringing allowance is from 100 percent of the lowest basic monthly remuneration, if the income does not exceed 2,400 zlotys, to 50 percent of the lowest basic monthly remuneration of the worker, if the income is higher than 3,000 zlotys but does not exceed 3,600 zlotys, paid monthly.

3. The allowance for mothers who are bring up their children as single parents is 100 percent higher than that calculated by the rules given above.

In addition, in the draft for the updating of the Labor Code it is proposed that the maternity leave be gradually extended while maintaining the right to a maternity allowance amounting to 100 percent of the remuneration.

III. Health Protection and Social Welfare

The Szczecin agreement considered the further improvement in medical care in Poland, and particular in medical supplies and equalization of payments for medicines by the insured, to be indispensable. The Gdansk agreement regarded an immediate increase in the performance efficiency of investment, an improvement in supplies through additional import of raw materials, wage increases for all health service workers, and an immediate preparation of a program to improve the state of the people's health, to be indispensable.

Implementation

The method and the specific dates for implementing the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements were concretized in the protocol of understanding signed on November 16, 1980 with the delegation of health service workers organized in NSZZ "Solidarity" and in the attachments to this understanding, as well as in the agreement, signed December 16, 1980, with the National Council of the Health Service Workers' Trade Union.

In both agreements, 450 detailed decisions were made jointly, of which 279 contained specific accomplishment dates. Mixed working teams were appointed to prepare the concepts for executing the specific items in the agreements.

The matter which is fundamental to the development of the health service is the assurance of appropriate funds for this purpose and the implementation of investment tasks. For 1981, financial outlays that are 36 percent higher than in 1980 have been allocated for health protection and social welfare. At the same time, 2 percent of the state's investment outlays for development of the material resources of the health service and social welfare has been secured. Hospital construction is treated in investment activities on a par with housing construction. To improve the materials base more rapidly, 177 administrative buildings have been allocated thus far for health service purposes, of which 32 of the installations have already been outfitted.

According to a decision by the Government Presidium on May 15th of this year, begining with 1982, health service and social welfare investments can be financed out of the National Health Protection Fund (NFOZ) beyond the amounts envisaged in the National Socioeconomic Plan (NPSG). On February 20th, this year, the Council of Ministers approved agreements pertaining to deliveries of medicines indispensable for uninterrupted treatment, priorities in imports for basic medicines, and systematic analyses of deliveries of medicines and medical supplies. The release of foreign currency cash in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Ministers Presidium on May 15th made it possible to intensify the import of medicines.

The Ministry conducts analyses of deliveries of medicines as they are received, based on the "basic medicines register". A draft of a program showing the minimum needs of the health service was prepared.

Work is being done on a new edition of a government program in the field of health protection and social welfare for 1981-1985. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare has prepared a long-range program for development of the pharmaceutical industry.

Implementation of the items recorded in the agreements pertaining to health service and social welfare is, on the whole, proceeding in a timely manner.

The items in the area of wages and extension of social entitlements may eventually require revision, in view of the fact that their financial results will amount to over 10 billion zlotys.

IV. Working Conditions

1. Equalization Allowances

In Szczecin, agreement was reached on the principle that those who lost their health in connection with performing their functions in the workplant, should receive earnings no lower than those received in the previous position. The Government has committed itself to present the Sejm with a proposal of a new text for articles 217 and 218 of the Labor Code, by September 30th, 1980, in accordance with the principle agreed upon.

Implementation

The draft update of the Labor Code contains a change in articles 217 and 218. The update envisages equalization allowance payments for workers who were injured on the job or who suffered occupational illness during the entire period they remained in the employ of a given workplant. On December 23, 1980 a letter on this matter was sent to the NSZZ "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission and the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Unions. On February 6th of this year a draft of the law changing the Labor Code was sent to the trade unions, ministries, voivodship offices, scientific circles and organizations and other institutions, and on May 7th a second version of the law was sent out on which talks began on May 20th with the trade unions on the professional level. At the motion of NSZZ "Solidarity" these talks were postponed to a later date.

2. Occupational Diseases

In Jastrzab a demand that anthracosis of the lungs be added to the list of occupational diseases was accepted. In addition, the principle was accepted that the inclusion of other illnesses as occupational diseases will be dependent on the opinion of the trade unions.

Anthracosis of the lungs in workers who in their work are in contact with the agents that cause anthracosis is, in accordance with the binding regulations, considered to be an occupational disease.

As a result of the many demands to add new diseases to the occupational diseases list, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare prepared a draft of a Council of Ministers' decree on this matter. A team of experts from research institutes has been appointed for this purpose. This team will verify the demands to determine that those diseases that have a direct causal relationship with working conditions are approved for inclusion in the occupational diseases list.

The draft of the Council of Ministers' decree on occupational diseases will shortly be sent to the trade unions for coordination.

3. Training at the Expense of the Workplants

The principle was accepted in the Szczecin agreement that only workers who have distinguished themselves in their jobs and those who by reason of loss of health are forced to change their jobs, may be sent to schools for leading workers and for professional courses at the expense of the workplant. The trade unions will delegate workers to these schools and courses in consultation with the plant managers.

Implementation

The government is of the opinion that the professional qualifications of the workers must be raised in an efficient and planned manner in accordance with the needs of the workplants and that the trade unions have an appropriate role in deciding who should be sent and to what types, directions and specialties. This position is expressed in a draft of a Council of Ministers' resolution pertaining to changes in the system for training and improving workers. The new regulations will give the workplants a great deal of freedom in choosing the number of persons sent for training and also in establishing the scope of entitlements for these persons. It will also provide for the participation of the trade unions in the fair distribution of funds for this purpose. This draft is now in the hands of the trade unions for their opinion.

Because of the importance of the subject, the consultations became prolonged. To develop its position, the trade unions reached out widely for the opinions of the local elements.

At present there is a difference in positions on two matters, i.e., training that is totally separate from the work and the limits on the amounts of financial assistance granted to the worker. This matter will require further consultation with the trade unions.

4. Assignment of Personnel to Public-Service Work

It was decided in the Jastrzab agreement that effectively immediately no workers who hold permanent positions in a specific workplant may be delegated to any kind of work outside the workplant.

Implementation

This demand is in accord with the position of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. Functions and tasks of a social nature may not be fulfilled at the expense of the workplant. This position was also expressed in a letter on the implementation of agreements, in the part pertaining to the right to work, which was sent to the NSZZ "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission and the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Union on December 23, 1980.

V. Housing Construction

It was decided in the Szczecin agreement that the government will submit a program for solving the question of housing, with the guarantee that the waiting period for housing will not be longer than 5 years. The problems of housing construction were also covered in the Gdansk agreement, but the Szczecin provisions went further.

Implementation

An inter-ministerial group prepared "Crucial Problems of Housing Policy in Poland During 1981-1985" which contained a quantitative program of housing counstruction and changes in the principles of implementing and financing housing construction, as well as in the allotment of dwellings.

Considering the country's difficult economic situation, the preliminary housing program specified 1,200-1,300 thousand dwellings, i.e., the level achieved during the past 5-year period. This program was developed on the assumption that during 1981-1985 about 900 billion zlotys will be allocated for housing.

The PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress resolution states that the share of outlays for housing construction and community and technical infrastructure should amount to at least 30 percent of the total investment outlays over a long-term period, thus making it possible to gradually increase the number of dwellings built.

The government accepted the above decision for implementation.

Present investment potential does not permit, as had been envisaged, availability of dwellings during the current 5-year period to members waiting for housing at the end of 1980. Nor will it be possible to reduce the waiting period to 5 years. Housing construction is being restricted by a lower production of cement, caused by shutdowns of cement plants due to lack of coal.

The government is taking action to thriftily manage the funds designated for housing construction. Increasing the powers of the local authorities and ensuring them greater independence will assist in achieving this goal. In a situation where the possibility of enlarging the housing program is limited, an effort is being made to make maximum use of all kinds of existing reserves and local and social initiatives undertaken implement housing construction in all its forms.

In order to make the housing policy more effective, legal acts were issued defining new and more advantageous principles of implementing and financing socialized construction and financing single-family housing, and allotment of dwellings.

In view of the fact that the basic form of satisfying housing needs will continue to be cooperative construction, to prevent an increase in the indebtedness of the population by reason of obtaining dwellings, important changes have been made in the principles of financing this construction. The bank credit amortization granted for construction of cooperative tenant dwellings has been increased from one-third to one-half of the debt. The principle has been applied that additional costs arising from construction of housing on sites that have been damaged by mining, and, in some cases, the additional costs arising from having to build special foundations for buildings, will not be included in the membership's costs for housing construction.

In addition, the forms and conditions for the state's financial assistance in supplementing the money invested in housing and for reducing the payments on the credit granted for cooperative tenant housing, have been expanded and made more flexible. At the same time much more favorable credit requirements have been established for financing single-family construction--by increasing the amount of credit granted the persons involved.

Consultations are now taking place on the drafts of the principle of having the workers conduct single-family construction, as submitted by the Consultative Commission of the Subsector Trade Unions.

In addition, the principle of allotting allocated-quarters and functional housing was defined, at the same time calling attention to the application of the principle of openness, thorough examination of the comments and observations that are made, and on increasing social control in the allotment of dwellings.

VI. Improvement in Market Supplies With Special Consideration to Food Articles

The Gdansk and Szczecin agreements accepted a settlement on improvement of meat supplies as of January 1, 1981, resulting from an increase in the profitability of production, a restriction of export to an indispensable minimum, and an increase in the importation of meat. It was also agreed that by December 31, 1980 a program will be developed for improving meat supplies, taking into account that a ration card system may have to be introduced. Furthermore, it was agreed that all scarce, domestically produced, commonly used articles will be withdrawn from the PEWEX (Domestic Export Enterprises) shops. In the Jastrzab agreement it was decided that special-privilege coupons for desirable commercial goods will be eliminated and that also supplies of these goods would be increased.

Implementation

The government's activities concentrated on making it possible to increase the profitability of farm production, give agriculture more means of production, and to better develop the land. Activities in this area both at the turn of 1980-1981 and recently as part of the implementation of the settlements from Rzeszow and Ustrzyki Dolne and settlements made before the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations (CSKiOR) Congress, will not bring positive results until the next few months and years.

The drop in deliveries of many basic commodity groups essential to the population defines the market situation.

This is the result of poor harvests of farm crops in 1980, and thus of the drop in farm animal population and also a serious drop in industrial production.

Emergency steps were taken to lessen the social burden of the deteriorating market supply situation, particularly as to distribution of food articles; however, despite the application of a meat rationing system it has not been possible to provide deliveries at a level which would fill the rations completely and at the required times. This made it necessary to temporarily reduce the ration by 20 percent. The following principle measures were taken to stabilize the market:

Meat deliveries from imports during the first six months of this year totaled 25,000 tons. For the second six months foreign-exchange funds were ensured to import 108,000 tons, of which 50,000 tons came from PEWEX funds. Supplies of flour, groats, flakes, noodles and rice, both from domestic sources and from import, were increased. The increase amounted to 230,000 tons as compared with 1980. Domestic supplies of fats were supplemented by imports, for a total amount of 86,000 tons, of which 6,000 tons was from PEWEX funds,

tons was from PEWEX funds, making it possible to obtain a 1980 level of supplies. The lower supplies of animal fats and butter were compensated by deliveries of margarine and oil-- higher by about 20,000 tons. As the market situation deteriorated, and especially the supplies of food items, it was decided to expand rationing.

Decisions on rationing were first consulted with the broadest possible circles of society and the trade unions, as well as with the Sejm Commission for Domestic Trade, Small-Scale Production and Services.

Although the application of a rationing system ensures equal distribution of the commodity mass across the entire country, it does not eliminate the difficulties in obtaining basic food articles in the amounts specified in the ration standards, particularly of meat and poultry.

In order to ensure the indispensable amounts of food for children and youth in summer camps, great organizational efforts were made to guarantee the participants the necessary food supplies and articles of personal hygiene.

In previous years the trade unions gave far-reaching assistance in organizing and financing the summer camps and scout camps. This year, in view of the much lower interest in this subject by the elements of NSZZ "Solidarity", the burden of organizing and financing the camps fell to a much greater degree on the state administration.

However, it was not possible to ensure such supplies for the workers' vacations. Supplies of unrationed goods were transferred from the large urban centers to tourist areas.

The following additional measures should be mentioned:

-- The decision made by the Government Presidium on June 5th of this year designating all of the foreign-exchange receipts from PEWEX for interventionist purchases of market goods and components for the production of such goods. Out of these funds the market will receive 50,000 tons of meat, 6,000 tons of butter and bacon, 1,000 tons of cheese, and personal hygiene articles.

--The anticipated increase in sales in PEWEX, facilitating further imports for the market and, in accordance with the agreement with the trade unions, returning to the PEWEX network by the end of 1981, sales of appealing, domestically produced, nonfood items.

-- The coordination, irrespective of the exchange realized on the basis of annual protocols, of the purchase abroad of food articles with a market value of about 1 billion zlotys, in exchange for industrial articles.

To improve market-goods management and to more effectively protect the interests of the public under conditions of inadequate supplies of market goods, the government has appointed an extraordinary commission to combat speculation. Its tasks is to coordinate the activities of the proper organs so as to quickly reduce the occurrences of speculation. The controls over distribution of goods and free-market sales have been strengthened. The increased operational competence of the institutes appointed for this purpose together with the help of the trade unions and social organizations should bring perceptible results in the struggle against speculation.

VII. Activities of Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions

In the social agreements it was regarded as advisable to appoint new, self-governing trade unions which would be genuine representatives of the working people. The agreements did not question the right of anyone to remain in the present unions, and it was envisaged that in the future cooperation between the unions would be established.

The agreements stated that new, independent, self-governing trade unions will observe the principles defined in the PRL Constitution. They stated that the trade unions will defend the interests of the workers and do not intend to fulfill the role of a political party. They will stand by the principle of social ownership of means of production, which is the basis of the socialist system existing in Poland. It was acknowledged that PZPR fulfills the leadership role in the state, and it was acknowledged that the unions, without undermining the established system of international alliances, strive to ensure the working people the appropriate means of control, to express their opinion and defend their interests. It was stated that the government will guarantee and ensure full respect for the independence and self-government of the new trade unions, both as to their organizational structure and their functioning at all levels of activities.

It was also stated that the government will ensure the new trade unions full ability to fulfill the basic functions of defending the interests of the workers, and in implementing the material, social and cultural needs of the workers. It was also guaranteed that the new trade unions will not be the object of any discrimination. It was acknowledged that the formation and the activities of the independent, self-governing trade unions comply with the International Labor Organization conventions, ratified by Poland: No 87 on union freedom and protection of union rights, and No 88 on the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Because many union and workers' organizations exist, it was acknowledged that the government will undertake the legislative initiatives pertaining particularly to the law on trade unions, the law on workers' self-government, and the labor code. It was agreed that the new strike committees may transform themselves into plant organs representing workers, such as labor committees, workers' committees, labor councils, or founders' committees of the new, self-governing trade unions.

It was decided that the founders' committees will function until the statutory election of new leadership. The government committed itself to make it possible for the new trade unions to be registered outside the register of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ). It was agreed that the new trade unions should have a genuine opportunity to publicly express themselves on key decisions determining the living conditions of the working people, the principles of the division of national income for consumption and accumulation, the division of the social consumption fund for various purposes (health, education, culture), the basic principles of remuneration and directions of wage policy, and particularly the principles of automatic adjustment of wages for inflation, long-term economic plans, directions of investment, and price changes. A commitment was made that the conditions for fulfilling these functions would be ensured.

It was agreed that a center of socio-occupational work would be formed whose task would be an objective analysis of the work situation, the living conditions of the working people, and a method of representing the interests of the workers. The center will also prepare professional reports and publish the results of its studies.

It was agreed that the new unions will have their own publications. The right to freely organize into trade unions was also ensured.

It was agreed that representatives of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee or founding committees of the self-governing trade unions, and other workers' representatives would be ensured participation in the preparation of laws on trade unions.

It was agreed that the right to strike will be guaranteed in the law being prepared on trade unions. It was acknowledged that this law should define the conditions for proclaiming and organizing a strike, methods of settling disputes, and responsibility for violations of the law. The strikers and the persons helping them are guaranteed their personal safety and retention of present working conditions.

In the April 17, 1981 protocol in Bydgoszcz it was agreed that private farmers will have the right to organize into trade unions under the same principles as workers in the socialized economy.

Implementation

The Council of State issued a resolution dated September 13, 1980 on registration of newly organized trade unions. It was confirmed by a law dated October 8, 1980 which changed the law on trade unions. The Supreme Court registered NSZZ "Solidarity" on November 10, 1980. By August 15, 1981 the Voivodship Court in Warsaw had registered 84 trade unions. The government sent a draft law to the Sejm on private farmer trade unions, on the registration of the Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations, and on the registration of inter-union organizations. The laws were passed on May 6, 1981. On May 12, 1981, NSZZ Private Farmers "Solidarity" and Central Union of Agricultural Circles and Organizations were registered.

In accordance with the agreements the new trade unions are able to fulfill their statutory obligations, express their opinions on key decisions pertaining to the living conditions of the working people.

At the ministerial level organs have been appointed to oversee the implementation of the agreements made with representatives of the workforces. The procedure for examining and taking care of workers' demands and propositions by the organs of state administration has also been established. The status of implementation of the concluded agreements is periodically assessed by the government. The chairman of the Council of Ministers has informed the PRL Sejm on the program of governmental action which is to ensure implementation of the agreements.

The government's report on the status of the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab agreements was presented at a meeting held on July 21, 1980. In its resolution the Sejm accepted this report, expressed its approval at the actions taken by the government aimed at fully executing the commitments contained in the agreements and on the motion of the chairman of the Council of Ministers it appointed a minister for trade union affairs and day-to-day coordination of the activities of the organs of state administration in this field.

On February 20, 1981 the Council of Ministers appointed a Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs directed by the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Based on the Council of Ministers Resolution work was undertaken to prepare a new law on trade unions. Representatives of NSZZ "Solidarity", representatives of the subsector and autonomous unions, and representatives of learning and practice were ensured participation in the group which was to prepare the draft of the new law.

The draft of the law on trade unions prepared by the group was submitted to the public. This draft was sent to the PRL Sejm and is the subject of deliberations in Sejm commissions. Drafts of laws on a state enterprise and on a workers' self-government were also sent to the Sejm.

Drafts of the basic decisions concerning working people's important problems are submitted to the trade unions for their opinions. The consultations also take place by way of direct meetings of members of the government with trade union representatives. Opinions on decisions pertaining to a series of wage increases, increases in family allowances, annuities and pensions, price controls, and application of a rationing system had also been sought.

Many drafts of decisions have been submitted for opinions, including assumptions on reform of family allowances, annuities and pensions. Proposals involving economic reform, the law on trade unions, the law on a state enterprise, and the law on workers' self-government, were referred to the trade unions for opinion and were submitted for public discussion. A center for socio-occupational work was formed in the "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission. This center, using the printing facilities of the union and the publishing institute of the trade unions, publishes professional reports and other work.

The new trade unions have been given the opportunity to publish a union newspaper. A weekly, "Solidarity", with a print run of 500,000 copies is appearing and is available through the regular press distribution network. Regional offices in Szczecin, Jastrzab, Jelenia Gora, Koszalin and Plock, publish their own newspaper. The individual inter-factory founding committees of NSZZ "Solidarity" and the organs of subsector and autonomous unions publish their own information bulletins. The activities of the union and the statements of its activists are widely published in both the central and local press.

As a result of talks held in February and May of this year, NSZZ "Solidarity" matters can now be widely covered on the radio and television.

Information on current events related to the union movement has been given over Polish Radio in the programs with the largest listening audiences.

"Signals of the Day" presented from 7 to 11 items monthly. "Four Seasons of the Year" devoted one of its editions a month entirely (2 hours, 40 minutes) to such problems as: the right to strike (with the participation of union and government experts), the struggle against speculation, the possibilities of increasing food production, and social control over production.

The central programs of Polish Radio and the Warsaw Radio-Television Center present an average of 65 programs monthly on problems relating to union matters, mainly those relating to NSZZ "Solidarity" activities. These items do not include the daily reports on union actvities in the Polish radio and television news programs. Union problems are also widely shown in television programs.

For example, during a 20-day period in August during the main news program statements from NSZZ "Solidarity" were broadcast seven times. In almost all programs of the "Economists Forum" series, experts from "Solidarity" and the subsector and autonomous unions take part. It is the same in the program series "Open Cards" and "Letters on the Economy".

Opinions of trade unions, including the regional ones, are presented in IMPULSY [IMPULSE], the union magazine.

Union activists, including those from NSZZ "Solidarity" broadly participate in "Studio 2" programs and programs of the Cultural Publicity Editorial Offices.

NSZZ "Solidarity" problems and the statements of its activists are widely broadcast on local television programs. The difference in opinions from NSZZ "Solidarity" stems not from lack of the union's access to the mass media, but the desire of "Solidarity" to form, in reality, its own structure, separate from the Polish Radio and Television.

Strike problems were contained in the draft on the law on trade unions. This refers to methods of settling collective conflicts, proclaiming and organizing strikes, responsibility for violating the law, etc.

The government, in accorance with the March 30th declaration, fully observes the principles for settlement of disputes as formulated in the draft of the law on trade unions. Unfortunately, elements of NSZZ "Solidarity" have frequently violated the principles specified in their own statute. A series of strikes was organized almost daily, without exhausting the means of negotiation. Protest actions and strikes were organized that had nothing to do with union activity, e.g., the protest campaign on freeing so-called political prisoners, street marches, etc. "Solidarity's" statements and publications often contain articles attacking the party and organs of state authority, demanding the removal of deputies and councillors, or changes in the electoral law for elections to the Sejm and the people's councils. The interference of "Solidarity" in filling leadership positions in enterprises and local state administrations became very common. Some union bulletins, leaflets and posters are damaging to our alliances and undermine the reliability of Poland as a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

There are cases of intrusion into the jurisdiction of the economic and state administration (for example, the blocking of goods for export).

Elements of "Solidarity" have undertaken activities which actually would have placed their activists above the law. In "Solidarity's" draft program and in many public statements by members of its leadership, a number of theses have been presented which constitute a flagrant contradition of the social agreements, the union's statutory principles, and the recognition by its leadership of the party's leading role in the state.

VIII. Agreements of a General Nature

1. The Law on Control of the Press, Publications and Spectacles

The Gdansk agreement provided that within 3 months the government will submit to the Sejm a draft law on control of the press, publications and spectacles. Censorship should protect the interests of the State. This means protection of economic and state secrets, state security, important international interests, religious beliefs and also the nonbelievers, and prevention of dissemination of texts dealing with immorality. The draft law should include the right to appeal the decisions of the organs on control of the press, publications and spectacles, to the Supreme Administrative Court.

Implementation

The draft law on control of publications and spectacles was published and a number of discussions on the draft were conducted. The Consultative Committee of Creative and Scientific Associations, the Consultative Committee of Subsector Trade Unions, and the NSZZ "Solidarity" Consultative Committee, participated in the work during the consultation stage. Representatives of the Episcopate were also consulted. As a result of the discussion, a new version of the draft law was prepared.

The PRL Sejm passed the law, to be effective on October 1, 1981.

2. Use of the Mass Media by the Denominational Unions in the Field of Their Religious Activities

The Gdansk agreement provided that use of the mass media by the denominational unions as part of their religious activities will be implemented by way of coordination of problems of a substantive and organizational nature between the state organs and the trade unions involved. It was decided that the government will provide for radio transmission of the Sunday mass within the framework of a specific agreement with the Episcopate.

Implementation

The Joint Committee of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate undertook its activity as a forum for the normalization of relations between the state and the church in the interests of the country's development and the unity of its citizens. Radio transmission of the Sunday mass and transmission of a Sunday mass for mariners at sea was ensured.

The mass media widely reported all of the major church ceremonies and important events in church activities.

3. Mass Media Activities. Access by the Press, the Citizens and Their Organizations to Documents Prepared by the Government and the Administrative Organs

The Gdansk agreement provided that radio and television, the press and publications, should express the various thoughts, opinions and judgments and should be subject to social control.

It was agreed that the government will substantially expand its scope of socioeconomic information and that the press, as well as the citizens and their organizations, should have access to public documents, socioeconomic plans, etc., issued by the government and its subordinate administrative organs. It was also agreed that exceptions to the rule on the administration's overt actions will be specified in the law on control of the press, publications and spectacles.

Implementation

The diversity of thoughts, opinions and judgments has been widely expressed in the activities of radio and television, as well as press and publications. No one in Poland today needs to be convinced of this. The independence and initiative of the individual editorial offices and journalists has grown. New newspapers have sprung up (e.g., the union ones) presenting various viewpoints. The various opinions of political, social and economic activists, as well as representatives of the world of science, are widely presented on important social topics. Frequently church ceremonies and statements of representatives of the Catholic clergy are presented.

The deliberations of political, social and union organizations are reported regularly. Direct television transmission from the PRL Sejm sessions has become the rule and the deliberations at the Ninth PZPR Congress were transmitted directly.

The scope of the government's, and its subordinate organ's, information for the press, society and organizations, concerning different social and economic problems, has been expanded.

The reports published by the Main Statistical Office and other forms of economic information help in serving this purpose. A report on the state of the economy has been published. Materials on the work of the government are regularly sent to the press.

A weekly "Government Monitor" is broadcast on Polish Television. It describes the major subjects on which the state organs of administration are working. The press conferences of the government's press spokesman are also devoted to these subjects.

The union's management and the socio-occupational centers receive complete statistical information so as to enable them to competently express themselves on matters within their statutory rights and obligations.

The PRL Sejm passed, in accordance with the Gdansk agreement, a law on control of the press, publications and spectacles, which had been widely discussed. Work is continuing on a law on the press which will lawfully regulate the principles of activity of the press, radio and television, and also the principles of social control over them.

4. Job Dismissals After the 1970 and 1976 Strike and the Matter of the Arrested Persons Named in the Agreement

It was agreed in Gdansk that the grounds for the dismissal of workers from their jobs after the 1970 and 1976 strikes will be investigated without delay. It was agreed that in all of the reported cases, where dismissals were found to be improper, the workers, with their consent, will be immediately returned to their jobs, taking into account any qualifications that they may have acquired in the meantime.

It was agreed also that this will similarly apply to students who were expelled.

The agreement also states that the Minister of Justice will investigate the validity of the cases of the persons arrested and named in the agreement and the annex to the agreement. It was agreed that there will be complete observance of the freedom to express one's convictions in public and in professional life.

Implementation

The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs has defined the rights of the persons returned to their jobs, who had been dismissed for strike activities during 1970-1980. The rights of the workers dismissed for strike activities have been defined more broadly than would appear from the literal interpretation of the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements. Not only are the rights of the workers who expressed an intent to return to work defined, but also the principles of reimbursement for damages to those who do not intend to return to work at the plants from which they were discharged, and those workers who sustained losses as a result of the disciplinary penalties assessed against them. On the basis of the above rules, workplants have accepted the returned workers and paid out the benefits that were due.

As to the matter of students, four cases of former students who had been expelled were investigated. Students rights were restored to two persons and the previous decisions to expel the other two were upheld because their expulsion for political activities had no relation to the union. The persons named in the agreement and the annex to the agreement remain at large.

As pertains to the full observance of the freedom to express one's conviction, it should be said that the freedom to express convictions in public and professional life is being fully observed, and the citizens of the PRL are also obliged to observe the law in accordance with the PRL Constitution.

5. Work on Economic Reform and Expansion of the Scope of Socioeconomic Information

It was agreed in Gdansk that work on economic reform must be greatly accelerated. It was stated that during the next few months the authorities will define and publish the basic assumptions of this reform. It was envisaged that there would be broad participation in public discussion on reform with broad participation of the trade unions in work on the laws on socialist economic organizations and on workers' self-government.

The demand that leadership cadre be selected consistently on the basis of qualifications and competence, from among members of the PZPR, other political parties, and those belonging to no party, was also accepted.

Implementation

In compliance with a resolution of the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau and the Government Presidium, in September of last year a Commission for Economic Reform was appointed, which is composed of representatives of different circles, including trade unions. This Commission prepared a draft of a reform program which was published last September and submitted for public discussion. Taking the results of

this discussion into consideration, "Directions of Economic Reform" was published which was accepted by the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress and in July submitted by the government to the PRL Sejm.

As of July 1st the principles of economic reform were applied in the State Agricultural Farms (PGR) and small-scale production. The Council of Minister passed a resolution on changes in supply prices to be effective January 1, 1982. Work is now going on on a program to change retail prices and the principles of compensation as an integral part of economic reform. The application of new retail prices for bakery goods and grain products created the indispensable conditions for introducing new economic principles in the grain-milling and bakery industries. The principles of enterprise functioning in this field, in accordance with the approved directions of reform, envisaging independence, self-government and self-financing, will go into effect on October 1, 1981.

The first stage of changes in the management system has been applied, accomplishing a reorganization of the central economic administration.

A detailed schedule of work on economic reform has been prepared. It is based on the assumption that reform in the basic sectors of the national economy will go into effect on January 1, 1982.

A report on the state of the economy has been prepared, as well as the government program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy, passed by the PRL Sejm in July.

Both in work on applying economic reform and in current activities, a great deal of attention is given to the qualifications and competence of the cadre and social control over its work. This is shown by the principle of having the managers of enterprises express their opinions through the workers' self-government, the principle of enterprise independence, and thus also the broad competence of its managers. Changes in cadre were made in recent months at all levels of management, resulting in new people with high qualifications, both PZPR members, members of other political parties, as well as unaffiliated persons, in the elements of management.

The government is also concerned with providing the cadre working conditions and is against the unwarranted attacks on the cadre. The PZPR Ninth Congress has defined both long-range tasks and those arising from everyday needs, in the area of cadre policy, in compliance with public opinion.

* * *

One year's experience has shown that it is necessary to take a new and closer look at the agreements signed thus far. The multiplicity of the concluded, difficult-to-control subsector and local agreements, the social tensions connected both with their signing and their implementation, make it difficult to concentrate on the most important matters--leading the country out of the economic crisis and stabilizing social life, and creating the indispensable conditions by which the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab obligations may be fulfilled.

Instead of the improvement in the economy that the people have been awaiting, the past year has brought a further deterioration and thus has made the daily life of the citizens even more burdensome. It has therefore become necessary to reconsider the accepted agreements and adapt them to realistic economic potentialities and also to the new conditions arising from economic reform--to subordinate the subsector and local agreements to one, superior general agreement. The obligations agreed upon in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzab were two-sided. The government is waiting for the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity", which was formed as a result of the social agreements, to fully implement its obligations--to observe the statutory principles which it freely accepted.

The government is counting on being able to cooperate with all the trade unions on a partnership basis in solving today's difficult problems, and on their cooperation with each other.

Once again the government confirms its willingness to cooperate as a partner, in the spirit of policy of social agreement and socialist renewal accepted at the PZPR Ninth Congress.

9295
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GOALS, ACTIVITIES OF PEASANT PARTY OUTLINED

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 19 Nov 81 pp 1,2

[Interview with Roman Pstrong, member of the secretariat of the Supreme Committee of ZSL and chairman of the ZSL voivodship committee in Wloclawek, by Aleksander Lewandowski: "We Need a Political Program and Faith in Our Own Strength"]

[Text] On the 17th of this month, at the sixth plenary session of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, Wloclawek peasant activist Roman Pstrong was elected to the secretariat of the Supreme Committee (NK) of ZSL. Yesterday we talked to him about current rural problems and the activity of the party.

[Question] ZSL members are calling for the immediate convening of an extraordinary congress of the party. What views on this matter were presented during Tuesday's deliberations at the Sixth Plenary Session of the NK of ZSL?

[Answer] Actually among the members at the plenary session there was a difference of positions and views on setting the date for calling a congress of the party (part of them were in favor of shifting it even a year, stating that we needed to focus our attention on the current problems of the country), but what won out was the concept assuming that we would combine such important goals as those which we had come to recognize, such as the creation of a front of national understanding, the comprehensive introduction of laws concerning the rural areas and agriculture, and a law on people's councils and regional self-government, with a reporting and elections campaign. While it is going on we intend to discuss thoroughly the drafts of the declaration of ideas for the political program and statute of the party and at the same time to discuss all the economic and sociopolitical issues going on. The plenum decided to call a congress during the second quarter of next year. Here it must be emphasized that for a long time the Wloclawek organization has been calling for good preparation of congress documents and a well thought out concept for waging a reports and elections campaign in ZSL, and for the congress to be convened in relatively short order.

[Question] What is your assessment of the drafts of the congress documents accepted by the plenum?

[Answer] The documents are still imperfect, too broad. In this connection they should be treated merely as material for discussion. Their final shape will be determined by all the members of the party and by the congress. We are inviting all members of ZSL and of ZMW, which we consider one of the links in the peasant movement and also as our allies, to discuss the drafts. The content and rank of the declaration of ideas of the political program and statute will depend upon all of us.

[Question] The society is placing great hopes in the creation of a front of national understanding. What is your view of this idea?

[Answer] The party is calling for the immediate creation of political conditions for the formation of a front of national understanding. I think that all front participants should have equal rights, regardless of the size of the their social constituency. In the party's view, there should be guaranteed in it representative participation for all genuine social forces standing on constitutional principles. Corresponding preparations have already been undertaken in the rural community. We see the need for the speedy creation of an initiative group at the voivodship level. Today's session of the Voivodship Commission for Cooperation Between the Party [PZPR] and [Other] Political Parties in Wloclawek will surely take up such an initiative. Taking into account the existing rural breakdown, in Wloclawek we have developed actions to integrate the community, conducting partnership talks with all the trade unions of private farmers operating in rural areas.

[Question] In your opinion, which of the farm problems needs to be solved most quickly?

[Answer] The rural community is waiting for the solution of two basic complex issues: from the sphere of agricultural law, which requires no material outlays but merely the acceleration of legislative and economic-production work, the weighing of price ratios and levels and the assurance of the means of agricultural production. Decisions in this area should have the nature of systems solutions. It is difficult to consider decisions on the introduction of related sales to be such.

Such solutions of a systems nature to stimulate the level of production are being drawn up, with the intention of introduction as of 1 January 1982. The party also considers it essential that there be constitutional guarantees concerning the lasting nature of private farming.

[Question] An in the activity of the party?

[Answer] They consider the most urgent matters of party work to be the consolidation of our own ranks, actions to integrate the rural community, and meeting half way all efforts to eliminate local conflicts. At the level of the Supreme Committee it is essential to accelerate our own legal work in the sphere of rural areas and agriculture and in economics and systems. The breakdown of the peasant-worker alliance and the related conflicts related thereto caused by a shortage of foodstuffs in the towns and of industrial goods in the rural areas are leading to the disintegration of society. There is an urgent need to undertake actions binding the society together through the commitment of all social forces and to expand appropriate propaganda efforts presenting rural living conditions and everyday problems of urban residents. Nonetheless, the basic condition to all this is the restoration of the economic bond between town and country. This requires an increase of production on both sides. The past level of implementation of the guidelines of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and the presidium of the NK ZSL concerning the key problems of farm policy is inadequate. We must pass from discussions of the "green light" for agriculture to concrete actions, finally assigning certain plants to produce the means of production for agriculture. Wloclawek Voivodship has not yet noted visible results on this issue.

[Question] How would you assess the party's position at the Sixth Party Plenum?

[Answer] The ZSL is moving slowly, but it is ever more clearly becoming the real party of the peasants. We need our own political program, faith in our own strength, and the full commitment of all members, because this is where the party's strength lifes.

10790
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CREATION OF YOUTH HOUSING COOPERATIVE PROPOSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Oct 81 pp 1,2

[Article by Andrzej Roginski: "Youth Cooperatives -- One's Own Roof Over One's Head"]

[Text] "I am writing to you, because I do not know whom to turn to anymore, and the question concerns my nightmarish housing conditions..." "Dear Editor: Help me! What am I to do? How am I supposed to go on living under such conditions? We are living in a place 37 square meters in size, and there are eight of us... We beg you. Help us. I have been a member of the "Young People's Housing Block" Cooperative since 1968..."

Among the hundreds of letters which come into SZTANDAR MLODYCH from our readers, those which predominate are the ones which express most painfully the writers' lack of a corner of their own, those which portray terrible housing conditions, and those which describe the many years a married couple with children must wait for an apartment. What comes through in these letters is the helplessness, the lack of hope.

Meanwhile, the line for housing of one's own is getting longer. Most of those waiting are young people paying extortionate rents for a room in somebody else's residence. The housing cooperatives have 600,000 members and 1.2 million people applying for membership, all of them waiting for housing. The number of those waiting is getting bigger. In a short time it will reach 2 million, and 60 percent of them are young people. The shortage of housing is found both in the cities and in the rural rea areas. The ways the housing problem has been solved in the past are proving to be inadequate. It is no wonder that the state has neglected its duties by waging a poor housing policy, inasmuch as the construction program has collapsed.

In a situation where there is a shortage of housing, we have recently noticed such manifestations of the country's economic crisis as the drastic decline in the production of cement and other building materials, finishing materials, and so on. There is going to be some wait before

we see the results of the economic reform, but the housing needs are there now.

Are we to sit with our hands folded? But one can make demands knowing full well that Solomon himself cannot get something out of nothing. Can one expect us young people to replace the state in its functions? Are we to pay rent for years for housing for our families? There is only one answer to these questions: NO!

Then what can we do? How can we shorten the time spent waiting for our own roof over our head? What sort of way can we make apartments come into being?

The editors of SZTANDAR MLODYCH and WALKA MLODYCH, together with the main board of ZSMP are proposing the creation of Youth Housing Cooperatives. We are treating this proposal as one of the ways to effectively get out of this blind alley. A Youth Housing Cooperative can be established wherever young people want one, in both large and small towns, as well as in the rural areas. Such possibilities already exist at present, because of the conditions created by Resolution No 22 of the board of the Central Housing Construction Cooperative Union (CZSBM), dated 6 April 1981, concerning additional cooperative housing construction carried out through the use of social initiative, and decisions by the presidium of the ZSMP main board dated 11 July 1981, concerning the creation of young people's building cooperatives and associations and patronal construction of single-family dwellings.

Of course the road before us is not an easy one: to establish cooperatives, find a location, obtain or produce the necessary materials, and find the best way to build our apartments, our houses. We think that there is the real possibility of obtaining housing within 3-4 years, and perhaps even more quickly. All we need is determination and consistent action.

There are already those people who have succeeded. In Wesola near Warsaw a dozen and some single-family dwellings were built in a year. They are the work of ZSMP members who created the Patronat-2 Cooperative Single Family Home Building Association. Before long we will be writing about how they managed it and about the absolutely unbelievably low costs. New cooperatives are already going up, for example, in Szczecinek. It is enough to have even ten people to set up a housing cooperative.

You will not remain alone. SZTANDAR MLODYCH will

present the scenario for founding a Youth Housing Cooperative,
facilitate contacts between interested parties,
popularize the best experience,
give assistance in breaking down barriers.

We shall public the details shortly.

On the other hand, ZSMP will give organizational and legal assistance related to the creation of a Youth Housing Cooperative and execution of cooperative tasks, that is, mainly in building an apartment or house. Even today one can ask for help and advice from any ZSMP board or go directly to the Main Board.

On your correspondence we ask you add the words "Youth Housing Cooperatives."

10790
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GRLICKOV INTERVIEWED ON LCY CONGRESS PREPARATIONS

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 332, 10 Oct 81 pp 16-22

[Interview with Aleksandar Grlickov, member of LCY Central Committee Presidium, by Jelena Lovric]

[Text] START: One of the key points in the strategy of the 11th LCY Congress is the assessment that the democratic relations of self-management cannot undergo further effective development in society without deeper and broader democratic transformation of the League of Communists, that is, that society will not be democratized unless the party is democratized. (Thus it is that this congress confirmed not only that well-known truth that democracy lies at the very basis of our vision of socialism, but also that situation, which has several times recurred in our party's postwar activity, in which the observation that society finds itself in critical difficulties--social, economic and political--is followed by the assessment that the way out is to develop socialist self-management and to democratize society. Put more simply, that democratization is not a luxury to be left for easy times.) Certain changes in the bylaws were made along those lines at that time, and certain preconditions were achieved for more democratic activity. What can be said about the realization of those intentions and conclusions today when the preparations have begun for the 12th Congress of the League of Communists?

Grlickov: I agree with you that these stands taken by the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are not being carried out satisfactorily. There is good reason to inquire into the causes, both objective and subjective. LCY documents are not the limiting factor, whether they are programmatic, deal with the bylaws, or whatever. On the contrary. They are inspiring enough to encourage democratization of relations in the League of Communists and to initiate an extensive process of its democratic transformation. This is true of the LCY Program, for example. Nor is the structure of the membership, that is, its social composition, a hindrance either. By and large this applies to the leadership structure, to the forums of the League of Communists at all levels, though we would have to be frank about them and say that they do not correspond to the present-day needs and goals we are speaking of either in their composition with respect to age or with respect to certain other criteria. We must also alter the state of consciousness, that is, come to an awareness that self-reproduction of socialist self-management is not possible without a broad process

of democratic transformation of the League of Communists. As the leading ideological force within the system, the League of Communists requires a greater effort by the rank and file and leadership bodies in achieving democratic relations and methods within the League itself and especially in society as a whole. Stopgap measures, especially the issuing of commands and imposition from above and a one-way flow of directives do not ensure unity--wherever they are dominant--in either action or political ideology within the League of Communists as the core of the revolutionary movement, nor do they tend to improve its effectiveness. There are many causes of the underdevelopment of democratic relations and of the democratic atmosphere in the League of Communists. There are the old habits we have spoken of as well as the insufficient willingness on the part of members of the League of Communists to wage a struggle for the policy and program of their party and to win that struggle with the weapons of political ideology in a democratic atmosphere. If the 11th congress goes down in history, then it will be precisely because it issued the demand for broad democratic transformation of the League of Communists as an essential prerequisite for the democratization of society, which in turn signifies development of the fundamental principles and goals of socialist self-management. Any attempt to skirt around them will inevitably lead us astray. The 12th congress ought to go further in developing the democratic platform and its content. An assessment must, of course, be made of the present state of affairs and a more decisive course adopted toward democratization of relations and the entire internal life within the League of Communists.

START: It is an essential function of the League of Communists, together with the other subjective forces, to promote the development of self-management. If it is to be up to that task, the League of Communists must institute itself as a critical force, and to do that, it must encourage an intellectual effort, an intellectual commitment, an exploration, it must insist on its own democratization.... However: someone said at a recent meeting that it was a bad thing for the opposition to be the only critic of the system, that it was a bad thing for the League of Communists to set itself up as that entity which is supposed to defend the system, when its priority task is to develop it, to change it and to improve it.

Grlickov: I cannot agree with all the judgments contained in your question. I do not think that it is an accurate judgment that the League of Communists is defending the system (insofar as this applies to the system's mechanism, since what I mean by the system is the constitutional order--socialist self-management, and various laws, decrees and other things represent only mechanisms). If we are speaking about the system as a mechanism, the League of Communists is in my opinion the strongest critic whether we are talking about individual party members or official organs. If there is criticism which can be justly addressed to it, then it is that no organized study of what is happening in real life stands behind that weighty everyday criticism and self-criticism, nor is there always a readiness to abandon certain specific solutions which have been unsuccessful and to offer new, better and appropriate ones. Why is it that a fetish is made of some specific solution, even when it is yielding bad results? Of course, I am not insisting on haste, I respect the need for adaptation, nor do I preclude cases of resistance and inconsistency. But I think that certain very

poor solutions are often defended one-sidedly, and this relieves the subjective factors of the obligations to constantly get down to the real reasons for the gap between the solution "which embodies the system" and real life. Take, for example, the case of legalizing two means of payment (dinars and dollars) within the country, with inestimable consequences for our development, not only our economic development, but our political development as well. Prolonged insistence on specific solutions which reality does not accept, as well as insistence that the difficulties be reduced to nothing more than the inconsistency of those implementing the solution, objectively creates a distorted social consciousness to the effect that everyone is against some solution except those who worked on it and those who find some specific material benefit of their own in such a solution--whether it is a question of industries, sectors, or a republic or province. Making a fetish of every specific mechanism does not result in effective guidance of the economy, just as every specific solution does not always have to be proclaimed as the only one that conforms to self-management. This closes off the opportunity for nurturing the process of democratic reconciliation of the plurality of interests within self-management. In this domain there is room for criticizing members of the League of Communists for not having fought more decisively against the tendencies of this kind which exist. Finally, the truth is that whatever survives effectively in practice leads toward progress.

START: Some judge that the activity of the League of Communists within the framework of self-management is insufficient, that the League of Communists tends to be top-heavy in its activity, that it occupies a monopoly position vis-a-vis other participants in the sociopolitical process of decisionmaking, that it not only is not adhering to its own decision on abandonment of its directive role, but under the weight of the problems the forums of the League of Communists are beginning to operate on the principle of transmission, they are tending toward the dangerous practice of making decisions that belong to others, that they are derogating others....

Grlickov: Unless broad room is opened for expression of the plurality of interests in self-management and still broader room and an atmosphere for their democratic reconciliation, then certain powerful groups march onto the political scene, from various quarters out of a desire, in which they sometimes succeed, to impose themselves on behalf of their own interest, which is political-bureaucratic, technobureaucratic and particularistic. Members of the League of Communists are not immune to these tendencies, since they are also an integral part of the plurality of interests, and as such they themselves, in spite of the joint goals and ideals, naturally group and regroup as a function of interests. In my opinion, party members are not people who live some separate life of their own, apart from their interest and the interests of their environment. Nor are they people who have ready-made answers for everything. They experience and share the fate of society as a whole, above all that of their own community, and they are compelled to join with it in resolving the issues that are encountered. Separation from the community leads them into isolation, and that means that they are left without the opportunity to exert influence. It is here that we enter the relevant area and arrive at the realistic assessments of the monopoly of the League of Communists in the system of self-management. Wherever the monopolies actually exist, the goals and tasks of the League of Communists are not

being altogether realized or are not being realized in a satisfactory way. There are monopolies, but we would be closer to the phenomenon if we referred to them by another name--cases of usurpation. There are various types of usurpation, by various individuals and groups within the League of Communists who usurp what they can, impose themselves forcibly wherever they can. But this is not a monopoly position of the League of Communists as a whole, but a lack of democratic relations wherever such things exist. And that in turn has an impact on development of democratic relations in society and on the functioning of socialist self-management. I agree with you that in that context top-heavy activity through forums becomes the principal form of activity, and other sociopolitical mechanisms become like transmission belts. But still you cannot confidently dispute the fact that the LCY, as an organized political force, though often it is "contradictory" by comparison with other parties, has been constantly insisting on "disenfranchising" itself, on its becoming the leading political force, and not a force which commands and directs, on development of the Socialist Alliance and on a democratic dialogue within it between party members and other socialist and self-management forces. The League of Communists rightly fears its own monopoly and strives to combat that. If that endeavor is not always successful in all places and at every point and with respect to each specific case, that is only a sign that certain of its parts are not capable of mobilizing people with a socialist and self-managing orientation, since they themselves are not prepared to fight for the authentic policy and program which the LCY is offering. I see the way out through a broad democratic transformation of the League of Communists and of the entire social structure, which by a cause-and-effect relationship will guarantee a process whereby everyone would not "wait" for democratization as a "gift." Operating within the system and through it, the LCY and every member individually will themselves undergo change on the road toward their own democratic transformation. No political and intellectual energy should be spared in pursuit of those goals, but an intellectual and concrete exploration should be organized and encouraged so that members of the League of Communists and the League of Communists as a whole are always at the head of the column, furnished not only with diagnoses, but also with offers for specific solutions, strategic or tactical, technical or embodying the system.

START: Assessments concerning the situation in the League of Communists differ mainly in the degree of dissatisfaction expressed. Even the highest leaders of the party say that there is "quite a bit of failure to understand the current situation, ideological confusion, contentment with oversimple responses to very complicated questions," while others speak of "an abundance of routinism and complacency," and still others are calling for suppression of "indolence and a return to enthusiasm".... As though this dissatisfaction does not originate exclusively with that characteristic so inherent in us that we are never satisfied with what we have achieved.

Grlickov: I think that we are not talking any longer about dissatisfaction with what we have achieved, which is a constructive trait of ours. This kind of dissatisfaction has been, is and will be a surge of energy for further development and progress. Our present dissatisfaction is the result of the compacted difficulties our society has been confronting in the economic, social and moral domains. The elements of crisis and the electrical charges they possess have

rightly made us concerned and indeed disturbed. Statements can be uttered in several ways as to a diagnosis of the situation, but it is the essence which is important. Accordingly, our present dissatisfaction is the result of the difficult economic conditions in the country: chronic inflation with all its political, economic, social and ideological problems; exhaustion in material development on the basis of intensive conduct of economic activity; displacement of socialist self-management by exaggerated government interventionism and a gradual penetration of statist socioeconomic relations, while quite a few moral problems have also piled up in society, problems which usually are oversimplified. And in the context of all of this we are slow to build an integrated conception--a positive program of long-range and short-term goals which would correct the shortcomings that have been discovered in our development to date and would propose the necessary changes and adaptations. A positive program which would open up more reliable prospects and would be a factor in mobilizing the working people and indeed the League of Communists itself. That is how I conceive the recently formed commission of the SFRY State Presidency in conjunction with the federal councils. We cannot merely call for sacrifices by the workingman and not open up to him a clear perspective as to when various things will be resolved. The degree of dissatisfaction varies in intensity from issue to issue and from one place to another, but dissatisfaction is characteristic today of the social and political consciousness of all of us. Is it possible for these difficulties to bypass the LCY? No, it isn't. The LCY is a part of society, it is woven into the entire fabric of life. The question that arises in this connection is this: What is it that we are carrying to the 12th congress? What do we expect of it? Is this just some "routine" or "peacetime" congress? Is it merely a congress of continuity, as is sometimes said, or a congress of renewal, of construction of a positive program to solve these accumulated problems in order to restore confidence and assurance that, as in the past, we will successfully extricate ourselves from the difficulties which now face us? This is not a mere desire, but a realistic estimate of our overall conditions, social, material and social, and also a judgment to the effect that our working people have always been ready to make sacrifices if the goals are clear and the means offer guarantees. The 12th LCY Congress should also be a congress of renewal of the League of Communists itself, a reminder of the exceptional responsibility which it has in our present situation.

START: On one occasion you said that the democratization of society depends on the "balance of power among the social forces." What does this specifically mean today? Is democratization of the party and society at all possible in view of the present lineup of forces?

Grlickov: It is always true that the balance of power of the social forces determines the content and rhythm of individual processes. Power is not abstract; it depends above all on who possesses the surplus value of labor; after that the superstructure is self-evident in our context. I take a fundamental factor as my point of departure, and this is that there is no full democratization without complete and total self-management, and the latter in turn is impossible without its material foundation. We have a phrase for that in our political dictionary--that the direct producers must take possession of the entire surplus value of labor. If that is not altogether the situation, that means that there

are also other centers of power which possess the surplus value of labor and are thereby forming a different balance of power among the social forces, and those conditions are not optimal for the quality and rhythm of democratization of society. At this point we might seek an answer to the question, among other things, of which strategies are those which speed up that process? In so doing, of course, I am not underestimating the role of the political system and of other political organizations in society. But they are derivative. They would have a different quality of influence if they did not possess material power, either directly or indirectly, if they did not have a powerful influence through the government administrative measures through which power is still very much possessed and the surplus value of labor and national income are shared out and redistributed. We have been concerned with this issue for a long time, there have been many cases of vacillation and many anemic mechanisms, and so our results are unsatisfactory. Defensive mechanisms are ineffective, and the power is settling where we do not want it, and people are becoming "powerful" even though objectively perhaps they do not want that. It is always easier to rule than to reconcile pluralized interests by democratic means and always attain the point of equilibrium in society. Nor am I underestimating the state of the spirit, of social consciousness as a whole. Translated into the language of practice, we need to fight and win a victory for our rights, and thereby our duties as well, if this process is to proceed naturally and normally like all other social processes. To wait for a "gift" means acknowledging the right to power, to usurpation, and various forms of privatization and manipulation. And the old generations, who have had their revolution, will also have to experience and carry out another one, the shaping of a democratic socialist self-managing society, which is not to mention the young people who are to carry out their own revolution in giving shape to a democratic socialist self-managing society. If we are dissatisfied with the results of the democratic transformation, and we are, that means that aside from the objective reasons, the balance of power, the state of consciousness, is not satisfactory either.

START: The principle of democratic centralism is most closely bound up with the topic of democratization of the League of Communists. You have spoken about that principle rather often: at times you have mentioned that it should be "refined," on another occasion you called for its "rehabilitation in the face of undemocratic methods and forms of activity and in the face of one-sided interpretations." On the eve of the 11th congress you said that "democratic content should be incorporated" into democratic centralism "by virtue of preparedness of the League of Communists in two directions: to tolerate both a majority and a minority within itself and a readiness on the part of the League of Communists, when it offers an alternative or specific solution, to enter into a dialogue with noncommunists to see if a better solution can be found in that dialogue." What would you say today about realizing those intentions of the 11th congress?

Grlickov: There are no new social conditions which would require abandoning the principle of democratic centralism. That is why I insisted on its "refinement," on "rehabilitation" of the democratic content as opposed to the centralistic content. In so doing I was guided, and I am guided even now, by a minimum of two positions. The first is the content of that principle, which was formulated at the 11th congress in the LCY Bylaws. I feel that democratic centralism in

the LCY has been defined in the most democratic way, better than in other communist parties. It is similar to and more democratic than the definition of certain communist parties in western Europe, who in practice do have a satisfactory degree of democratic atmosphere in relations within the party. Our problem, then, does not lie in formulation, though I do not preclude the possibility of certain additional touches, but in practice and methods of operation, in the behavior of all members of the League of Communists. And of course in the behavior and methods of leadership bodies as well. Without practice and appropriate behavior formulations may be window dressing for a practice that is quite the opposite. We have had quite a few such cases in the development of the communist movement in the world up to now, and we also have some bad experience of our own. Our views on democratic socialism make democratic dialogue possible. Practice, however, is not satisfactory. The bylaws allow for existence of a majority and minority in the League of Communists in the process of debate of party policy on all issues of social and party life. The member of the League of Communists is not required to renounce his opinion, but he is required to carry out the decision of the majority. This is the optimal political space for a democratic dialogue. But it should be recognized that neither habits nor practice are yet up to the level of the formulations, and in practice the view taken of the minority is not exactly well-meaning. There are cases when people are given a hard time. That kind of practice and the atmosphere it gives rise to are one reason why in certain communities and cases the League of Communists is not operating within the system, but as an external factor. Then the dialogue is halted, the interlocutor must listen to directives, or the dialogue becomes a monologue. And when there is dialogue, there are frequent cases of intolerance, arguments are replaced by pejorative epithets and labels. Let us return to democratic centralism. As I have already mentioned, there perhaps exists a certain room for replenishing its democratic content, but I do not see the need to transform it into some other content, as is the case, for example, with the proposals that the principle of democratic centralism be replaced by the principle of self-management or by democratic unity. In our context democratic centralism is a strong cohesive factor both of the LCY and of society as a whole. Other ideological and political forces are also concerned with the problem of the effective functioning of political parties. Of course, they do not proceed from the principle of democratic centralism as a form, but as a content; that is, they strive for the policy adopted democratically to become the obligation of all members of those parties, not just leftwing parties, but bourgeois parties as well. This is imposed by the extremely rapid development of the material productive forces, by exacerbation of the class struggle in the context of various methods which the new conditions impose, by exacerbation of the ideological conflict between the forces of capitalism and socialism and by the ideological and doctrinaire polarization within them.

START: You recently made the observation that we "seem to have exhausted ourselves in dialogue and in social criticism within the League of Communists." Why is there no dialogue? Is its dying out only a symptom, or a consequence? And what are the consequences of its nonexistence? (The poet says: Where only one wind blows, even the pines grown crooked.) What are the preconditions for establishing a dialogue? Is it sufficient for there to be two well-intentioned men, is goodwill sufficient, is it just a question of the habits not existing?

(Dialogue--someone else has said--is a test of the system, a test of its ability to confront the truth and untruth, to defend itself in a democratic way.) What do you think about the assertions of certain circles to the effect that our dialogue fell silent after 1971/72?

Grlickov: I would not say that dialogue fell silent after 1971/72. Those years were preceded by nationalistic and liberalistic euphorias in our development. Nor do I consider that a period of democratic atmosphere, either in the League of Communists or in our society. That was a period when one group in the League of Communists, in the various republics and provinces, imposed itself as a usurper in a struggle for power and domination. The thought that the nationalists were called upon as allies in the fight against unitarianism and the anarcholiberals called up in the fight against dogmatism is sufficient indication in itself that this was not a positive program for democratization either of the League of Communists or of Yugoslav society. In the history of the communist movement such alliances have always been against the communists, and our practice in those years was also against the development of socialist self-managing democracy and democratic transformation of the League of Communists. Regimentation was compulsory, and members who had their own integrity were not exactly welcome. Amalgams of tendencies of this kind have not been altogether overcome even yet, which accounts for various cases. That was a period of name-calling, of labeling, of removing the people of an opposite opinion. That was a period when a more aggressive minority dominated the majority. Finally, this was a period which took us backward on the road of democratic transformation of the League of Communists and of dialogue within it, which, though slow, had already begun. This dramatic period in our life enhanced the lack of belief in the necessity of democratic dialogue, since that kind of dialogue--a monologue such as was imposed by those groups, created the belief that dialogue is something which monopolizes, which corrupts, which usurps, and which shatters the unity of the League of Communists. Perhaps that is the reason why we are still moving slowly in this area, in spite of the other objective and subjective limits, why caution has become a characteristic of this process, why conformity has been welcome, and it has not paid off to "stick out." Objectively this has played into the hands of the dogmatic forces in suppressing dialogue within the League of Communists in society, in contesting and jeopardizing any dialogue that did occur, if not publicly, then through various ambiguities, qualifications, and even linguistic tugs-of-war. I believe that you yourself have encountered in our press public objections to and reservations about a dialogue, and that signifies opposition to the resolution of the 11th congress. I do not need to have to convince you that we suffered a lapse in the pace of opening up a dialogue. The key existential issues of our life are not at the focal center of our preoccupations, they are being skirted, or a defense is made with name-calling or simply on the basis of narrow particularistic interests. And even in that area where we have been successful--and I must say that we have achieved quite a bit as compared to what we had in the past--a democratic spirit and tolerance have not yet been incorporated. Words may be harsh, provided there are arguments behind them, and not labeled, and provided they do not attack personal integrity. The point of departure here, I think, is that there is a legitimate right to mistakes and errors. You ask me why there is no dialogue, is that a symptom or a consequence, and what are the preconditions? I would not say that there is no

dialogue. It does exist, and that against the broad background of our entire life, in the context of our highly politicized consciousness. It does not exist at places where it should--in forums, in the competent bodies. Their monologue is still the distinguishing feature, and the dialogue is so convoluted that it resembles a monologue. The situation has to be "abnormal" for a dialogue to exist as a need, since without it there is no way out. The case of Kosovo and the discussion of economic difficulties in the recent past are the best illustration of this. But a dialogue is not worthwhile only for "abnormal" situations, but also for "peacetime" situations, for making breakthroughs toward progress. In that sense the revolution is a book that always stands open, a search concerning all issues, at all levels, and in all milieux.

START: In talking about a dialogue you have spoken about people who "take care not to commit errors and mistakes"; hasn't fear been mentioned rather frequently in a debate concerning dialogue?

Grlickov: When the topic is the absence of dialogue, I feel as though the criticism is addressed exclusively to political forums. Why would the political forums bear sole responsibility for our dissatisfaction with dialogue? Is it they who have halted it, have they failed to create the institutional basis? Not that the grounds are lacking for criticism of forums and for their dialogue concerning ways of resolving particular issues, as though they were not weighed down by monologue. But let us also put the question in another way: Why is it that party members, members of the Socialist Alliance, and every last workingman does not fight to secure what has been afforded him by the constitution or the LCY Bylaws or the bylaws of the Socialist Alliance? You say, there is fear. I do not say that there is none and that at times it is not justifiably motivated, but fear has never been an instrument in the struggle for one's rights, for the goals for which a man fights, for changes of the status quo, especially for the goals in developing socialist self-management. If every generation has a right to desire its own revolution, the younger generations have a great moral goal of shaping self-management socialism, of building into it democratic content and relations.

START: You have spoken about "mild dogmatization"; and others thereafter continued concerning the "desperate pressure of the dogmatic bureaucratic consciousness," of "huge sediments of dogmatic consciousness," and that in statements by hundreds and thousands of leaders who appear to be advocating what is "constructive," but are actually "rather conservative," about the dogmatic consciousness which is derived from "absolutization of one's own particular interests...." Who are all these people and what are all these things that favor a mild or less mild dogmatization?

Grlickov: First, to answer your question about my initial conceptions concerning the content of dogmatism. Departure from the dialectical mode of thought and enforcement of Marxism as a set of canonized norms are the basis for shaping dogmatism as a mode of thought in general and of Marxists in particular. When I spoke about a mild process of dogmatization of our social consciousness, I was thinking in concrete terms of the absence of an ongoing process of adaptation and improvement of parts of the mechanism of our economic and political system

which have not "taken" in reality, which it has rejected; those which are not serving the goals of social development. When the mechanisms of the order are proclaimed to be something sacred embodying the system, a barrier is thereby set up before creative thought, since no one wants to tilt against the order, against the system of socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management. Not only is it necessary to distinguish these two concepts, this is an objective need. Mechanisms of the system may be well conceived, yet practice does not verify them; some are even yielding the opposite results from the imagined general conception, as is the case with foreign exchange transactions, for example. This process of adaptation must be an ongoing one. The process of dogmatization goes in the opposite direction, requiring that something be imposed by force on reality which is contrary to the capabilities and goals of society, both material and social. The process of mild dogmatization adds an additional burden to the overall panorama of the problems we confront. Edvard Kardelj kept those processes open, and he therefore managed to bring the mechanisms into conformity with reality and with the goals through constant improvement and adaptation. He did not "dig in," he did not "wed himself" to any mechanism of the system. That is why he cannot be tied to a single technical solution. He remains bound to his thought, as he should. To bind him to the aspiration of desiring and of having constructed a system that was entirely rounded out and contained the answers to all questions is to make a dogma of his thought itself. Not a single theoretician who has striven to build a statically closed system containing the answers to all questions has ever lasted very long. There has been vacillation about our returning to an open and ongoing process of adaptation, and we ourselves are falling into the traps of absolute and final solutions. Which accounts for the unforeseen meeting with dogmatism--be it mild or not--and with dogmatic consciousness. This exists in other domains, and in the ideological sphere as well.

START: What does the inadequacy of the democratic dialogue within the framework of the League of Communists and of the dialogue between those who are and those who are not members of the party mean for the conception of the pluralism of interests in self-management? That is, without a critical dialogue it is difficult for differing interests to be fully articulated, much less reconciled....

Grlickov: I agree with you that there is no full articulation of the plurality of interests in self-management without their open democratic confrontation in all spheres of our social life and at all levels. Without confrontation and without democratic dialogue, and without democratic reconciliation of interests in self-management, it is not possible to establish the foundation for self-reproduction of socialist self-management. One of the essential prerequisites for that is the democratic transformation of the League of Communists. It has a special place as the leading ideological and political force in society. Through its internal democratization, and that means through democratic confrontation and dialogue, it should encourage and stimulate ideas and incentives, it should offer specific solutions to the problems of social development, and that means that it should be open to all the other forces oriented toward socialist self-management, to the entire social base of society. It will become an integral part of the working people by virtue of its offering alternative possibilities, by its readiness to accept other specific solutions which are better, by

its readiness to honor and maintain criteria based on ability in personnel policy conducted in all spheres of social life, by its readiness to make itself an equal partner within the front of all the socialist forces, within the Socialist Alliance, a partner that is energetic and creative, that is capable of offering solutions for the development of society and for development of its specific milieu. Insistence on equality is also a condition for its (I am referring to the League of Communists) effective self-reproduction. Setting it up in the opposite way would be favorable to at least two shortcomings: the League of Communists opens up the process of self-isolation, and it pushes its ability to conduct political action out to the margin if not into indolence and inactivity. This process is going slow for us. We are dissatisfied, and we need to step up the pace. There is failure to understand, there is resistance, there is exhaustion, and there is even wandering afield. When you speak about politicization of interests and a policy of compromise, I believe you were referring to this situation. Not only are party members faced by a great challenge, but they also confront a responsibility, and, if I am not exaggerating, that is even a historical responsibility, if they fail to turn these adverse tendencies to their own use.

START: What we have become accustomed to call Tito's legacy insists on democratization of forums and of the League of Communists as a whole. Do the solutions adopted so far and the actions undertaken fully express Tito's idea about collective work and decisionmaking? Isn't there a danger of going round and round at the same level, without operating in the vertical direction? Isn't this indicated somewhat by the judgments (supported even by scientific research) that party members have become passive, that party organizations have become exclusive and bureaucratized, that the hierarchical model of administration has been established, in short, that party organizations have become incapable of tackling the problems of their own surroundings?

Grlickov: The system of collective leadership is only one segment of the entirety of the system and of the process of democratization of intraparty life within the League of Communists. If this is taken as our point of departure, an effective system of collective leadership presupposes democratization, and vice versa. I therefore think that reducing Tito's idea exclusively to the practice of the 1-year term of office is an oversimplification of the idea itself. If that idea went no further than that, we would have no guarantee of being able within the framework of the system of preventing collective work and decisionmaking from being bypassed, from being usurped, from the actual decisionmaking being "issued" from the forums or concentrated within them, not in the hands of all the members of the collective leadership, but in the hands of smaller groups. If this is taken as a closer and more authentic interpretation of Tito's idea of collective leadership, then the 1-year term of office has a different specific gravity. As for differences in enforcement from one republic or province to another, they do exist. In my opinion, they should in fact exist, since the conditions are not the same everywhere either. In its most recent history the League of Communists has never insisted on everybody getting organized in the same way, but has insisted that the organizations express the real conditions and needs of each. There is a danger that the idea of the system of collective leadership will be bypassed and evaded. I am referring to

your observation and fear of horizontal shifts of personnel. At the present moment, as I see it, it is more essential to introduce and "instill" an authentic democratic consciousness in the League of Communists and the idea and spirit of collective leadership. To free ourselves of those--wherever they exist--who carry out various types of usurpation and privatization, or put pressure on them, force them to adopt democratic content in practice in the system of leadership within the League of Communists. To make gradual and fundamental personnel preparations for more comprehensive deprofessionalization--I do not believe this can be complete, and I do not know whether that is possible and necessary--and that means easier achievement of the system of collective leadership, along with elimination of the adverse tendencies which have kept us company up to now. The various solutions which have now been adopted in our country will be of use to us. Passivity, silence, exclusiveness, hierarchical tendencies in the sense of a one-way flow of positions--directives, sectarianism of all types, inability to express the problems of one's own surroundings, are, in my opinion, the result of truncated democratization in the system of leadership, of a lack of democratic consciousness. I am aware of the complexity of all these questions which you raise and also of the danger of oversimplification in the answers which I am giving you in telegraphese. But even hints can be beneficial to reflection about the directions of movement, to avoiding one-sidedness in the great expectations which because of their one-sidedness could result in great disappointments. It is a question of ongoing processes, processes which already have their "start" in our overall constructive experiences and efforts to guide them toward the desired goal, in accordance with needs and objective possibilities. But for that reason party members should not await democratic transformation in the League of Communists as a "gift" from the forums, but should see it as their right and obligation.

START: Personnel policy in the League of Communists? One hears assessments to the effect that there is negative selection to leadership bodies. There is more liking for people who agree to everything than for those who can't hold their tongue. A satirist has said that the dossiers of certain successful people are full of negative opinions about others....

Grlickov: There are manifestations of negative selection in personnel policy within the League of Communists, in other sociopolitical organizations and in other organizations of the social structure. Which reasons are objective in nature, and which are subjective? How is it that selection is negative when the League of Communists is insisting on socialization of personnel policy, and the appropriate social mechanisms for achievement of that goal have been built in? Why is it that we still rightly notice manifestations of negative selection? I would not like to approach this complicated issue from only one angle, and I do not have the space to express my opinion with any thoroughness. But I still must say something. Socialization has not achieved satisfactory results, nor has it eliminated the tendencies toward negative selection--precisely because of the unsatisfactory level of democratization in overall relations. Amalgams of usurpation and privatization are still present to various degrees of strength in various milieux depending on the level of democratization achieved in the League of Communists. Were this an incidental or transient phenomenon, we would have no reasons for great concern. However, if this orients the younger generation

toward taking advantage of the insufficient socialization and the inadequate democratization of personnel policy, that is, toward using privatization as a means of getting ahead quickly and easily--that in itself should disturb us. An atmosphere is then created to the effect that one can get ahead easily by belonging to some "powerful" milieu, from an organization of associated labor to sociopolitical structures, instead of the constructive ambitions of individuals being realized through work, through knowledge, through activity and otherwise. We must part company with this as soon as possible for the sake of the future. People must be evaluated according to criteria of ability and activity. In modern society, with the goals and pretentions to the values of a new civilization, of socialist self-management, has no need for those who agree with everyone and everything, but it does need those who can be of benefit to society in progress thanks to their effort, their learning, their knowledge and their real abilities. Democratic relations are inherent in people like this, they have a large amount of tolerance and openness toward the conceptions and interests of others, and they are also ready to wage a struggle against all the forms of counterrevolution. People like that lead toward progress. Those who adapt to the "powerful" are actually in favor of the status quo. We are encountering these problems in work organizations and in the structure of society.

START: The problem of shaping authority is related to this. Is authority acquired on the basis of one's place in the hierarchy, on the basis of social power, on the basis of the (revolutionary) past, or on the basis of knowledge and ability?

Grlickov: Authority is acquired from one's place in society, but authority based on position is short-lived unless the virtues of knowledge, progress, and moral attributes stand behind it, though it is possible to exert a strong influence on social developments. A revolutionary past is worthy of respect. Great men are indeed born at the important turning points. This should not be questioned. Our practice has constructed experience of various kinds. Hierarchical evaluation of people's opinions should not be rejected a priori, though in a democratic atmosphere it must not be proclaimed an absolute; on the contrary, it should be subject to the verification of practice, which would include critical opinions. I think that capable authorities are needed by every society, including our own.

START: You have said that without practice and appropriate behavior formulations may be window dressing for a practice that is altogether the opposite. And even otherwise the conclusion is inescapable from this conversation that, to put it simply, we are strong when it comes to words, but weak when it comes to deeds.

Grlickov: It is a good thing that we are strong at least when it comes to words. Imagine what it would be if we were weak here as well, that is, if we lacked an insight into the real situation and had no visions as to possible and probable solutions for the development of our society. However, it is not a good thing when words differ from deeds, especially when this is a chronic tendency. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia has been constantly insisting on narrowing that gap. It has not yet overcome it. But that does not mean that we

should not be energetic in doing what is necessary to narrow the gap, and that means that the goals, the means and the methods should be realistic and should mobilize all factors toward their optimal achievement.

START: You constantly emphasize that democratization should not be awaited as a gift from forums, but that it should be fought for and won. What does that actually mean? Have we ceased to be combative enough as a society as a whole and also individually?

Grlickov: There can be no one-way streets in complex social development. All the goals of society have to be fought for and won. Progress has never been presented to anyone as a gift. The working class and all the working people have to fight for those goals and win them. We do not lack militance; we are well known for that; but we are excessively passive. As to why this is so, the answer would have to be more thoroughgoing. In my opinion, the goals should be formulated in a truly democratic way so that they belong to everyone. Then passivity becomes a problem exclusively of personal inclination, and not a social phenomenon.

7045
CSO: 2800/104

BELGRADE OFFICIAL DERIDES POLITICAL CLICHES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1613, 29 Nov 81 p 2

[Letter to editor by Zivorad Kovacevic, unidentified here but known to be president of the Belgrade City Assembly: "Words, Words"]

[Text] I once read in START about an experiment, presumably facetious, by Polish students. They listed parts of sentences, which otherwise sound entirely normal and even highly intelligent, in several vertical columns and arrived at an astonishing conclusion: no matter how you mix them up and combine them, you get a whole phrase that you do not immediately realize to be devoid of any sense. In other words, we have become accustomed to reading (or skipping) whole sections of text, either not reflecting on their actual significance or regarding them as entirely natural. Il'f and Petrov [classic Soviet humorists] attempted something similar.

Resolutions are now being drafted for LCY congresses. It has been said, and rightly so, that the demands of the times are sharper and seek different political documents. Let us try something different from the Polish students' experiment: let us eliminate certain words, let us write resolutions without them. I am certain that it will be immediately clear whether or not we have, and whether or not we wish to have, something really important and specific to say.

For the time being, I nominate the following words:

1. Still more persistently, consistently, decisively, fully, principledly, organizedly, rapidly, openly (or in this combination: with still greater persistence, consistency, decisiveness, principled activity, organization, openness).

2. Has still not run its course, been completedly achieved, been realized to the full.

3. Further buildup, development, strengthening, affirmation.

4. This requires the existence of conditions, activity, practice.

5. It is vital to make efforts (still greater), advance, promote, enrich, restructure.

6. Of special, vital, decisive, particular significance.

7. To devote great, particular, exceptional attention to tendencies, manifestations, trends; and to resolving, overcoming, and superseding.

8. The presence of problems, difficulties, weaknesses, practice, aspirations, shortages.

This is not just a question of good and readable language. Many of these words are entirely in order and cannot be avoided, but in these sentence structures they obfuscate substance, are frequently untruthful, and evade an answer (ought to do more, still is not, further develop).

Of course, the words themselves are not at fault.

I ask myself what would remain of the following two sentences, taken from one draft resolution (in a group in which I work), if the above-nominated words were to be eliminated: "The League of Communists must make efforts still more organizedly and more intensively toward the further affirmation and development of the system of self-managing consensus-seeking and social negotiation so as to contribute to the perfecting of all forms of self-managing decision-making, to the better definition of their substance, to fuller involvement in the system of decision-making concerning social duties, to the faster elimination of difficulties that arise in work, and to the cultivation of self-management consensus-seeking as a social relationship.... In the accomplishment of this task, ways and means must be sought with still greater persistence and decisiveness so as to resolve faster--and overcome in practice--the difficulties and weaknesses that occur in the functioning of the system."

CSO: 2800/199

CATHOLIC BROTHERS ACCUSED OF LINKS TO EMIGRES, DISSIDENTS

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "What Has Been Concealed Behind NASA OGNJISTA"]

[Text] The Links of Ferdo Vlasic and Jozo Krizic, [Catholic] Brothers From Duvno, With Extremist Ustasha Emigres Abroad and How That Link Came About

When certain members of the clergy concern themselves in a tendentious way with sociopolitical issues in the church, in religious periodicals or "otherwise," when they pass over into clericalism--they inevitably inflict great damage on the faith, on believers, on themselves and thereby on society as a whole. If in addition they have links with the fascist emigre community in this matter, then this can and usually does result in hostile activity and ends up before the competent courts.

Abuse of Freedom

That is exactly what happened to Ferdo Vlasic, a brother in the Franciscan Monastery in Duvno who is editor in chief of the religious newspaper NASA OGNJISTA, and Jozo Krizic, a brother in the same monastery who is secretary of that periodical. To go back a bit, they were found guilty by the District Court in Mostar of having committed the crime of participating in hostile activity and were sentenced as follows: Vlasic to 8 years in prison and Krizic to 5 years and 6 months in prison.

The nature of their hostile skulduggery is such that on behalf of a broader circle of the working people and citizens and of our public it needs to be publicly stated what these brothers were up to in the Franciscan Monastery in Duvno, in NASA OGNJISTA, and elsewhere, and how they went about it.

These officers of the church have had every opportunity for free expression of their faith and for publication of their newspaper within the limits of what the law allows, but unlike most clergy of all faiths they did not wish to concern themselves solely with religious affairs, but--abusing that freedom--they falsely portrayed sociopolitical conditions in our country in a perfidious, ironical and negativistic way, pursuing hostile goals and thus sailing into the waters of cleronationalism. They had ties with Ustasha emigres, who continuously

and generously sent material and other aid for publication of NASA OGNJISTA. Vlasic and Krizic declared themselves to be opponents of brotherhood and unity and of socialist community spirit of our nationalities and ethnic minorities in their verbal expression and in the publication of certain articles.

Collaboration With Emigres

On the basis of correspondence, money orders, addresses and pseudonyms in letters and in NASA OGNJISTA, as well as statements made by individuals, it has been irrefutably established that Vlasic and Krizic had constant contacts with the most sinister Ustasha underground, even with those proclaimed to be war criminals, with the members of emigre organizations, those same ones which have been sending individuals and groups for subversive activities, sabotage and terrorism, and other criminal activities against our country and its citizens.

Which emigres are we referring to?

Brother Lucijan Kordic is a sworn enemy of Yugoslavia, and Ustasha ideologist during the war, now an emigre in Zurich, one of the founders of the emigre publishing house Ziral, well known for its hostile content, and the author of a large number of pamphlets against the SFRY. It is this same Kordic who has been glorified in NASA OGNJISTA: a favorable article was published on the occasion of Ziral's 10th anniversary, and there was also a separate article on the "greatness" of this inveterate Ustasha emigre along with his photograph. He expressed his warm gratitude in a letter from Zurich, offering his own suggestions as to the editing of the newspaper, accompanied by his good wishes that NASA OGNJISTA would fulfill its task with the greatest success. We know what kind of task he was referring to--a mission aimed against the greatest achievements of our socialist revolution. It is evident from the subsequent correspondence that Kordic and Vlasic agreed that Brother Lucijan would use a pseudonym in NASA OGNJISTA.

A link was also established and maintained with Milenko Barbaric, an emigre in the United States of America, a member of the emigre organization Croatian Liberation Movement (HOP), who was also an Ustasha during World War II; Josip Kasic, priest, emigre in Australia, a member of the terrorist organization Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood who has participated in sending terrorist groups into our country; Ivan Jolic, an emigre in Canada, a member of the HOP and the Croatian Revolutionary Alliance (HRS), master of ceremonies of the radio program entitled "Dr Ante Pavelic" in Toronto; Berto Dragicevic, a Catholic brother, who during the war was an Ustasha commander, a well-known war criminal, and an emigre in Canada; Grga Raspudic, Catholic brother, author of several pamphlets against Yugoslavia, who is now living in Chicago and whose article was published in the anniversary issue of NASA OGNJISTA; Ivan Bradvic, member of the HOP and a founder of the "Stepinac" emigre organization in Montreal; Stipe Bagaric, an emigre in Sydney [Australia], a member of the HOP as well as the HRB [Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood], and so on. Some of these names, together with 10 or so names of other Ustasha emigres, were published in NASA OGNJISTA in a list of donors, that is, of those who were financing its publication and its hostile activity against our country with their money contributions. Dollars, marks,

francs and other currencies were received by the editors, and welcome they were, since obviously both the donors and the editors of NASA OGNJISTA had the same goals.

Vlasic's "Pilgrimages"

When all this is borne in mind, then it is no accident at all that Ferdo Vlasic also had links with the previously known nationalists and "mass movement" figures Vlado Gotovac, Franjo Tudjman and others. Tudjman's written defense at a recent trial in Zagreb was even found in Vlasic's possession, which best illustrates the tie-up between them.

Once we are aware of these things, Vlasic's efforts to organize "excursions," "entertainment" and "pilgrimages" for young people are clearly exposed. One such pilgrimage was devoted to a visit to the graves of certain priests who as members of Ustasha military units and as collaborators of the occupiers died in armed combat against units of the National Liberation Army during the mopping up operations in the final liberation of our country. In addition, Vlasic and Krizic have been visiting area schools and exerting pressures on teachers to postpone regular instruction in order to teach "religion," and among other things they distributed NASA OGNJISTA to the children. Note was also taken of several of Vlasic's attempts to give "advice" to members of the League of Communists concerning invigoration of religion.

Vlasic also confirmed his orthodox hostile activity in Medjugorje, where he has been helping Brother Jozo Zovko in "pointing out the Madonna." Vlasic has also come into conflict with members of law enforcement agencies, reacted arrogantly, insulted our system and threatened a physical attack on policemen, for which he was sentenced at the time to 50 days in prison, and thereafter another 60 days in prison because he hindered law enforcement officers in conduct of their official duties. When we add to this that Ferdo Vlasic was sentenced back in 1952 to 16 years in prison for crimes against the people and the state, then the portrait of this sinister man is more complete.

Pamphlets in Toronto

Jozo Krizic, secretary of the board of editors of NASA OGNJISTA, who shares Vlasic's opinions and is his closest collaborator, prepared for the priesthood in the Federal Republic of Germany. Immediately upon graduating from the seminary in 1978, he was chosen by Vlasic and appointed secretary of this newspaper. There is no need to guess about who has exerted the decisive influence on Krizic and what aside from the priesthood he was trained for abroad.

Back in the latter half of 1979 Vlasic prepared and sent Krizic to Canada and the United States on behalf of NASA OGNJISTA on the invitation of Ustasha emigre organizations there, so as to check out "on the spot" what had been written in correspondence. There across the ocean Krizic was welcomed as "one of their own" by the Ustasha extremists Danijel Crljen, Ivo Jolic, Jozo Mihalj, Marinko Sopta and others, who put themselves at his service. In their company the secretary of NASA OGNJISTA visited several cities in Canada and the United States, performed masses, and made hostile statements against the SFRY in sermons delivered

in church and in speeches delivered in Ustasha clubs. He sought and obtained financial aid for his newspaper in which, he promised, to write how "fighters for a free Croatia abroad" live and "how they are preparing to liberate Croatia."

During his visit in Toronto Krizic also participated in a meeting of emigres gathered together on the farm of the Croatian emigre club "Croatia." From a stage which was "decorated" with fascist symbols, Krizic, following Jolic and Crljen, delivered a speech in which among other things he said that "life is hard in Croatia, the power is in the hands of the Serbian hegemonists, and the liberation of Croatia is looked forward to"--and so on in the same style, full of lies, odious and chauvinistic. That same evening he delivered a speech of similar content in the club "Croatia."

Condemnation of Cleronationalism

NASA OGNJISTA, then, has been pursuing the goals of the extremist Ustasha emigre community, which is guided by the most inveterate opponents of our country. That is why the indictment against Vlasic and Krizic was full of arguments. It also stated that the editors of this religious newspaper had adopted the following messages: from Kasic (to the effect that "we are one and should be exclusively one and nothing more" and "the religious front should be united against the antifront"); from Bradvic (to the effect that "our newspaper NASA OGNJISTA rally everyone together"); and that of Jolic (to the effect that "if there is more belief in God and in our Croatian people, the poskok [highly aggressive and poisonous snake] will not lie on the slab of Ante's [Pavelic's] grave" and "we will remain industrious and aware until the new revival of our freedom").

It is said of Lucijan Kordic, a well-known Ustasha, that he is a "Croatian poet," accompanied by the note of the editors that "so long as we have such missionaries, we will not fear for our future."

During the investigation and in the court Vlasic and Krizic became "forgetful," "ingenuous" and "ignorant." But their attempts to deny irrefutable facts were not successful, there were too many arguments, too much material evidence and too many witnesses which unambiguously expose their hostile activity. They were not tried as priests, as some would like to present it, but as enemies of Yugoslavia, just as have been tried or will be tried all those who work to undermine our SFRY, which is based on brotherhood, equality, self-management and nonalignment, regardless of what profession they are in.

So, such individuals exist even in the ranks of the priests in our country, people who by abusing their calling as priests have among other things tried to foment dissent and religious and ethnic enmity among our nationalities and ethnic minorities. Their colleagues, however, in meetings of clerical associations in Mostar and Sarajevo, have said that people like Vlasic, Zovko and Krizic only cause them harm and condemned such hostile activity against our society. These cases have also been examined in many meetings in the Socialist Alliance, especially in the Duvno and Citluk opstinas, and in them religious believers and atheists declared their opposition to the misuse of religion for political purposes, condemning such behavior by these Catholic brothers and the religious

newspaper NASA OGNJISTA and those individuals in other religious communities who have also made use of religious services to attack the greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution.

All of this, as well as certain other cases we have written about, indicate how far individuals are ready to go as participants in hostile activity against our country and its fundamental values. However, our working people and citizens, regardless of whether they are believers or atheists, have made a clear declaration in their reaction that there is no place for this kind of behavior in our communities. Although the enemy operates perfidiously, the hearing of our people has now been made acute for rapid recognition of hostile tendencies and those responsible for them and will effectively oppose them through the system of defense and protection.

7045
CSO: 2800/106

TENANTS, OWNERS OF HOUSING ARGUE OVER DRAFT LEGISLATION

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 332, 10 Oct 81 pp 10-11, 83

[Article by Ratko Boskovic: "Democracy at the Door of the Apartment"]

[Text] It seems almost as though a new political party were being created in Yugoslavia: the "Tenant's Party" or perhaps the "Landlord's Party." The reference is to a group of individuals organized around a common position concerning one of the most important social issues. And an interest group, when it systematically advocates a position of this kind, grows to become a political party.

Very rarely has our public been so fiercely aroused as after recent publication of the "Proposed Version of the Draft of the New Law on Housing Relations." Passions have flared up because of the changes which the new law would make in relations between the owners of private apartments and houses toward their tenants, those who hold the right of tenancy in those apartments and houses. In short: under the present law it is possible for an owner to make his apartment vacant by evicting the tenant provided that the tenant's housing conditions are not essentially worsened thereby. But under the new law, the owner could move his tenant to any housing unit which suits the tenant and his family with respect to floor area and the number of rooms. In essence the purpose of these changes would be to introduce into "private" housing relations the criteria which apply in allocation of "socially owned" housing.

The reaction has been tempestuous: embittered tenants have buried the newspapers in an avalanche of letters. Why? Because they see the proposed version of the law as a threat to their own vital rights? Owners of housing, foaming at the mouth, have been answering that this merely corrects the injustice they have suffered for long years.

Thus a profound social conflict previously unknown to the general public has broken to the surface with full force. Its true weight was known only by the courts, on whose shelves there lie thousands of suits between tenants and landlords, suits which involved thousands of family dramas and even tragedies.

But in this "war of letters," two letter writers have aroused particular attention: the Association of Tenants of Privately Owned Apartments and Houses in the City of Zagreb, and its mirror image the Republic Association of Owners of those same apartments and buildings.

We have not until recently been accustomed to aggressiveness of this kind. After all, what sort of group of citizens is it whose "constant complaints and petitions" bring about a change in the Law on Housing Relations itself, as is stated in the supporting argument for amendment of that law?

The right of tenancy came about in the postwar years of scarcity as an application of the principle of socialist solidarity in the entire policy of the new Yugoslavia, so therefore in housing policy as well, as the only possible way at that time of resolving the huge housing problems when the rich owners of several dwellings had been disenfranchised. For 40 years those who held the right to tenancy and their families assumed that they had solved their housing problem permanently, and that status of theirs was guaranteed by law. After means of production, the dwelling is today the most valuable social resource, and that is why socialist legal principles, among which the right of tenancy is basic, are enforced most consistently in housing relations.

How is it, then, that some association of private individuals publicly and fiercely advocate that that principle be abolished? Is it also fighting to abolish other fundamental socialist principles which are indissolubly bound up with recognition of the right of tenancy? Might this association be some counterrevolutionary bourgeois party?

In the meantime tenants and their association have achieved their first partial victory. Following the debates in the newspapers, in the belligerent mood created in the public (incidentally, these are categories which in our context are difficult to assess from a political standpoint), before the proposed version of the new law reached the stage of public debate, the proponent of the law soon toned down the basic position which brought about the conflict: only those landlords (or their heirs) who were owners of the property before nationalization will have the "right to evict a tenant." In other words, people will not qualify who purchased an apartment which could not be occupied, people who now wish to enrich themselves overnight. The purpose of this ad hoc measure, which is typical of us, was to prevent possible abuses which tenants had warned about.

If the landlords' association has only partially brought about an amendment of the Law on Housing Relations, and if the tenants' association has succeeded in just 20 days or so, before the public debate began, in radically altering the law by exerting its influence, then these are two very powerful institutions!

The association of tenants of privately owned dwellings in the city of Zagreb, whose headquarters are at 3 Bosanska Ulica, "came into being as a reaction to the existing association of landlords, who had been haranguing against the legislation on the books," the secretary of the association says. It was established by a group of citizens in a founding assembly in 1972. Today it has several hundred members who regard themselves as representatives of the 15,000 holders of the right of tenancy in the city and suburbs. There are similar tenants' associations in Rijeka and Split. Incidentally, there are 53,779 such tenants in Croatia (according to the results of the 1970 Census) and about 175,000 in Yugoslavia.

When we were in the offices of the tenants' association, only a few elderly citizens were there at the time. Meetings are held once a week. One gets the general impression that this is a club of lonely elderly people and not any significant social force. Their program is this: to defend the interests of tenants of privately owned dwellings before the authorities. How? By grievances. But do they also influence the government in some informal way, with the help of acquaintances, friends or influential relatives? "No," the secretary of the association answered resolutely, "though if someone has problems with a landlord, and if he knows someone who has influence, he will certainly complain...."

The secretary does not personally have any problems at all; he regards his position as secretary of the association a civil obligation urged upon him by his socialist views which he has held since he was young as well as by the feeling that tenants are being found guilty of something which they did not bring about: "These housing problems began back in 1941, during the period of the Ustasha terror, when Jews, Serbs and many others in Zagreb were no longer able to freely dispose of the dwellings they owned...."

The association of tenants in privately owned dwellings and the association of owners of those dwellings are two typical sociopolitical groups endeavoring to realize their goals by concerted action, by influencing centers of political power. Their emergence is an important political phenomenon because the reason for their political activity is antagonism related to very profound social foundations: man's basic need for housing, a need which is not easy to satisfy in our society, which is not all that rich.

Aside from that, property and ownership have always been the most potent sources of discord and conflicts of differing interests. The conflict between landlords and tenants involves only 10 percent of the housing stock, but this still carries over to the mental outlook of every person "tragically stretched between the natural necessity to be civic minded and egocentric needs to merely use that civic-mindedness to build one's own private world" (J. Miric: "Interesne grupe i politicka moc" [Special-Interest Groups and Political Power]). Should we add to this that the issue of ownership is a fundamental issue in any political system?

Many "bourgeois" political scientists are almost unanimous in their belief that the freedom of groups to form and carry on activity is the heart of democracy. There are those who think that the freedom to create groups is more important than all other political freedoms, though there are also people who believe that democracy is guaranteed by norms and the system of institutions which express the general will. It is obvious that even the mere existence, but even more the freedom of public and open action--that is, freedom of political activity on the part of the tenants' association and the landlords' association--shows the high degree of democracy of our society and is confirmation of the view that Yugoslavia's political system is not based on a fictitious premise concerning a unity of interests.

Thus acceptance of the existence of differing interests and carrying them over into the sphere of politics does not constitute a tacit acceptance of any deviant

situation or behavior, but is the natural pattern of our political system. "The normal state of society is not harmony, but constant conflicts of interest. These interests do not disappear with the development of socialist society, but their number on the contrary increases. The higher the level of a society's economic and social development, the greater the degree of its differentiation, and that accounts for the increasing number of potential conflicts among individuals and social groups" (Miric).

Though they symbolize such important principles, the members of the landlords' association, though something else might have been expected, give the impression of a group of pensioners devoted to chess. Its offices are at 3 Masiceva Ulica in Zagreb, and the association has 1,884 members who pay a token rent--for the space and to cover the electricity. By contrast with the city tenants' association, the landlords' association is at the republic level, with a chapter in Split (committees in Rijeka and Dubrovnik have been dwindling, so that only individual "delegates" arrive from there for meetings).

The landlords are better organized and more enterprising than the tenants. But there is not the frenetic activity the tenants warned us of. Only an immoderate word here and there and signs of an anger indicative of the depth of the conflict and the value of the property in dispute. The tenants also warned us about landlords who pay lawyers between 5 and 10 million and tell them: "Make my apartment vacant any way you can" (since this is profitable for them: a vacant apartment is worth as much as 150 million), but they speak as though they are not members of that association.

The landlords tell us about their tenants who do not want to vacate the apartment "which is not theirs," though they have built real villas in the neighborhood (the words are backed up by photographs). They also tell about tenants who for a long time have not been living in their apartments, but have registered minor children so as not to lose the right of tenancy; about fictitious exchanges of apartments and sales of the right of tenancy; about threats and blackmail; about landlords living in housing not fit for human beings though they are the owner of apartments which they may not enter; about how the problems are already being passed on to the younger generations....

They also complained about the courts and SIZ's [self-managing community of interest], they spoke about their ties with similar associations in other republics and about efforts to abolish the "private" housing front once and for all together with the right of tenancy. In every sentence they appealed to their socialist convictions.

These people obviously believe in socialism and its institutions (since it is to them that they appeal). They believe that their feelings as landlords are not something unfamiliar to socialism. Both of the associations, it seems, do indeed avoid noninstitutional ways of influencing forums and the public, and they do not wish to become any sort of "pressure groups" fighting with political abuses. But though they have an elaborate system of social values--and thereby a rudimentary ideology as well, a clear tactics and strategy concerning one of the most important social questions, one which is bound up with a number of political consequences, and though they have legalized associations, the republic

association of owners of apartments and houses and the association of tenants in private apartments and houses in the city of Zagreb are a very weak social force. It is somehow difficult to believe that these are actually those landlords whose "frequent inquiries and petitions" account for amendment of the Law on Housing Relations. These civic associations are more an embellishment of our political system than a real part of it.

Though the landlords' association has existed since back in 1972, its members have never had occasion for a full-fledged visit and talk with any representative of any public organization. Their activity does not go beyond grievances, petitions, pulling people by the sleeve and importunity. The republic committee for construction and municipal service affairs, which is the sponsor of the new law, seems not to know that there exists any group of citizens which has devoted 40 years of debate to the topic covered by the law, consuming in the process enough nervous energy for several thousand entire lifetimes. These individuals learned about the proposed adoption of a new law on housing relations from the newspapers.

The tenants' association is in a similar position (though the members of each of the associations believe that that other association is the cause of every evil). Grievances and suits before constitutional courts, assemblies at all levels and dozens of various commissions have gone from one desk to another for decades now. The Socialist Alliance keeps orderly statistics on these associations.

So who, then, are the landlords "whose constant questions and grievances" led to instituting procedure to amend the law? While on the basis of "all extra-institutional initiatives and activities we can follow the process of transformation of our political system from a rigid and closed regime into an increasingly open and more democratic system of a plurality of interests" (Miric), specific examples leave us rather confused both as to practice and theory, and the general interest is not created by an actual unification and reconciliation of the interests and needs of all the participants in some activity, but by the logic of bureaucratic intermediation.

Unfortunately, the epilogue of the story about the right of tenancy, which for some 30 years has been ignored on the basis of that same logic, is a sad one. The proposed version of the law we have received is full of shortcomings and contradictions, and it is unacceptable both to private landlords and to tenants. It has given us a belligerent public debate which has diverted attention from the real problems of housing policy, those problems which concern associated labor, socially owned housing units and the catastrophic situation in public housing construction. Moreover, the debate has been conducted by the wrong people, and the right people, the organized socialist forces, have been waiting for the formal public debate. In spite of the good intentions of eradicating disagreements and unsocialist principles from society, what we have achieved is many new back doors by which those principles can find their way into society.

In conclusion, instead of harmonious unification of the needs of the two social groups--between which there does exist a potentially dangerous social antagonism--we have gotten new feelings of the old legal insecurity, new antagonisms, new interests, and the climate for creation of new belligerent groups. Instead of a debate of the program for abolishing ownership, the debate that has come to the foreground concerns affirmation of the landlord's ideology of the egoism of that real extra-institutional power which has this time hidden behind legal associations of people whose personal need to resolve housing problems cannot be denied.

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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1954

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29 December 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1954

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Briefs
Vlore National Flag Ceremony 1
Liberation Anniversary Observed 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' Scores IMF as Neocolonialist
(Ladislav Alster; RUDE PRAVO, 14 Nov 81) 2

HUNGARY

Major General Interviewed on Modernization of Troop Training
(Istvan Narai Interview; NEPHADSEREG, 5 Sep 81) 5

POLAND

Third Extraordinary ZSP Congress Reported
(WALKA MLODYCH, 3, 10 May 81) 10

Report, First Conclusions
Resolution of Congress
ZSMP Program Declaration

ZMP Supreme Council Plenum Reported
(Magda Rulska; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 5 Oct 81) 17

Competition Between NZS and SZSP Discussed
(Marek Siwiec; STUDENT, 8-21 Oct 81) 20

Results of SZSP Supreme Council Plenum Reported
(Jerzy Godula; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 16 Nov 81) 23

Scout Union Letter to NSZZ Solidarity Published
(SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 14 Sep 81) 26

ROMANIA

Student Paper Initiates Series on Religion
(Milena Mihaescu; VIATA STUDENTEASCA, 11 Nov 81) 29

Briefs
Ceausescu Receives U.S. Businessmen 34

YUGOSLAVIA

New Slovenian Cultural Review Expected Soon
(Vlado Zagorac; BORBA, 19 Nov 81) 35

Controversy Between Serbian, Macedonian Orthodox Churches Outlined
(Pande Kolemishevski; NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 10 Oct 81) 37

BRIEFS

VLORE NATIONAL FLAG CEREMONY--Tirana, 29 Nov (ATA)--Yesterday, on the day of the 69th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence, thousands of inhabitants of the hero city of Vlore and nearby villages, gathered in the historic square of the flag to attend the ceremony of hoisting the national flag. Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Manush Myftiu and leading cadres of the organs of the party and state power in the district. [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 29 Nov 81 AU]

LIBERATION ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED--Tirana, 29 Nov (ATA)--Today, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution in Albania, homages were paid and wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves of the homeland in Tirana. Weaths were laid on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, etc. The diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania paid homage and laid a wreath on the martyrs' graves of the homeland. Attending the ceremony on the occasion was Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 29 Nov 81 AU]

CSO: 2020/13

'RUDE PRAVO' SCORES IMF AS NEOCOLONIALIST

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Ladislav Alster in response to question of a reader: "The International Monetary Fund"]

[Text] Our reader, M. Bobek from Kladno, asks: What is the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and what is its mission?

There is not a simple answer to this question, because the officially proclaimed mission of the IMF is one matter and its actual activity, as this has developed and manifested itself over the years, is another matter. Moreover, the sphere of activity of the IMF covers not only the fields of finance and economics, but likewise the area of politics. This activity is hidden, disputed, and one may say that it is underhanded, but it is very significant.

The IMF was established during the World War II, in 1944, on the basis of an agreement reached at Bretton Woods in the United States, for the development of international monetary cooperation and to support international trade. The fund is based in Washington. Along with the IMF, 1944 saw the founding as well of the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development], which is referred to, more concisely, in economic circles as the World Bank. Both organizations complement each other in their activities and merge together in what amounts to a single unit. The IMF currently has 141 member countries. Every member country is required to contribute to the IMF a financial share, which is established individually by means of a so-called quota. This quota, or the size of the share, influences the possibility for drawing credits from the fund as well as the extent of the voting rights granted to a member country. But there is already a "cloven hoof" hidden in this provision, because the capital provided by the United States and its allies has absolute predominance in the capital of the IMF, and the United States exploits its influence in the fund aggressively.

Through this process the IMF, which had been formed as an affiliated organ of the United Nations for the development of the world economy, came in the course of time under the one-sided influence of the United States.

The history of the IMF may be divided, in terms of time, into two stages. At the beginning was the formation and the accounting for international monetary reserves on the basis of the so-called gold standard, and because the great majority of

world inventories on monetary gold had been accumulated in the United States after World War II, the American dollar became the primary reserve currency for the entire system. This in and of itself has led to the hegemony of the United States in international monetary relations.

The financial difficulties of the U.S. Government, especially its huge outlays for armaments and for various imperialistic wars and intervention, have however led to a gradual drain of gold from the United States and, as a result, to the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system.

In August 1971, the U.S. Government unilaterally terminated the convertibility of the dollar into gold, and in 1973 the capitalist world was forced to renounce the second fundamental principle of the system--fixed currency-exchange rates. There arose an unrestrained system of flexible exchange rates, creating the free play of supply and demand, often without regard for the actual economic situation. Speculative outbursts soon followed on the currency exchanges as well as chaos in the currency area, which may be described as a permanent currency crisis. In this situation as well, the IMF helps in maintaining the dominant position of the dollar, and thereby the United States and American monopolies in the capitalist world economy, this time however by other means. One of these means is the granting of credits. The IMF, at the same time, often intervenes in the internal financial and currency policies of debtor countries, forcing them into what are for them unfavorable ties to private American financial capital, and resisting changes in their economic structures which would lead to a loosening of the economic dependence of these countries on the major imperialistic powers, above all the United States.

When, for instance, the IMF advances currency credits to a certain country, it also dictates to this country harsh measures for stabilizing its balance of payments. Typically this is a matter of lowing down the speed of economic development, freezing or slowing down growth in wages, increasing taxes, limiting budgetary outlays for social needs, of limitations in the area of credit (including consumer credit), the elimination of import controls, currency devaluations, etc. These measures forced on debtor countries often lead to an increase in unemployment and to increased prices for basic consumer goods.

The destructive consequences of this kind of "assistance" may be illustrated with the case of Turkey. In recent years, the Turkish pound has been devaluated on the average of once every 3 weeks, on the basis of IMF recommendations. The result has been a huge increase in inflation. While in the middle of the sixties the average annual increase in inflation amounted to less than 10 percent, in 1980 it had already risen to 100 percent! Real wages of the workers of the country declined 41 percent between 1976 and 1979. In 1979, the IMF even required that Turkey limit its bilateral trade relations with socialist and developing countries, which are completely transparent conditions of a political character.

Currently in the IMF, credits are granted in so-called special drawing rights. This is an artificial accounting and payment unit, the value of which is currently calculated on the basis of a basket of five currencies--the American dollar, the West German mark, the French franc, the Japanese yen, and the British pound sterling--and which, as of 30 September this year, had a value of $1.144 American. Since 1970, when this unit was introduced, a total of 21.4 billion have been issued

and loaned. The IMF, however, also grants credits in national currencies, especially in dollars. I might add that the dollar in no way replaces special drawing rights, on the contrary, these form, figuratively speaking, a kind of protective wrapper for the American currency.

The IMF, however, also grants a large amount of credits in conjunction with large capitalist, mainly American, banks, or the banks "mediate" the granting of these credits. The debtor country, then, must pay the bank usurious interest rates--20 percent and more--and at the same time accept the harsh conditions of the IMF. Experience with this so-called parallel granting of credits teaches that this guileful IMF mechanism has succeeded in creating, in a number of countries, an economic regime favorable for the penetration and strengthening of international capital, even at the price of supporting fascist regimes. A fine example of this is Chile, as a study group of the publication ISSUES OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM recently concluded. The analysis conducted by this group led to the conclusion that the IMF is an instrument of the class policy of monopolistic circles, an instrument of imperialism.

A similar conclusion was reached last year by an international conference on the role of the IMF which took place in the Tanzanian city of Arusha. Delegates from 24 countries, most of them developing countries, agreed on the position that the IMF has already lost the justification for its existence and must under no circumstances merely be reformed, but must be fully replaced by a new international monetary institution. It was stated at this conference that the current conditions for the activity of the IMF are "foreign and unacceptable" for most countries. Quite recently, the UN Decolonization Committee sharply criticized the IMF for its cooperation with the racists of South Africa.

This year's anniversary session of the IMF in Washington at the beginning of October bore the clear stamp of the United States, which forced on the entire session an orientation toward the economic policy of the Reagan Government. President Reagan, right in his opening address, set himself sharply against an increase in loans and credits for developing countries and suggested that the poor countries "put their own economic houses in order."

It is then possible to advance the conclusion that the IMF acts above all as one of the most important instruments of neocolonialism, discriminates against progressive countries and movements and, on the contrary, supports reactionary and terrorist regimes. This fund is one of the sustaining bastions of capitalism in the struggle against socialism and progress.

"What is good for the United States is also good the the IMF," cynically declared an American representative in 1946. This "principle" continues to apply today just as before.

Czechoslovakia was one of the founding members of the IMF, contributed its membership quota of $125 million, but never derived any benefits from membership. On the contrary, the IMF applied discriminatory measures against Czechoslovakia and required--during the cold war--full information concerning our national economy, the publication of which would have affected the security of our state. Because it proved impossible to overcome the incessant pressure of the pro-American voting machinery of the IMF, Czechoslovakia resigned from the fund on 4 May 1955.

9276
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MAJOR GENERAL INTERVIEWED ON MODERNIZATION OF TROOP TRAINING

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 36, 5 Sep 81 p 8

[Interview with Major General Istvan Narai, the general mechanized gunner and tank-crew training department head and deputy inspector general of the Hungarian Army, by Gabor Szakaly; date and place not specified]

[Text] We are facing a test period for both officers and enlisted men. The test is represented by converting to 18-month military service and by modernizing troop training. For a unified explanation of the joint tasks and of the everyday tasks of execution, Gabor Szakaly, columnist for our newspaper, spoke with Major General Istvan Narai, the general mechanized gunner and tank-crew training department head and deputy inspector general of the Hungarian Army.

[Question] After studying the experiences, ideas and documents that form the basis for the modernization of troop training, many persons raised the question: What brought it about, what made it possible to reduce service time and to modernize training?

[Answer] The experiences of the military leadership, including of course those serving with the troops, have clearly shown that the general education level of the drafted soldier has increased and is increasing, his military defense knowledge is increasing and his preliminary military training has improved. Entering youth obviously are capable of learning military knowledge in a shorter time than before and of acquiring the everyday practice necessary for carrying out various assignments. At the same time, according to earlier experiences, the greater preliminary military training of our enlisted men is accompanied by greater industry and discipline, and these two together may serve as the basis for fulfilling higher level tasks. The preparedness of the officers and cadres in our army has fortunately increased as well; in addition their practical experience is constantly growing. The combat techniques of our army have constantly developed, and the training bases to promote everyday preparation have increasingly more modern means available. As a result of all these things, we can report constantly improving training achievements and the soundness of our subunits and troops. The grounds are given for work of a higher level.

[Question] In these days, the manuals describing troop training have been delivered to every military organization, inclusively to the units, and include primarily the general inspector's training instructions and the new training programs. What kinds of major tasks do the troops face, Comrade Major General, and to what training branches and areas do you call attention?

[Answer] First, I would like to emphasize several circumstances and certain organization principles. In weighing the tasks and duties, every commander must consider that we need to realize the conversion to 18-month service together with maintenance of combat readiness at a high level and continuous modernization of combat techniques; that is to say, preparation and training modernization. But in no way does the shorter service time mean a reduction in the preparation requirements. Our commanders and the participants in training must well understand that the requirements have remained, and in fact in some cases have even been raised. Moreover, it is a primary requirement that the subunits and the outfits should ensure combat preparedness at a high level, learn to handle and use the means of battle technology and acquire the capability and readiness that assure success in combat. In respect to the comprehensive and proportional quality of our army, this represents no small task for our commanders and soldiers. This is particularly true since the shorter period of military service is accompanied by reduced training time. And we must also take into account that the costs that can be expended on training cannot be significantly increased while the requirements are unchanged or increased.

Considering all these things, our troops can assure their preparation for successful modern warfare by correctly interpreting tasks deriving from the modernization of training, by organizing and executing these tasks more effectively and at a higher level and by intensifying our party political work. This, however, is possible only if we all perform higher level work than before. Our young soldiers must learn their military knowledge with greater application and devotion and acquire practice. Our officers, on the other hand, must more effectively organize training and everyday life, do more for the wider circulation of good experiences and not least of all struggle with all their strength to eliminate possible errors, particularly weaknesses in planning-organizing work.

Our officers may receive information on the modernization of troop training from many sources--at various lectures, party and KISZ [Hungarian Youth League] membership meetings, staff meetings and the military press. Two matters of basic importance are the improvement of general military training and making planning-organizing work more efficient.

In enumerating the list of concrete tasks, let me start with the very important principle, or requirement, that the individual soldiers, or the subunits, must be taught, or must learn, all those things that soldiers individually and the subunits and units collectively must do for successful combat. To this end, an obvious solution was the omission of superfluous materials according to our experience. We did in fact omit these from the training program. But this is only the first step. There is, at the least, need to assure that the instructors do not burden the soldiers, with superfluous learning matter not germane to the goal. Another warning example is this: they should not seek to instruct the soldiers at a college level in the operation, composition and maintenance of the radio, the tank, the artillery shell, the chemical materials and so forth but to the degree necessary for the young soldier in a given assignment. And this must be taught perfectly, or learned perfectly--learned by practice!

On the basis of the foregoing principles we studied the general military training that is obligatory for every soldier and subunit and we decided on the requirements. On one hand, we concluded that as a result of the introduction of school defense training, or even more as a result of the pretraining work of the MHSZ [Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense], we could omit certain phases. For example, rifle range training does not unconditionally need to be started with aiming the rifle, and it is not necessary to explain to the recruit what is the "front" of the gas mask. Thus, among other things, the time available for technical training, defense against weapons of mass destruction, health protection and the knowledge of war provisions is somewhat reduced.

Experience dictates that we strengthen our training in other areas. With a number of weapon types, chiefly with specialized units, it was evident that general military training had been neglected. But now preparation for modern warfare requires that the soldiers in specialized units devote greater attention to the use of their individual weapons and means of defense, to the defense of collective combat and other technical means and to their positions or to acquire adequate practice, among other things, in combat mobility on the terrain, in defense against diversion and in the devices of hand-to-hand combat, in fighting military helicopters and the better use of their weapons in the defense of their military equipment. The most modern technology and the best professional knowledge is worthwhile only if coupled with many-sided preparation. Therefore, the task is still valid: we must continue with high-level, acknowledged professional work, but we must raise our general military training and preparation to the same level.

Better general preparation is also served by the fact that hand-to-hand combat in physical training has become an independent subject area. The officers have already been prepared for teaching this; in the training period now beginning it is the turn of the enlisted men to learn the basic holds and to use these in specialized training activities. It is, for example, only the question of a command decision whether in establishing a radio station, ship, warehouse, or in occupying an area they should arrange for diversionary action or its prevention.

Firing range practice must also be adjusted to the new demands. For example, the number of firing exercises has been reduced, accompanied by a savings in time and energy; at the same time we made practice more complex and effective. It simplifies the planning and execution work since in a given training period every soldier within a subunit must carry out the same number of individual weapons, group firing exercises with the goal, for example, that the commander of a piece of ordnance be capable of directing a subunit to defend itself or annihilate the enemy. We also thought of such characteristic tasks as this: the soldiers of the commandant (komendans) and guard subunits must have particularly great practice in impromptu (kapas) firing. We are introducing into the program drill training in the interest of the enlisted men's physical preparedness. There is a great deal of opposition in various places, but we cannot permit the subunits to go to a practice field, which is only 2 kilometers opposite the barracks, in vehicles only because they are so-called mechanized artillery. We must strengthen their legs, improve their physical condition. At the end of their basic training the new recruits, for example, must be able to march 13 to 15 kilometers, which subsequently can be increased to 25 to 30 kilometers.

Among the tasks an expanded role has been given to the new "Service Regulation and Rule Information," which has given an increased number of hours to state security, accident prevention, work and fire protection, environmental protection, transportation and mobility instruction.

Even in working out the program there were complaints that the time allotted for formal (alaki) training was too little. That is true if certain commanders think of such activities only literally. Everyone should regard formal in a broader sense and would add to it reveille, clothing inspection, command announcement activities and other formations and parades.

In concluding, I would like to emphasize that general military training must be raised to the level of specialized training in the interest of everyone and of the results!

[Question] Comrade Major General, you emphasized planning-organizing work as the other essential area of ideas. Let me precede this subject with an opinion expressed among the subunit commanders. They would like to have greater independence in determining what and how much instruction should be imparted in a given period of time to the subunits they know well.

[Answer] Your conversation partners are knocking on an open door in various aspects. Let me quote from the pertinent prescriptions of the training inspection measures, which state: "The number of hours set in the training programs for training branches and subject areas are guidance numbers that the unit commander may rearrange excepting the number of hours set for basic training, political instruction, physical training and the days prescribed for combat exercises." In the final analysis those who raised this question can decide how much time they will give for instructing their soldiers--the subunits they know well, to use their words--in the prescribed subjects. Beyond the procedural guides there are hardly any strict limitations even in the manner of execution, only a possible version. The essence is this: the fulfillment of the prescribed requirements should be in the most effective and purposeful execution possible.

A very important condition, requirement of this effectiveness, purposefulness--in a word, its base--is purposeful and circumspect planning and organizing work. There has been no essential change in the order of general planning as compared to what preceded. However, the new tasks, the modern technology and the additional and better-equipped training bases require more careful planning for their solution. This is eased on one hand by the unified system of enlistment and discharge, and on the other hand by the fact that the measures of the training inspector, which are valid for a number of years, are available to the units. This basic manual, which has been prepared for everyone, reduces the need for preparing training documents from the divisions down to the subunits, and it eliminates the practice whereby in many places "books" were prepared instead of measures taken, which were then passed down and frequently repeated literally with inexact content.

The new measure makes the task--their explanation and application by commanders at every level--more clear, concrete and simple. The task agreement also excludes variations from the central requirements.

Let me add another thought here. Assistance to the economy and troop training will continue also as the task of the units. The old practice, to be sure, has disturbed the preparation of the subunits in many places in that it "lifted" the specialized workers from the squadrons and sections, and the remaining defective subunits could not be successfully welded together. A certain artillery unit defended itself against this, for example, by assigning as turret gunners only soldiers without specialization and with less than 8 years of general schooling, saying "these won't be taken away, they will surely remain at their jobs." All this is helped on one hand by the fact that the training program makes it possible from the outset--plans, that is--the modification of the 2-week or 1-month training to the extent necessary in the interest of the economy. On the other hand, a chief-of-general-staff measure allows, for the unit troop training and barracks maintenance tasks, placing in the individual subunits the trained soldier with specialized training in their second of third phase. Of course, so-called "form-maintenance" training should be conducted also in these subunits. Frankly, we expect a great deal from the fulfillment of this measure for making training a smoother process in the other subunits.

[Question] In recognition of the tasks and the expectations, we may conclude that, with the introduction of the 18-month service time and the modernization of troop training, the burden will be even greater on the officers and noncommissioned officers. To what extent do you, Comrade Major General, agree with this view?

[Answer] The concern is justified only at those places not adequately using the prescribed training time--on the basis of our experience, the use of activity time is 50 to 60 percent--in places where the time spent on practice fields and rifle ranges is not intensive enough; where the reserve officer candidates and the noncommissioned officers are not trained as rapidly as possible for the practical carrying out of assignments that can be fulfilled in the subunits; and where the troops are not brought into everyday life--and I could continue in this way. I have already given the answer to your question: I do not agree that there will be too great a burden. One thing will certainly grow: the professional work and the intellectual work that accompany the demand for higher-level, every day activity. If the comrades you mention are thinking of this additional work, indeed the requirements have been increased for higher-level, more effective and therefore more successful work. The general and professional preparedness of the officers--as I have already said--is increasingly of a higher level. I take this opportunity to wish all the troops strength, health and success for the work that means a new test.

[Question] Comrade Major General, I thank you for the interview.

6691
CSO: 2500/56

THIRD EXTRAORDINARY ZSP CONGRESS REPORTED

Report, First Conclusions

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 3 May 81 p 2

[Text] The 3rd Extraordinary Congress of the Union of Socialist Polish Yough [ZSMP] began its deliberations on 23 April, preceded the day before by a closed procedural session. Originally, the conclusion of deliberations was envisaged for Saturday, 25 April. However, the discussion became drawn out and at the moment when this issue is going to press (Monday, 27 April), deliberations are still continuing. Representatives of the highest political and state authorities practicipated in the opening of the Congress including Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanislaw Gucwa and Edward Kowalczyk. Introductory remarks to the discussion were delivered by the outgoing chairman of the Main Board--Andrzej Koltek. Stanislaw Kania spoke on behalf of the party leadership. The program discussion was heard by representatives of the leadership of youth unions as well as trade unions including the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity." Upon the request of the delegates, the discussion proceedings were observed, during all the days of deliberations, by members of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], members of the government and by representatives of individual ministries. On the third day of deliberations, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski made his appearance; while on Sunday, an "hour of sincerity" was held during which members of the leading party and government authorities including Kazimierz Barcikowski, answered questions submitted by the delegates. The Statute Commission worked hard in preparing a new ZSMP statute, which was subsequently agreed upon in detail and passed by an overwhelming majority of delegates. The Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations spent its days working with equal diligence. The Congress accepted, among other things, a new plan of action for the ZSMP; a position on economic reform, on the issue of shaping the environment and policies in regard to rural communities and food management; the rights of young people to participate in culture and international matters as well as in matters of education and upbringing. A resolution was also passed in regard to cooperation between youth unions and also on the matter of youth branches and press, which until now were subordinate to the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth [FSZMP]. The Congress held an election of the supreme authorities. The chairman of the Main Board, elected directly by the delegates, was Jerzy Jaskiernia from Krakow who until now was the chairman of the Main Peer Court and a science employee at the Jagiellonian University.

Resolution of Congress

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 81 p 2

[Text] The substance of the August protest of the working [labor] class was dissension towards the occurrence of the dismantling of moral values, falsification of reality, dominance of egoism and the separation of words and deeds.

The driving force behind "Polish August" was the resolve and determination of young people including many members of our Union. The organization structures did not keep pace with the active participation of ZSMP members, thus, causing the general demand, proceeding from the rank and file, for the calling together of an Extraordinary ZSMP Congress.

The basic task of the 3rd Congress was the complete merging of the organization into the mainstream of changes occurring in the country, laying out the principle directions of activity, reforming the work style in accordance with the need at the time and the expectations of the young generation. We have learned a lot at this Congress, although, it did not come easily. However, we had to go through this difficult lesson on democracy with many hidden dangers.

The Congress was decidedly in favor of strengthening the ZSMP as a political and militant, open, multiregional [wielosrodowiskowej] organization, bringing up youth in the spirit of socialist ideals.

We act in ideological unity with the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. In a strong party and authenticity, we seek out the important element for the successful development of socialist Poland and, therefore:

--we turn to our members, who are in the party ranks, for the effective dissemination of the idea that the future of the party and the nation lies in the upbringing of the new generation,

--in acknowledging the need for improving cooperation with the PZPR, we favor independence, mutual trust and honest criticism,

--the Congress obliges the ZSMP Main Board [ZG] to submit to the Ninth PZPR Congress, a catalogue on matters concerning youth, which need to be be solved in party and national policies,

--the Congress obliges delegates--members of the PZPR--to carry over the content of the Union's output to the forum of meetings, conferences and the party's Ninth Congress.

We favor cooperation with the entire trade movement--Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity," branch unions and autonomous unions. We seek our ally in trade unions in the fight for the interests of rural and urban youth as well as a partner for initiatives, which serve the social good and improvement of living conditions.

We feel that cooperation between all youth organizations lies in the interest of the young generation.

We turn to the members of these organizations for the creation of a joint fighting front for our common concerns.

The Congress recognizes these accepted, basic documents:

--Ideological Declaration--which describes the socialist and open character of the Union,

--Program Declaration--which favors the full utilization of rank and file program initiatives and a militant character of the ZSMP,

--The Statute together with the Regulation of the Main Audit Commission and the Main Peer Court as the guarantee of the democratization of Union life.

The most important problems of youth and the attitude towards the methods of solving them are contained in the adopted positions, decisions and resolutions:

--The position of the ZSMP on the issue of a young family's living conditions,

--position on the issue of policies towards rural communities and the food economy,

--declaration and position on the issue of basic assumptions of economic reform,

--position on the issue of the shaping and protection of the environment,

--position on the issue of education and upbringing,

--position on the issue of the right young people to share in culture,

--position on international issues,

--resolution of the 3rd ZSMP Congress on the matter of cooperation between youth unions,

--resolution of the 3rd ZSMP Congress on the issue of youth branches and press, which until now were subordinate to the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth [FSZMP].

In actively joining the renewal process of the Union, the Congress resolves:

--to conduct a report-election camapign in Union elements and echelons directly following the conclusion of the Congress,

--to perform a detailed evaluation of the leadership and work of ZSMP echelons on all levels and to conduct an analysis of the causes for the increase of errors and weaknesses in our organization,

--to introduce the principle of tenure employment for all full-time political ZSMP employees, in order that they fulfill an ancillary role towards social bodies and Union authorities,

--to obligate the ZG ZSMP to promptly and effectively regulate the principles of according positions [employment] in places of employment and in basic echelons of our union.

An important mission of the Union is to assume comprehensive activity for the benefit of creating ZSMP circles in all work, science and residential communities.

Work in post elementary school communities of all types as well as in rural areas and urban communities, requires our particular attention.

The Congress acknowledges the need for the urgent examination of the content and methods of political instruction, recognizing the full truth about the history of the youth, labor and national movement as an important condition for a more complete formation of social awareness. Regional programs resulting from the initiatives of circles and echelons, will be elaborated by regional councils while maintaining the principle of observing program directions passed by the Congress.

The 3rd Extraordinary Congress acknowledges that:

--recommendations made during the pre-Congress session, remarks and recommendations made during the plenary discussion of the Congress;

--the report of the Presidium of ZG ZSMP;

--positions and recommendations of all problem solving teams;

--all essential recommendations presented at the 3rd ZSMP Congress constitute the material of the Congress.

This material makes up the integral part of the resolution, which is the basis for the finalization and enrichment of the Union's program activities.

The Congress notes the low participation of youth--including representatives of our Union--in the practical conducting of authority and influence on solving young people's problems.

For this reason:

--we affirm the necessity of creating an institutional form of cooperation with the government;

--we oblige all echelons of ZSMP to fight for their share in authority and to conscientiously use their acquired authority in the interest of youth;

--the Congress obliges the ZG ZSMP to propose to young delegates to come out with the initiative, before the Sejm, of creating a Circle of Young Delegates;

--the Main Board will call together a Team of Delegates, who are ZSMP members, as a platform to serve the elaboration of the Union's position on issues presented for deliberations of the Sejm.

The Congress favors the active participation of young people in the shaping of cadre policy.

The 3rd Extraordinary ZSMP Congress establishes the institution of the honorary member of ZSMP and obliges the Main Board to elaborate the principles and procedures of according it.

The Congress obliges ZG ZSMP to take up all activity, which has for its goal, to turn over to youth and its socialist unions--the J. Krasicki Center in Limanowa and to initiate and conduct activity in it, worthy of the name of the hero of Polish youth.

ZSMP Program Declaration

Warsaw WALKA MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 81 p 3

[Text] We unite voluntarily in the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP], without placing ideological and regional barriers before anyone.

The ideals of socialism unite us: freedom, equality and social justice. Common interests and goals bring us together.

We are deeply aware of our joint responsibility for Poland's future and present. We want to take the matters and fate of our generation into our hands; to fight for the right to dignified work and a good life; the right to equal opportunity for advancement and development.

We want to shape our nation's life, to create a better tomorrow in our socialist Homeland and to decide about our own matters.

We speak clearly about our goals and our program:

--we do everything possible in order to live in peace today and in the future; in an atmosphere of recognition for good work, respect and tolerance in interpersonal relationships;

--we develop activity for the benefit of patriotic and defensive upbringing of youth;

--we take action against every case of human injustice, the breaking of the law and order and the accumulating of wealth at the expense of others;

--we fight all signs of waste and mismanagement, which diminish the effects of our work;

--we create a plane of socio-political instruction, the exchange of opinions and mutual support, in such a way as to find ourselves and our place in life.

We must indicate, take on and solve matters that have a fundamental meaning for the young generation, more actively and effectively.

WE FIGHT FOR:

--the elimination of unjust social disproportions;

--equal rights for all Poles;

--decreasing differences between living and working conditions in the city and in rural areas;

--the spreading of moral values and the forming of a sense of responsibility for one's own words and actions;

--the whole truth about our nation's history.

In striving for a solution to the most important social problems we shall fight for:

--the rapid implementation of complete economic reform, the staffing of positions in accordance with professional qualifications and organizational abilities;

--the equal rights development of all agricultural sectors with the guarantee of the profitability of agricultural production;

--proper land management;

--the recognition of the family peasant farm as a stable element of the socialist economy;

--the observance of the right of honest and reliable people to work;

--suitable working conditions, which are safe for life and health;

--truly equal access of youth from working-class and peasant families to all school and learning institutions; the raising of teaching standards in rural areas and in small towns;

--the shaping and satisfying of the socio-professional and cultural aspirations of working class and peasant youth and of young people living in small towns.

WE FIGHT FOR:

--the right to housing for young people;

--the right to family happiness.

WE FIGHT:

--for the creation of conditions for full participation in cultural life and the development of the amateur artistic movement;

--for the creation of conditions for the general relaxation of children and youth, particularly, from rural areas; the development of various forms of team sports and recreation;

--for the effective protection of man's natural environment;

--for the expansion of health and preventive care;

--against social plagues: drunkenness, hooliganism, corruption and the causes of such phenomena.

We consider it to be our duty to express ourselves on vital issues of the young generation, at all levels of representative and self-governing bodies. We will create conditions for the representation of our interests on their forum, specifically through:

--the presenting of candidates to representative organs on the basis of equal rights with the remaining members of the National Unity Front [FJN];

--the active participation of our representatives in the work of these organs;

--presenting to society and to the proper national organs--opinions, expertise and proposals for the resolvement of specific issues concerning youth.

In improving the work style of the Union, we will:

--strengthen the rank and significance of social forms of planning, guidance and control of Union life;

--strengthen the work of circles, which should independently seek program solutions and their own forms of activity;

--observe the principles of the ancillary role of echelons and full-time cadres in regard to circles and basal organizations;

--maintain complete openness of organizational life;

--strengthen solidarity among Union members as well as friendship and mutual trust.

We look for ideological inspiration for activity, based on the above Declaration, in the program of the PZPR. We cooperate with the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD].

We declare cooperation with the trade movement of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] "Solidarity," branch unions and autonomous unions. We seek our ally in the trade unions, in the fight for the interests of youth and a partner for initiatives, which serve the social good and improvement of living conditions.

On behalf of the foremost interests of the young generation, we confirm our readiness to cooperate with all youth organizations, on the basis of respect for our goals and plans of action.

9853
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ZHP SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 5 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Magda Rulska: "Unity Demands Tolerance"]

[Text] The current situation in the ZHP was the principal topic of debate during the 2-day plenary proceedings of the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] (3-4 Oct 1981).

In his address introducing the discussion period Andrzej Ornat stated that in many respects the ZHP is a different organization than it was one year ago. He said that these differences are manifested in the mood that prevails within the organization, in the repudiation of offensive, politically inspired propaganda campaigns, and in the focusing of attention on programs of an educational nature. Commenting on the recent initiatives made by the A. Malkowski Scoutmasters Caucus [KIHAM], the commander-in-chief made the following statement: "What we wanted to do was to learn how to work together to publicize our most outstanding accomplishments. And no one had any illusions about the fact that the road upon which we had embarked would be strewn with rose petals. But this is the road we decided to follow. But the realization of this goal was and still is predicated on putting our minds to it, making a sincere commitment in this direction, and, most importantly, displaying a spirit of mutual tolerance.... An independent policy line is not synonymous with a willful disregard for the decisions made by the congress. The unity of the ZHP," said A. Ornat, "has never been in such great danger as it is now. And we ourselves are the prime source of this danger. There is no need to go looking for it outside the organization. ...However, we cannot afford to lose our patience. It is most important that we join our many forces into one force...."

A great deal has happened to our organization since the last plenum of the Supreme Council. The ranks of the Independent Scouting Movement have grown. Solidarity declared its support for the independent movement in its congress draft resolution. On 13 September the KIHAM Consultative Council published its own text of the scouts oath. The Supreme Council and its presidium have already taken a stand in response to the first two of the above developments. The members of the Council were very much alarmed by the KIHAM decision, which runs counter to the provisions of documents currently in force (the statute, the official version of the scouts oath, and the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the ZHP).

There were two dominant themes during the debate. The first of these themes amounted to an expression of alarm over this--as it was described--act of insubordination. Marek Wardecki said that scouts must be united by something beyond the fact that they all wear the same uniform. If they really want to stick together in one Union, they must reach a consensus on a single ideal of civic education that is acceptable to everyone. In this case the index of the strength of this consensus is, among other things, and this in fact is the crucial issue, the text of the scouts oath. To tolerate the validity of several such oaths, said the next discussant, the commander of the Lodz Troop, would in effect lead to sowing the seeds of dissension among our children. The unity of the ZHP is based on the dedication of all of its members to goals that are grounded in matters of principle. And this in fact is the conclusion that was reached a mere 6 months ago by the supreme forum of the ZHP.

In many of the statements that were made suggestions were raised to the effect that, at such an important moment in the history of our organization, an effort should be made to solicit the views of rank-and-file scoutmasters. Several of the discussants asserted that consideration should be given to the possibility of convening an extraordinary congress or perhaps moving up the date for the convening of the next regularly scheduled congress. But it is absolutely certain, said the members of the Supreme Council, that we cannot regard the things which we have accomplished up to this point as being representative of the best that we could do. It is necessary to carry on with our debate, to give careful heed to the views of ZHP members, and to look upon these views as representing the raw material for the drafting of future official documents. But for the time being we are all obliged to respect the decisions made by the last congress, and nothing or no one has released us from our obligation to implement these decisions.

A radically different position was advanced by Andrzej Jaczewski. The situation in the scouting movement, he said, is a reflection of what is happening in society at large. Young people are impatient, militant, and desirious of change. We are not going to get anywhere by entrenching ourselves in positions based on a literal interpretation of the law. It may yet come to pass that the governing bodies of the scouting movement will survive, but maybe there will no longer be any scouts left on whom these bodies can exercise an influence. He concluded by noting that we should quit being so inflexible, for, if we fail to do so, it may happen that the scouting movement will go on to experience a revival in which we will play no part.

As for the wording of the scouts oath that was adopted by the scoutmasters who belong to KIHAM, it was acknowledged that this decision was motivated by the word "socialism" which appears in the text of the oath approved by the ZHP congress. It is no wonder, said A. Jaczewski, that the Malkowski-ites repudiated this word. I myself--and I do not think of myself as being some kind of nitwit--do not understand the meaning of this word....

The idea proposed by A. Jaczewski (legalizing activities not sanctioned by the ZHP statute for the sake of ZHP unity) was not endorsed by the majority. What actually happened was that a resolution was passed which reads as follows: "The situation in which the organization now finds itself requires that a concerted effort should be made by all forces within the ZHP and by those who wish it well to give everyone who so wishes an opportunity to play an active role in the scouting movement and make whatever contribution they can to shielding children from the consequences of the

current crisis.... Independent policy-making practices, the principles of self-government, and tolerance for the beliefs of others must be respected by everyone who cherishes the values of the scouting movement. The multiplicity of world views represented within the ZHP has to mean that all of its members have a duty to learn how to be tolerant. The social values of socialism are one of the sources of the scouting ideal of civic education.... There is room within the scouting movement for diverse movements that espouse different policies and different methodologies as long as they respect the ZHP statute. The decision made by the KIHAM Consultative Council is incompatible with the provisions of the ZHP statute.... This is the reason why we are appealing for a revision of this decision and for a commitment to forego any actions which might be interpreted as an attempt to break up the ZHP."

In addition, on the strength of a resolution passed by its presidium and by the appropriate subcommittee, the Supreme Council also committed itself to holding talks with the KIHAM Consultative Council for the purpose of resolving the problems presented by the present situation.

The Supreme Council plenum went on to adopt a new set of organizational rules and regulations, a six-grade system of scout and explorer scout ranks, a code of rules and regulations governing the display of scout banners, rules governing the merger of scout troops, and a code of rules and regulations on scout uniforms, badges, and insignias.

11813
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COMPETITION BETWEEN NZS AND SZSP DISCUSSED

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish 8-21 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Marek Siwiec, chairman, SZSP District Council, Krakow: "Is There No Third Choice?"]

[Text] The beginning of a new year prompts one to summarize the past 12 months and to conjecture about the future. In restrospect, the fundamental question is: Did the students and their organizations take advantage of their opportunities in the renewal? They hardly did.

In the struggle over self-government, the school employees dominated. True enough, at the time of the strikes, the fundamental school conflict between teachers and students receded. (The conflict does not concern the purpose of the study, but it does cause the course of studies to be treated different.) Nonetheless, when self-government wins in the schools, everything will return to traditional norms. On the one hand the students, and on the other the school authorities and employees, will wish to tighten discipline and increase the effectiveness of studies. The sugarcoated relationship with the academic cadre is not a long-term situation.

Students have been forced into a system with two poles--the NZS [Independent Association of Students] and the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students]; most of them do not wish to choose any organization. We may stop to consider what really divides the NZS and the SZSP. The experiences of the past year have shown that the question at issue is the relationship to authority. Public opinion views the matter simply; i.e., it sees the NZS as an antigovernment organization and the SZSP as a progovernment organization. Obviously, the public perception of these organizations changes according to the popularity of those in power. Both the NZS and the SZSP have been searching frantically for an identity. The NZS has devoted nearly all its energies to supporting the activities of Solidarity. The mystery of the NZS continues to be how to reconcile the independence of the organization with an uncritical relationship to authority over the long term. History teaches us that sooner or later something must be abandoned.

The character of the SZSP's relationships with other organizations, and particularly with the PZPR, is much more complex. The SZSP does not identify itself a priori with the program of action and [text illegible] the ideology of any

party. This fact results from the principle of the total self-government of the union, as adopted at its congress. Of course, the SZSP can enter into alliances, support the actions of some organizations and criticize other organizations. The PZPR should seem the natural ally of the union, since the statutory goal of both is the building of socialism. In practice, however, the understanding of the regulations issuing from the principles of socialism is often at variance in the PZPR and the SZSP. The union recognizes the constitutional structure of Poland and implements its program within the framework of this structure. Perhaps the SZSP, in its candid criticism of both the PZPR and Solidarity, risks standing alone. However, what are most important are one's own identity and the credibility from this identity.

What will the new academic year bring? If we survey the entire student milieu, two scenarios come into view. Which will actually take place depends primarily upon the development of the national situation.

The Moderately Pessimistic Variant

We may envision that the clinch in the social situation will still hold fast. The confrontation will shift from the base to the superstructure. Higher schools are a particularly enticing testing ground. The NZS will concentrate on the battle with the SZSP. According to the scenario of the past year, it will build its position on the total negation of all that the SZSP implements and proposes. We may also expect restitutive demands concerning SZSP property. Such action will probably elicit the same reaction from the SZSP. Unfortunately, the effect of such a situation will be the total disintegration of students and the real (and not merely the formal) antagonism of member groups. What makes such a situation even more pathological is the fact that it would set up a system of endless confrontation, devoid of any opportunity to determine even the most important common interests of students. In the event of direct consolidation between the NZS and Solidarity, the trade union might use this student association in an action that it would find awkward to perform. A resolution of the NZS Congress concerning the prohibition of cooperation with the SZSP, the past year's activities and several vacation resolutions of the NZS National Coordinating Commission all speak for the possibility of this variant. He who rejects any sort of understanding negates the existing partners and aspires to dominate the environment. It is a bad omen.

The Moderately Optimistic Variant

We may envision that instead of the model of permanent confrontation we will have the model of organizations competing with one another or simply complementing one another. This sounds like utopia and is rather unrealistic for the near future. However, it would be the optimal situation. What is necessary to bring it about? Above all, the existing organizations must recognize the existence of the others. No organization's activities should be based merely upon a program of negation. If constructive programs emanated from the real needs of students, they would have several points in common. Such programs should designate areas of indispensable cooperative action among organizations. Successful communication would make possible the representation of student interests in general to state authorities. No self-government will be able to fulfill this role, since its actions will be limited to the school grounds.

Given this situation, let us look at the prospects for the SZSP. The nature of this organization's tasks will be contingent primarily upon whether the milieu accepts the program and political proposals of the union.

Since its creation, a peculiar union-political dualism has characterized the organization. The organizational formula has been criticized by some as a base compromise of spirit and matter, while others have admired it as an opportunity to reconcile vitality and strength with their political realization. As we consider the future of the SZSP till the Fourth Congress (which will take place during the current academic year), we must analyze two tendencies currently represented in the union; i.e., the conservative and the reformist tendencies. The situation is complicated by the fact that the SZSP, in its activism, is trying to cover the center and the left of the student milieu. The reformists believe that effective political action and union action are not possible under a common banner. They propose a model of a union headquarters and a political organization (perhaps several organizations) joined under a perpetual pact of cooperation. The common origins of both unions could be acknowledged in statutory regulations; e.g., concerning the possibility of dual membership. Such a situation, the optimal one from a theoretical viewpoint, could be implemented if the "political side" of the alliance represented the ideas (the political interests) of the majority of students. The SZSP has not yet attained this status with its program.

The most reasonable solution apparently will be to continue the line of action developed at the third congress. This consists of a total union offering, open to the whole milieu, but it is also comprised of moderate involvement in political activity in accordance with the expectations and the needs of members. The creation of informal structures for discussion and political education, existing side by side with statutory structures, seems necessary. Such structures could become a forum for the activism of those students for whom politics is the primary field of activity in the SZSP. These considerations could turn into fruitless argument when the internal conditions determining the situation in schools take an unexpected course. However, we may assume that schools and students will be successful in determining that their existence will be characterized by the priority of a spirit of tolerance and dialogue.

8536
CSO: 2600/72

RESULTS OF SZSP SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM REPORTED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16 Nov 81 pp 1, 5

/Article by Jerzy Godula: "We Are for Accord"/

/Text/ Meeting with Deputy Premier M. Rakowski, Resolution on the matter of the Front of National Accord. Law on higher schools. Conflict in the Higher School of Engineering /WSI/ in Radom. Socio-living conditions of students. Verification of SZSP /Socialist Union of Polish Students/ members.

On Saturday, the 14th of this month, the Fifth Plenum of the Supreme Council /RN/ of the Socialist Union of Polish Students took place in the Warsaw club "Stodola." The deliberations were led by the chairman of the Supreme Council of SZSP--Tadeusz Sawic.

The meeting with participants of the deliberations was attended by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The Deputy Premier presented the current situation in the country. He stated, among other things, that the constant strikes are causing the destruction of the economy. This results in economic losses but their psychological effects are considerably more dangerous. Strike action, often taken for trivial reasons, does not permit the resumption of normal, regular work. Time and peace are needed in order to come out of the crisis.

M. Rakowski informed that on Monday, the 16th of this month, the draft of the law on the higher school system will be the subject of deliberations of the Council of Ministers. The social draft, prepared by the commission of Z. Resich with attached remarks from the government will be presented to the Sejm. At the same time, the Deputy Premier stated that the conflict at WSI in Radom should be resolved in the school. This results from the binding principle of self-government of higher schools.

The Supreme Council of SZSP passed a resolution on the issue of the Front of National Accord:

The Supreme Council of SZSP, in accordance with its previous declarations and positions, welcomes with satisfaction and hope, efforts on behalf of creating a Front of National Accord--a new form of socio-political life as well as giving it a permanent legally-constitutional character.

The Front of National Accord should bring together all those, who accept the foundations of the socialist system of the Polish People's Republic /PRL/ and especially the social ownership of the means of production and international alliances of the state. The SZSP believes that the calling together and further activity of a Front of National Accord is difficult but the only road to social peace, stability and progress. The Supreme Council of SZSP accepts the proposal of participating in the creation of a Front of National Accord. The Supreme Council of SZSP believes that it is necessary to begin discussions on the goals, structure and activity of a Front of National Accord in the student community. It obliges executive echelons to take up discussions on this subject with other youth and student organizations. The Supreme Council of SZSP supports all rank and file, civic initiatives which lead in this direction.

Subsequently, following the disucssion on the subject of the current situation in the academic community, the Supreme Council of the SZSP accepted a declaration on the issue of the law on higher schools. From the beginning of the academic year--we read in the declaration--an atmosphere of distrust and social tension has been mounting in the academic community. Controversy surrounding the comprehension of democracy and school self-government continues to grow in higher schools. Democracy and self-government, not sanctioned by law, are bound to give rise to conflicts while their solutions lead from a rational plane to an emotional one.

The expression of the academic community's striving for a rapid as possible normalization of the legal situation of higher schools--it is stated further on in the declaration--is the social draft of the law on higher schools passed by the Certification Commission on 11 June. From that time, the minister of Science, Higher Schools and Technology, committed himself a number of times to the immediate presentation of the draft for deliberations of the Sejm. On 18 August, at the meeting in Umiejow, Minister Jerzy Nawrocki--in withdrawing the corrections to the social draft introduced by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology /MNSzWiT/ --stated that the basis for the work of the Sejm, before the beginning of the new academic year, will be the social draft of the law /on higher schools/. Two months have already passed from this meeting. Again, work on the law is being postponed by the MNSzWiT.

We decidedly oppose--state the members of the Supreme Council of SZSP in connection with this--these kinds of practices. We are treating the announced fixed date of the 16th of this month for the session of the Council of Ministers on the issue of the law--as final. In case it is not kept, the RN SZSP obliges echelons to take up nationwide protest action from the 18th of this month.

At the same time--it was emphasized in the latter part of the declaration--the Executive Committee of the RN SZSP is being obliged to take up discussions with the Sejm Commission on Science and Technological Progress and with delegates from the academic community for the purpose of presenting the draft of the law for deliberations of the Sejm during its next session, taking advantage of the delegate initiative /as published/.

In the next part of deliberations, the chairman of the SZSP School Council /RU/ of the Higher School of Engineering in Radom--Krzysztof Pietrzykowksi presented the course of events in his school and also the position taken on the 4th of this month by the RU SZSP, regarding the evaluation and methods of settling the conflict. In connection with this, the Supreme Council of SZSP decided--in a special resoltuion--to give its full support to the activity of the RU SZSP WSI in Radom, stating concurrently that false information is being disseminated in the country about the nature of the conflict.

In order to preserve the principles of full autonomy and self-government of all Polish schools, we maintain the position--it was emphasized in the resolution--that the Radom issue must be resolved within the school itself without any kind of interference from the outside.

Several documents were accepted, which should become the basis for discussion in the academic community. These are: draft of a system of state financial assistance for students, a position on the issue of a new system of employment, a plan of action for the securing of conditions of health protection for the academic community, a stand on the issue of the student family, a stand on the issue of student nourishment and a stand on the issue of student housing books.

Two documents concern working students--nourishment and lodging as well as student discounts and services as specified by government resolutions.

The subsequent part of deliberations was devoted to the problems of student work and economic activity of SZSP. Documents were accepted pertaining to student work cooperatives, the work cooperative of higher school graduates, student housing construction and a position on management activity of SZSP.

In connection with the frequent interference of the authorities of some schools into the activity and cultural base of the organization--a particularly striking example is the matter of the RU SZSP club "Akant" at Silesian University--the Supreme Council of SZSP has accepted a position in the matter of a base for cultural activity.

In this document, it was recalled that, in accordance with the April settlements of the Commission for Contacts with Student Organizations, all controversial issues, which concern the school base used by student organizations, should be settled in direct contacts between the interested parties--without the administrative interference of school authorities.

A substantial part of the deliberations was occupied by economic conditions of higher studies. A comprehensive program report on this subject was presented by a member of the Executive Committee of the RN SZSP--Krzysztof Pietraszkiewicz.

Furthermore, a declaration was accepted in the matter of the Student Labor Bureau "Student-Service." We are demanding--state the members of RN SZSP in their declaration--prompt and effective action of the ministries concerned, so that by the end of the current year, the bureau will be set in motion.

In the final part of deliberations, a series of decisions was made--interorganizational in nature. Among these is the resolution in regard to the verification of SZSP members and in the matter of the report--election campaign in departmental organizations of SZSP.

Eighteen persons were dismissed from their duties as members of the Supreme Council of the SZSP and 22 persons were accepted into its membership. Andrezej Kaczanowski--at his own request--was relieved of the function as member of the Executive Committee of RN SZSP.

A few words of commentary: the Fifth Plenum of the Supreme Council of SZSP was the most effective plenary session of the current term of office. The Council assumed an attitude, towards all current social problems of the academic community, of specifying the methods of solving them and at the same time, it accepted many--prepared by problem solving commissions--documents, for which students have really been waiting including SZSP members. We will refer back to the accomplishments of the Fifth Plenum of RN SZSP yet many times in our columns.

9853

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SCOUT UNION LETTER TO NSZZ SOLIDARITY PUBLISHED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Sep 81 p 2

[Letter from the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union to the First Solidarity Congress]

[Text] The presidium of the Supreme Council of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] has had an opportunity to familiarize itself with the draft resolution of the First Solidarity Congress on the sponsorship of an "Independent Scouting Movement" by the NSZZ Solidarity. We were very much surprised by this draft resolution, especially so in view of the fact that--as is well-known--more than 6 months ago, while talks were under way between the National Coordinating Committee of the Solidarity NSZZ representing teachers and educators and a delegation representing ZHP Headquarters, a communique was signed in which both sides expressed a willingness to work toward raising the standards of the civic education programs run by the ZHP in the interest of the welfare and future of Polish children and young people. This draft resolution surprises us all the more in that it advocates the breakup of [our] organization without any attempt to come to terms with those who would be most affected by such an outcome, notwithstanding the fact that a couple of weeks ago the Commander-in-Chief of the ZHP sent a proposal to the chairman of your union's National Consultative Commission in which an offer was made to meet and carry on with the dialogue that had already gotten under way. We take this opportunity to renew this offer.

It seemed to us that in the wake of these negotiations we had reached agreement as to the fact that the strength of the scouting movement had always resided in the notion of unity in diversity, in the longstanding tradition and longevity of the scouting method. It is thanks to these values that the ZHP has always given a good account of itself through all of the difficult periods of our history to the benefit of the country and its people.

We read in the draft resolution of the First Congress of the NSZZ Solidarity that, "the philosophical and methological achievements of the scouting movement have of late been invalidated and frittered away." We cannot accept this. The genuine rebirth of the traditional activities of scout troops and tribes that is now taking place attests to the fact that the scouting ideal is still very much alive, and the ZHP will succeed--as it always has done--in finding within itself many of the forces that are needed to meet the demands that are part and parcel of modern life by returning to its rich, historical traditions. The only thing that is required in order to accomplish this is time. This is because when dealing with a process as sensitive as that of civic education and with an organization as unique as that

represented by the scouting movement, in which various generations, ranging from the youngest to the oldest, play an equal role, no changes are going to be made without difficulty. Such changes are normally made as part of an evolutionary process. Hasty and ill-considered actions could easily cause a great deal of harm both to the spirits of the young people in our charge and also to the spirits of those who are responsible for imparting the values of our society to these young people.

We also read in the draft resolution that, "in spite of the numerous initiatives that have been launched with a view to breathing new life into the meaningful work done by the scouting movement...there is no reason to expect that any changes are going to be made within the framework of the scouting movement that will be responsive to the expectations of the public at large." Neither can we accept this assessment, since the scoutmasters themselves have done most of the talking about the changes taking place within the ZHP. Ourside forces have had nothing to do with initiating those developments within the scouting movement that are still going on and helping to improve the work done by our organization. What we are dealing with here is a parallel voicing of expectations calling for improvements in the work done by the scouting movement both within its own organization and within the context of society at large. These expectations boil down first and foremost to issues having to do with the relevance of scouting programs, the independence of the scouting organization, secularism and tolerance for different outlooks and creeds, and a return to the 70-year old legitimate history and traditions of the scouting movement in Poland, to the kind of civic education that is geared toward the child and his needs. At the last ZHP congress all of these demands were appropriately reflected in the new ZHP statute and in the congress platform.

The congress came out in favor of encouraging a multiplicity of world views among ZHP members, and so it follows that it came out against instilling in its members any one particular world view. As the cornerstone of ZHP programs the congress endorsed the notion of "Scouts in Service of the Homeland"--to whatever extent possible based on its resources and capabilities and in keeping with the scouting ideals set forth in the Scout Statute, Charter, and Oath. Acknowledging the inspirational ideological role played by the PZPR, the ZHP congress stressed that--in addition to the ZHP's own traditions--the scouting ideal of civic education also derives sustenance from the social values espoused by socialism: equality, justice, self-sacrifice and a desire to make a better world. While realizing that we subscribe to diverse philosophical beliefs, in a spirit of mutual tolerance, we want to work toward the realization of the common social goals advocated by socialism.

A great many things have already happened in the life of our organization since the end of the Seventh Congress. But it is still too early to assess the meaning of all these changes. The new school year has just begun. It is only now that the resolutions of the Seventh Congress of the ZHP are beginning to be implemented in their entirety. We believe that it will not be before the end of this year that educators in the scouting movement will be able to come up with a responsible assessment as to whether the ZHP has lived up to public expectations.

The ZHP is the heir to a 70-year tradition and it carrys on as the torchbearer of the ideals and history of the scouting movement. This forges a bond between the ZHP and certain of the hopes and emotions that are shared by society at large. Attempts to break up the ZHP are an educational error committed by adults to the detriment of children and young people. This is because we believe that in the difficult situation

in which Poland now finds itself what our country needs are fixed points of reference. Especially when it comes to civic education along patriotic lines enormous importance must be assigned to the continuity of national symbols and moral values, and--notwithstanding the severe and often valid criticisms that are voiced from various quarters--we believe that our organization is in fact a standardbearer of these values.

Even so, our cubs and scouts have already been witness to a great many controversies within our nation. Let us try to avoid widening these controversies to include that area of activity which is dearest to our children and young people. Within the ZHP itself there can be room for diverse movements espousing different programs and methodologies that can be practiced in a spirit of respect for the ZHP statute. Scoutmasters from various walks of life, including many members of Solidarity, can and do play an equal role in the running of this organization.

The governing bodies of the ZHP that were elected at the Seventh Congress want to act as quickly as possible to restore the meaningfulness of our organization, an organization which over a span of several generations of Poles has been known as the ZHP.

We believe that in the near future we will be able to sit down around the same table with the leaders of the NSZZ Solidarity so that we can consult on cooperation between your union and a single scouting organization--the ZHP.

11813
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STUDENT PAPER INITIATES SERIES ON RELIGION

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 11 Nov 81 pp 6, 7

[Article by Milena Mihaescu]

[Text] In this issue we inaugurate a comprehensive investigation aimed at revealing the factors in the persistence of the religious phenomenon, the social and individual causes and conditionings that foster one of the most anachronistic forms of awareness -- religious awareness. The contradiction between the scientific spirit that governs our era and the fundamental traits of socialist society -- on the one hand -- and the maintenance, even isolated, of religious feelings and manifestations -- on the other hand -- needs to be resolved by the uncovering of all the fluctuations of the religious phenomenon, by direct, persuasive, scientific action on the causes, by conducting of a complex activity of dissolving the society's religious remnants in the scientific reality of the epoch, in the prevailing spiritual climate of our socialist society.

By focusing on this important goal, which is necessary from all points of view for the multilateral development of human individuality as our society has planned, we hope that the opinions which VIATA STUDENTEASCA journal will carry starting with this issue will help to clarify the avenues and courses of action in this significant component of student associations' activity which is scientific-materialistic education.

We feel that the questions below are sufficient to cover the problems of this section and will structure the entire publicity campaign of our journal.

1. What is the relationship between social relations and social awareness in the socialist society and how does this relationship reflect on the maintenance (disappearance, proliferation, assertion) of religious awareness?

2. In terms of types of religious community, what are the similarities and differences between "sect" and "denomination?" As it considers itself a form of "protest" against some traditional religious precepts, can we state that the sect actually opposes religious faith?

3. What are the major psychological and social consequences of sect practices? (with examples).

4. What are the sources of supply to the protest manifested by sects against culture and civilization -- a protest whose extreme form is predicting the end of the world?

5. What is the mechanism of influencing of social awareness, of appearance of religious awareness especially among young people? How can we explain the adherence of young people, in the context of the scientific spirit that governs our times, to sectarian practices and concepts?

6. In what manner can the intervention of the collectivity, of youth organizations toward eliminating religious persuasions of some young people become efficient?

1. People's liberation from religious prejudices cannot be achieved outside the process of revolutionary transformation of society. The elimination of private ownership of means of production, the establishment of a society free from exploitation create the objective premises for the removal of economic alienation and -- as a corollary -- for the removal of the ideological alienation of human essence in religion. These objective conditions were created and are upgrading continuously in our country in the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society. The favorable objective conditions that result from the basic features of the socialist society and the increasingly active and efficient impact of the new in people's minds generate the permanent process of their emancipation from religious alienation. That is why the molding of the new man, with a high socialist awareness, with a broad cultural horizon, the multilateral development of human individuality, the transformation of the entire way of work, life and thought of working people in conformance with the principles of socialist ethics and equity, of humanism and the revolutionary concept of the world and life -- dialectical and historical materialism -- are in the center of our party's concerns and represent the supreme goal of our society.

Romania's experience fully confirms the Marxist thesis according to which the building of the new society is the most important factor in the transformation of the people's awareness and their gradual liberation from mystical-religious concepts. In the practical work to build socialism and communism people while transforming nature and social relations, transform themselves. Many sociological studies conducted in this country in recent years point out that the revolutionary changes that have occurred in Romania's social life, the broad access of the masses to education, science and culture, the intensive political-ideological and cultural-educational activity conducted by the Romanian Communist Party have produced essential changes in the spiritual profile of working people, the decline in the intensity and proliferation of the religious phenomenon contributing to the liberation of a large part of the population from the influence of religious concepts. It is an indisputable truth that our socialist society, having established new economic and social relations, full equality of people, direct participation of working people in running society ensures the complete assertion of the human individuality, the liberation of the creative aptitudes of all citizens and in this manner, their emancipation from religious prejudices.

Under these conditions it is natural for us to ask ourselves: "Why do religious ideas still exist in the concepts of people and even young people?" As a rule one answers

this question by invoking the lagging behind in social awareness, a force that preserves religious traditions and customs, the poor scientific-cultural standard, education in the family, and so on. Without minimizing these motivations we feel that it is necessary to point out that the persistence of religious concepts must be explained not only by ideological, educational factors. Although in our society the basic social causes that generate and foster the religious phenomenon were eliminated, this does not mean that all the social causes have disappeared. The economic, social-political and cultural changes, the abolition of the social-material basis that generates social inequities do not automatically result in the disappearance of religious ideas, of the religious feeling. The building of the new society is an extremely complex process in whose context we need to overcome many difficulties, lags, to resolve many contradictions, to overcome many obstacles. The ignoring, by some people, of the possibilities for resolving the contradictions, for removing the shortcomings can foment the religious states of mind. Moreover, following some repeated failures in life, when confronted with material difficulties, relating to integration and adjustment some people, including youngsters, try to seek compensation in religion. Man's incapacity, under certain conditions, to satisfy by real means his material and spiritual needs pushes some toward sham solutions, looking for support in a religious community. Hence, for the purpose of proselytism, the sects take advantage of mishaps in people's lives, the bureaucratic, unconcerned behavior of some bodies or persons entrusted with social duties.

2. In the Romanian language the notion of religious cult is used with the meaning of religion, denomination or with the meaning of the totality of rituals of a religion. Hence if by cult we mean religion, the religious faith, it goes without saying that the sects also are religious denominations. Moreover, in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania and in other laws of this country when there is a reference to religious denominations the reference also includes the religions that have the character of sect, hence those religious communities that developed as a result of breaking away from another traditional religious grouping.

An atheistic, scientifically substantiated propaganda must take account of the characteristics of the various religious denominations and especially of their evolution in this stage.

In terms of the essential features that define religion, the sects do not differ from the other cults. Ideologically every cult represents a distorted, false and illusory concept of the world, man and society, advocating in one or another form faith in supernatural forces. The antiscientific, dogmatic, social-retrograde, antihumanistic functions are common to all cults -- hence also to the sects. Speaking of sects, we may state that by their dogmatism and practices they enhance the negative traits of religion: bigotry, fanaticism, isolation from social life, a refractory attitude to culture and civilization, intolerance in relation to other creeds or life concepts. The sects proclaim as "untrue," "corrupt," "heretical" the religion from which they derive, with each of them claiming to be the carrier of the genuine faith. The so-called "protest" against traditional religious precepts only means replacing one religious creed by another in which the religious concept takes on exacerbated, virulent forms. Moreover, we must take into consideration the fact that the traits, the characteristics of sects are not common in an absolute way, with each of them having its own specific feature and individuality. These differences are even more evident in neoprotestant cults that operate legally in our country(the Baptist,

Pentecostal, 7-day Adventist, Evangelic denominations) and the anrchical, illegal groupings that have a markedly antisocial character, are hostile to the socialist system, prohibit the participation of their believers in civic projects, in political-educational and cultural-artistic events.

3. In the psychological area there is a unilateralization, a nonutilization of the personality of the believer, a hampering of the multilateral and harmonious development of the human individuality, the assertion of man in the fullness of his physical and spiritual aptitudes. Moreover, psychosociological studies conducted in Romania and other countries have indicated that religious dogmatism prevents the development of creativity, fosters mistrust and doubt in the power of science. In the social relations the members of sects tend toward isolation and are not enough involved in social life. The persistence of mystical, retrograde concepts in the thinking of some people prevents their full assertion in the life of society, is in contradiction with the new nature of socialist relations, with the humanistic essence of our system, with the scientific spirit of our times.

Quite alien to the socialist way of life are the fanatical, antihuman practices (rejection of medical means in curing diseases, incredibly cruel mistreatment of children and adolescents for the purpose of driving out the devil, antistate leeds, and so on) promoted by illegal religious sects.

4. Each headway in the field of culture and civilization has meant a heavy blow to religion. The fundamental opposition between scientific knowledge and religious belief also involves sectarian ideology. In order to survive, various denominations have attempted to subordinate culture to religious dogmas or, at present, to conciliate science with religion along the line of so-called "modernization." The sects elected the path of ignorance, minimalization, and some reached a refractory attitude of contempt and rejection of all that means science, culture because of absolutization of the literal meaning of the Bible. Such an attitude is motivated by the fact that the Bible contains all that a believer needs to know, without the need for culture, science. Science is considered as true only to the degree that it does not contradict the Bible.

Proceeding from some biblical texts, ignoring the modern scientific achievements, the sects propagate apocalyptic concepts on the close end of the world and judgment day. Such ideas generate among the members of the sect a climate of depression, demoralization, impotence in face of the inevitable destiny. Worthy of note is the fact that such predictions about the end of the world are noticed on the eve of natural cosmic events, which moreover are scientifically predictable and explainable (comets, eclipses, and so on) or during times of crisis experienced by mankind in one or another period.

Life has confirmed the absurdity of biblical predictions, the world continues to exist, and the earth, even though it has slowed down its motion around the sun by one fraction of a second, nevertheless is turning.

5. The mechanism of the religion's influencing the individual's mind is extremely complex. Petre Datculescu, in an interesting psychosocial survey conducted among young people, points out that religiosity is an instrumental-functional attitude generated in the process of interaction between subjective internal conditions and

objective external conditions, consisting of affective and behavioral cognitive relations unified by belief in the existence of the supernatural and orientated toward illusory compensation, by means of a religious system of reference, of some real or assumed inadequacies and disharmonies on the subjective plane and in the social life of the individual.

It follows from this that the formation of religious awareness is not only the outcome of ignorance and lack of knowledge. Consequently, to the religious concept we must oppose not only science but also all our outlook on the world and society. The activity of materialistic-scientific education must be conceived multilaterally, the transmission of scientific knowledge must be followed by materialistic philosophical conclusions. Only in this way atheistic propaganda will transmit not only knowledge, but will also form beliefs, attitudes, ideals. The advances of modern science, the spectacular leaps in human knowledge cannot be fully understood if one leaves out the Marxist philosophical outlook, the laws of materialistic dialectics; specialized knowledge is not sufficient in itself and does not spontaneously lead to a scientific outlook of the world. It must be sown on the fertile field of the dialectical and historical materialist outlook of the world and society.

The adherence of some young people to religious activity is also explained by the refined means used by sects. The propagation of relations characterized by solidarity and mutual assistance, material aid among the members of a denomination, cultural and artistic events (songs, choirs, musical bands, trips, classes for learning how to play musical instruments) are aimed at drawing young people into sects, especially when in the microcollective to which these people belong the material and spiritual needs of the young people are neglected.

6. The major objectives of the activity of atheistic education must focus on reinforcing the scientific, dialectical materialistic concept of the world and life, the upgrading of the overall level of knowledge, the systematic cultivation of philosophical, social and human values central to our society, combating of retrograde, mystical-religious manifestations.

For the elimination of religious concepts and prejudices it is necessary to conduct a constant, systematic work, by using the method of scientific persuasion and argumentation. Practice has proved that one cannot fight against religious ideology with general phrases. Young people must be persuaded with philosophical, scientific and practical arguments. This, on the one hand. On the other hand, more attention must be paid to human relations in the work and study collectives, to the creation of a communist climate of work and creation, of genuine human solidarity. The principles of socialist ethics and equity must be everyday occurrences. Receptivity in terms of the needs of young people must be a concern of all managerial and decision-making factors. The student collectives, the Union of Communist Youth organizations have all the conditions for creating this climate in which young people would feel the comradely support of their colleagues for weal or woe. Socialist humanism involves the achievement of personal happiness in the context of the happiness of all the people. The spirit of humanism, a trait characteristic of the ethics of our people, is imperative as a prevailing feature of the relations among young people.

11710
CSO: 2700/86

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES U.S. BUSINESSMEN--Bucharest, 14 Dec (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on December 14 Milton Rosenthal, president of the administration board of the "Enghelhard Minerals and Chemicals", chairman for the U.S. of the Romanian-American Economic Council, and Charles Frank, vice president of the administration board of the "Salomon Brothers" of the U.S., now paying a visit to Romania. Possibilities for developing the Romanian-American economic exchanges and cooperation were discussed. Some aspects of the world economic situation as well as of the international political life were also approached. It was assessed that the current interest rates in the international financial market were an obstacle in expanding economic exchanges and cooperation, and that measures were required for interest rates to be lowered to a rational level. Likewise, the necessity was stressed that action should be taken for halting the arms race, for the establishment of a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations. The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [AU142025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 14 Dec 81]

CSO: 2020/14

NEW SLOVENIAN CULTURAL REVIEW EXPECTED SOON

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 81 p 9

/Article by Vlado Zagorac: "The Journal, at Last"/

/Text/ A recent decision by the publishing council of the Cankarjeva Publishing House in Ljubljana to approve an act establishing a new journal, the origination of which was proposed a year and a half ago by a group of sixty Slovenian cultural workers, has in effect provided the essential basis for the public appearance of the new journal.

The uncertainty and impatience of the originators, which has lasted for several months and has frequently developed into nervousness, has thus been brought to an end. In the near future, the public can expect to see in kiosks and on the shelves of bookdealers the title page of the new journal, the name of which is not yet known, although it is known that it will have the format and size of the existing journal SODOBNIK.

In addition to this, the precisely defined concept behind this literary and critical innovation is also well known. Its authors will deal with cultural, cultural-artistic, literary and critical issues, but under no conditions with philosophical or sociological issues, as they themselves desired, and, on several occasions following the agreement that was reached, tried to secure permission to do.

A year and a half of waiting for the birth of a new literary and critical journal is really not a short period. If one, however, takes into account the fact that this started with a letter, that was vague and full of contradictions, from the sixty signatories to Mitja Ribicic, who in their opinion could approve the initiation of such a publication himself--then this period takes on another dimension. This was the sometimes stubborn insistence on their own position, on the basis of which it was demanded that the journal be for philosophical and sociological (social) issues, with a "bicameral" form of self-management of the journal, in which one house would be composed of the interested parties, and the other would be formed under the publishing council.

Time "wasted" in this way on creating a public tribunal, which cannot reflect the interests of the originators alone but rather the interests of the broader social community, as well as those for whom the journal is intended, cannot, however, be considered lost time.

Unfortunately, Dimitrij Rupel could not hold out, and on his own initiative, in the middle of October, sent an open letter to Tone Pavcek: it was published several days ago. He is in effect trying to deal with all of the nonsympathizers, obstructionists, and authorities who are "deliberately delaying or even questioning again the possibility of initiating the new journal." Tone Pavcek has thus found himself playing a triple role: as the editor of the Cankareva Publishing House, as the president of the Society of Slovenian Writers (sixty members of which were among the originators), and as a writer who is a colleague of the originators (for all of this he has to bear the brunt of the public accusations enumerated by Dimitrij Rupel).

One is left with the impression that Dimitrij Rupel has turned his previous dissatisfaction with the fact that the journal has not yet appeared against everything and everyone.

9909
CSO: 2800/98

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN SERBIAN, MACEDONIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES OUTLINED

Scopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Oct 81 SABOTA Supplement p 5

[Article by Pande Kolemishevski: "Wall of Separation"]

> [Text] What are the stipulations for recognizing the autocephalic nature of the Macedonian Orthodox Church by the Serbian Orthodox Church? Is this unresolved question of a strictly clerical nature or does it have broader political aspects?

It is safe to assume that those who have followed more closely the development of relations between church and state and between churches themselves in Yugoslavia, particularly the area of relations between the Macedonian and Serbian Orthodox Churches, have not ignored two aspects of this question. Specifically, this applies to the announcement by the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia which, among others, discusses relations between the two churches, and, secondly, the interview granted by Angelarij, archbishop of Okhrid and Macedonia, head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, to the Tanjug news agency, which describes and analyzes the essence of the "misunderstandings" briefly and quite openly.

Let us repeat that the communication stresses that the "quicker settlement of relations between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the recognition of the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church would be of great importance in the further successful development of relations and cooperation between church and state."

In an effort to learn more details on the view of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, we had two discussions of several hours each on this matter in Belgrade with Zhivomir Stankovik, chairman of the Republic Commission on Relations with Religious Communities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, who gave our newspaper an official statement. The statement, which also answers most of the questions, is printed here in its entirety.

Position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia

The clear conclusion formulated by the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the question of the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church on the part of the Serbian Orthodox Church accurately expressed the view of the state organs and the public of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the matter. The autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is an unquestionable fact. This is confirmed

also by our good relations and cooperation with the Macedonian Orthodox Church. Let me cite as an illustration of these relations my presence at the installation of the new head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church Angelarij, archbishop of Okhrid and Macedonia, at which I presented the congratulations of the Commission on Relations with Religious Communities of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, with wishes for very successful work. My speech contained our familiar views regarding the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church.

The unresolved problems between the two churches have caused widespread displeasure not only in the Macedonian Orthodox Church but also beyond it. Let us point out that this matter is of political significance as well and that its faster resolution is in the interest of the entire Yugoslav community, the strengthening of fraternity and unity among our peoples and nationalities and our community.

The pertinent authorities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have insisted that the problem be resolved in the past as well. In presenting our viewpoint, we have always stressed that the positive solution of the problem of the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is in the interest of the entire country. As a result of our united insistence, talks were held between members of the church commissions of the Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox Churches in Prokhor Pchinski and Kalishta in 1978 and 1979 at which these problems were discussed. However, these meetings did not fulfill the hope that the process of normalizing relations between the two churches would be speeded up.

Bearing in mind that the problem of the autocephalic nature of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is important to our entire public, we have always insisted that this matter must be resolved on a national level. A meeting of chairmen of republic and area commissions and of the Commission on Relations with Religious Communities of the Union Excecutive Council was held in Topola at the beginning of last year, at which suggestions and conclusions were adopted, which stipulated that in addition to the authorities of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the authorities of the other republics and areas and of the federation should become involved in the resolution of this problem.

It is a fact that the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian Orthodox Church can resolve this problem between themselves. However, we must point out that this matter will have not only domestic-political but international consequences, presenting an opportunity for a variety of political intrigues and speculations. For this reason as well, the quick settlement of relations and the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is of particular importance. All of this indicates that this matter must be resolved strictly on domestic grounds and that no other side factors should become involved.

In the future as well the authorities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia will continue to work on the successful solution of this problem on the basis of the common public interest on the basis of proper findings and public positions.

However, responsibility for settling these relations and ensuring the final solution of the matter falls on the Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox Churches. It is the responsibility of the Serbian Orthodox Church to take the public interest into consideration and to recognize the Macedonian Orthodox Church on the basis of its position and role in this matter.

In my view, this would be facilitated by the fact that in the discussions of this matter, the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church have shown their respect for our statutory decisions regarding the national question and have not questioned the national individuality of the Macedonian people and their equal status among the other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia, concluded Zhivomir Stankovik.

We feel free to quote a few statements made by our interlocutor without his preliminary agreement, made at the meeting of the presidency, a statement which was not classified "for internal use only," "confidential" or "strictly confidential." "Bearing in mind the political significance of the matter," he states, "we shall continue to do everything possible for the resolution of the problem by pointing out in our direct contacts with the Serbian Orthodox Church the broad political significance of the recognition of the autocephalic status of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the negative consequences which appear and may worsen as a result of the attitude of the Serbian toward the Macedonian Orthodox Church."

Although not in the context of this problem, let us cite another excerpt from Stankovik's statement: "In Serbia," he said, "acting on the basis of great-Serbian nationalism among the Serbian Orthodox Church would be most damaging and most dangerous to us. This is especially noted among a rather compact group of conservative theologians whose destructive activities are influencing the leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church in following a course of worsening relations with the public."

Position of the Churches

The Serbian Orthodox Church considers the recognition of the Macedonian Orthodox Church exclusively from its own viewpoint and interests. Its representatives emphasize that the question of granting autocephalic status to the Macedonian Orthodox Church will be considered at the next ecumenical council.

Whereas those unfamiliar with church relations may view this as the possibility of recognizing the church, according to the Macedonian Orthodox Church this has not occurred in the case of most orthodox churches and of the Serbian Orthodox Church itself, for the ecumenical council did not grant its autocephalic status which it acquired from the patriarch in Constantinople, under whose jurisdiction it was. Macedonian Orthodox Church circles interpret the insistence that the question be resolved at the ecumenical council as a categorical refusal to grant autonomy. The explanation is quite simple: an ecumenical council is held once every 1,000 years if at all.

It is a known fact that Patriarch German, head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, has repeatedly answered accusations that the Serbian Orthodox Church is not recognizing the Macedonian Orthodox Church for nationalistic reasons by stating that the Serbian Orthodox Church recognizes the existence of a Macedonian nation and respects the statutory decisions on the national question. The Macedonian church and others consider this statement as a mere formal declaration, for the very nonrecognition of the church clearly conflicts with such statements and with the basic views of the Serbian Orthodox Church according to which orthodox churches are national churches.

Angelarij, Archbishop of Okhrid and Macedonia, pointed out in the Tanjug interview that the essence of the "misunderstanding" is found in the national character of the

church. "As an individual nation," he said, "the Macedonian people have all the canonical and historical rights of an autocephalic church. The Serbian Orthodox Church is the autocephalic church of the Serbian people, and as such, there are no canons, church rules and state norms or stipulations in the Yugoslav constitution according to which it is also the church of the Macedonian people who are not a national minority within Yugoslavia but a nation with its national state."

Position of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia

In discussing this topic, Dr Gorgi Tsatsa, chairman of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia Republic Commission on Relations with Religious Communities, stated that the respective agencies in our republic are categorical in their position to the effect that the question of the autocephalic nature of the Macedonian Orthodox Church can be resolved within Yugoslavia, thus asserting in this matter as well the unity among Yugoslav nations and nationalities and cut short hostile speculations in Yugoslavia and abroad on unsettled problems between the two churches. The Macedonian authorities are also confident that this question will be resolved, as was the case with the national problem in Yugoslavia, in its entirety, on the basis of national autonomy and fraternity and unity among nations. Hence the summoning of an ecumenical council is totally unacceptable to us, Gorgi Tsatsa stated.

Reasons for the Dispute

The clash between the Serbian and the Macedonian Orthodox Churches has deeper roots and a longer history. A very long explanation would be required if we were to cover all aspects of this extremely complex matter. Let us only point out briefly that the foundations of the Macedonian Orthodox Church were laid as early as the 10th century. In May 1767, by decree of the Turkish Sultan Mustafa III, the Okhrid archbishopric, which had been active for 800 years, was illegally abolished. Since then, the Macedonian church has been under several jurisdictions. The root of the argument between the two churches dates from 1919-1920, when the Macedonian church fell under Serbian jurisdiction. Macedonia raised the question of an autonomous church as early as World War II, in 1943, and particularly immediately after the liberation, in 1945.

The decision to restore the old Okhrid archbishopric, to be known as the Macedonian Orthodox Church, was passed at the Second Macedonian Church-People's Council which was held from 4-6 October 1958. The decision and, therefore, the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church was accepted at the May-June 1959 session of the Serbian Orthodox Church Council. The council documents stipulate that Macedonia has its own orthodox church. A resolution exists stipulating that the bylaws of the Serbian Orthodox Church will no longer apply to the parishes and prelates (territories and clergy) in the Macedonian People's Republic. The Macedonian Orthodox Church retained the status of sister church of the Serbian Orthodox Church by acknowledging Patriarch German as its official head but without granting him any greater power. Patriarch German confirmed the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church repeatedly by celebrating mass in Skopje in 1959 and in Okhrid in 1962.

The real "war" began before 1967 but developed particularly after that, when in July of that year the Macedonian Orthodox Church passed a resolution on the renovation of the autocephalic nature of the Okhrid archbishopric and when the now-deceased Dositej was crowned head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and archbishop

of Okhrid and Macedonia. It was as of that point that the Serbian Orthodox Church undertook to do everything possible to negate that which it had already actually recognized. It was since that time that most frequently relations between the two churches have been rated as "typically cold and extremely tense."

A Historical Fact

The Macedonian Orthodox Church and Macedonian state and political organs have made repeated attempts to resolve this question but have been repeatedly rebuffed by the Serbian Orthodox Church although no canonical or other church obstacles to the recognition of the autocephalic status exist. If the existence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church is a historical fact and if it has been recognized by all other churches, religious communities in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Orthodox clergy, with whom it has cooperated well and it maintains good relations, the Serbian Orthodox Church seems to be ignoring the changes which have taken place in the past and disregarding the will of the Serbian people who today live in a state of unbreakable fraternal union with the Macedonian people and with the other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

Hence the question: Is it that the Serbian Orthodox Church does not have the Christian and the moral obligation to contribute to the further political stabilization of Yugoslavia through the recognition of the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which would put an end to all political speculations at home and abroad concerning international relations within the country? This is expected both by the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian and Serbian peoples. They expect of the Serbian Orthodox Church to honor all the other recognitions, particularly in the light of the statement made by its own representatives on having good relations with the state. Unquestionably, it takes two to have good relations.

Obviously, that is how the Serbian Orthodox Church will prove its Christian love for and the desire for a peaceful life among the people, to which it is bound by the church canons, thus practically confirming the familiar old thesis that the church is a "community for love, forgiveness and justice."

5003
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30 December 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1955

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30 December 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE' Reviews Book on International Relations
(SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, May 81) 1

POLAND

Envoy in Bangkok Denies Walesa Arrest
(AFP, 16 Dec 81) 2

YUGOSLAVIA

Criticism of Commemoration of U.S.-Serbian Treaty Rebutted
(Radivoj Cveticanin; POLITIKA, 14 Nov 81) 3

Kosovo Ex-Leaders Alleged To Have Covered Up Scandals
(Viktor Cikes; DUGA, 26 Sep 81) 6

Pristina Opstina League of Communists Forms Nine Centers, Decides on Elections
(M. Antic; BORBA, 25 Nov 81) 10

LCY Leadership Electoral Procedures Under Discussion
(Stevan Niksic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 15 Nov 81) .. 12

Sarajevo Daily Polemicizes Harshly With Belgrade Weekly
(Petar Jovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 1, 15 Nov 81).. 18

Original Attack From 'OSLOBODJENJE'
Response From Targeted Periodical
Rebuttal From 'OSLOBODJENJE'

Croatian Official Cites Resurgence of Bureaucratism
(Vjekoslav Koprivnjak Interview; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 25 Oct 81) 28

'SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE' REVIEWS BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 5, May 81 p 166

[Review by A.Z. of book "Teoria Polityki i Stosunkow Miedzynarodowych" [The Theory of Politics and International Relations] published by the Central Methodological Institute for Political Science Studies, Warsaw, 1979, 297 pages]

[Text] This work comprises 11 studies on the theory of politics and international relations. One article, by W. Szczepanski, attempts to present the general methodological relations and assumptions which exist between the theory of politics and the theory of international relations. Szczepanski proposes the thesis that in Marxist studies on politics two approaches can be distinguished: the procedural examination of political experience; and the behavioral or subjective-behavioral formulation. In another study by Szczepanski, one can find a reconstruction of the basic political goals of de Gaulle concerning the French vision of European development. W. Kostecki presents the main research directions in the Polish study of international relations in the 1970's. He shows the development of the study of international relations as a social process which permits a gradual passage from ignorance, everyday knowledge and a superficial view of political phenomena occurring in the international experience to genuine knowledge based on coherent canons of scientific cognition. E. Palyga defines three concepts which are used--most often interchangeably--in the study of international relations: foreign policy, international policy and external policy.

CSO: 2600/128

ENVOY IN BANGKOK DENIES WALESA ARREST

BK160915 Hong Kong AFP in English 0856 GMT 16 Dec 81

[Text] Bangkok, 16 Dec (AFP)--Polish Ambassador to Thailand Jan Majewski today categorically denied reports that Lech Walesa, leader of the Polish Independent Trade Union Movement Solidarity, was under house arrest. Mr Walesa is in Warsaw "having talks with authorities," the ambassador told a news briefing here.

The situation in Poland, he maintained, is "under control." "Order is being slowly restored" and the Military Council that came into power after a "state of war" was declared would cease to function when normalcy is regained. The state of emergency, called Sunday, was not directed against Solidarity, he said. The move was intended to quash "groups," inside Solidarity and elsewhere, that had caused "disorder," he added.

The suspension of trade union activities was "only a temporary measure," he said. "Democracy and freedom cannot be introduced through disorder and lawlessness," he added.

The ambassador at the same time stressed "we want to solve the problem by ourselves." He said the Soviet Union had sent food aid and ducked questions on any other Soviet role.

The ambassador maintained that no one had been put under arrest. An unknown number had been "interned" and strict orders had been issued to "avoid any use of violence," he added.

Meanwhile, the ambassador announced that Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski had postponed a scheduled visit to Thailand as well as a trip to Vientiane. In an interview with AFP earlier today, the envoy had (?been) unclear about the deputy minister's plans for Vientiane where he was to attend a 2-day gathering, due to begin today, of deputy foreign ministers of Indochinese states and their Soviet-backed allies. Mr Olechowski was to fly in here Friday, after the Vientiane meeting, to return a visit to Warsaw late last year by Thailand's Deputy Foreign Minister Arun Phanphong.

In a related development, Thai trade unions have announced plans to stage a demonstration outside the Polish Embassy here tomorrow.

CSO: 2020/12

CRITICISM OF COMMEMORATION OF U.S.-SERBIAN TREATY REBUTTED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 81 p 10

[Article by Radivoj Cveticanin: "Far From the Piedmont"]

[Text] Our public is not accustomed to the type of article on Yugoslavia's foreign policy which speaks about it in critical terms. To put it simply, they are rare, if they exist at all. That is why every such piece of writing, even though it may be concerned with the secondary details of that policy, arouses particular attention when it appears. With respect to certain of its elements the comment by Jako Stular entitled "The Other Side of the Coin of a Centennial," published in the Ljubljana newspaper DELO the Saturday before last, falls in that category. It will certainly be interesting to examine it.

Stular was motivated to write the comment "The Other Side of the Coin ...," it seems to us, by the following TANJUG news item on 26 October: "A meeting of American and Yugoslav historians opened today in Belgrade in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between the SFRY and the United States." Stular extracted from the TANJUG item, which obviously was somewhat longer, only another few lines to the effect that "Charles Jelavich's paper on American views of Serbia in the 1870's and 1880's was particularly interesting...."

What the commentator in DELO wanted to emphasize was that he had listened to what the "Voice of America" had had to say about the same event--that is, the 100th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between what at that time was Serbia and the United States. In developing the entire matter he has as a rule given preference to the "Voice of America" over the meeting of historians--preference, that is, in having understood the event correctly.

Nowhere does Stular mention that he had undertaken anything at all detailed in connection with the meeting of historians: neither that he had attended the meeting, nor that he had informed himself about the papers delivered at it. But this did not stand in his way from blowing up the importance of the centennial to unnatural proportions and from deriving certain far-reaching conclusions concerning the meeting. For example: that relations had existed between the United States and the people of Yugoslavia before the Serbia-American agreement--which supposedly had been well noted by the "Voice of America," but had not been seen by the historians at the round table in Belgrade. What is more,

35 years after World War II, as he puts it, they were trying to sing the melody of the "Staatstragender Nation," that is, of a nationality seeking statehood, on "Piedmontese strings." At the end of his article Stular referred to the historians as "historians" and emphasized once again that this was an attempt at "parading ... Piedmontism on the worn-out velvet of the Obrenovic monarchy."

There are other lessons in political history in and among the key conclusions: that the Serbia of that time, which signed the treaty with America, was Obrenovic Serbia and that its "sole program" was Garasanin's "Nacertanije" [Conception], with its project of creating Great Serbia, and that Garasanin's conception was destroyed at Jajce in 1943 (!), and further, that in the last century, when the treaty was signed between Serbia and America, most of what is today Yugoslavia was under another monarchy, which also had regularized relations with the United States (from which it perhaps should follow that we could also celebrate establishment of relations between Austro-Hungary and the United States), and more along that line.

The round table was held in Belgrade 26 and 27 October and was sponsored by the Institute for Contemporary History. Its organizers were interested in emphasizing that this round table was to some extent a continuation of the cooperation between American and Yugoslav historians which commenced in a similar form a few years ago at Plitvice when scholars from the two countries discussed American-Yugoslav relations in the National Liberation Struggle. D. Zivojinovic spoke about the independence of Serbia in the policy of the United States in the 1878-1881 period, Charles Jelavich spoke on the topic already mentioned, M. Bulajic spoke on establishment of diplomatic relations between the Kingdom of Serbia and the United States, Barbara Jelavich on the implications of Balkan movements for national liberation, I. Cizmic on Yugoslav emigres in the United States at the end of the last century, and John Lampe about Belgrade and Washington in the light of modernization of cities. The discussion offered two interesting contributions on volunteers in Serbia's war with Turkey in 1878 and on economic relations between Serbia and the United States before World War I.

It is evident even from this that this round table was not very wide ranging, which is perhaps in line with the organizers' ambition that the historians confine themselves to treatment of the event which occurred in 1881. D. Zivojinovic made the assertion that "establishment of Serbian-American relations represents an episode in Serbia's struggle for political independence." Nothing more than that; it probably would not have been possible to say less.

There was, then, no singing on Piedmontese strings concerning a nationality seeking statehood.

It seems, however, that Stular was not so much bothered by the historians, not even as "historians" (the devil take them!), but by certain others and something else. Stated in the terms of the adage: Stular was scolding his daughter-in-law, but his words were meant for his daughter.

The idea emerged more or less clearly that the treaty between Serbia and the United States is looked upon as a "Serbian" matter and not a "Yugoslav" matter by any means. Following that line, it is then clear why the illusion of former

times about "Serbia as a Piedmont" and about the Serbian nation as a people seeking statehood, which existed at one time and has today been forgotten, was revived. Stular himself was to say this (and we will join him in that): this group of ideas about Serbia as a pillar of Yugoslavia has long and definitively belonged to the arsenal of the absolute past. Nor does the issue lie in agreement on that point; the issue is whether retrograde ideas have emerged concerning celebration of the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Serbia and the United States, and that here and now.

Dr Milan Bulajic is a man who holds a competent position in the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. He says: "Intergovernmental relations ... on the basis of continuity of international obligations, were carried over from the Kingdom of Serbia to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

Nor is it difficult to discover from reliable sources that the entire task of celebrating the 100th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the United States traveled from the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the Federal Executive Council and the SAWPY to the Federal Bureau for International Cultural Cooperation, that is, through governmental and political organs and institutions at the federal level. It is obvious that this matter was not illegal in the least.

Far be it for us to wish to put a gag on Stular; we fear only that the facts we have presented themselves do that ineluctably. We understand that it is easier to strike a blow at a meeting of historians than any of the institutions mentioned. Easier it is, but not more gracious.

7045
CSO: 2800/125

KOSOVO EX-LEADERS ALLEGED TO HAVE COVERED UP SCANDALS

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 198, 26 Sep 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Viktor Cikes: "Punishment for Dedication"]

[Text] Some members of the provincial leadership in Kosovo have covered up many incidents for years. One of them was malversation, which was discovered by market inspectors in the housing enterprise in Pristina and because of their work they have experienced many difficulties.

What happened in 1975 and 1976 when Dzevat Berisa, Velibor Adamovic and Dimitrije Ljiljak, having examined the records of a Pristina housing enterprise, found that it had acquired a profit of 14,614,722.57 dinars in an unlawful manner? Here, briefly, are the stories, which can be confirmed by numerous documents.

In Pristina, as well as everywhere in Yugoslavia, within the scope of normal supervision and on the basis of instructions from the Federal and Provincial Inspectorate, at that time prices were being controlled in several work organizations. The market inspectors of the Pristina Federal Committee then examined the records of the housing enterprise mentioned above.

Here is what Velibor Adamovic says about the work he was doing at that time:

"Disregarding the threats that we would be released from our duties, the arrogant behavior of representatives of the enterprise, and the continual resistance encountered in the obtaining of records, we concluded our work after 4 months and established beyond a doubt that the collective had realized a difference in value of 14,614,722.57 dinars by unlawful actions during the period of 1972 to 1975."

Along with an extensive explanation of all of the findings, the decision was made to take away the unlawful profits, and the inspectors believed that with this action their part of the job was finished. The various means of public communication reported the results of their work, along with the blessings of the president of the Executive Council of the Pristina Federal Committee.

"Witch-hunting"

Immediately after the appearance of the information concerning the findings of of the inspectors, the Executive Council of the Pristina Federal Committee held

a meeting in which they protested against giving this information to the public. On this occasion the deputy of the secretary of the Municipal Committee appraised the work of the inspectors as being destructive and contrary to the judgments of the Municipal Committee. Desiring to protect the inspectors from this unexpected attack, the Federal Market Inspectorate interceded in writing on their behalf to the president of the Executive Council of the province, the president of the Pristina Federal Committee, and the president of the Executive Council of the Pristina Federal Committee, evaluating the work of the inspectors in the housing enterprise as very professional, based on the law and in the spirit of the 10th meeting of the Central Committee of the LCY.

"However," continues Velibor Adamovic, "it did not stop some people from the Municipal Committee and the Pristina Federal Committee from forming a commission with the task of refuting our findings in the housing enterprise from a professional point of view. This commission worked in secret, and we knew nothing of its existence or its activities. This commission, as we were to find out later, was discontinued because of the conviction of its members that it was not competent to evaluate our expertise."

In the meantime, the housing enterprise submitted a complaint for a decision concerning the return of the unlawfully acquired profits. The Provincial Secretariat for Economic Matters, as a secondary organ, exempted the collective from all findings of the market inspector's report, except for the part in which the enterprise was obliged to return 119,509.60 dinars for charging and obtaining a higher rental fee for office space. On this occasion the decision concerning the obligatory return of the rental fee for the office space to the level prescribed in November 1971 was confirmed. The director of the housing enterprise at that time was Maksim Krdzic, and his deputy was Zuhra Bakali, wife of Mahmut Bakali.

Dissatisfied with this decision, the Secretariat for Inspection Affairs of the Pristina Federal Committee appealed in writing to the president of the Executive Council, the president of the Presidency and the president of the Parliament of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In the letter to these forums, he called attention to the decision of the Provincial Secretariat for Economic Matters and sought a response to the question of who the person was who had processed the secondary decision. However, there was no response. Instead, the Municipal Committee formed a commission which had the assignment of determining the political position and the motives for the inspection of the housing enterprise of the market inspectors Dzevat Berisa, Velibor Adamovic, and Dimitrije Ljiljak, as well as of the secretary of the Secretariat for Inspection Affairs of the Pristina Federal Committee Mentor Jakupi.

The commission was composed of the deputy of the president of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists, Jusuf Zejnulahu, the president of the Executive Council of the Pristina Federal Committee, Bora Vasic, the president of the Supreme Court of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Riza Fazlija, and the editor of Radio-Pristina, Saban Hiseni. The last person mentioned was later in several responsible positions, and after the disagreeable events of March of that year in Kosovo, the name of Saban Hiseni was linked with

the removal of the slogan "Our Tito, yesterday, today, and tomorrow." Of course, Hiseni's political orientation is clear today, but when he, as a member of the commission, evaluated the moral character of the inspectors, it was known that by verdict of the Military Court in Skopje he had been sentenced to 3 months imprisonment for evading his military obligation. Remembering the hearing before this commission, Velibor Adamovic says:

"I can't present the manner in which the hearing was conducted in detail, but I can tell you that what was presented was quite false and was directed at fabricating completely different motives for our work in the housing project."

The commission concluded that the inspectors had worked outside of their authority, creating chaos and discord, discrediting the work of the League of Communists and individual officials. This information was received by the Municipal Committee, and on 30 March 1976 the inspectors were expelled from the League of Communists, and information about all of this was provided to the public news media.

Without the Proper Responses

While the commission was establishing the political orientation of the inspectors, the Supreme Court of Kosovo got to the complaint filed by the Secretariat for Inspection Affairs concerning the secondary decision. In a closed session on 7 May 1976, the Court rejected the complaint and instructed that the matter be decided in the District Economic Court. The president of the Supreme Court of the Province was also on the commission which discredited the work of the inspectors!

After they were expelled from the League of Communists and were relieved of their duties, Dzevat Berisa, Velibor Adamovic, Dimitrije Ljiljak, and Mentor Jakupi appealed to Comrade Dolanc, presenting all the details of the case.

"It was indeed quite a trying matter," continues Velibor Adamovic. "In Pristina I lived in an apartment whose owner was the shock-absorber factory, where I had worked at one time. As luck would have it, after the events at the housing enterprise Maksim Krdiz was transferred to a new position, right in the shock-absorber factory. While I was staying in Belgrade, he broke into my apartment with several uniformed persons and threw out all my belongings. I tried to find out by whose order this had been done. In the Ministry for Internal Affairs I was told that the police did not take part in forced evictions. Then I found out that verbal permission for this action had been given by the judge of the Municipal Court in Pristina Spasoje Komatina. Allegedly he had heard that I had moved out and that some other person had moved into the apartment by force, so he had approved a request to remove the belongings of the illegal tenant. In this type of situation, where our existence was threatened from all sides, we had to appeal to Comrade Dolanc. When they found out about this letter, comrades from the Presidency of the Political Committee of the League of Communists called us in for a talk. On this occasion there was no reprimand directed at our work, except for one to our former secretary which referred to the manner of informing the public about the work of market inspectors. We had some talks with the Commission for Statutory Questions of the Municipal Committee of the League of

Communists of Pristina, and at that time we were told that there was no proof which would endanger our political standing. At the end, the president of this commission told us that he would annul the decision concerning our expulsion from the party. Unfortunately, nothing came of this.

Having realized that it was futile to seek confirmation of the truth on the provincial level, the inspectors turned to the president of the Republic on 18 January 1977. The Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia-Commission for Petitions and Complaints, at a meeting on 28 October 1977, took the position that the entire dossier of the case be sent to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, with the request that it examine the case, and that the inspectors be informed about the position adopted. The case has not been considered to this time from the point of view of the authorized commission. The inspectors, however, have been freed from guilt, and the new Statutory Commission of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists in Pristina has returned them to membership in the League of Communists.

Unfortunately, there is not an appropriate end to this entire story, because it still remains unclear as to whether or not the inspectors were mistaken in their examination of the books of the housing enterprise. If they were not, what happened to those 14,614,722.57 dinars?

9548
CSO: 2800/103

PRISTINA OPSTINA LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS FORMS NINE CENTERS, DECIDES ON ELECTIONS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by M. Antic]

[Text] Elections are not merely a statutory obligation.

A resolution has been approved on the formation of nine regional centers for organization for the LCY opstina organization. The opstina elective conference will have 263 delegates, who will elect an opstina committee of 55 members that will constitute the highest LCY agency in the opstina.

Pristina, 24 November. Delegates of the Pristina LCY opstina conference today approved a resolution for ordering an election, which will be held from 1 December of this year to the end of March 1982. Another resolution was approved that spells out the nature, method of election and structure of the opstina elective conference, as well as the procedures to be followed in the election.

The Pristina LCY opstina conference also approved a resolution on the formation of regional organizational forms for the LCY in the opstina. According to this resolution, the Pristina LCY opstina organization will be formed into nine regional centers, with three in the city itself and six in the surrounding communities or villages of Kosovo Polje, Obilic, Devet Jugovica, Kacikolo, Novo Brdo and Gracanica.

It was essential that that form of organization of the Pristina LCY opstina organization be adopted, because the organization has 21,000 members organized into 567 basic LCY organizations, and it would be difficult for a single committee to maintain constant contact with the total membership and all the basic LCY organizations.

According to the resolution approved today, the Pristina LCY opstina election conference will include 263 delegates, each representing 80 communists. The opstina election conference will select an opstina committee of 55 members as the highest party agency in the opstina. From its membership the opstina committee will elect a 13-member presidium as the collective executive-political agency; its work in turn will be directed by a president, who will be elected for 1 year.

The tasks of the communists in the Pristina opstina during the election process were addressed by the executive secretary of the Pristina LCY opstina committee, Daut Jasanica. He noted that the point of departure for the overall activities of communists during the election process should be the LCY Central Committee Platform regarding Kosovo, and the Kosovo LCY Province Committee's Action Program, as well as the determination that the Pristina LCY has not been functioning at the level of the circumstances in which it finds itself. This fact was demonstrated last summer, when Albanian nationalists and irredentists organized counterrevolutionary demonstrations. Further causes of counterrevolutionary activities have been cited in the Platform and Action Program mentioned above.

In closing the session, Nebi Gasi, president of the Pristina LCY opstina committee, warned that the elections would be held under complicated political circumstances, in which the enemy continues to be active. That will require a higher degree of caution and readiness from all communists.

Finally, he warned of the need for greater vigilance from all working people and citizens who are communists during the coming days and the coming holiday of 29 November, Day of the Republic, for there are indications that the enemy wishes to cause disorder and uncertainty among the populace. To that end, new hostile actions have been announced. Gasi concluded: "We must be prepared and must resist every provocation."

12,131
CSO: 2800/109

LCY LEADERSHIP ELECTORAL PROCEDURES UNDER DISCUSSION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1611, 15 Nov 81 pp 8-10

[Article by Stevan Niksic]

[Text] Many topics in the domain of "internal relations" within the party have come up for discussion in the recent past: disagreements about interpretation of the principle of democratic centralism; differing assessments of possible directions and the pace of democratization in the League of Communists; dilemmas about the way in which the leadership should be elected and organized....

In a meeting of the LCY Central Committee next week there will again be discussion of the preparations of the 12th LCY Congress, which is to be held next summer. During this past week topics concerning the congress were also dominant at several political meetings all over the country as well as at those in federal forums.

Encounter With the Truth

"It is high time that the League of Communists be concerned with itself, with its behavior, since this is an obligation of ours on behalf of the prestige which it has among the working people," observed Milan Pavic, one of the participants in last week's meeting of the LCC [League of Communists of Croatia] Central Committee. Several significant judgments expressed in that meeting are a good illustration of the temperature of the preparations for the congress.

Petar Sitvuk, for example, advocated that the party "be purged of its weak members, the riffraff"; Jakov Sirotkovic expressed the opinion that the strategic lines of development should be examined once again; Cedo Grbic expressed the assessment that for a long time the League of Communists has been on the defensive with respect to the development of self-management and socioeconomic relations; "The most essential thing for us is to turn our dissatisfaction into constructive social action," Jovo Ugrcic believes; Nada Radosevic called attention to the attacks which distinguished leaders have been making upon one another through the press and public statements, noting that this indicates "insufficient coordination" among leadership bodies in the republics. She noted that the leaders in the Federation and the republic sometimes say one thing (about prices and shortages, for example), and the very next day it happens otherwise,

which "causes confusion at the base" and "distrust of leadership personnel"; "The people and the working class have confidence," Ljubo Braski judges, but he nevertheless noted that "we should not be excessively carried away with this. Let us not run from the truth," he said.

On that same occasion Milka Planinc, president of the LCC Central Committee, spoke among other things about democratization in the League of Communists. For understandable reasons related above all to performance of the role of the League of Communists in society and in the political system, that role which was set forth in the positions adopted by the 11th LCY Congress, but which has not been performed with sufficient consistency in the general judgment; that topic is again coming up in many debates concerning the congress. The program for democratization of society cannot be created, nor carried out, unless a democratic spirit and democratic relations are developed within the League of Communists, M. Planinc observed. But at the same time she criticized "certain of our comrades" for "advocating an open and free dialogue concerning all the strategic issues of society on behalf of some different democracy," charging them with "losing sight of criteria and perspectives."

Dialogue

It has become possible even now to speak about an entire panorama of differing opinions concerning the role and importance of dialogue in the context of the process of democratization within the party and of democratic centralism, opinions uttered since commencement of the precongress "summing up." Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, for example, indicated another aspect of the same problem a month ago in an interview (START, 10 October 1981). Noting "that we have flagged in the pace of opening up dialogue," he expressed the opinion that it plays into the hands of the dogmatic forces to suppress dialogue in the League of Communists and in society.

From the rostrum of the Marxist Center of the Belgrade City LC Conference one of the participants in last week's debate (D. Draskovic), declaring himself in favor of creating an atmosphere of frank critical dialogue within the League of Communists and in society ("but not for us to speak about not having a headache"), expressed displeasure that one distinguished official (D. Kosovac) referred to another (S. Vukmanovic "Tempo") in public as amoral. If the people who hold high positions in society address one another in that fashion, what will then be the case when the debates take place in everyday life about income and similar matters, he said. A similar opinion is held by Ratko Butulija, secretary of the city committee, who said that in many quarters there is no true democratic atmosphere in which views are exchanged in a reasoned manner, that often epithets are uttered hastily and unthinkingly....

The debates on dialogue are just one part of a much broader and far more significant topic, the issue of democratic centralism, which has set the tone for the precongress discussions to date. In the report of the Commission of the LCY Central Committee for Organizational Affairs and the Bylaws, which was created in the context of the preparations for the 12th congress, there is mention inter alia of misunderstanding, of a one-sided conception, and even of questioning the value of the "current importance of democratic centralism. There are tendencies,"

the report says "for the LC to introduce the principle of federalistic relations in LCY organs instead of democratic centralism, for democratic centralism in the LCY to be set up in antagonistic opposition to conclusion of social compacts and self-management accords, for democratic centralism to be broken down into its components....

In the discussion already mentioned in the Marxist Center in Belgrade the judgment was expressed (by Balsa Spadijer) that the decisions and views adopted in the League of Communists are not being consistently taken up precisely because their preparation and adoption were not carried out in a consistently democratic way. One consequence of this mechanically created unity is the frequent observation that we have good positions, that we are not carrying them out or that we are not united in carrying out what has been agreed on.

How are the members of the LCY Central Committee elected, and to whom are they accountable? A highly compounded tale hangs on this apparently simple and, one would say, purely technical problem. Its nuances reflect all the complexity of the dialectical relationship between the LCY as a unified organization and the leagues of communists in the republics and provinces which make it up but which are at the same time independent organizations.

Recalling the fact that members of the LCY Central Committee are elected in the republics and provinces and that their election is only verified in the LCY Congress ("There has never been a case when someone was not verified"), Ivan Laca expressed the opinion last week in the Marxist Center in Belgrade that this was "very hard" evidence of the existence of elements of federalism in the League of Communists. Just 1 day later this topic was discussed in a meeting of the commission of the LCY Central Committee which is preparing proposals for amendment of the present party bylaws. Opinions of the corresponding commissions in the republics and provinces were also gathered in advance.

The report of the commission of the LCMo [League of Communists of Montenegro] Central Committee suggested among other things the possibility that practice up to now in this regard might be changed somewhat: that the republic congresses and provincial conferences could merely nominate candidates for the LCY Central Committee, but they would be elected in the true sense at the Yugoslav congress. It was emphasized that the motive was not a desire to correct the present situation with respect to independence and accountability of the republics and provinces, but the need to strengthen the role of the LCY Central Committee.

In the meeting of the commission this proposal was expanded and substantiated: Stanka Glomazic-Lekovic (LCMo) proposed that members of the LCY Central Committee be nominated in the republics and provinces, but the slate of candidates would have to contain more nominees than were to be elected, and then, for the Executive Committee of the Central Committee to be elected in the LCY Congress by secret ballot. To be elected, according to this proposal, a member of the Central Committee would have to receive at least two-thirds of the votes of the delegates at the congress. A similar suggestion (secret ballot, broader list of candidates) was also made in connection with election of the members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

It is interesting, however, that concerning many of the characteristic elements of these proposals the members of the Central Committee's commission did not hold an altogether identical view on whether balloting should be open or secret, on whether the slate should contain more nominees than positions; on who shall elect members of the Central Committee; or on who the members of the Central Committee are accountable to. A lively debate was conducted, but some of these have been left "open" even now.

The present LCY Bylaws are not altogether consistent in those provisions which have to do with the secret or open ballot. In election of political executive organs in the LCY, for example, a secret ballot is explicitly prescribed only for opstina organizations; this is not required at the "higher levels" in the republic and the Federation. The opinion was expressed in the commission that a uniform principle should be enforced everywhere. But when the discussion took up election of members of the future Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, noticeable differences became evident: certain members of the commission felt that a secret ballot was not necessary in this case.

Undisputed Diagnosis

Similar differences came to the surface in the debate of the principle of requiring more nominees on the slate than positions to be filled in an election. In his address at the 11th congress President Tito explicitly advocated such procedure, and his address was adopted as a document of the congress. So, with the principle of democratic centralism taken as the point of departure, it is a question of a rule which would have to be mandatory. Marija Zvekic-Miskolci (LCV [League of Communists of Vojvodina]), however, expressed the opinion that "Comrade Tito was not thinking just of the League of Communists" and that application of that principle in ethnically complicated communities might bring about certain undesirable consequences. A similar opinion was held by Bora Denkov (League of Communists of Macedonia [LCMa]), who noted that "we must be realistic" and that as to election of organs in the LCY, it would be "very difficult to carry out." The question was put: What happens if a candidate to a federal forum of the LCY does not receive the necessary number of votes? Does that automatically mean that lack of confidence has been voted in that republic or provincial organization which nominated him?

The bylaws commission did not adopt altogether definitive positions. Many proposals were stated in the form of alternatives.

To whom is the member of the LCY Central Committee accountable? Advocates of the idea that nominees would be voted on in the congress and that at least two-thirds of the votes would be required for election to the future Central Committee, feel that this would eliminate all the dilemmas about whether the member of the Central Committee represents only his parent (republic or provincial) organization or enjoys support in the entire LCY. Incidentally, in one working group of the commission for the bylaws mention was made of a possible elaboration of the principle of decisionmaking on the basis of consensus in meetings of the LCY Central Committee, but it was concluded that there was no basic justification for this, and that idea was abandoned.

Some of the proposals in this debate were interpreted in the meeting of this commission as "a return to the period of 8 years ago," to debates about the character of the entire organization of the League of Communists and of the way it is organized.

Nevertheless, in spite of certain differences over details, the dominant conviction was that several elements should be incorporated into the bylaws in order to emphasize the "cohesive role of the LCY," as stated by Hrvoje Istuk, secretary of the Presidium of the LCBH [League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Central Committee.

The assessment that individual members of forums of the League of Communists "abstain" and "have difficulty deciding" to send out critical observations concerning what is happening in other quarters (the republics, the provinces and communes), i.e., outside their own constituency, was significant in this light. Similar judgments have also been heard at many political gatherings in the recent past. That practice, it has been said, is harmful to real unity and effectiveness of efforts as a whole. In this sense last week's meeting of the LCC Central Committee offered an encouraging example. After the criticism of the press expressed in the address of M. Planinc ("The weeklies and especially the popular magazines are more and more becoming points of support for liberalistic tendencies in society"), M. Rakas provided the additional interpretation "that this judgment does not pertain solely to periodicals whose founders are in this republic."

In the analysis of the topics and dilemmas which have been raised so far in the precongress discussions, one inevitably concludes that the diagnosis of the true state of affairs in society, and the LCY is a part of society in every respect, is beyond dispute, that there is complete consensus on this point. The debate about the ways and methods of changing that state of affairs, of improving it, has only now flared up. It seems that the essence of all the precongress discussions lies in this.

The Top Level of the Party

Those provisions which had to do with Comrade Tito and the function of the LCY president will be omitted from the future LCY Bylaws. There is agreement that in future the post of LCY president should not be reestablished. As in the past, the highest organ of the League of Communists would be the congress, which will be held every 4th year and will be similarly instituted as in the past. There is the sole possibility that the number of delegates will be somewhat smaller at future congresses than in the past. The supreme forum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the interval between congresses is still the Central Committee. It is not yet known whether a permanent chairman of the Central Committee will be elected (with a term of office of 1 year) or whether the meetings will be directed by a working presidium which would be elected separately on each occasion.

According to one proposal, the chairman of the Central Committee might at the same time preside over meetings of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, similar to current practice in the central (provincial) committees of the

republic or provincial organizations. However, it seems that in all the discussions of this topic to date the majority has favored that organizational structure which is in effect at present on the basis of a temporary decision concerning the bylaws: that the Presidium be elected from among the members of the Central Committee and that the Presidium elect its chairman (for 1 year) and its secretary (for 2 years) from among its own members.

Other proposals have also been mentioned. For example: that the pattern of the top level of the party which was in effect before the 10th LCY Congress be reinstated. Then the Presidium would be somewhat larger than at present and there would be a separate and smaller executive body, the Executive Bureau. The conclusions of the Commission for Organizational Affairs and the Bylaws, which was commissioned to prepare a proposed version of changes in the bylaws which will be decided upon by the next congress of the LCY, will be the subject of preliminary debate in a meeting of the LCY Central Committee. Finally, this topic will also be a matter for public discussion, as envisaged by the party bylaws. It is not precluded, then, that certain new and different proposals than those mentioned so far might be forthcoming.

7045
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SARAJEVO DAILY POLEMICIZES HARSHLY WITH BELGRADE WEEKLY

Original Attack From 'OSLOBODJENJE'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1609, 1 Nov 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Petar Jovic originally published in OSLOBODJENJE on 22 October 1981 and reprinted in NIN, followed by response: "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness"]

> [Text] Petar Jovic's article entitled "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness," which is mostly concerned with the writing in our magazine, was published in OSLOBODJENJE on 22 October 1981. We are reprinting this article in its entirety, followed by the response of NIN's editors.

Marxists have never underestimated the definite contributions, breakthroughs and range of bourgeois consciousness. In its description of the nature and pattern of things, this consciousness has been and remains at its own level. Whereas its "neutralism" in the arts has still been able to serve as the basis for a humanistic commitment, in its theory it has neither wished nor been able to conceal its conservative ideological and political stand.

The Offering of a Formula

In proposing solutions and strategies for overcoming a particular social situation (especially if it is complicated and difficult and involves conflicts and crisis) the representatives of bourgeois consciousness abstain and hang back, without offering any excuses. They offer nothing new, their desire is to justify and revive the old, to frighten individuals, what is more, with what the new might mean, and at the same time try to subject the new to ridicule, to doubt and to hesitation. This is what Lenin would call the "genre of the trivial," to which one might add malicious--"annoyance."

What is our behavior in the present situation? Everyone is, of course, seeking an answer to the main question--What are the reasons for the situation, how are the shortcomings to be overcome, and how are the hotbeds of the crisis situations to be eliminated? It would be natural to expect that everyone would endeavor to make a constructive contribution (except those who hold positions contrary to socialist self-management) to resolving and overcoming society's contradictions and difficulties.

A certain Nenad Kecmanovic, so it would appear in a series of articles in NIN, and critics and diagnosticians of our situation like him, are very outspoken, persistent and even aggressive in presenting their views and offering their formulas. There can be no dilemma whatsoever about all the meanings and significations of their writings: they have the best knowledge of everything--the why, the who, the when and the how; they have an answer to all possible questions. Society is at fault for not having taken those admonitions seriously and for not having taken up the dialogue. As though the absence of dialogue, the existence of taboo topics and the like are the causes of the present situation!

Operation Rescue

We must be led to reflection and concern by the fact that the advice being offered can today be placed before public notice. After all, such individuals are taking advantage of the present situation in order to call into question even those most important principles on which this community of ours is based, on which it successfully navigated the troubled sea of world events and problems after World War II and made a tremendous contribution to calming the storms of the world and to preventing a new catastrophe.

Now these freethinking critics and "saviors" obviously would like to point the ship in some other direction, to have us take shelter in some bay, to "spare" us further "troubles." But that is not all there is to it. The discrediting of everything we have so far achieved and have been achieving along our way is also an integral part of Operation Rescue.

These aggressive and brave "benefactors" have laid the blame [on the handling of] those most delicate questions of our cohesiveness and have begun their dirty work as inspectors and strategists. The relations among the nationalities--and pushing the argument that all nationalisms are not equally dangerous. Personnel policy--these relations among the nationalities also bother them, since the quota system is an obstacle to the most capable people!

Social welfare policy--the radical critics want to institutionalize not social inequities, but even class differences! Relations in the Federation, the issue of our community consensus--all the problems come from the greater independence of the republics and provinces. Thus N. Kecmanovic in an article entitled "The Logic of Republic Statism" (NIN, 6 September 1981), examining at length the causes and types of "expansion" of republic-provincial statism, asserts that "the insistence that both statisms (federal and republic-provincial) are by definition equally dangerous is a case of bookish theorizing or cynicism on the part of those who represent that form of it which is currently dominant."

On the face of it, all this is done in the context of the struggle to democratize society. But it is interesting and--as the statisticians would say--significant that nowhere in these long-winded analyses is there any mention of the constitution, of the Law on Associated Labor, of the LCY Program, or even of scholarly and theoretical writings of our distinguished Marxists. (Examine N. Kecmanovic's other articles in NIN, for example, "Democratization or Decentralization" and "The Temptations of the Political Profession at Election Time.")

Imposition of the "Truth"

All the answers of critics of this kind which for the sake of consistency I have had to reduce to their ultimate consequence, bear not only the aroma, but also possess the firm construction--of liberalism, unitarianism and hegemonism. This is the policy of laisser faire, laisser passer--that everyone do as he wishes, and let everyone follow their own course, or, to be even more succinct and in our own idiom--anything goes!

These critics want to impose the "truth" that the competition of the able, inventive, experienced, gifted and the like has been thwarted, hampered and made impossible in our system by democratic procedure and considerations! They wish to return the entire problem, then, back to where our society stated a resolute "no," and in milder form--to that period, and we do not deny it, aware as we are of both its shortcomings and its--necessity--when political office and positions of leadership in sociopolitical organizations and communities, organizations and institutions were--decisive.

There are at least two important things which these "benefactors" of ours do not see: first, the results which have been made possible by self-management and its inherent democratic and freedom-loving atmosphere, and in particular implementation of the principle of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and of all the parts of our community; and second, they do not see that our problem is not primarily or exclusively in adopting this or that method of choosing those who will lead, but above all in the further struggle to strengthen the socioeconomic position of associated labor in self-management and to achieve the rule of the working class.

In so saying I do not, of course, wish to join in the current campaign which seeks "one key cause" of all our troubles. But I am convinced that there is very little talk today about this cause, i.e., inconsistencies and shortcomings in achievement of that goal, something that Tito often warned about.

Dubious Meditations

In confronting criticism of this kind and the soul-saving attitude of individuals, there is no way to avoid the question of responsibility of periodicals which so frequently and regularly offer extensive space for the full spread of dubious, malicious and extremely unpleasant meditations of self-styled theoreticians. It is simply amazing that an editor whose commitment must be beyond all doubt would give the green light to such articles. One needs to show a great deal of patience and goodwill to rid himself of the impression that such articles have not perhaps been written to order. The words recently uttered by Rodoljub Colakovic in connection with the content and messages of a feature article can be applied to them: "I am writing because I feel like a man who has drawn into his nostrils something slimy and repulsive--cold; it does not prick or nip, only slips along through the nostrils, but you know that one day, if you do not pluck it out as soon as possible, it could inflict a fatal sting in the heart itself...."

What are those factors, interests and elements which bring about the frequent forgetting of communist commitments, the commitments of self-management socialism, of the publication on behalf of dialogue--and dialogue we do need--of something which calls into question the very basis of our common existence? Is it possible that the motivation here is on the basis of "the worse it is, the better it is"? Is it possible that in this kind of situation calculations could be made after the pattern: only for someone, those over there, the others and so on, will it be worse? What a horrifying illusion!

No one needs to have it spelled out that the in-basket of every editor is always overflowing and even more than that given the shortage of newsprint. In such cases the question inevitably arises: What was thrown out when such articles were accepted? Such a selection could not have been made in the name of democracy, freedom of the press and the nurturing of dialogue and the like. That is more than obvious.

Response From Targeted Periodical

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1609, 1 Nov 81 pp 3, 6

[Response by NIN editors to the OSLOBODJENJE article by Petar Jovic on 22 October: "The Nature of an Aggressive Attack"]

[Text] An article like "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness" (OSLOBODJENJE, 22 October) leaves a man speechless. Is it possible that in 1981, in self-managing socialist Yugoslavia, a newspaper article could appear which accuses an author and a newspaper of nothing less than:

i. calling into question the most important principles on which our community is based;

ii. justification and revival of the old, moreover from the positions which are set in opposition to self-management;

iii. a forgetting of communist commitments;

iv. belittling of everything we have achieved so far;

v. the aiming of our ship in some other direction, into some other bay;

vi. deprecation of achievements in international relations, in personnel policy and in social welfare policy;

vii. the calling into question of our common existence;

viii. activity based on the slogan "The worse it is, the better it is";

ix. evasion of the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, the LCY Program and scientific and theoretical writings of our distinguished scholars;

x. opposition to the relations in the Federation established by the constitution and also to the independence of the republics and provinces;

xi. liberalism, unitarianism and hegemonism....

... And some dozen similar charges. And all of them were made without a single argument.

What are we to say about articles of this kind except they make all dialogue impossible before it has even begun! That is why we do not intend to engage in an analysis of Jovic's attacks. We are presenting his considerations for the reader's scrutiny, convinced that the reader himself will best know how to evaluate what period of time and what school of thought Jovic's reasonings belong to.

But still we must put a few questions explicitly. How do we account for the need--so evident in Jovic's article--for every unconventional manner of investigation in our society, whose vitality has always been based on reassessment of the functioning of its institutions and on an exploration for more perfect and better solutions, to be proclaimed an attack on the very foundations of the system? How do we account for the desire to prevent even reflection about alternatives, and that at a moment when this society confronts major difficulties in which it is imperative to seek a way out? Who has the right to proclaim criticism of republic statism a grave heresy, when the flowering of that statism has been assessed in the highest bodies of the Yugoslav party and by the public at large as one of the principal reasons for the troubles we confront?

Finally, how do we account for the presumption of the periodical in which Jovic has published his article in constantly and repeatedly delivering lectures on ideological orthodoxy to this and that Yugoslav newspaper with the severity of some political commissar and in passing out grades in moral and political fitness? To what ideological front should we assign that need to have apparitions of opponents of this system constantly appearing in the pages of other newspapers? Can it be that in our present situation there is no more urgent business than settling accounts with imagined enemies?

Attention should also be paid to the way in which Rodoljub Colakovic, a collaborator of NIN for many years, has become involved in the criticism of our newspaper. To take the words of an old revolutionary written in connection with a feature article on a Chetnik and to suggest to Colakovic that he might have similar words to say about the editorial policy of NIN is at the very least an act of rudeness toward this worthy man.

Finally, a point to reflect on: Dr Nenad Kecmanovic has been writing in NIN as a nonstaff collaborator for more than 5 years now. He lives in Sarajevo, he is active in civic life, he is a professor at the School of Political Science of Sarajevo University in the department called "Theoretical Foundations of the Political Sciences." Until recently he was the editor in chief of OPREDJELJENJA [COMMITMENTS], a journal concerned with the theory and practice of a self-managing socialist society which is published by the Marxist Studies Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina as well as a member of the Sarajevo City Committee of the League of Communists. Kecmanovic

is also author of distinguished writings such as the book "Ideologija i istina" [Ideology and Truth] (published by Mladost, Belgrade, 1978) for which he received the "Veljko Vlahovic" Prize, and then the textbook "Marksizam i samoupravljanje" [Marxism and Self-Management], and so on. Had Comrade Jovic not imagined it, would it yet not have been "significant" for a party member and scholar so quickly in the pages of NIN, that is, under the full scrutiny of the public, to turn into a dangerous "opponent of the system" as he portrays him? Of course, Dr Kecmanovic's academic and political qualifications do not make him infallible by any means. On the contrary: his often polemical views have been a subject of dispute even in the pages of this magazine. But a reasoned debate is one thing, and the method of political discreditation used so freely by the author of the article "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness," which is unsuitable to our system, is something else.

Rebuttal From 'OSLOBODJENJE'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1611, 15 Nov 81 pp 7, 10

[Rebuttal by Petar Jovic: "Arguments"]

> [Text] The editors have received a large number of letters concerning the article by Petar Jovic entitled "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness," published in our newspaper, and the response of NIN, which was entitled "The Nature of an Aggressive Attack." Some of them we have been publishing in abbreviated form. We are also publishing the rebuttal of Petar Jovic, also somewhat abbreviated, since its original length was altogether out of proportion to the size of our piece. The editors have tried not to detract from the spirit and thrust of Jovic's article. NIN has expressed its own attitude toward the subject of the dispute in its article "The Nature of an Aggressive Attack," published in No 1609. Petar Jovic's article follows below.

If the author of the response entitled "The Nature of an Aggressive Attack," which the entire editorial staff stood behind (though I still doubt this, since--to use NIN's "argument" in the response to the criticism addressed to that newspaper by an official of the League of Communists of Vojvodina--see NIN, 7 June 1981--that is even technically unfeasible), did not find in my article a single argument, then obviously this is a dispute of large proportions.

It honestly is difficult to understand how an exceptionally able editorial staff like that of NIN--I say this quite seriously and advisedly--can be "left speechless" in a situation as complex as the one in which the country finds itself when an individual and a newspaper come forth with an opinion that does not agree with the views of one of NIN's numerous nonstaff collaborators. What kind of freedom of opinion is that, and what, then, are the opportunities for overcoming the situation, if we do not allow someone to have a different opinion? And, still more definitely--what kind of presumption is that on the part of the editorial staff of a magazine when in such a situation it aspires to the role of

a supreme and infallible diagnostician and arbiter? Is it possible to claim a responsible and constructive role if one offers only his own vision as the only truth? This complacent and narcissoid position of infallibility has been demonstrated even by certain earlier comments of NIN's on criticism addressed to it.

On what basis and with what arguments, for example, can N. Kecmanovic assert that we are "today witnesses of what appears to be an extremely democratic atmosphere in our society" (NIN, 6 September 1981) or that "one has to wonder when and on what subject he can speak out freely without them gagging him with some admonition" (NIN, 19 July--the quotations that follow from NIN in 1981 are designated only by the day and the month of their publication).

Let the editorial staff of NIN explain as much as it likes whose propositions those are, but it is quite clear that this is the most commonplace lie and insinuation, while it is actually the author of those articles and his increasingly recognizable "assault" group of like-minded fellows who have the ambition to put a gag on others.

Without any sort of explanatory arguments, Kecmanovic uses the terms "the pathology of our political life" (18 October), "the overwhelming bureaucratic antisystem" (19 July), "full-fledged regional ideologies," "the caprices of the irrational behavior of portions of the regional bureaucracies," "the voluntarism of the regional bureaucracies" (6 September), and the like. Yet the titles which he wears so conspicuously so that no other public figure who has appeared in our periodicals in recent years can compare to him, impose on him the obligation of acting with greater propriety and offering at least the minimum clarification of the terms which he uses.

NIN did well to spot that N. Kecmanovic has experienced a kind of turnabout, and since it is documentation that is requested, here are some of the facts which have come to light and which might not have been taken note of, since we are referring to an author whose frequent appearances are unfailingly accompanied by always the same photograph. (This symptom is of interest not only to psychologists, but also to those who follow the birth and development of certain social phenomena. N. Kecmanovic and those like him, that is, desire to fascinate the public with the photograph which they select and on which they obviously insist to the editors!)

After having written several panegyric essays and reviews of books of our distinguished politicians in journals and other periodicals, pieces which were pearls, in late 1979 N. Kecmanovic "came to his senses" and published in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE (3 November 1979) an extremely adverse and sarcastic piece entitled "Even Politicians Write Books."

In the meantime, depending on whether his otherwise unbridled ambitions have been realized, Kecmanovic has been changing his attitude toward politicians, finally in his most recent articles subjecting all of them, in Yugoslavia generally, to malicious and even very primitive critical analyses which are not witty in the least. Though the general impression, reported on in the article entitled "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness," cannot be illustrated by mere quotation, these characteristic phrases of Kecmanovic's, which we

now see are NIN's as well, are sufficiently eloquent: the essence of political ability (lies) in having good nerves, and one can get them even with sedatives; "the blame needs to be put on others for all the difficulties, failures, shortcomings, voluntarism, nepotism, privileges, primitivism, and stupidities, and the grousing of the people is justifiably redirected toward someone else" (6 September); regional leaders; local fanatics; the parent bureaucracy; "teams of regional standard-bearers in good form"; "a vertical train in which everyone refuses to react within the limits of his own powers and responsibilities" (19 July); "the election fever ... at least every 4th year affects a large number of political personnel and--as the malicious tongues would have it--display a symptomatic fear that some faux pas will spoil the outcome, a defensive keeping up of appearances or even a hastily contrived activism in order to offset bad impressions if only at the last moment ..." (18 October); "the criterion of ability ... figures as only one criterion no more important than the others in politics" (18 October); "... Is there any reason to be surprised at the preelection insomnia" of politicians; "... Professional hypocrisy requires ... that one exclaim even publicly that actually he would like to lose ..." (18 October); "Many leaders take an 'everyone help himself' attitude toward socially owned property ...," and so on and so on.

As for NIN's puzzlement as to what era we are in and as to whose "school of thought" (?) is anachronistic, instead of offering my own line of argument, I will quote another author whom I do not know personally, so that there is no possibility whatsoever for the agreements and "arrangements" at which some of our brave cavillers have achieved perfection! In KNJIZEVNE NOVINE (18 June 1981) Lj. Kljakic has the following to say in an article entitled "The Beeeg Little Town: Shot in the Dark":

"Fortunately, critical social consciousness has increased--since there is fertile soil for this in the dialectics of our fortunes and misfortunes--so that the conformism of the little town sounds more and more like a distant echo from the past. Even when a provincial opinion seeks a theoretical foundation after the pattern of Dr Prof Nenad I. Kecmanovic and his 'egalitarianism of the sickbed' (recently in NIN), the result is nothing other than farce...."

Or, need we refer to the kind of sharp reactions to Kecmanovic's article in NIN concerning the initial silence of the news media about the events in Kosovo? In an article entitled "Who Is Planting 'Cuckoo Eggs' on Us" POLITIKA EKSPRES (23 April 1981) responded that those who "are now 'playing the hero'" in criticizing the press which was silent and who "back up" their assertions "with academic titles in front of their first and last names," who "always want to reap some personal benefit for themselves," while KNJIZEVNE NOVINE (7 May 1981) concluded a longer critical essay on the same article (in NIN) with these words: "A man simply gets upset when a professor, a Ph.D., in reflecting on television, did not arrive to help his colleagues in NIN, and in that same issue they published photographs of cars which were burned in Brickston...."

Kecmanovic's articles are the most vivid illustration of how individuals are formally in conformity with the positions of the LCY, but in actuality they are working--persistently and aggressively--to destroy and corrode the stands taken and role performed by the LC. For example, he overemphasizes the ability of

politicians and the selection from among a plurality of candidates to such an extent that the following conclusions are necessarily imposed, conclusions which are false, to put it mildly:

i. that there are certain organized cases of resistance and all but plots against the able and against having more than one candidate;

ii. that in the past and all the more recent elections the best and most competent people have not been elected and even, to go further, that those holding office at the present are mostly incompetent;

iii. that after all it is not true that there are able people in every milieu, in every ethnic minority and so on;

iv. that we do not have many able people at all. And so on and so on.

His prattle becomes more comprehensible only when one understands that he--having plunged into those unpublic affairs (he himself explicitly admits this--"as malicious tongues would have it," he mentions the underground, and the corridors and marketplace are, of course, represented as the sources of his information)--his speaking and writing from the standpoint of an investigation, or, more accurately, from the standpoint of creating opportunities for the nomination and election of a certain number of personnel who for various reasons are not now on the political scene. In actuality he is afraid that these people, and he himself first of all, will not perhaps be able to get a suitable place in the next election.

In any case, let us listen to Kecmanovic himself and his key idea about elections, on which he plays numerous and extensive variations:

"... The interest in a career, the spirit of competitive rivalry, the fight for prestige ... (is) something altogether normal" even for the political profession! (18 October) It is evident that these are not oversights and lapses committed in haste from the fact that he nostalgically notes that "in our system it is unknown ... for a man to rise politically on the basis of mass support and popularity" (1 November). What was that you said, professor, doctor? Was it not precisely on such waves of "popularity" that the prestige and influence of the leaders of the mass movement and liberalism grew to mythical proportions?

There is no doubt whatsoever where this society would be led--and not only the multinational, but also the mononational (if there are any) milieux--the personnel deemed capable according to Kecmanovic's criteria, and that very quickly and perhaps irrecoverably!

Is there any difficulty in reading these meditations to spot the petty agitation, demagogy, factionalism and careerism and all those illusions related to them; doesn't this lead to a still greater alienation of politics, something which the professor and doctor shown in the photograph appears to have no idea of?

Is it not clear that people with such "abilities" and ambitions in all systems, and this must be still more forcibly in our context--are unscrupulous about the means they use in achieving their goals, trample upon all objective criteria, so that intrigues, deceit, easy promises and grave deceptions and tricks are the inevitable concomitant of a personnel policy which would be based on such propositions?

Everything which Kecmanovic has hastily scribbled in this serial of his might somehow have been understood provided all the articles carried the common title of an analysis in the field of sociology or political science of the current arguments and themes of the political underground. I am not referring here solely to oppositionist views, but also to what the sociologists have termed the "unpublic." Does anyone have to be convinced that the arguments, judgments and views from that unpublic sphere, from outside the system, and so on, must be even more the subject matter of scientific, political and in general public, or serious, critical debates, since in that way we will fight more effectively against everything that is deviant, oppositionist, and so on.

In an exhaustive interview on current politics which N. Kecmanovic has given and which has largely been published in the journal OPREDJELJENJA (No 7-8, September 1980) and peddled out in several other periodicals as well (NIN, Radio Sarajevo--Third Program, SVIJET), he actually expounded in responding to cleverly composed questions his theory of relations among the nationalities, which--to put it mildly--differs considerably from the policy of the LC. (For more on this, see my article entitled "'Brave' Questioning by a Newsman," OSLOBODJENJE, 10 October 1980.)

This long narrative has been necessary to demonstrate the following:

i. that the arguments of N. Kecmanovic are even more problematical than depicted in the article "An Aggressive Attack by Bourgeois Consciousness";

ii. that I am neither the first, nor the only, nor the most severe critic of those arguments.

I will not enter into the other aspects of this group of problems, for example, that Kecmanovic is obviously bothered by something else, that in the end he is both insincere and timid, so that his "true" theses must be openly "elaborated" by other members of his informal group; that his aim is to cause a scandal, to put himself at the center of attention at any price, to represent himself as a victim.

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CROATIAN OFFICIAL CITES RESURGENCE OF BUREAUCRATISM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1608, 25 Oct 81 pp 12-13

[Interview with Vjekoslav Koprivnjak, director of the Center for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, by Stevan Niksic; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Answer] "I think that we have frequently approached nationalism as something that is an element of an alienated part of the social consciousness; we have reacted insufficiently to what we are now calling economic nationalism, and we have even tolerated it as natural national interest! And this is now backfiring on us.

"In practice we have had more in action a Kavcic conception of the national economies, than the conception established by the Second LCY conference in 1972," says the director of the Center for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, Vjekoslav Koprivnjak.

Among other things, the events in Kosovo have also influenced the fact that the problem of internationality relations in Yugoslavia has again entered political life as a "burning" issue. The public has sometimes almost treated this problem as an "inconvenient" and "ticklish" one. This is possibly why so many errors and myths have accumulated, that are still burdening this area in the life of contemporary Yugoslav society.

[Question] Can what happened in Kosovo in 1981 be compared with what took place in Croatia in 1971?

[Answer] There is no doubt that there are some similarities between these situations. First of all, in both cases the broader dimension was lost, the dimension of the class interest, the workers' interest. Nationalistic interests came predominantly to the forefront. One should not lose sight of what was pointed out at the 21st meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY and in the Letter--everything that happened then in Croatia was not any kind of Croatian specialty. This was something that was taking place in all of Yugoslavia, while a dramatic expression of nationalistic euphoria took place in Croatia, and it was expressed there in its most acute form. Similarly, it could also be said today that nationalism is not reserved only for the Kosovo area, but is also present elsewhere.

Although our attention is most frequently and almost exclusively, in accordance with the traditional concepts, concentrated on two nationalisms, Croatian and Serbian, it has been shown that in fact all nationalisms are equally dangerous and that they latently arouse all of the other nationalisms. But Yugoslavia, as we are building it, is a community in which the Croatian-Serbian-Slovenian axis is not making the decisions. Any nationalism can thus set off great crises.

Federalist Tendencies in the LC

[Question] People are talking again about an increase in federalist tendencies in the League of Communists. Why?

[Answer] The League of Communists was undoubtedly confronted very sharply with this tendency at the beginning of the 1970's. One of the reasons for the 21st meeting and the Letter was in fact the tendency toward federalization within the LCY. This is why the 10th Congress and the 2nd LCY Conference took a very precise position against such a development. The fact is, however, that even after that we had certain practices that contained within themselves tendencies toward federalization of the LCY, and some blockage of the federal party center.

I think that our theoretical position in regard to this is very clear, but that we are forgetting it. The basic problem is how to keep the LCY from growing into a supranational organization, but without being a mere alliance of republican and provincial organizations. This fundamental dilemma has been repeated practically since the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and this should be kept in mind, but in every stage it requires an adequate method of organizational resolution.

We have forgotten that the League of Communists can be dissolved not only through sectarian politics, but also equally if everyone is in the party. We have today the problem of the identity of the Communists, not on a theoretical level, but in concrete action.

I think that today we also have a fairly unsatisfactory personnel situation. We even have people in very responsible positions who are simply not ready to participate in the implementation of a program as extensive and significant as the one we have drawn up. And now we are again blocked a little because everyone is waiting for a redistribution of the personnel solutions, and no one will rush ahead; especially some who cannot even rush ahead because they do not know what is really going on. Things are going well for them personally and they only think about how to preserve what they have, without really caring too much about what is taking place in society. I see this as one of the most crucial problems.

Unitarianism Is Not a Solution

[Question] Some controversies associated with the concept of unitarianism have lasted since the time when this phenomenon was publicly criticized for the first time, at the Eighth Congress of the LCY. What do you think of unitarianism today?

[Answer] To put it simply, the same as I did yesterday. It is equally dangerous, and we must be clear on this. We cannot solve the problems of Yugoslavia with a unitarian position. It was precisely on the basis of a criticism of what was entailed by a unitarian conception that we arrived at the present concrete solutions in the political system. At this time, when we are facing difficulties, it may seem that we should turn things back, but this would mean having the same problems again after a certain period of time. This leads us to a conclusion that in my opinion is exceptionally significant, and to something that Vladimir Bakaric stressed on one occasion back in 1971: the nation should be based on self-management, and not on the state.

The Strong Position of the Bureaucracy

[Question] Some old problems have become exacerbated again. Doesn't this indicate that the new system created after the reform of the Federation has in fact not been very productive either?

[Answer] This new system was not fully implemented. I think that this was the main problem. Consultation and agreement were too frequently carried out between the various working bodies of the executive agencies of the Federation and the republics and provinces, which was undoubtedly a new step, but insufficient in view of the essence of the concept of the Yugoslav federation. On the other hand, this direction of having the nation based on self-management was not developed to a sufficient extent. What happened was precisely what the action through the 21st meeting and the Letter was initiated against: the bureaucracy has again come into a fairly strong position. This raises the question of how this was possible.

[Question] Really: how?

[Answer] A few years ago, before Kosovo and the other things that have happened in the meantime, we and many others warned about this. The consultation and agreement of the republics and provinces, in the way in which it is done, is a great step, but an insufficient one, because delegate assemblies and associated labor are the only ones who can be the main participants in this process. If the role of these participants is taken by someone else, in the long term a crisis is unavoidable.

Yugoslavianism Under a Mortgage

[Question] The concept of "Yugoslavianism" is also one of those which still cause many misunderstandings. How do you interpret this?

[Answer] It seems to me that the problem is not in the theoretical approach to this matter but in something else. There is no doubt that here Yugoslavianism is burdened with a certain mortgage of unitarianism. Some narrower interest has frequently been known to hide behind a defense of Yugoslav interests. We, however, have at any rate fallen short in not sufficiently affirming the positive aspects of Yugoslavianism in the sense of belonging to the Yugoslav community.

Yugoslavia was not united by a myth about the Slavs or Yugoslavianism, but precisely by the interests of its peoples. But in practice we have not presented an operative concept that would demonstrate this to a sufficient extent. In general, except when certain urgent situations arise, we avoid discussing internationality relationships. We are frequently inclined to believe that everything is all right in regard to this, but we do not wish to verify this assertion. The cause of all this is probably a collective consciousness that it is better not to tinker with this, and possibly also because we have had such terribly difficult and bloody historical experiences.

The Croatian "Model"

[Question] The Italians who live in Croatia and Slovenia have their own united organization, along with the members of other nationalities in Croatia. Such organizations do not exist in other republics and provinces, and it even seems that they would not be desirable. How do you interpret these differences?

[Answer] The differences have arisen from historical circumstances. To be precise, the unions of nationalities in Croatia were mostly formed during World War II, and today they are operating exclusively within the framework of SSRN Croatia. One of the characteristics of Yugoslavia is precisely the fact that in our country the same goals can be achieved in different ways in different republics and provinces.

[Question] Our citizens abroad also gather, with the blessing of Yugoslav political authorities, on a national basis. Let us say, the members of some nationalities abroad, for example Albanians from Kosovo, have their own clubs, while others do not. Can't an agreement be reached in Yugoslavia on a uniform policy regarding this?

[Answer] This practice is acceptable to me solely under the condition that citizens of exclusively one nationality are located in a given place, and that moreover the active goal of building Yugoslav unity is not lost in these clubs.

[Question] There are still many disagreements over the symbols of a nation and national statehood. Is the fact that Croatia is the only Yugoslav republic with its own anthem that is played on official occasions causing some misunderstandings in practice? From the standpoint of standard protocol, it might possibly be logical to have "Lijepa nasa" played when some official of Croatia comes on an official visit to another republic. But this is still not done. Why?

[Answer] You should first of all answer the question of whether you are possibly excited by the playing of the hymn "Lijepa nasa," and how it excites you... But the fact that it is not played as a matter of protocol on the occasion of a visit by an official of Croatia to other republics and provinces indicates that all of us together still perceive Yugoslavia as a united community, and not as a collection of republican states.

One Should Not Put Everything Into the Same Basket

[Question] Where are those young people today who were subject to nationalist euphoria in Croatia at the beginning of the 1970's? What happened to them later on?

[Answer] Some of them are still showing themselves to the nationalists; others are doing their jobs and trying to rehabilitate themselves; and some have already rehabilitated themselves. I think that those who are trying to rehabilitate themselves should be offered the opportunity to do so, and I think that society has given them a fair amount of chances. Most of those people, nevertheless, have realized what this was all about. The problem, however, is that some of the ideologies have not renounced their ideas. It would be difficult to believe that anything is possible that way. They are continuing to act as they used to.

I think that society should first of all act in a cultured manner, and that this is the field where we are in fact giving concrete expression to the humanity of our society. In accordance with this, I think that with respect to punishment, one should differentiate those who did the manipulating and those who were manipulated. It is really harmful and dangerous to put everything together into the same basket.

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CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Church-State Conflict Over Military Service Intensifying
(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 4 Feb 82) 1

Russo-Prussian Alliance of 1813 Tied to GDR-Soviet Alliance
(Gerd Fesser; SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, 9 Oct 81) 4

POLAND

International Relations Study in Country Assessed
(Janusz Symonides; SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, May 81) 7

Various Issues of 'SLOWO LUDU' Reviewed
(SLOWO LUDU, various dates) 18

Kielce, Radom Area Party Activities
Party Discussions
Party Secretaries Meeting
Discussion with Bogdan Prus

Functions, Activities of Voivodship Defense Committees Described
(ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 7 Feb 82; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 9 Feb 82) 33

Gdansk Meeting, by Wladyslaw Misiolek
Comments of Warsaw Commissioner

Martial Law Regulations for Higher Schools Published
(RZECZPOSPOLITA, 25 Jan 82) 36

Briefs
Letter to Kreisky 46

ROMANIA

Iasi Paper's Review of Contemporary Literature Criticized
(C. Stanescu; SCIENTEIA, 14 Jan 82) 47

Practice of Accepting Out-of-Date Doctoral Theses Deplored
(Mihai Iordanescu; SCINTEIA, 14 Jan 82) 51

YUGOSLAVIA

Single-Year Terms Under Fire in Three Republics
(Stevan Niksic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 31 Jan 82) 54

Increase in Federal Job-Holders Discussed
(Jovan Radovanovic; BORBA, 10 Feb 82) 59

CHURCH-STATE CONFLICT OVER MILITARY SERVICE INTENSIFYING

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 4 Feb 82 p 4

['Abroad' feature article by 'sk', datelined Berlin, 2 February: "Growing Tensions Between Church and State in GDR." Translations of Hamburg DER SPIEGEL articles on church-state conflict over peace movements in GDR and church's proposal for 'alternative military service' are published under the heading "Goals of, Reactions to Pacifist Movements Reported," in JPRS 79971, 28 Jan 82, No 1969 of this series, pp 6-14]

[Text] Results of the Synod in Herrnhut

The synod of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR dealt with questions of church canon and church policy during its meeting in Herrnhut from 29 to 31 January. Because of a prohibition on reporting by Western correspondents imposed by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the meeting took on a special political accent. The deliberations of the synod were marked by the growing tensions between state and church which since the Polish crisis and the GDR's campaign against NATO's rearmament resolution cannot be ignored.

Regret About the Prohibition on Reporting

In his welcoming address, Wismar merchant Wahrmann, president of the synod, went into these tensions when he regretted the prohibition by the state on reporting and at the same time established that the church had no influence on this decision by the state. Rather, the church was interested in comprehensive reporting about the synod whose plenary sessions were public. Bishop Krusche of Magdeburg, reelected president of the League's synod, became even clearer when, in view of the apparent tendency on the part of the state to impose a ban of silence on the church in the GDR, he expressly warned of a "silent church," yet at the same time pleaded for a "policy of reasonable interaction" between church and state.

In this, the Protestant church in the GDR is referring to a 6 March 1978 conversation with National Council Chairman Honecker in which a limited respect between church and state in dealings with one another was agreed upon. This course, which in subsequent years was pursued with a grain of salt, however, cannot obscure the existing opposition between the Christian claim of the church and the atheistic ideology of the state. The gulf has become wider again since the Protestant church is publicly asserting its Christian claim in respect to the communist education of youth and in the question of the decision of conscience in respect to military service.

Claim to "Social Peace Service"

The discussions of the League's synod in Herrnhut have made it clear that the Protestant Christians in the GDR, even in a situation which has become more difficult, do not intend to back off in their Christian concerns in respect to the atheistic state. This is especially true of the demand for establishing a "social peace service" as a substitute for military service in the GDR People's Army. Of course, all efforts by the church in this matter have thus far been unsuccessful.

In front of the synod, reference was made to the fact that Gysi, GDR state secretary for church questions, had affirmed "clearly and unmistakably" the denial by the state of the present suggestions by the church for establishing a social peace service. Also, the suggestion by the church, "within the context of the constitution," to develop service without weapons in the National People's Army's construction troops in such a way that these units would be used for urgent social tasks which would have no military characters, was likewise rejected, as was the request for a review of the current regulations in the case of service by reservists and in premilitary training from the point of view of the freedom of faith and conscience which is guaranteed in the GDR constitution.

In view of this "disappointing" attitude on the part of the state, the League's synod urged the young Protestant Christians in the GDR not to become resigned, but at the same time warned them against demonstrative actions. The Protestant churches in the GDR, of course, do not want to let the thread of discussion with the state be broken, but at the same time they have made it unmistakably clear that in the future they also want to take into consideration the anxiety of young Christians which is caused by the growing militarization of the social life in the GDR.

With great determination the synod objected vigorously that the negative attitude of young people toward military service is suspected by the state as being "hostile to peace." With that, the synod again clearly took a position against a statement by Walde, director of the SED in Cottbus Bezirk. At a meeting of the SED Central Committee in November of last year Walde had characterized social peace service as a "phrase" and advocacy for this request as "hostile to peace, socialism and the constitution."

With the same persistence as in their advocacy of a social peace service, the Protestant churches in the GDR at the synod in Herrnhut insisted upon the fact that the Christian religious commitment of children, young people and parents had to be respected even in communist controlled training and education. In particular, it objected to the fact that young Christians, in contrast to their fellow pupils, are disadvantaged by purposely negative reports in the schools and by obstruction to admission to institutions of more advanced training.

Obliging Tone

In spite of the situation of the Protestant churches in the GDR, which is becoming more difficult, in their critisism of the state the synod members tried for a moderate tone. Apparently the church, in safeguarding its point of view, does not

want through incautious criticism to endanger the limited respect assured it by Honecker. Therefore, this is also no doubt how the comment at the synod is to be understood that the necessary authorizations for care packages to support Polish communities and church facilities had readily been issued by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade.

Bishop Krusche, reelected the League's synod president, will be 65 in November and will occupy this office only until the end of the year.

12124
CSO: 2300/136

RUSSO-PRUSSIAN ALLIANCE OF 1813 TIED TO GDR-SOVIET ALLIANCE

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 9 Oct 81 'wir' supplement p 2

['Past and Current History' feature article by Dr Gerd Fesser: "A Wholesome Catastrophe--On the 175th Anniversary of the Battles of Jena and Auerstedt."]

[Text] History has recorded more than a few examples of how reactionary classes of exploiters or parts of them are inclined to dangerously false estimates of the division of power and of how they seek to cover up their own weakness by adventurous actions. An excellent example of this is the behavior of the Prussian Junkers in late summer and fall of 1806, when a military conflict between France and Prussia was in the air. The Prussian army was about to engage a combat-experienced force led by a genius of a strategist, a force that had a year earlier beaten the combined armies of two great powers--Russia and Austria.

As astonishing as it may sound, the arrogant Prussian Junker officers anticipated the approaching struggle with superconfidence. General von Ruechel twanged, "His Majesty's army has several generals of the quality of Mr. Bonaparte." A colonel even lamented that "the brave Prussians are carrying guns and sabers when sticks would suffice to run the French dogs back to their country." On 8 October the French army began marching from its points of concentration in the area of Bamberg and Bayreuth and only 6 days later, on the 14th of the month, a battle was fought near Jena and Auerstedt.

Superior Tactics of the Sharpshooters

At Jena, approximately 53,000 Prussian and Saxon soldiers faced 96,000 Frenchmen; these figures include the reinforcements that joined both sides during the day. The outcome was decided in the fight for the village of Vierzehnheiligen. This phase of the battle demonstrated especially clearly the tremendous tactical superiority of the French and the incredible stupidity of the Prussian generals. The Prussian infantry fought according to the rules of the outdated linear tactics; the French, on the other hand, used sharpshooters in the manner that had been developed in the American War of Independence. As a matter of principle, the Prussians advanced without the slightest cover in a close battleline consisting of three ranks and fired rounds without proper aim, whereas the French adapted to the terrain and, where necessary, fought in spreadout groups of marksmen.

The Prussian commander, Prince zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, positioned his troops in front of Vierzehnheiligen as pedantically as if he were on a drill field, thus turning his soldiers into one gigantic target. From the houses and hedges of the village, the French infantrymen overwhelmed the enemy with murderous, carefully aimed fire. When the Prussian-Saxon battleline had suffered severe losses and had become disorganized, it was broken by deep echelons of French infantry columns and cavalry units and forced to flee.

If Napoleon himself won an easy victory at Jena, his marshal Davout performed a significant military feat at Auerstedt (more exactly, near the village of Hassenhausen). With 27,000 men he defeated the main Prussian army, which numbered 50,000. Here were the commander-in-chief, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, and King Frederick William III; by the way, Bluecher and Scharnhorst were also present.

Prussian State Collapsed like a House of Cards

When Napoleon smashed the Prussian army on a single day and the Prussian state collapsed like a house of cards, many contemporaries were aghast. However, the disaster was logical and inevitable because the Prussian state was rotten to the core. In this bulwark of feudal reaction, the clocks had been stopped 20 years before upon the death of Frederick II. The Junker class and the clique at court blocked all progress--even in military matters.

The example of linear tactics easily proves the point that the weaknesses of the old Prussian army system resulted directly from the outmoded feudal conditions in the country. This method of fighting was hopelessly inferior to the sharpshooter tactics of the French, and the more aware Prussian officers knew it too. There was an infantry regiment in the Prussian army commanded by Yorck that had already adopted more modern riflemen's tactics and that in 1806 made a spendid showing in the action near Altenzaun. Why could the new tactics not be introduced everywhere? Yorck's regiment consisted of the sons of forestry officials who served until they themselves obtained positions as foresters.

New Social Factors Showed Their Effect

Thus these soldiers had an incentive to excel. All other infantry regiments were comprised by the impressed sons of peasant serfs or by foreign mercenaries. The linear tactics had to be retained in these units because only so could the officers constantly see their soldiers and prevent desertions. Only after the disaster of 1806/7 did it finally begin to dawn on the Prussian government, as Friedrech Engels remarked, that the sons of free French peasants who owned their own land could not be vanquished with the sons of serfs who could be evicted from their farms at any time. At last Prussia realized that the peasant is also a human being.

The collapse of the old Prussian military state in 1806/7 produced tremendous and most contradictory results. First, the victorious Bonaparte radically rewrote the political map of Central Europe. Prussia lost about half of her territory and population. Apart from Prussia and Austria, all the German states joined the so-called Rhine Confederation, partly of their own free will, partly as a result of pressure. The Confederation was headed by Napoleon as "protector."

It soon became evident that Napoleon's victory was also an irrevocable victory of the rising capitalist system over rotten feudalism. The states of the Rhine Confederation and Prussia followed the French example in carrying out a number of civil reforms, in introducing freedom of trade and passing progressive legislation.

This was, of course, only one side of the coin. At the same time the occupying French subjected Germany, especially Prussia, to unprecedented financial exploitation. In the following years the members of the Rhine Confederation had to supply Napoleon with troops over and over again for him to use as cannon fodder in his endless wars of conquest. And the subordination of all Germany to the greed for profit of the French upper middle class inflicted severe damage on trade and commerce in general.

Tradition of the People's Army Established

The ultrareactionary clique at the Prussian court that ruled until 1806 was so discredited that for a time patriotic reformers like Stein and Scharnhorst had to be selected for top military and political positions. With iron determination these patriots prepared for the war of liberation, completely modernized the army and activated the masses of the people. Their hour came when Napoleon's "Grand Army" had been destroyed in Russia. The fiery old Bluecher wrote to Scharnhorst, "It is now time to do what I advised in 1809, that is, call the entire nation to arms and if the princes don't want to and resist, send them packing along with Bonaparte."

King Frederick William III, who was forever wavering, and the ultrareactionary nobility were very much opposed, but, under the pressure of the masses and patriotic military reformers, they had to form an alliance with Russia and begin the war of independence. Almost exactly seven years after the disaster at Jena, on 16 October 1813, began the Battle of Nations at Leipzig, in which Russian and German soldiers cast off the yoke of Napoleon's foreign domination in their common unselfish struggle.

We hold the memory of this joint effort dear, since it established the tradition of German-Russian brotherhood in arms, which has culminated in the unshakable socialistic alliance between the Soviet Army and our National People's Army.

9873
CSO: 2300/126

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY IN COUNTRY ASSESSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 5, May 81 pp 141-149

[Article by Janusz Symonides; a report prepared for the national conference of representatives of the science of international relations organized by the Polish Institute of International Affairs [PISM] in June 1981]

I

[Text] In order to answer the question of what complicates the development of research on contemporary international relations in our country, and in order to point out at least several methods for eliminating these obstacles, it is necessary to present, at least briefly, the state of this discipline, its achievements and its weaknesses.

A detailed presentation of all directions of research, due to the scope of the science of international relations, would be a task beyond the framework of this paper. However, we should state that in the second half of the 1970's, this discipline underwent marked development. This was particularly evident in the scope of subjects researched. The broadening of the research front has been, above all, the result of the opening of a number of new institutes and centers, as well as the associated increase in the number of specialists studying international relations.

During this period, the Institute of Socialist Countries (Instytut Krajow Socialistycznych) in the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism (Instytut Badania Wspolczesnych Problem Kapitalizmu), the Institute of International Relations of Warsaw University (Instytut Stosunkow Miedzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego) and the Research Center for Peace (Csrodek Badan nad Pokojem) all arose. The Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism (Instytut Podstawowych Problemow Marksizmu-Leninizmu) took up aspects of international issues. Branches of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (Polski Instytut Spraw Miedzynarodowych) [PISM] likewise arose in Krakow and Torun. The development of political science has led to formal and informal groups studying international relations at many schools. More recently two new research centers opened for the study of international economic relations: the Institute of World Economy (Instytut Gospodarki Swiatowej) and the PAN Institute of Economics (Instytut Ekonomii).

Research on international issues of socialist countries is being conducted primarily at the Institute of Socialist Countries, at the Higher School of Social Sciences (Wyzsza Szkola Nauk Spoleczynch) [WSNS] under the PZPR Central Committee, at the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, at PISM and, for international economic relations, at the Institute of Trends and Prices (Instytut Koniunktur i Cen) [IKiC] and the Main School of Planning and Statistics (Szkola Glowna Planowania i Statystyki) [SGPiS].

The major centers for research concerned with political and socioeconomic issues of developing countries are the SGPiS Institute of the Economy of Developing Countries (Instytut Gospodarki Krajow Rozwijajcych sie), the Warsaw University [UW] Institute of the Geography of Developing Countries (Instytut Geografii Krajow Rozwijajacych sie) and PISM.

Foreign policy and, in part, the domestic policy of major capitalist countries are the subjects of interest at the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism (Instytut Badania Wspolczesnych Problemow Kapitalizmu), the Institue for Western Affairs (Instytut Zachodni), the Silesian Institute (Instytut Slaski) in Opole, the Silesian Scientific Institute (Slaski Instytut Naukowy) in Katowice and the UW Institute for International Affairs (Instytut Spraw Miedzynarodowych). Economic relations are studied in particular at IKIC, the Institute of World Economy and at economics schools.

Research on disarmament, international security and on peace in a more general sense is conducted, above all, at PISM, at the Research Center for Peace, at the Military Political Academy (Wojskowa Akademia Polityczna), at the General Staff Academy (Akademia Sztabu Generalnego) and at SGPiS.

The opening of new centers and institutes has not surmounted all the traditional shortcomings of Polish research on contemporary international relations. One of these shortcomings is an overemphasis on history, to the neglect of current topics of such great importance as the problems of socialist countries. The research gaps continue, both in terms of territorial scope and subject matter. For example, while there has been much concentration on and significant development in research on German subjects, which is explained by our national interest and practical needs, studies of the foreign policy of other major capitalist states (besides the United States) have been insufficient. In regard to developing countries, while research on Africa has been fairly intensive, interest in Latin America has been less. What's more, studies on Polish foreign policy and our place in the world are lacking.

In evaluating the results of research in terms of its merits--i.e., the level attained by it--while in most cases the analytical-descriptive aspect and the ideological function engender no doubts, as a rule the theoretical and prognostic aspects are clearly lacking.

In the evaluations and postulates formulated about international relations in conjunction with preparation for the Second Congress of Polish Science, commentators agreed that one of the weaknesses of the science of international relations is the lack of theoretical studies. However, substantial progress

has been made in Poland in this area. Research on the theory of international relations has been undertaken at the Central Methodical Political Science Center (Centralny Osrodek Metodyczny Nauk Politycznych), at the UW Institute for International Affairs, at PISM, at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and at Marie Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. A monograph by J. Kukulka entitled "Problems of the Theory of International Relations" ["Problemy teorii stosunkow miedzynarodowych"] was published in 1978.

In the development of research on theory and methodology, an issues team studying these questions and functioning within the framework of MR. III. 3 [Interministerial III. 3] topic entitled "Socioeconomic Changes and the Foreign Policy of Capitalis and Developing Countries,"* has played an essential role. The result of this work has been the publication of a collection of 10 studies using the "small-scale printing" technique. These studies treat such subjects as the categories making up the science of international relations and the theory of policy and international relations. This issues team has also organized a series of meetings and conferences devoted to the theory of international relations.

The considerable progress made in research on the general theory of international relations has not yet been accompanied by a parallel raising of the theoretical level of studies and the creation of partial theories.

II

The answer to the questions of how we are to increase the effectiveness of research, how we are to take advantage of the considerable potential existing within the academic community, how we are to surmount the existing shortcomings caused by the unnecessary duplication of subjects, by gaps, by diffuseness and sometimes by unsound research preferences, is obvious: above all by improved organization of research and by streamlined cooperating among all centers engaged in the study of contemporary international relations.

Given a situation where these issues are researched by ministerial or regional institutes and centers, by institutes and centers under PAN or connected with schools and under the management of several ministries, a basic level of coordination is indispensable, at least to ensure that initial information concerning scientific-research plans, the assignment of the cadre and work being conducted in mutually known. Without proper research organization, contact between application and the natural theoretical base is very difficult.

See A. Lopatka, "The State and Prospects of Polish Political Research," STUDIA NAUK POLITYCZNYCH, 1973, No 3, p 37; J. Symonides, "The State and Prospects of the Development of Research on Contemporary International Relations," STUDIA NAUK POLITYCZNYCH, 1973, No 1, p 194.

*Directing particular subjects were A. Bodnar, J. Kukulka, K. Sobczak and J. Palyga. The work of the entire issues team was directed by J. Symonides.

Due to the nature of things, it is limited primarily to ministerial arrangements: in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]--PISM with its two branches in Krakow and Torun--in the Ministry of Foreign Trade [MHZ]--the IKiC--and in the Ministry of Justice [MS]--the Institute of Judicial Law (Instytut Prawa Sadowego).

Practice has long been aware of the need to coordinate scientific research plans and to streamline scholarly feedback; such attempts have been made for several years. As a result of discussions conducted between MSZ and the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology [MNSzWiT], in mid-1975 the minister of MNSzWiT, by agreement with the minister of MSZ, created the Interministerial Council for the Coordination of Scientific Research and the Training of Cadres to Meet the Needs of Foreign Relations. The council was conceived as a consultative and advisory organ; tasks within the council's scope of scientific research include:

a) presenting opinions and participating in preparing comprehensive drafts to coordinate scientific-research work;

b) inspiring scientific-research work;

c) evaluating the scientific level and the practical applicability of research;

d) analyzing and evaluating the structure and effectiveness of research outlays.

PISM performed the functions of the secretariat of the council. Representatives of the majority of scientific, academic, ministerial and regional centers, as well as representatives of MSZ, MNSzWiT, MHZiGM [Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy], MON [Ministry of National Defense] and the Department and Planning Commission of the PZPR Central Committee made up the 35-member council, which was chaired by Prof Dr Alfons Klafkowski. A concrete result of the council's activities was the collection and then the preliminary evaluation of research subjects from the sphere of international relations taken up by scientific institutions under both ministries. The council ceased its activities at the close of 1976/beginning of 1977. One reason for this was the fact that neither did it have any formal powers, nor did it have any real effect on the development of an organizational concept regarding the essential makeup of work concerning central and interministerial subjects.

In conjunction with the new organization of scientific research in Poland, between 1975 and 1980 there arose the hope that many elements of the coordination of research activity would be attained somewhat naturally, by means of a system of central, interministerial and ministerial problems, within which the subject matter of international relations would be found, broadly conceived. This subject matter was represented by topics W. 11. 6 [Central 11. 6]. "Processes of the International Economic Integration of Socialist Countries," coordinated by IKiC; by MR. III. 3 [Interministerial III. 3] "Socioeconomic Changes of Capitalist and Developing Countries," coordinated by the SGPiS Institute of the Economy of Developing Countries; and by R. III. 4

[Ministerial III. 4] "Problems of German History and Slavic-German and German-Polish Relations" and R. III. 11 [Ministerial III. 11] "East-West Economic Relations."

The program of central research thus conceived essentially did not generally consider the problems connected with international political relations, including the theory and methodology of international relations. As a result of efforts undertaken by MSZ and PISM, the foreign policy of capitalist and developing countries has been included in topic MR. III. 3 [Interministerial III. 3]. It has also been expanded by five issues teams localized within PISM:

I. problems of global politics and peaceful coexistence;

II. Security and cooperation in Europe;

III. problems of armaments and disarmament;

IV. problems connected with the German issue;

V. theory and methodology of research in the sphere of international relations.

The hopes tied in with the creation of these five issues teams have been implemented in varying degrees. This has been due to more and more limited financial outlays and to the fact that PISM is a budgetary unit without its own account.

It is projected for 1981-1985 that topic W.11.6 [Central 11.6] will be continued, as will topic MR.III.3 [Interministerial III.3], limited to the world economy and international economic cooperation. We note with satisfaction that among the six new focal and interministerial subjects, two concern international relations. These are topics MR.III.21 [Interministerial III.21], "The German States in the System of European Security," coordinated by the Institute for Western Affairs. The introduction of these two new interministerial topics permits better organized research, since five issues teams are included in topic MR.III.21, covering problems connected with international relations within a broad sopce!

1. Poland in the process of the development of a system of security and international cooperation;

2. tendencies in the foreign policy of major groups of states and selected countries and peaceful coexistence;

3. major factors of competition and cooperation among states with different sociopolitical systems (socioeconomic and ideological aspects);

4. problems of peace, international security, armaments and disarmament and the avoidance of international conflict;

5. contemporary theories of international relations and the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence.

There should be added to the list of subjects coordinated on the national level the problem "The Community of Socialist States, Its Developmental Tendencies and Prospects in the Contemporary World," being implemented during the current 5-year plan by the Institute of Socialist Countries.

That of the most important questions of the science of international relations are found within the system of centrally coordinated problems is indisputably recognized as an important step in the organization of research in this discipline. Nevertheless, since international problems do not encompass the entire field of international relations either from the point of view of their subjective or their objective slope, their existence cannot exclude the urgent need to create a comprehensive coordination arrangement that would include such elements as a national plan of research, a system of subject and personnel information and the mutual ties between science and practice.

There appear to be several possibilities for resolving this question and for creating an appropriate coordination organ. If we consider the problems resulting from the various types of subordination of institutes and research centers, and the necessity of possessing a minimum amount of authority with regard to research topics implemented (as seen from the experience of the previous council), the best solution would be to appoint a Committee for the Study of International Relations within the framework of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It seems that despite the many noteworthy efforts of the Political Science Committee, it is not in a position to play the role of coordinator of the study of international relations.

Another possibility is to repeat the attempts at a coordination council appointed by the minister of science, higher education and technology and the minister of foreign affairs. However, the drawing of conclusions from shortcomings in the organization of the former council would be indispensable. In particular, the powers of the council with regard to interministerial subjects would have to be defined clearly from the very beginning and at least the directors of particular problems would have to be included in its makeup.

Independently of the creation of an appropriate "central" coordination organ, the activation or intensification of horizontal ties within the particular subdisciplines or specializations is indispensable, along with the eventual creation of centers that would have the duty of organizing various forms of such cooperation: from the exchange of information, through meetings, scientific conferences and discussions, to joint publications. This type of cooperation would certainly lead to raising the level of research effectiveness and to reducing unnecessary duplication. It would also ensure the contact with practice that is essential in many fields. At one time the Coordinating Committee for German Studies played such a role.

It appears that even without the institutionalization of such cooperation and contacts, it is possible to point out research centers that, without violating anyone's prerogatives and authority, could play a leading role in particular fields. Thus, for example, in the area of socialist countries, the Institute of Socialist Countries or the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism could play such a role; for developing countries, PISM; for U.S. issues, the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism; for Scandinavian issues, the Baltic Institute (Instytut Baltycki); for disarmament and international security, PISM; for the international workers' movement, the Institute of the International Workers' Movement in WSNS; for the theory of international relations, the Central Methodical Center or the Institute of International Relations of Warsaw University. This type of assignment could be easily expanded for the remaining specializations.

Another condition for the improved coordination of research and mutual inspiration is a suitable level of cooperation between institutes and research centers. For several years, PISM, together with MSZ, has organized annual meetings for directors of institutes of international affairs. Consideration should be given to the need for annual meetings not only for directors and managers of centers working with international relations, but also for annual scholarly and organizational meetings for all or the majority of academic employees who pursue this discipline, as well as the representatives of the director's staffs of interested ministries.

The level of and possibilities for the development of research on international relations are governed, to a considerable degree, by problems of access to world literature, especially current literature, as well as by the insufficiency of the documentation base; in a word, by the impossibility of gathering together the minimum of materials indispensable for the pursuit of this discipline.

While the situation in Warsaw, despite insufficient funds for the purchase of current literature, may be considered adequate (due to the existence of a number of libraries; e.g., PISM, MSZ, the University of Warsaw Library, the National Library, the Sejm Library and the Library of the Central Office of Statistics [GUS]), outside Warsaw the situation is very difficult and sometimes hopeless. This applies in particular to higher schools outside Warsaw.

Since the demand for an increase in foreign exchange resources to make library purchases is unrealistic given the current situation, other solutions must be considered. One of these could be the greater specialization of particular centers. If each of several employees of the same school has a different specialization, this makes the accumulation of reasonable collections impossible. Specialization also creates a greater opportunity for the acquisition of literature and documentation through broader participation in national and international cooperation.

Given reduced resources for foreign exchange purchases, we should honestly ask whether we ought not protect highly specialized libraries that, by fulfilling conditions of general accessibility, would guarantee at least the minimum of contact with worldwide scholarship. As a sidenote, a team of

PISM employees, having this in mind, proposed a drastic cut in funding for trips abroad to allow the continued accumulation of periodicals of significance both to the institute and to all of Poland as well. Given the current lack of specialization among centers, the dispersal of resources for foreign exchange purchases may lead to a situation where access to all publications acquired in this manner will be impossible or exceedingly troublesome. Another possibility for broadening the documentation base from international organizations belonging to the United Nations system and from special foundations.

The publication of documents, translations and previews of specialized literature, as well as pertinent articles, creates some possibility for moderating difficulties in this sphere. Many materials of interest have been published through so-called "small-scale printing" methods by such centers as the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, the Central Methodical Center and IKiC. PISM concentrates on publishing source materials, primarily through its periodical publishing of ZBIOR DOKUMENTOW, which unfortunately has been delayed about 2 years despite tremendous efforts and the fact that PISM is not to blame. Special collections of documents have been devoted to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] and to the Vienna negotiations; the publication of documents on the politics of the Chinese People's Republic continues. We may consider whether we ought not expand this type of activity considerably now in all institutes, making use of published periodicals for this purpose.

IV

With regard to the state of the academic cadre in international relations, the situation is fairly good. Approximately 200 specialists are employed in ministerial institutes and PAN, over 150 specialists work in the higher school system of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology and about 50 are employed in the schools of other ministries. Thus, about 400 employees pursue international relations professionally, as a basic discipline of study.

The distribution of the cadre is uneven. The largest of the research centers, PISM, employs 57 scholars; the Institute of Socialist Countries, 48; the Institute for Western Affairs, 42; the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, 24. In the higher school system, the largest centers are the SGPiS Institute for the Economy of Developing Countries and the UW Institute for International Relations, which employs 21 workers.

Of course, it is not the number of employees that determines the level of scholarly discipline, but their preparation and activity. While at the beginning of the 1970's the majority of those pursuing international relations worked in this field from the angle of specific component disciplines (the history of diplomacy, international law, sociology, international economic relations, etc.), and more second-generation specialists have done their master's theses and their doctoral and habilitatus dissertations on international relations from an interdisciplinary point of view. This is the result of doctoral studies and seminars conducted in the UW Institute for

International Relations in the Adam Mickiewicz University Political Science Institute and in PSIM, among others. The opening of a specialization in international relations within the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at Warsaw University, as well as a new postgraduate program in international relations at WSNS, has also been significant for the development of this field of study.

As a sidenote, in a situation in which the number of dissertations in international relations is increasing, the possibility should be considered that doctorates and habilitatus degrees be granted in this discipline and that it be formally be separated from political science.

Foreign contacts--both participation in seminars and international meetings and stipendiary trips--play an essential role in the development of the cadre. The situation is far from satisfactory in this regard. As indicated in a poll conducted by the Methodical Political Science Center, approximately one-half of the specialists in international relations employed in the higher school system either have not been abroad at all or have been abroad only once or twice for several days as part of delegations. Given this situation, the demand for greater fairness in granting trips abroad is totally justified, although the position of the centers making requests does not always make this possible. However, the sojourns of eminent foreign specialists in our country can be put to better use.

Since the demand to increase the number of foreign research grants and scholarly exchanges has limited potential for implementation, we must ask whether all domestic possibilities for participation in scholarly life and for contact with specialized centers are fully utilized. They are not. In particular, a properly organized and utilized program of domestic apprenticeships could often replace trips abroad and could enable the scholars to take advantage of the literature and documentation base inaccessible outside Warsaw.

The demand for more national seminars and scholarly meetings is justified. At present, while there are quite a few such meetings, they bring together a fairly meager body of specialists, very often the same people. In discussing this problem internally, PISM evaluated its role as falling short of the need in this regard and proposed to increase its participation considerably in organizing scholarly life in Poland.

Various types of associations and scholarly organizations can also play an important role in the creation of a properly functioning academic community. Apart from an active section in international relations in the Polish Political Science Society, the demand for the creation of an International Relations Association deserves to be considered. Such an association exists in many countries and brings together eminent practitioners and journalists as well as scholars.

V

Publication possibilities are an essential condition for the development of research, especially basic research, on contemporary international relations.

Given the well-known difficulties under which Polish publishers labor, the field of international issues is relatively well represented in book publishing. Over several years, 30 monographs have merited awards from PISM as the best works on contemporary international relations; several dozen books appear annually in this field, although their publication is much delayed, often making them outdated. Polish Scientific Publishers [PWN], Book and Knowledge [KiW], the Ministry of National Defense [MON] Publishing House, Popular Science [Wiedza Powszechna] and the State Publishing House for Economics [PWE] (in the sphere of economic issues) contribute in particular to the development of the study of international relations. This does not mean, however, that every completed dissertation has had an opportunity to be printed. It is difficult to find a publisher even for habilitatus works, and doctoratheses are rather exceptionally published. The possibility of making use of so-called small-scale printers somewhat saves the situation. Publications run off on duplicating machines appear sporadically at particular schools and fairly regularly at several ministerial institutes (PISM, the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, IKiC and the Central Methodical Center). Their propagation, however, is subject to criticism.

The situation is good with regard to the possibility of publishing studies and articles in the field of contemporary international relations. The academic community has at its disposal such periodicals as SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE [International Affairs], PRZEGLAD STOSUNKOW MIEDZYNARODOWYCH [International Relations Review], PRZEGLAD ZACHODNI [Western Review], STUDIA NAUK POLITYCZNYCH [Studies in Political Science] and KAPITALIZM [Capitalism], as well as several bulletins and news announcements. This enables the annual publication of several hundred articles and meets the needs of the community in this area. On the other hand, the extent to which the existing periodicals inspire potential authors and arouse discussion and honest scholarly criticism is open to discussion. Much remains to be done in these matters.

A serious drawback, felt by representatives of the study of international relations, is the lack of foreign-language publications. While there are the following English-language publications--STUDIES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, STUDIES ON THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, POLISH WESTERN AFFAIRS (in the French version: LA POLOGNE ET LES AFFAIRES OCCIDENTALES), POLISH YEAR BOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW and POLISH PERSPECTIVES (in several language versions)--except for PISM publications, problems connected with international issues represent merely a fragment of the contents of these periodicals.

If the wealth of Polish study of international relations is to be known beyond the borders of the Polish People's Republic, if we are to participate in international dialogue, if we are to present Polish foreign policy and the position of our country in light of contemporary focal problems, while at the same time shaping its image in the international community, then the undertaking of the publication of dissertations and monographs on international relations in the languages of congresses is indispensable. The example of several other socialist countries, particularly the USSR and Hungary, is

illuminating in this regard. PWN has had some success in the sphere of foreign-language publications.

One of the possibilities that has not been used enough is publication in cooperation with centers abroad, for many publications issued by PISM in cooperation with the institutes of socialist countries and Western institutes. Examples of Polish works in other countries are relatively meager.

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In conclusion it should be stated that, despite limitations and even reductions in state outlays for research and for the cadre, in the case of international relations this does not have to mean the inevitable regression or halting of its development, although the restricted purchases of foreign-language literature undoubtedly can be severe and dangerous in the long term. Certainly, the current economic difficulties of the country stop the extensive development of this new discipline. At present, it is essential that we place greater emphasis on the quality and on the level of our work--in a word, on intensive development, on the broader introduction of the results of our research into the worldwide literature and on the fuller utilization and activation of the research potential that has been created. The opportunity for this is created, above all, by the improved organization and coordination of research, greater specialization of particular centers, better utilization of existing publication possibilities and improved cooperation among particular centers, as well as between political science and practice.

8536
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VARIOUS ISSUES OF 'SLOWO LUDU' REVIEWED

Kielce, Radom Area Party Activities

Warsaw SLOWO LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Report from the meeting of the Kielce Voivodship PZPR Executive Board: "Directing the Party Under the State of Martial Law, Intermediate Elements Within the Party Work Structure; the Sociopolitical Situation in the Voivodship]

[Text] The strengthening and discipline of party ranks are absolutely necessary under martial law conditions. Yesterday, the voivodship party committee's executive board became familiar with instructions pertaining to directing the party under conditions of danger to the security of the state and with actions, already undertaken, regarding all party members who have declined to follow published directives, among others, those prohibiting participation in strikes and all other forms of protest. There can be and there is no room in the party for those who attempt to or actually participate in them.

The executive board, in turn, adopted a resolution pertaining to party organization structure in Kielce Voivodship. Twelve regions of party activity were named and designated as the intermediate elements in the present structure of party activity. These regions, concentrating the regional organization and party echelons, will be as follows: two in Kielce (for the city and the suburban territorial echelons) and one each in Skarzysko, Ostrowiec, Strarachowice, Busko, Kazimierza Wielka, Pinczow, Jedrzejow, Wloszczowa, Konskie and Miechow.

The executive board devoted considerable attention to an evaluation of the socioeconomic situation in the voivodship subsequent to the proclamation of martial law in the nation. Noted were a distinct revival and activization of a majority of party organizations in industry and the discussions they have inspired as to the necessity of the declaration of martial law and about the aims which the party has staked out for itself. Expressing thanks and recognition to the ever increasing party action groups, with city committees, among others, in Ostrowiec, which can be distinguished by their self-sacrificing agitator work, successful actions in protection of public law and order and in defense of public property. We are very grateful to such a group of party members for squelching a conflict which was ignited for

a short period the day before yesterday at the M. Nowotko Iron and Steel Foundry by a group of provocateurs.

The executive board of the voivodship committee expressed recognition and respect for the organs of public order and the soldiers of the Polish Army for their cautious but decisive and effective actions undertaken on behalf of the maintenance of law and order and their enforcement of the ordinances of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). There is no leniency for those who do not care about the proper functioning of their places of work, who wish to engage in adventurism or who live at the expense of someone else.

It was determined at the meeting that the method of party action must be the everyday presence of party activists among the people and working with the people. It is a task of particular importance to have the presence of party members wherever danger appears--where it is particularly difficult. The purpose of undertaking activities by the party is normalization of life, possible rapid termination of the state of martial law and taking part in the fulfillment of the program of the Ninth Party Congress and in socialist renewal.

Party Discussions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Discussion between staff writer Mieczyslaw Kaca and party personnel from the Metal Products Factory in Radom [FWM Radom]: Stefan Banach, plant party secretary, and Stefan Maksym, Ryszard Bujak, Andrzej Kazmierski, Ryszard Surma and Zbigniew Korcz; date and place not specified]

[Text] The "Tin Can" which was so popular for the past 6 months--now named the Metal Products Factory in Radom [FWM]--is again an independent enterprise. Self-government, good preparation for social reforms became a contribution for the entire, over 700--man work force. Taking a considerable part in these matters--as should be apparent from the interviews--was the party organization. It performs under specific conditions.

Stefan Banach: For several times already the comrades have elected me their secretary. They expressed their confidence in me in the last election, too. We, here at the "Tin Can" were being pushed down from the forefront. Such an atmosphere was created that, in the opinion of the people, we were ceasing to be credible. Our engagement in the struggle for self-dependence of the plant, which in reality is a branch of Walter [Walter Machine Works in Radom], gave us an opportunity for full participation in those matters which are the very life of the work force.

Stefan Maksym: The Radom Enamel Works has a longer history than the metal plants [FNM]. Entire generations of workers were employed there. Then, suddenly, it was decided to change the profile of production leaving nothing of the heretofore existing technology. Thus party members also have their contribution in maintaining the production of kitchen gas ranges.

Ryszard Bujak: The pressure for rapid self-determination was so strong that even the local Solidarity gave up strike action. It passed without major tensions. And wonder of wonders--even the leader of the Interfactory Workers Commission [MKR], Antoni Sobieraj, who comes from our work force, looked the other way at nonparticipation in strike action.

Stefan Banach: Sobieraj, he's quite a character. Not too long ago, while participating in a Solidarity meeting in FWM, he presented the subject very strongly, demagogically. He stated that because of Solidarity Poles will no longer be short of anything because they have their own... oil. "All that is needed to do is to turn open the valve on petroleum oil and we will be supplied with foodstuffs by... France." He always did look in one direction--West. Others called for surrendering of PZPR party cards. Comrades Surma, Pietkowski and Lach had suffered a lot from "union activists" during the past few months.

Andrzej Kazmierski: I'm a PZPR member without much longevity. When I entered the party ranks I knew that I would have to give more of myself. In these difficult times the majority of the comrades acted the same. Our plant became independent even though we had no orders or component parts for the kitchen ranges. Nevertheless we managed to provide work for people. Instead of the 40,000 ranges projected by Walter we will produce 80,000 ranges this year.

Ryszard Surma: The most important thing for me was to retain my identity, not to fall for the demagoguery, to become resistant to attacks. I presided over a branch trade union, however, all the members were party members.

Stefan Maksym: A matter in which we all participated was to insure work for people and to insure further development for the independent FWM. We have won. The first 10, fully assembled, new gas kitchen ranges, trademarked NINA are ready for shipment. Export to Soviet Union will remain the cornerstone of our existence.

Ryszard Bujak: Participating in the temporary self-government which we have established were the representatives of all sociopolitical organizations and the best professional people. It has fulfilled a very useful role.

Andrzej Kazmierski: The draft of next year's plan is ready. The management has calculated that we should clear 24 million zlotys profit. This is based on an estimated production of 120,000 kitchen ranges. If we fulfill this plan we will lower the costs and there will be enough money left over to reconstruct the dismantled enamel works for social purposes and also be enough for pay raises.

Stefan Maksym: The party organization is not interested solely in production matters. In the new situation, we care about the atmosphere of peace in our factory. We are all acting sensibly and the members of Solidarity are also contributing their share.

Zbigniew Korcz: We have formed a propaganda-agitation team. Our activists are talking with people, reporting back their observations and doubts and

making an effort to understand the needs of the workers. Today we have received a number of problems from representatives of various departments. They pertain to work conditions, pay matters and calculations. The answers are being made available, among other means, through our radio programs. We also program commentaries, we kill rumors and make appeals.

Stefan Banach: There are 185 of us [party members] in the plant. It is still a large number. We are preparing for the next round of meetings. There will be plenty of subjects to discuss, to assume a position with respect to the past, to prepare us for work under new conditions which were supposed to be easier, however, due to the existing situation it will be very complicated. Common sense and [party] discipline should accompany us with every step.

Party Secretaries Meeting

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 81- Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Conference of Local Echelons' Secretaries in Kielce and Radom Voivodships--In Defense of Socialist Poland"]

[Text] Under the leadership of Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Kielce Voivodship PZPR Committee, a voivodship committee conference took place including the first secretaries of city, city-gmina [parish], gmina and plant PZPR committees. The conference was devoted to the mission of party organizations during the difficult period of martial law and to the leadership role which should be played by party members in the reconstruction of the sociopolitical forces front which serves in the defense of socialist Poland. Also taking part in the conference were, among others, plenipotentiary representative of the National Defense Committee (KOK)--the military commissar for Kielce Voivodship, Col [Dipl] Stanislaw Iwanski; the plenipotentiary representative of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR and member of the party Executive Board of Kielce Voivodship--Kazimierz Matwiejuk, and also the voivodship commandant of the citizens militia (MO) in Kielce--Col Jozef Dolak, who spoke about the state of security and public order in Kielce Province. He noted that actions undertaken by the law enforcement forces during the period of martial law have considerably improved public discipline. Together with soldiers of the Polish Army and members of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia [ORMO] it became possible to reinforce the patrolling-protective services, undertake many meaningful actions toward effective pursuit of the perpetrators of political crimes, which in turn resulted in a decrease of unlawful endangerment, principally of the criminal type. So far there has been no need in Kielce Voivodship to employ means of direct coercion. All the rumors and tales concerning the inhumane treatment of internees and other detainees, who were arrested in connection with crimes, must, therefore, evoke astonishment. In spite of the comparatively quiet atmosphere, attempts are being made in the voivoship to form new organizational structures, kept secret from the state organs, and to propagate proclamations and slogans which sow unrest among the factory work forces. Law enforcement forces are engaged in a decisive struggle against all such activities.

Next, the secretaries of the PZPR voivodship committee in Kielce informed the confreres about the current sociopolitical and economic situation in all aspects of our life. Marian Surma, secretary of the voivodship committee, reported on the principal direction of the party's organizational work in the coming period. It pertained to support of initiatives and activities of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], forming of a social climate of support for all activities which shield the socialist system and protect the society from a civil war. There can be no room for improvisation in this activity. The courage and responsible and meaningful work of each member of the party will count in this undertaking.

Zdzislaw Kowalski, secretary of the voivodship committee, spoke about the country's economic situation and on this background about the economic results achieved during the past 11 months in Kielce Voivodship. The volume of production, as compared to the same period of last year, has fallen to 60 billion zlotys (a drop of 12.1 percent). Advancement of the yearly plan in housing construction amounted to 57 percent. As compared to last year, purchases of grain, milk and slaughter animals [by the state] are lower. Martial law had a positive influence on work discipline and on lowering of the incidence of unexcused absences. Those phenomena, in conjunction with normal execution of daily tasks lead to expectations that Poland will emerge faster from its economic crisis.

Wladyslaw Kmitkowski, secretary of the voivodship committee, principally described propaganda-informative activities introduced since the declaration of martial law. It was mainly a matter of those political themes which prevent national peril and convince the population as to the correctness of the undertakings of WRON. Another equally important task is the maintenance of frequent personal contact by party activists with the factory work forces.

In the discussion lasting many hours, the secretaries shared their observations and experiences from party work during the initial days following the imposition of martial law. They stressed the necessity to undertake inspirational party activities aimed at filling the gap in factories which had resulted as a consequence of the suspension of trade union activities. They indicated a need to form the closest possible cooperation with youth organizations and to finish the process of purging the party of people who are not worthy of carrying the PZPR party card.

Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Kielce PZPR voivodship committee, spoke at the conclusion of the conference. He stated that last year will pass into Poland's history as a significant period in the life of the party and the country. The [existing] situation created a sharp division in the society, resulting in tremendous psychological devastation, particularly among the youth. The party, acting under conditions of grave political struggle and being attacked from within and without, did manage, nevertheless, to conduct a democratic reporting and election campaign which culminated in the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The members of the party were the first to take up the effort of reconstruction of confidence in the party, not hesitating to own up to past mistakes, and actively conducted the activities

of their echelons. This fact is even more worthy of attention in that the comrades who assumed positions of authority in the party at all echelons often had very little experience in that kind of activity. Praise is due to all those who stood steadfast in their faith to socialist ideology.

Efforts of the party and the government undertaken during the past year to control the crisis and to introduce political reforms and economic improvement were torpedoed with full premeditation. In order to protect the society from civil war, a decision was undertaken to impose martial law. The armed forces of Poland took upon their shoulders the burden of defending the state and the society against the enemies of socialist Poland. It is the party's share of this burden to strengthen ties with the working class, rekindle the faith in the socialist program for reconstruction of the country and to demonstrate real perspectives for overcoming the crisis. The party cannot interrupt the building of its function of promoting understanding between all the political forces of national salvation.

Next, the first secretary informed those assembled regarding the course and topics of the meeting between the plenipotentiary representatives of KOK and the first secretaries of voivodship committees which took place 2 days ago in Warsaw under the leadership of the chairman of the WRON, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski. To conclude, the first secretary of the voivodship committee wished all party activists a happy new year.

A conference of the secretaries, touching on similar subjects, also took place in the voivodship bureau in Radom. Meeting on the same day were city mayors and gmina chiefs of Radom Voivodship. We shall return later to the topics which were the discussion subjects at that meeting.

New Year greetings were presented to the activists from the first secretary of the Radom Voivodship PZPR Committee, Bogdan Prus; the voivodship governor [Wojewoda], Col Eng Alojzy Wojciechowski, and the military commissar, Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Urbanski.

Discussion with Bogdan Prus

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 81-1 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Radom Voivodship PZPR committee: "All Forces of the Party for Stabilization of Political and Economic Life" by staff reporters Jerzy Figas and Mieczyslaw Kaca, date and place not given]

SLOWO LUDU: The year 1981 is drawing to an end. It was not the easiest year both in terms of the economy and in sociopolitical activity. Please tell us Comrade Secretary, with what kind of personal feelings are you bidding it goodbye?

Boleslaw Prus: Mixed ones. When this year was starting it appeared that a stabilization of life would ensue, peace would come and, consequently, the

results of 1981 would be better than those achieved inthe previous year. Unfortunately, this did not come to pass. During the past year there were no conditions for the conduct of normal business. The activity of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity turned toward adventurism and the [resultant] political confrontation did not always permit concentration on the most pressing social and economic problems.

This was a year of great tensions. Announcements of strikes and strike alerts caused nervousness and a state of excitation. The next cause turned out to be production and supply difficulties in Radom and in the voivodship. We are ending this year with considerably worse results than one would expect given the circumstances which were at our disposal.

SLOWO LUDU: To what degree--disregarding, of course, the difficulties which are, of necessity, borne by a state of martial law--did the situation in the voivodship change during the second half of December?

B.P.: I believe that the population of Radom and the voivodship have accepted, with a great degree of understanding, the decision to introduce martial law. Not only party members, but also many people from outside the party ranks are working together today to insure peace and order. All the plants are working normally. During the past couple of weeks the discipline in places of work has improved drastically, despite many problems with supply [deliveries] all the current production tasks have been properly fulfilled. The food market situation and slaughter animal purchases have improved. All this is the best proof that among the majority of the work force we have a general understanding for the demands of the present times. I wish to extend my words of thanks and recognition to the citizens of Radom and the voivodship for displaying such a great spirit of citizenship. We may, therefore, have hope that in 1982, we shall see further improvement in all aspects of our sociopolitical and economic life.

SLOWO LUDU: Since we are talking about the market and supply matters, it appears that the aid from our comrades from Magdeburg [East Germany] was more than just a symbolic gesture.

B.P.: Definitely. We have received goods which were needed very much on the market: food, footwear and children's clothing. I had an opportunity to taok, by telephone, with the first secretary of the SED district committee in Magdeburg, who was very active in arranging the entire shipment of goods to Radom. He told me that they are sending all they can share with us today. I know that our neighbors from beyond the Odra intend to continue this form of cooperation. This is an opportunity to express our thanks once more for this gesture, especially since our German comrades have their own very difficult problems.

SLOWO LUSU: The current, complex situation imposes particular obligations on party members.

B.P.: The year past has caused tremendous devastation in our routine activities; let us have no illusions that we will come out of it very soon. In

any case, there is only one thing to do: All our energy must be directed toward discipline and honest work. This must apply to us all, particularly to us as party members. We are bound to follow this by the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and plenums of the party Central Committee and in particular by the decisions of the Fourth Plenum which, among others, described unequivocally the relationship of party members toward a strike. The School Committee of the Higher School of Engineering [WSI] has already taken appropriate action against PZPR members who supported actively the so-called protest action of Solidarity, which by its posture had lengthened the conflict.

During the conference of the executive board of the voivodship committee, we have laid down the rules respective to evaluations of cadre members occupying leadership positions. These activities are being coordinated with the voivodship KOK. Several decisions have been made in order to introduce changes in those areas where there are well-grounded reservations. We have adopted a principle that those persons who are incapable of carrying out their duties will be replaced with others, those who will be capable of properly directing those portions of work which are assigned to them. The political workers cadre is subject to similar evaluation.

SLOWO LUDU: Comrade Secretary, how do you look upon those party members who are also members of Solidarity and who are taking an active part in the activities of that trade union?

B.P.: Solidarity has turned out to be an organization which has guided some groups of people upon a wrongful path. There is a need to reevaluate the activities of those PZPR members who, while being simultaneously members of Solidarity, voiced and supported the extremist tendencies of the leadership of that trade union. We will conduct appropriate discussions. I'm of the opinion that the front ranks of the party must define their position relative to those matters...

SLOWO LUDU: In listening to many people, one can detect a fear that the [part] line worked out by the Ninth Congress, the line of socialist renewal and cooperation, may be discontinued.

B.P.: The words of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski directed to the nation during the 13 December proclamation, and underlined again in his Christmas Eve speech, have only one meaning. There is no return to that period which we have agreed to call "times prior to August 1980." A guarantee of this is contained in, among others, the attitude of party members and the activity of basic party organs and echelons based on a truly democratic state of the party.

SLOWO LUDU: What are the most urgent tasks today for the voivodship echelon of the party's basic organization?

B.P.: Unification of all the party's forces toward a most rapid stabilization of political and economic life. Many branch party organizations (OOP) and Primary Party Organizations (POP) are in the process of holding very frequent meetings. One can observe a great deal of interest in all that

touches us at the place of work, at home, in the voivodship and in the nation. There are many opinions as to how we should act in a given situation and how we are to join in arriving at solutions to important problems. For instance, a question is being raised concerning a widening of party problematics pertaining to the socioexistential needs of the work force. The matter refers to the conditions which have developed as a result of the suspension of trade unions--party organizations should initiate appropriate activity and exercise control in this area over the actions of the administration. We support the formation of social commissions within plant committees. Such a task force could also be formed by the voivodship committee.

SLOWO LUDU: We are finding ourselves in the forefront of an economic reform.

B.P.: Yes, this is in accordance with the assumptions and the laws which are currently in force, the reform will be implemented. There's no doubt that the implementation requires additional, complementary decisions. Generally speaking, the work on the reform has to continue, amendments have to introduced as they are dictated by the conditions of life. Because of this, for a certain period of time, the direction of the economy--especially now, taking into consideration the state of martial law--has to contain certain elements of directive type. The basic postulate of the reform: self-financing, must be taken into consideration from the very onset.

SLOWO LUFU: Any wishes for the New Year?

B.P.: Common participation in the restitution of the fatherland, to make it a land of peace and orderliness, a land of industrious people. We have to prove that we are worthy of Poland. If we do work better then we will also solve our basic problems better, we will be able to satisfy, to an ever-increasing extent, our existential needs.

The executive board of the voivodship committee has issued an appeal to all party members for a full commitment in solving assorted difficulties. What we wrote in our appeal I consider to be justifiably included in an address to all the inhabitants of Radom and the voivodship.

I wish you, above all, good health, the least of troubles and the satisfaction which comes from knowing that you have done your job well.

9511
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FUNCTIONS, ACTIVITIES OF VOIVODSHIP DEFENSE COMMITTEES DESCRIBED

Gdansk Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 6, 7 Feb 82 p2

[Article by Wladyslaw Misiolek: "Minutes of One Meeting -- The Voivodship Defense Committee in Operation"]

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committees (WKO) are nothing new, although many of us did not learn of their existence until after the declaration of martial law. The committees were created on the authorization of the Sejm law dated November 1967 on the universal obligation to defend the country.

Under peaceful conditions, the tasks of the WKO consist mainly of directing a broadly-conceived range of defense matters in the voivodship.

In the martial law situation, the committees discharge leadership functions in relation to the local bodies of administration, coordinate the work of factories, state and cooperative institutions, and social organizations.

After the declaration of martial law, the first WKO action consisted mainly of insuring law and order, the satisfaction of people's basic living needs, the functioning of the administration, and the maintenance of production continuity. Taking into consideration the instructions of the supreme officials, the WKOs sharpened their requirements concerning one-man leadership and the responsibility of voivodship governors, city presidents, directors, and heads of plants.

The WKOs consist of voivodship governors and their deputies, secretaries of voivodship party committees, commandants of voivodship citizens' militias (MO), and chiefs of the Voivodship Military Staff. Plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee, who are authorized to oversee the activity of the committees, take part in WKO work.

Gdansk, 6 January

I had the opportunity to attend a local meeting of the Voivodship Defense Committee. Because of my profession, I have often "served at" sessions, meetings, conferences, and general assemblies of various sorts of groups, and I know from experience how difficult it was to sort out the concrete matter, the problems resolved, and the issues handled, from among the millions of words and Baroque ceremonies. Now that I am faced with the task of recounting the proceedings of a WKO session of 2 and a half hours, I find that I confront another difficulty: a list of all the matters taken care of would exceed a single article. I am therefore forced to limit myself to a few examples and a couple of reflections on the method and style of the Gdansk WKO's work.

The session which I attended was 16th such meeting to be held. The first was held the day after the declaration of martial law, that is, 14 December. The next ones were held daily, and it is only recently that the WKO has been coming together every other day.

The information from Col dyplomowany [academy graduate] Zenon Molczyk, chief of the Voivodship Military Staff and simultaneously plenipotentiary of the KOK [National Defense Committee] at the Gdansk WKO, shows that the following issues predominated in the past activity of the committee:

Undertaking of production in all plants of the region, including such giants as the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk,

Working toward the effective and efficient operation of administration,

Introduction of law and order, the insuring of safety and security to residents, and the adherence to the demands stemming from martial law.

The WKO not only makes decisions but also scrupulously monitors their implementation.

But the successive WKO meetings begin with the normal military punctuality, without any ceremony or even a call to order. The voivodship governor who is at the same time the WKO head says: "We are starting."

First Point: Human Affairs

This means an assessment of the status and functioning of the health and social welfare service in the voivodship. An army surgeon gives a talk. I have the impression of listening to a military report on the condition of the hospitals, pharmacies, social welfare establishments, nurseries, child welfare facilities, and so on.

Nothing is concealed. The information about what is going well is presented in most cursory form, with broader treatment being given to the shortcomings and difficulties, including proposals for their solution. I note certain facts:

In conjunction with the introduction of civil war, it was necessary to tighten up the criteria for admitting patients to hospitals, in order to insure the necessary reserve of beds. House calls by physicians were curtailed. The restrictions did not apply to mother and child care. The current situation is making it possible to gradually remove the restrictions. The hospitals are operating on whole-day staffing patterns, and this also applies to epidemiological and x-ray units.

Provisions were made to insure the necessary supply of blood, an action which military assistance made possible. The production of blood substitutes was expanded. The shortage of certain drugs was watched, especially antibiotics and analgesics. It was therefore necessary to introduce certain restrictions (for example, certain medications are being sold in single packages, and others require prescriptions).

The supply of fuel and heating to public health facilities is good. The voivodship hospital must have an independent source of electric power. Therefore, this request to the KOK plenipotentiary: "Comrade Colonel--Perhaps the army can provide us with two assemblies [generators?]... And one more thing: owing to the severe winter the ambulances cannot reach all points. For this reason we are asking for two transport vehicles..."

The response: "As to the assemblies, I will have to find out what the possibilities are, but the armored vehicles can be given to you at the end of the meeting." Then the voivodship physician's suggestion: "If the orthopedic workshops could be shifted somewhere else, then the voivodship hospital would be able to accommodate several dozen more beds."

The voivodship governor's response was that the matter could be considered settled.

Suggestion: The health service has been asking for years to have the building in which the Youth Palace is located transferred to it.

Response: You will get it. We will find someplace else for the young people.

Suggestion: There are great difficulties with insuring assistance for some of the elderly, the ill, and the disabled, and these people under our care find themselves in very difficulty housing conditions. The severe winter may even endanger their lives. Meanwhile, the recreation centers of the municipal economy and ZREMB are not fully utilized...

Response: Beginning tomorrow, half the places in these facilities will be at your disposal.

And this is the way it went, proposal after proposal, suggestion after suggestion. Even matters which have been at issue for years now are being taken care of right away, on the spot. This is the military style of operation and military efficiency.

Second Point: Also Human Affairs

This means service to the population on the part of post offices. The director of the District Post Office presents the issues.

I have the impression that time has gone backwards and again we are listening to a meeting at which people are talking about everything and nothing. Initially the person speaking tells the members of the commit tee in a "lecture" about the limitations in the working of the post office resulting from martial law, which in this body is simply untactful. The first unable to contain himself is the voivodship governor:

"We would like to know what is being done, so that despite these restrictions there will be fewer complaints about the workings of the post office. We cannot adopt the principle that we are limiting our operations and everything is all right. What is being done to use the period of telephone silence to make a technical review of the equipment? The time has finally come for our post office too to operate the way post offices in every civilized country operate. We cannot do much to make people come out of the shops satisfied, but they ought not to have to complain about the post office."

There are more critical views. The district attorney points out that in the course of monitoring management personnel we must not fire people for their activity prior to 13 December, unless it was clearly inimical or violated the law. The commandant of the voivodship MO is of the same opinion.

The KOK plenipotentiary: "We cannot accept the information given us. Because the director has been unable to prepare straightforward material, I am calling for the creation of a three-person committee to familiarize us with the operation of the post office at next week's meeting of our committee.

With this then, the joking around came to an end.

Third Point: Human Affairs Once More

This means a review of the proposals to resume the activity of the cultural facilities. The head of the propaganda staff makes his report.

The stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship provides encouragement for the gradual restoration of the operation of the theaters, motion picture houses, museums, houses of culture, and so on, but it is necessary to follow certain requirements of martial law, such as obtaining the approval of the censors to put on a presentation (most of the theaters have met this requirement). We cannot neglect the fact that in the cultural community people's attitudes vary. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account the possibility that somebody will want to exploit a cultural presentation to sow unrest.

After a review of all the pros and cons it was decided first of all that the theaters for children would be reopened, and then the local movie houses, followed by the urban movie houses, museums, exhibitions, and so on.

Fourth Point: Winter Alarm

This means measures taken to counteract the effects of the sudden onslaught of winter. The deputy governor of the voivodship speaks.

This point was not planned. The situation dictated it. Beginning 13 December the tricity has been living through a sudden onslaught of winter: a severe cold snap, copious precipitation of snow, and biting wind. New falls occur right after the snow plows pass through the streets. There are numerous breakdowns of the trains and streetcars. As the result of the partial interruption of transportation, a number of people never made it to work. There are serious problems with supply.

The first attempts to handle the cold snap were undertaken in the early morning, but because they proved inadequate it was necessary to mobilize all means and forces, directing them to the most important sectors of the front (for example, in order to provide for the functioning of urban transportation, it was necessary to give up the removal of snow from the expressway around the tricity).

The voivodship governor makes the decision to give the winter alarm and authorizes his deputy to take the necessary action required by the situation.

The subject will be continued at the next meeting of the committee.

Fifth Point: Various Matters

This includes personnel issues, first of all.

The director of the children's facility is removed from his position for failure to concern himself adequately with those under his care. If the accusation that the children's packages coming from foreign assistance have been stolen from is confirmed, then the case will be referred to the courts.

Two directors were appointed. For the time being they will handle the duties of the director. If they work out, they will be appointed to the position permanently.

So much for the reporter's notes from the meeting of the Gdansk Voiovdship Defense Committee. They do not tell everything about this meeting, but this is not just because I managed to note down barely some of the issues discussed. It also has to do with the method and style of the operation of the WKO. Therefore I have also to write something else for our readership:

PS to the Minutes

1. The committee operates in basically a military style. One has the impression that finally the time of empty words has passed and that it is deeds which count. The principle of operation is simple enough: an analysis of the needs and possibilities, immediate decision, implementation.

2. There is not a shred of bureaucratic nonsense. It is as though all sorts of regulations impeding action have disappeared. Of course, there are regulations and they are in effect. It is just that they are finally being treated like something which is to facilitate action, not hamper it.

3. All the issues taken up were human affairs. And they were resolved in view of the needs of the residents of the voivodship.

4. The notion of "holding office" has come to an end. Work in positions of leadership is social service. Anybody who does not understand this must go. The main criterion for personnel decisions consists of expert skill and the ability to operate efficiently.

5. If the method and style of operation from the period of martial law become a fixed habit, then we can be more peaceful about the future and less worried.

Comments of Warsaw Commissioner

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Feb 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Gen Dywizji Dr Habilitowany Wladyslaw Mroz, National Defense Committee [KOK] plenipotentiary, and military commissar of the capital city and voivodship of Warsaw, by PAP reporter Witold Smolarek: "Not By an Argument of Force, But by Force of Argument"]

> [Text] Reflections on the subject of the activity of the Voivodship National Defense Committee, which has been in operation for more than 7 weeks, and on the issues related to an important leadership function, that of supervision (in the military inspectorate), are shared in a Polish Press Agency interview with Wladyslaw Mroz.

[Question] One of the important conditions for getting out of the crisis is the efficient operation of the bodies of administration and authority. Under martial law conditions, the voivodship defense committees [WKO] play the role of coordinator of the efforts undertaken in this realm. What does the balancesheet of the action taken up until now look like?

[Answer] We are going into the 8th week of difficult work conceived as a form of support for the bodies of state and economic leadership. Unfortunately, reality clearly shows that there is a very great deal to do to "put our house in order," and that too often, instead of being merely a source of additional energy, the military commissars and military groups subordinate to them are in certain instances forced to step over into the prerogatives of the administrative bodies, in order to liberate social initiative and civic action to overcome the crisis. Up until now we have conducted more than 15 comprehensive reviews and two problematic (interview-photoinformational) reviews. They have covered areas of life which are sensitive for any complex, especially a great complex in the capital. This means milk distribution, bakeries, urban transport companies and the urban sanitation enterprise, CPN construction, Polish State Railways (Warsaw railway junction), the automobile factory and Ursus mechanical plants, Warsaw-Wola section, thermal-electric power system, and Otwock and Piaseczno. We directed our successive "hard blows" at monitoring the level of support for meat and food stores. We do intend to perform our own sort of anatomical investigation of the operation of all spheres of life. The conclusion? Criminal lack of sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership of the plants and enterprises, waste of public property, lack of compunction with regard to self and others, weak leadership and administration, poor working conditions, glaring neglect in the realm of occupational health and safety and fire prevention, poor level of sanitary and hygienic conditions of facilities, and inadequate concern for the social existential conditions of workers, and, above all, complete lack of monitoring and control of the very important function of management. There are many weak points in management. This is shown by both theory and practice. This is directly related to the neglect of monitoring and accountability.

[Question] What is going on, for example, when the conclusions overall consist of the picture you gave above?

[Answer] What ought to be going on. We analyze the causes, look for the remedies, give concrete conclusions and request immediate consequences, where called for, in relation to those people guilty of neglect. This is not the first time that it has worked out that a great deal can be nearly remedied "in the course of the march," as we used to say in the army. It also turned out that only in-depth monitoring can upgrade the situation which still rather frequently exists around us, one which at one time Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski defined in this way: "Some work while others watch, others watch while people work."

[Question] Here we are getting into the sphere of control methodology, and in the army this was called inspection. In the hope of generalization, please expand on this subject.

[Answer] Inspection, control, monitoring, accountability. These are an extremely important oversight function. Our military practice has proved that only in-depth control can produce benefit. On the other hand, taking the issue in exact terms, this means the straightforward execution of the suggestions resulting from this control. What is more, shallow, superficial control is a greater evil than no control at all. Here we should remember to respect the definition of good work, which closes with this statement: "Each does his own work, each works well, each reports when he is finished, and each is controlled and held to account."

[Question] What should be taken into account at the stage of planning control? How should the control group be selected?

[Answer] The control plan (annual, quarterly) is kept absolutely secret and encompasses the weakest, most neglected parts of the controlled group. The focus should be on the basic functional echelons (for example, the bakeries, transport security, milk distribution, and so on); basic administrative bodies (for example, city districts, towns, parishes (gminy)); basic production groups (industrial plants, state farms, cooperatives, and so on). The controlling body should be made up of good specialists, experts with high-level ethics and morals, people of objectivity, a sense of principle, thoroughness, and ... bonhommie! The way the control operation is prepared is vital. Each person should simply understand the significance of it, have the maximum information about the installation to be examined, know the purpose of the investigation and its problem sphere and so on. Instructions should be conducted with the utmost care prior to the investigation. This is often made light of and not appreciated. If this happens, it is a grave error.

[Question] And how is the control done?

[Answer] In the army we break it down into three stages, by convention, of course. First we do the initial control, which represents sort of a "pass" to the basic control. The final stage is a summation of the control which has been completed. Among other things, the first stage checks on order, occupational health and safety, fire protection, sanitation and hygiene... and checks to see that the recommendation of previous visits has been acted upon. If the general result is unsatisfactory, then the basic control is not conducted. Let us assume that the result was favorable.

We pass on to the basic control, which should begin with listening to the information (report) from the director, the superior, on the subject of the situation in the unit being controlled. Later the individual subcommissions of the control body check, examine, and analyze, for example, the moral-political condition, discipline and attitudes among the workers, the basic activity of the enterprise, and the way this activity is safeguarded and insured in terms of materials and organization and in the realm of the safeguarding of order, regularity, and social-existential conditions. After all the necessary action has been completed, the workers' complaints have been listened to, and photographs have been made to show glaring examples of neglect and the reports are drawn up, then there is a summing up along with a list of recommendations and a date for compliance.

It is extremely important to use the control results and to check to see that all the control recommendations are carried out. This is handled by the individual units of the administration and by military people, and, if need be, by the WKO.

I have presented the issues very briefly concerning "control methodology." We must add that they are no secret to any of those upon whose sense of responsibility and honesty depends the functioning of the enterprises, offices, and bodies serving the state and the economy, all of us.

A final reflection: in all our action, the purpose of which is to introduce peace, order, discipline, concern for state property, production continuity, and so on, we should always remember that the effect of the control should be achieved not with the argument of force but with the force of argument.

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MARTIAL LAW REGULATIONS FOR HIGHER SCHOOLS PUBLISHED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Jan 82 p 6

[Article: "How Higher Schools Are Working"]

[Text] Some higher schools have already fully resumed teaching activities. In others, preparations for undertaking interrupted studies are continuing.

Before making the decision to set in motion academic studies, the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology [MNSzWIT] prepared two documents. They are: Guidelines concerning the operation of higher schools during the period of compulsory martial law and Provisional Regulations for daytime studies in higher schools subject to the minister of NSzWIT. These documents, consulted upon in deliberations with rectors, stated briefly regulate the operational prcoedure of schools during the period of martial law and the conditions which must be fulfilled for higher schools to resume their statutory activity in full. All members of the academic community, therefore, should familiarize themselves with the contents of these documents. We wish to facilitate this. Hence, we are printing a column devoted entirely to one subject--the functioning of schools during the period of martial law.

Law Continues to be Binding

As everyone knows, the beginning of the current academic year was extremely stormy. What added to this was the different interpretations of the regulations of the "old" law from 5 November 1958 on higher schooling made in the spirit of the contents of statements included in the draft of the "new" law. The "Guidelines" mentioned state unequivocally: "Higher schools operate on the basis of the law from 1958 and regulations issuing from the martial law decree."

In conjunction with this, the rector runs the school--singlehandedly. He acts through the medium of the other one-man organs of the school. This means that the rector assumes full responsibility for the entire makeup of the activities of his institution. Similarly, the other persons assume responsibility for the activities of the organizational units they supervise.

The administrative organs (senate, faculty council) perform the functions of advising and offering opinions to rectors and deans. Their composition was defined by the regulations of the 1958 law. However, the representatives of

the organizations which have had their activities suspended do not participate in the meetings of these organs.

The rector is responsible for familiarizing all employees and students with the regulations and decisions of the authorities issued in conjunction with martial law and he has the obligation to execute these regulations within the scope of his authority. He likewise guarantees the protection of the school grounds in accordance with the current requirements. He also is to step up preventive measures the purpose of which is to avert manifestations of the violation of social discipline and legal norms by the entire academic community. An especially important duty of the rector is to counteract attempts to act in ways not permitted by martial law regulations and to inform the authorities and the minister of NSzWIT about all attempts at such action.

During the period that martial law remains in effect, all employees are bound by intensified work discipline. Moreover, in conjunction with the suspension of the statutory activity of trade unions, the provisions of the Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher and the labor code are not binding where they touch upon coordinating decisions of the cadre with trade unions, e.g.: the hiring, firing, promotion, transfer, remuneration, distinguishing, and punishment of employees.

The rector, taking into account the special requirements issuing from the introduction of martial law and the need to make up for lost time in teaching activities, may order employees to execute tasks exceeding their former duties.

Intensifed work discipline means an increase in the significance of periodic evaluations of teaching-upbringing and the scholarly-research activities of university teachers. The guidelines clearly state the duty of conducting these evaluations according to the recommendations of a letter from the minister of NSzWIT dated 30 November 1979. They also stipulate that the self-evaluation of the university teacher, checked by his direct superiors and then verified by the Academic Council and the Scholarly Council, should foster the determination of the problems and obstacles encountered in the teacher's work, resulting in the possibility and obligation of proposals made for streamlining and changes.

Within the area of scholarly-research work, it is recommended that work be verified from the viewpoint of its particular applicability to the development of the economy, the national culture and the development of the academic cadre. The rector approves research plans within the framework of the financial possibilities of the school.

Study and the Students

The rector confirms changes in the organization of the course of studies made for the purpose of compensating for lost time. These changes are to be adapted to the specific situation of particular schools and directions of study. At the same time, the general principle established in the Guidelines is binding, namely: compensating for lost time is to take place

during the course of two or, at most, three successive semesters without extending the normal time of studies. Only in exceptional cases is it possible, with the approval of the minister of NSzWIT, to extend studies for the last year by one semester. However, classes during the summer semester of the 1981/82 academic year may be extended. Recruitment for the first year of studies will be conducted in September, without additional fall recruitment.

In the area of foreign language study, students are obliged to participate in two courses. It is compulsory that one of these courses be in a language, the study of which the student is continuing.

The implementation of the teaching-upbringing process in higher schools during the period of martial law must be characterized by intensified discipline in studies, intensified teaching and the strict observance of regulations. These requirements are stated precisely in the Provisional Regulations for daytime study (introduced by an order of the minister dated 8 January 1982). The Provisional Regulations are binding for all schools subject to the minister of NSzWIT. These regulations establish the obligation "of the student to be present at all classes stipulated by the plan of studies." As formerly, the dean establishes the forms of checking a student's presence and the procedure for validating absences. On the other hand, the statement previously in effect that the person conducting a class in a given subject may excuse a student from some teaching activities in this subject no longer applies. The dean has also lost the power to grant a student permission to undertake steady remunerative work.

The disciplinary responsibility of the student is specified in paragraph 10 of the Provisional Regulations, which reads:

1. A student assumes disciplinary responsibility for disciplinary offenses according to the principles outlined in separate regulations. This likewise refers to cases of offenses committed as stipulated in article 50 of the Decree on martial law (DZIENNIK USTAW Legal Gazette, no 29, 1981, item 154).

2. In the event that it is ascertained that provisions of article 46-48 (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 29, 1981, item 154) have been violated, the rector on his own initiative removes the student from the list of students without initiating a disciplinary proceeding.

With regard to the principles of the organization of studies, the Provisional Regulations do not specify detailed principles and possible organizational variants of the academic year. These follow the plans and framework of teaching programs previously in effect. The rector confirms detailed teaching programs. These are announced to students together with the list of literature needed during the first 2 weeks after the beginning of classes. The rector also determines the detailed organization of the academic year on the basis of compulsory plans of study, he divides the year into semesters and establishes the dates for the examination session.

The principles of studies taking place according to individual plans and programs have remained virtually unchanged. The sole exception to this is

the previous statement that studies carried out in this way may lead to the shortening of the period of study. The Provisional Regulations also do not preserve the provisions enabling a student to participate in selected classes in the same or another higher school. With regard to apprenticeships, the general provision is binding that the dean determines their program following from the plans of study and specifies the manner of and conditions for granting credit.

Examinations and Granting Credit

Relatively major changes have been made in the principles of awarding credit for the year of studies. Due to their practical significance for students, we are quoting the provisions of chapter 4 of the Regulations in full, except for paragraph 26, which maintains the scale of evaluation previously applied unchanged.

Section 20. The rector determines the organization and procedure for awarding credit for the year (semester).

Section 21. The granting of credit for a subject which includes an examination is done on the basis of:

1) awarding credit for classes in the given subject based on an evaluation of the active part the student takes in these classes and by obtaining positive evaluations of classwork (tests, running checks, projects and the like).

2) an examination, which is a check of the level to which the student has mastered the material specified in the program for this subject.

2. The granting of credit for a subject which does not include an examination is done on the basis of parragraph 1 item 1.

3. The person conducting a given subject may excuse a student from participating in some classes if that student is doing research within the framework of research teams implementing topics which are part of the plan of the institution or which emanate from agreements with units of the socialized economy. He may likewise grant credit for exercises, seminars and examinations in the subject with which the student's research work is thematically linked, contingent upon the student's fulfillment of the requirements emanating from the study program.

Section 22 1. The person conducting classes grants credit for the classes.

2. In cases warranted by the requirements of the teaching process, the dean may establish the obligation of granting credit for all or some classes in a given subject before the examination is passed.

Section 23 1. Those giving lectures in a given subject conduct the examination.

2. In exceptional cases, in a given year the dean may authorize those lecturing in related subjects to conduct examinations.

3. On the basis of the plan of studies and the organization of the [academic] year specified by the rector, the dean determines the examinations which the students are obliged to take during a given session.

4. A student may take the examinations discussed in paragraph 3 before the exam session, if the examiner agrees to this.

Section 24 In the event that a student does not pass all of the examinations established in the course of section 23 paragraph 3, the dean may make a decision not to admit the student to a repeat session and not to grant credit for the year (or semester) of studies.

Section 25 1. An examination for each subject stipulated in the plan of studies takes place separately and is subject to separate evaluation.

2. In the event that a student obtains an unsatisfactory evaluation on an examination, the student is entitled to the right to one repeat session.

Section 27 1. Students attaining the best results in study in a given year of study, showing the greatest improvement by comparison with the previous period and demonstrating the proper moral and civic attitude who fulfill the obligations emanating from the regulations of the law in an exemplary manner may receive awards and distinctions.

2. The criteria and procedure of granting awards and distinctions are determined by the rector, with the exception of monetary awards. The principles for granting monetary awards are specified in separate regulations.

Section 28 1. Upon the suggestion of a student, submitted within 2 days from the examination date, the dean orders an examination by committee, in exceptional and specially warranted cases. This should take place within 7 days from the date the proposal is submitted.

2. On his own initiative, the dean may order an examination by committee, in the event that a student does not pass a repeat examination.

3. An examination by committee takes place before a committee composed of the dean or the assistant dean as committee chairman, the examiner who conducted the previous examination, a second specialist in the subject area covered by the examination or in a related subject and the tutor for the year.

Section 29 With regard to a student who has not been granted credit for a year of studies, the dean hands down a decision to:

1) permit the year of studies to be repeated, with the exception of students in their first year of studies,

2) remove the student from the list of students,

3) conditionally permit the student to undertake studies in the following year (in special cases specified by the rector).

2. The dean may remove a student from the list of students in the course of the academic year if he does not demonstrate sufficient progress in his studies, as ascertained by a running check. The dean makes such a decision after having solicited the opinion of the tutor for the year.

3. A student may obtain permission to repeat a year not more than once during the period of studies.

Section 30 A student who is repeating a year of studies is not obliged to obtain credit for subjects in which he has received at least a good evaluation.

Section 31 1. The reacceptance for studies of a person who has interrupted studies or who has been removed from the list of students during the first year of studies follows the general principles for recruitment for higher studies.

2. The principles of reacceptance for the second year or for more advanced years of studies are specified in separate regulations.

Student Organizations

1. In conjunction with a decision of the ministry of NSzWIT dated 5 January 1982, concerning the dissolution of the Independent Association of Students [NZS], the rector decides how to designate the property of this organization. The rector may assign persons employed by the NZS or suspended student organizations to other work on the campus of the institution. If this is not possible, these persons take on work as directed by the local organ of the State administration.

2. The property of student organizations suspended during the period of obligatory martial law, i.e.: the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the Student Sport Union [AZS] and the Polish Student Union [PZA], as well as of school organizations is taken into receivership by the rector of the higher school; in committee on the basis of protocol. The rector determines the makeup of the inventory committee and the receivership which safeguards the property of the organization. The rector may also hand down a decision concerning the utilization of the property of suspended organizations by organizational units of the school. The receivership performs actions indispensable for keeping the property from deteriorating.

3. In accordance with the Guidelines, the rector may grant his approval to the undertaking of activities of cultural sections and scientific circles within the framework of the altered program and the principles of organization of the educational process; the rector appoints the persons administratively responsible for the activity of these sections.

4. In conjunction with the suspension of the activities of AZS:

--Study Programs of Physical Education and Sports assume supervision of and take charge of AZS teams participating in the State system of matches, insuring them instruction-training conditions, food and shelter as well as participation in the sporting events gradually being revived by the GKKFiS Central Committee of Physical Culture and Sport. Teams participating in any type of match and sporting event use the school name, without the words "AZS."

--Study Programs of Physical Education and Sports likewise take on the activity formerly conducted by AZS School Clubs, according to the principles discussed above, by agreement with the rector's plenipotentiary. This is with regard to conducting events and mass intramural and intermural matches.

--In the event of the participation of competitors from higher school teams in community teams, their participation in sporting events and matches must be approved by the governor's (mayor's) plenipotentiary, who formerly was in charge of the community management of AZS.

5. The ALMATUR Central Office of Travel and Tourism BPiT, together with its subordinate units and property have been taken over by the plenipotentiary of the minister of NSzWIT, while the property and activity of ALMATUR BPiT school agencies is assumed by the plenipotentiary and board appointed by the rector. The activity of voivodship ALMATUR BPiT's, together with the centers and property belonging to them have been taken over by the plenipotentiaries of voivodes (presidents). Therefore, the activity of the rector's plenipotentiary and the board for ALMATUR BPiT affairs which extends beyond the voivodship should be approved by the plenipotentiaries for the organs of the local administration.

6. The Provisional Regulations, by virtue of their scope, do not encompass changes in the program and organizational principles of the educational process in higher schools and student houses associated with the suspension of the activity of organizations and self-governing student bodies. These changes are initiated by the rector, who appoints the appropriate plenipotentiaries and adminsitrators for matters such as culture, sports and student houses and determines the persons responsible for taking charge of the activity of scientific circles, sporting and cultural clubs and the like.

The rector likewise initiates provisional regulations for the functioning of student houses, specifying such matters as the organization of entry to outsiders and the manner of establishing control over entry.

Material Assistance

The material assistance from which students benefited up to December 1981 inclusively is resumed from the date on which classes resume.

The regulations previously in effect in the granting of new stipends, awards and distinctions to students excelling academically, as well as the principles of student utilization of student houses and cafeterias are binding.

There is the change that the functions of making recommendations and rendering opinions foreseen for student organizations of self-governing student bodies are assumed by the plenipotentiaries of the rector and deans for affairs of material assistance. These are appointed from among university teachers or administrative employees permanently employed in the higher school. The rector may order the appointment of a two- or three-person team to assist the plenipotentiary.

During the current school year, the periods of utilization of scholarship assistance previously in effect are binding, namely:

--normal stipends funded for a 10-month period, allowing for exceptions defined by regulations,

--stipends funded for 12 months.

Students do not incur a charge for a period during which they did not make use of a student house. In conjunction with this, one-half of the December charge already incurred (60 zlotys), should be credited to their accounts due for residence in the student house following the beginning of classes.

Two basic types of leaves are retained, i.e., the short-term leave and the year's leave. A reason justifying the granting of a leave is a long-term illness or serious personal circumstances. During the entire period of studies, the year's leave may be obtained only once, unless the reason for the leave is a long-term or recurring illness. During both types of leaves, the student retains his valid school identification and the right to take advantage of free medical care. In exceptional cases, he may receive material benefits during this time. The dean, at the recommendation of the tutor for the year for the student group, makes the decision on this matter.

Social Activity

In accordance with Decision No 2 of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, dated 21 December 1981, social activity should be concentrated on the streamlining of the organization of the collective feeding of employees, the organization of the sale of consumer articles in schools and guaranteeing pensioners and annuitants the possibility of making use of various services of a social nature.

Rectors are also obliged to take over and perfect the various forms of social activity conducted by trade unions, also to pay out statutory benefits and ensure the effective functioning of employee benefit loan funds.

Cadre Worktime

University teachers employed fulltime on the basis of appointment or on the basis of a labor agreement are bound during the academic year to execute teaching activities emanating from the teaching program of study within the following scope, defined in terms of so-called computed hours:

--professors and docents--210 hours,
--adjuncts, senior assistants and assistants--270 hours,
--senior lecturers--300 hours,
--lecturers--360 hours,
--foreign language teachers, teachers of defense subjects, physical education and other subjects--540 hours,
--teachers of practical skills--840 hours.

One computed hour equals 45 minutes of actual lectures, lessons, discussion, drill, proseminars and seminars encompassed by plans of daily studies, evening studies and correspondence studies, as well as postgraduate and doctoral studies.

Trips Abroad

Under conditions of martial law, the number of trips abroad has been reduced. Nevertheless, it is indispensable that the most valuable forms of cooperation be preserved and that the continuity of contacts with the leading scientific centers, participation in joint research endeavors and in major international shows be ensured. For these reasons we should:

1) implement trips issuing from intergovernmental agreements and understandings, as well as from agreements concerning the direct cooperation of schools and scientific institutions,

2) give preference to trips which have the purpose of implementing joint research efforts; scientific apprenticeships (particularly long-term ones), especially when they concern priority subjects for the economy, science and culture; research or teaching work in scientific institutions abroad based on intergovernmental agreements, contracts concluded by foreign trade enterprises and agreements for direct cooperation,

3) facilitate the participation of Polish scholars in leading international scientific gatherings,

4) continue student trips made for the purpose of doing all of one's work in higher studies in socialist countries, on the basis of interstate agreements, and the trips of students sent through MNSzWIT for so-called partial studies (one to two semesters).

What is the obligatory procedure for trips abroad?

I. To Socialist Countries (with the exception of Yogoslavia)

a. The rectors of higher schools and the directors of other academic institutions who had the authority before 13 December 1981 to make recommendations that service passports be issued retain that right. The directors of other institutions act according to the principles previously in effect in this area.

b. All passports issued before 13 December 1981 which carry a provision of validity only for socialist countries (one for several socialist countries) preserve their validity and do not require renewal before trips made to these countries.

c. Passports issued before 13 December 1981, carrying a provision of validity "for all countries of Europe" or "all countries of the world" must be renewed before the making of trips to socialist countries. The appropriate territorial passport organ (Voivodship Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia [MO]) renews the passport at the recommendation: of the rectors of higher schools, the directors of academic institutions authorized to make recommendations that service passports be issued or the superior organ having this authorization (for institutions not authorized to issue service passports).

II. To Other Countries

a. The ministers or directors of central offices alone are authorized to make recommendations that service passports be issued.

b. The rectors of higher schools and the directors of academic institutions submit recommendations to the appropriate ministers concerning the issuance of service passports together with supporting material, which includes the nature of the sojourn abroad and the anticipated academic results, the formal basis of the trip, sources of financing and personal data.

c. When a decision has been made, the recommendations discussed above are returned to those making the recommendations.

d. Approved passport recommendations are then implemented at the appropriate territorial MO voivodship headquarters.

III. Applications for sojourn visas in institutes of foreign States are handled exclusively by the appropriate ministries or central offices.

8536
CSO: 2600/341

BRIEFS

LETTER TO KREISKY--Vienna (SK)--For over 5 years a socialist party has been operating semilegally in Poland. Its leadership was arrested after the proclamation of martial law because it had refused to collaborate with the police against KOR [Workers' Self-Defense Committee] and other leftist groups. This emerges from a letter which Chancellor Kreisky received from a Polish prison. Conditions in the prisons are very tough: Up to eight prisoners are kept in cells of less than 20 square meters. The temperature in the cells hardly ever exceeds 14 degrees C. The food is of poor quality and inadequate quantity and is mostly served cold. Open-air exercise, although stipulated for 1 hour daily, is mostly reduced to 45 minutes and often altogether canceled. Prisoners who go on hunger strikes are not given any medical care. [Text] [AU081234 Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 6-7 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 3103/332

IASI PAPER'S REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE CRITICIZED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by C. Stanescu]

[Text] A retrospective view of the literature of the 70's, which have barely ended, even if it is a provisional one, is welcome and timely anytime. CONVORBIRI LITERARE, the Iasi journal, has published such a discussion in the last several issues. The opinions of the participants in the "retrospective view" are inciting, some are judicious. Primarily what is remarkable is the signalling of the appearance of a large number of valuable books, novels, poetry, volumes of literary criticism and history, all of them indicating an emphasis on the thematic and stylistic diversity of literature. Second, we should note the judicious review of the contribution of some new writers to the development of today's literary creation. Many penetrating observations concern literary criticism and historyofthe political-ideological climate of this period, in which the utilization of the literary heritage continues at a high level and the reestablishment of some important writers of the past in critical editions. Some opinions formulated by the participants in this "retrospective"view" raise questions, however. As Alex. Stefanescu writes, "Starting in 1971, literary life loses much of its celebrated ebullience which characterized it in the preceding decade. The enthusiasm of renaissance gradually is replaced by an atmosphere of concentrated work." As if this "enthusiasm" excludes concentrated work. No opposition or exclusion between these concepts exists;rather, logically, a relationship of consequence exists. What may be understood is the critic's desire to establish some arbitrary oppositions lacking intelligible criterion. As the author points out, writers now are asserting themselves as "solitary navigators" or "through declared integration in the retinue of certain personalities." How many should be in the retinue and what tasks they should fulfill alongside the "suzerain personality" which facilitates their assertion are quiet matters for this author of the unusual view of the assertion of the young writer. Dividing writers into two clearly defined camps defined by an imaginary barrier, Alex. Stefanescu then comes with a Maniheist view of the literary landscape, republishing in a surprisingly simplistic manner the formula of the"idealist-realist" novel of the 50's, in which the characters split into the two radically differing categories and both just as illusory: the negativists and positivists, the "angels" and "devils." The critic "reads" the current literary landscape like a novel of the past worked out in the school of Maniheist realism. A curious metamorphosis! Characterizing the decade which has ended, he believes he has discovered the republishing of an old dispute between the "traditionalists" and "modernists," "between supporters of the message and those of expressiveness," accusing the former of all the "bad things," among which the worst is that it gives literature a "mission" and a "message." We are totally confused, since he does not

say what "message" these "traditionalists" support and what "mission" they are giving to literature. What is certain is that they are seen as the bad spirits of literature, a category "defined by the transformation of literature into a mission, through the announced seriousness and through the complete and energetic solidarization of the militants." What can one say faced with the critic's holy scorn for the"outrage"of the message and mission on the purity of the "noble gratuitousness," as literature appears to be for him? Judging according to the logic of this "celebrated" angle, the fact that a "traditionalist" prose writer like Sadoveanu, let us say, is the creator of an artistic style, of a unique expressiveness in Romanian literature would be incompatible with the existence of the mission and message of this literature! And inversely: when "the message" makes its appearance, style and expressiveness automatically disappear! These oppositions are as peremptory as they are false and there is no need to say again that the expressiveness of a sumptuous literary style in a novel like"Principele" does not oppose in the least the book's philosophical message. Or does Al. S. believe that a novel like "Cartea Milionarului" is a "pure" and gratuitous linguistic adventure!? Imagining "conflicts" between the supporters of the message and of expressiveness, Alex. Stefanescu introduces false opposition, outside of literature, in discussing current literary phenomenon.

It is hard to say to whom this view is of use. Perhaps Al. Dobrescu, a participant in the same discussion, who takes over "deepening" the ideas. As Al. D. writes, "The 70's start with an emphatic question regarding the syntheses dedicated to the present. Has something changed in the meantime? Have the obstacles become easier to overcome? Will they be overcome or will the techniques for climbing over them have progressed? I would like to formulate an affirmative answer. However, the reality plucks me by the sleeve,reminding me that since 1970 up until now not even a synthesis of the contemporary literary phenomenon has appeared." The difficulties which explain this situation, as we see from a long list, are: "unprocessed knowledge of the ideologicaldirections," "dogmatism," "simplifying view," "conformism," "mistaken tendency to equate literary value with any production in which the demands of the moment take on an explicit formulation," "undermining of aesthetic demands" and many others. Yet it should be observed in passing: why did not all this hinder Al. Piru, for example, from writing and publishing, even at the end of last year, a much discussed history of Romanian literature from its beginnings up to the present? Is it because of "dogmatism" that the "nonconformist" books of the critic Gh. Grigurcu appeared about contemporary poets and critics? Did "undermining of aesthetic demands" help Eugen Simion to publish "Romanian Writers Today" at the same time? Or I. D. Balan, with "Resurrection of a Poet: Aron Cotrus" or Mircea Martin, with "G. Calinescu and the Complexes of Romanian Literature" and many others? Clearly, there is a lack of great and complete syntheses. However, to make this absence due to the context full of imaginary obstacles is, at most, childish. On the contrary, the context was the solicitant and it is precisely these syntheses that were requested in history, science, art and literature. Yet they have not appeared to the necessary extent. Al. D. explains for us: "As an example, let us take a restricted period very near to us, that is, the 70's, and let us see what kind and how serious are the obstacles which must be overcome for an understanding of it. The first year, 1971, is marked by one decisive event for the later evolution of literature. The theses of July, published then, fix a new framework for the cultural movement (and, of course, the literary movement), a much stricter one, before which clear and unequivocal tasks are posed. The attention given artistic creation increases, the ideological guidance intensifies and it does not refer just to general principles,

to the role of art in society, to its action of knowledge and its highly educational function but also to the selection of subjects and the angle from which they are viewed." Legitimate and judicious evaluations, stressing the significance and importance of these ideas which, as we know, had positive implications for literary-artistic creation. However, Al. D. has another opinion: "This broad program was carried out in a literary production of disconcerting diversity and, understood, value." And a long string follows of confusions denounced by Al. D. with great energy. What should we understand? Clearly, all this confusion, in the end equal to an involution, appears to the combative publicist, as he himself says, as results of that "decisive event for the later evolution of literature." A grave error, which the rich picture of literature of this period itself divulges and is impossible to be ignored by an objective critical spirit. Of course, from this picture we do not exclude the rejects, mediocre books lacking substance and value. They are nearly inevitable but they do not strike a characteristic note. Clearly, the author omits a basic thing: the theses of July were not merely "published" then but, rather, discussed throughout the party, with the broad participation of people in culture and art; they were not simply an "ideological directive" but rather an innovative orientation of vast theoretical proportions. Second, they were not and could not be a "program for literary production," as Al. D. naively believes, leading one to understand, simplistically, that the "planning" of books, subjects and even of angles from which they should be viewed and, eventually, "approached" in the volumes of writers was recommended. Discussing the ideological orientation of literature in this way, Al. D. only republishes a truly dogmatic view in the problem of the party's guidance of art and literature, a view criticized and debated following the 9th party congress. It is surprising to meet in a young critic the recrudescense of this narrow and restricting view at a time when the orientation of literature allows the writer full freedom to select his subjects, motives, angles of view, according to his own inward approval and, above all, proper for each one's talent.

Further, the critic from Iasi looks gloomily at literature and discovers that the talented ones have become "dogmatics," while the writers without talent are champions of civic courage, that "the thirst for what is real no longer is the prerogative of the true writers" while "talent has reached the point of traveling the paths of conformism with exposed joy." He also sees--and how much he sees!--how writings at odds with grammar have become "at the head of the ads for modern literature" and he does not hesitate to write these lines, which we contemplate as having long career in a possible anthology of detractors from modern literature: "Our prose writers write poorly, convinced that the graduates of the industrial secondary schools, taught to limit their horizon of knowledge to exact sciences and that brute good citizenship takes the place of anything. The scornful, out of ignorance, of the tradtional forums but avid for experiments, are in the situation of those painters who do not hesitate to throw paint on the canvas in one outburst before being capable of drawing a hand correctly. And, yet, the critics have made them the stars of literature." Such vehement scorn for literature--even if it is in the name of the ideal heights for artistic achievement--seems to me unable to originate from the pen of someone who truly loves literature and respects the creators of it, the great ones and less great. Of course, neither does criticism, in an overall way, escape this painful condemnation since, if it did not cause it, "easily agreed to establishing a state of confusion." "Instead of defending the specific nature of literature," (from whom--editor's note), discouraging annexing tendencies and hindering the ambiguity of values, it was the first not to take into account its purpose." It permitted the "interference of foreign powers (foreign from the cause) in the internal affairs of criticism." Forgetting his surroundings, Al. D. "discovers" an ocean

of obiedience, discovers the disappearance of "independent spirits" and touchingly asks, "The question is whether these spirits still exist today, when the independence of opinion brings a "Fata Morgana.'" In the end, in his opinion, "Just two critics today seem to satisfy this terrible condition: Gheorghe Grigurcu and Al. Cistelecan!!" How unilateral this view is in relationship to the diversity of criticism and literature of this period, with its many successes, almost does not have to be pointed out. It is impossible not to see anything but blind ambition and partisan resentment, a "black imagination" and an unfree awareness despite its "criticism." A similar view with that of the critic Gh. Grigurcu, a participant in the same discussion and one which, illustrated by intolerance and passion (basically noncritical), sees in current literature a "grotesque campaign of order," with hidden plans "carried in the office workers' briefcases." "Any retort was smothered, with a state of uniformization of critical awareness having been decreed ," writes Gh. Grigurcu, alarmed and alarmingly, having discovered with the same unlikely "black imagination" the "heads of aggressive proletcultism," in exchange protecting the ones he considers the delicate exponents of the authentic current critical spirit in an almost comic way: they "are placed not only in the little house (!) of the 'modernist' element but, rather, through the force of their works, they also cover the Maiorescu-Lovinescu tradition which they continue with indisputable legitimacy." In the opinion of Gh. G.,those in this "little house" possess all the qualities: "the pluralism of ideas," "the civility of relationships," "disengagement," "candor," "solid culture," "a sense of value," "awareness of history," "responsibility of their mission," and so forth. All that remains is for you to ask yourself how all these great qualities fit into the "little house?!" Among the residents of Gh. G.'s modernist "little house" we do not meet either S. Ciocu-lescu or Al. Piru, either V. Rapeanu, P. Marcea or I. Vlad: really, as Gh. G. said, "Intolerance is the most serious danger." Observing in passing that among those also not fitting in Gh. G.'s "little house" is Eugen Simion, the well-known Lovinescu exegetist, we recall that he is one of the critics who criticized Gh. G.'s intolerance and even his obtuseness toward the great values of contemporary poetry and so we can understand Gh. G.'s unforgiving treatment of those who have not forgiven him.

Finally, subjectivism ,arbitrariness and intolerance freely bloom against the common ground of this "discussion" by CONVORBIRI LITERARE from the old Moldavian capital, which throughout time has accustomed us to another style of literary and artistic life, to discussions on a high ideological level as well as intellectual and moral level, to polemics of ideas expressed with must more clarity, useful to the progress of Romanian literature and consolidation of its values. And how could it use for distinguishing and consolidating values a discussion in which nobody wants to recognize anyone else, in which it is discovered that writers "write poorly," while the critics are living barricaded in "little houses" (probably under siege!), a discussion in which even a balanced critic "consolidates" values by demolishing in passing two great writings by Tudor Arghezi, who "had paid too great a tributewith 'Cintare Omului' and '1907?!'" Should we believe that CONVORBIRI LITERARE has proposed to build its readership in this way regarding the development of current Romanian literature, to instruct its readers, to make them understand more deeply and clearly the ideological quality and general level of today's creation? Such discussions are too much a form of getting even nourished by an uncritical passion and too little an expression of an objective critical spirit in order to truly be useful to the literary climate and development of literature.

8071
CSO: 2700/180

PRACTICE OF ACCEPTING OUT-OF-DATE DOCTORAL THESES DEPLORED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Mihai Iordanescu]

[Text] Clearly, the more than 14,000 specialists who hold doctor's degrees today in the most diverse scientific branches represent--or should represent--an inexhaustiblesource of innovative thinking, of ideas capable of actually improving all areas of our social-economic life. The picture thus completed could offer even higher, more optimistic proportions if with anticipation works were to be introduced into this evaluation, works which these doctoral candidates are to work out to receive the title of doctor,works which, as we well know, are based or should be based on a profound and creative investigation of the "hottest" aspects of the dialectics of our social-economic life.

Really, the number of doctoral candidates is a remarkable scientific potential but, in proportion to the giant arsenal of information opportunities and, in particular, the experimental base whose expenses are supported entirely by the state, the due date for fulfilling this potential still remains uncertain. The value of return enters so little into the evaluation of a doctoral work that what overall seems so well orchestrated is often consumed at the real level of matters often without resonance and with temporary results.

And the truths are found best in the field of agronomic scientific research. Not only the strictness of the agricultural calendar, with critical due dates for the proposed projects but, in particular, the organic nature and complexity of stages in the evolution--very spectacular recently--of scientific research require even more powerfully that the entire system for conferring the title of doctor make its presence actually felt within production, so that each work is a certain factor, which can be checked in practice. Despite this, it is precisely here that the current system for conferring the degree of doctor favors an incomprehensible lack of limits and checking in compiling the work. For example, of the 624 specialists today included in the doctoral degree system at the Nicolae Balcescu Agronomic Institute, 52 enrolled before 1965, of course, without having completed their work until now. An evenlarger figure is seen by those with a "seniority" of between 10-15 years.And such "records" actually are met in other agronomic institutes; for the branches of agriculture, horticulture and veterinary medicine as a whole, of the approximately 1,400 doctoral candidates existing at this time, more than 1,000 have a seniority of greater than 5-6

years, which is calculatedas the time needed to work out and turn in the work. Despite this,nobody and nothing requires them to respect any kind of schedule for concluding and presenting the work so that, as we have seen, decades can go by from the point the doctoral thesis is admitted and it is presented.

And all this is under conditions where, as we know, agronomic scientific research is completely and urgently being requested to make its great contribution to solving many of the problems confronting our agriculture. In the spirit of these demands, the Ministry of Education and Instruction a year ago issued a circular which states that "the subjects for the doctoral theses are to be established by the professors' councils at the faculties or scientific councils of the research institutes in collaboration with the production and social-cultural units in close connection with the goals provided in the program-directive for research and with the annual and long-range research plans of the central research institutes and higher education institutions." A fully justifiable decision, a rational one, particularly since we know that the goals of the Program-directive for research havea strict, firm and scientifically substantiated nature, entering like a basic component into the very strategy of our society's development. For that reason, assuming that each professoral council and scientific council would propose to completely respect these indications, how could they do it from the moment that the doctoral subject established and recommended in this way lacks one of the elements which insures its identity: specification of the length of time in which it is to be worked out? This is an organizational aspect of value, often decisive for the social effectiveness of the doctoral thesis.

But there also is an internal aspect which refers to the specific nature of agronomic research. In the areas mentioned, incomparably more than in others, the time factor is the decisive factor. Anybody can admit here the existence of the "time of gold," of an optimum period--only one!--for intervention and scientific finalization, through the loss of which the ideals, solutions, technologies, no matter how valuable, remain in the stage of indefinite potentiality.

Admitting that the subject for the work of each doctoral candidate is an acute problem, what assurance can we still have that it will be applied, from the moment that one never knows when it will be finished?

"Actually, none, as long as the instructions for the organization and completion of the doctoral thesis tolerates maximum instability of the schedules," university professor and docent Liviu Pop, head of the chair of agricultural phytotechnology in the faculty of agriculture in Craiova, answers. It can be explained, can it not? The data for a current experiment no longer can aid in working out a solution to be applied 9-10 years later or even more when generally a doctoral candidate finishes his work. The conditions will be different then, the very complexity of the problem will be different, the priorities will be different, too, so that one should not be surprised when, having been completed at such a long time after the theme was begun as an urgent matter, such a work ends by enriching the archives of the agronomic institutes.

And such a fact causes other equal ones, among which also is the utilization of the research forces, which, of course, involve the doctoral thesis, not always in the key, decisive sectors for raising agricultural production. Of the 90

doctoral candidates enrolled in the N. Balcescu Agronomic Institute in 1981, 46 are working are working in research-design, 20 in instruction and only 24 in production, while just 5 (among whom, just 2 were declared successful) are in the agricultural production cooperatives. The situation is not a balanced one even for the branches mentioned as a whole. Why? Among other reasons, also because the lack of strictness in establishing the schedules means that the current system for conferring the doctoral degree, in particular, tends to devote the post-university scientific training even less to stimulating a continuous creative effort. So the doctoral degree frequently becomes a goal connected with promotion in the hierarchy and not a means for effective and efficient intervention to improve social and economic life.

8071
CSU: 2700/180

SINGLE-YEAR TERMS UNDER FIRE IN THREE REPUBLICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1622, 31 Jan 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Stevan Niksic in the column "League of Communists": "The Dilemma of the Single-Year Term"]

[Text] In a few months it will be just 4 years since Tito stated his "political testament" from the speaker's platform of the 11th LCY Congress in the Sava Center in Belgrade. In his message to the delegates--the concluding speech of the Congress--he resolutely appealed for the promotion of collective labor, the strengthening of responsibility and unity in Yugoslav society. This theme, as a sort of leitmotif, was also dominant in Tito's public appearances during the last years of his life. "I have given much thought to these questions. And I am profoundly convinced that such an approach has still further affirmed collective labor and responsibility, contributing to further democratization of labor in all self-managing and political bodies and preventing individuals from realizing their unhealthy ambitions to be leaders," he said several months later, at a congress of labor unions, explaining his well-known proposal("initiative") for the promotion of collective labor. This proposal, as is known, contained the suggestion that the "sojourn" in high political offices, "from the community to the federal level," be shortened to 1 year.

During the past few weeks, in connection with discussions of changes in the bylaws of the League of Communists, there has been renewed interest in collective labor and the single-year term. And, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, the first time that the practical realization of this idea has been publicly discussed, there have been official proposals for the partial modification of certain postulates which until now have been accepted as inherent in this idea by the League of Communists.

Why Now?

There has been practically constant discussion of how to realize Tito's suggestion in the League of Communists since the moment when it was made. The Presidency of the LCY Central Committee has passed resolutions about collective labor, and the Central Committee has discussed the matter several times. The subject should again be found on the agenda of one of the next sessions of the Central Committee. And all of the other party leaderships in the country, from republic and province to township, as well as all of the branch organizations, have been occupied with this topic for the last few years: basic positions have

been taken, and practical solutions, which are already being widely applied, have been considered. It would, however, be logical to bring this subject up again on the occasion of the definitive formulation of decisions about the bylaws. It is equally logical, now that the idea has already been put into practice for 2 or 3 years and tried out, that we should think somewhat differently about collective labor and the single-year term in political forums than we did when this idea first made its appearance.

One, Two or Four?

Proposals that there be some degree of deviation from the strict rule of the single-year term in individual party leaderships are, of course, only proposals. The debate still continues, opinions are somewhat divided, and it is impossible at the present to state its final outcome.

The possibility that in future there might be some deviation in the township leaderships of the League of Communists from the strict application of the 1-year term for the highest officials was announced for the first time in a report of the Bylaws Committee of the LCY Central Committee which was anticipated by members of the Central Committee at the last session. "It has been proposed," the document states, "that this term be 2 plus 2 years, along with other suggestions." The Bylaws Committee did not, however, explain these proposals but suggested that the matter be discussed at the session of the Central Committee and that suitable resolutions be adopted. But it was obvious that the opinions of the members of the LCY Central Committee were divided. It is characteristic that much attention was paid to the Bylaws Committee's viewpoint that, as concerns the organization of the forum of the League of Communists at various "levels," the Bylaws of the LCY should formulate only the basic principles. Everything else, in such a view, could be left to the republics and provinces or the opstinas for their regulation. Individual speakers explicitly supported this possibility as proposed by the Bylaws Committee, while others ardently attacked it. Finally it was resolved that everything must be discussed once more in detail. The opportunity for this would be coming up in the near future at a special session of the LCY Central Committee, at which members would analyze previous experience in the application of resolutions concerning the realization of Tito's proposal, adopted in April 1979. It was stated that at this time it would also be possible to consider individual suggestions put forth in connection with the discussion of changes in the bylaws and related to the "prolongation of term" under discussion.

Proposals that the term of office of high administrative officials in Opstina organizations of the League of Communists be longer than 1 year were, to the author's knowledge, made by three republic organizations: Slovenia, Montenegro and Serbia. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia proposed, namely, that the term of office of the president of a township conference be 2 years and that it be subject to one renewal. This means a total of 4 years. In Montenegro, it was proposed that the head of an opstina party leadership have a term of 2 years, "under the condition that a new organization be adopted for the forums and the entities of the municipal League of Communists." In addition, a second variant was mentioned--a term of one year--"inasmuch as this office is filled by a volunteer." In Serbia, as explained at the most recent session

of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia [LCS] by Budimir Vukasinovic, a member of its Presidency, the appropriate committee proposed the following: presidents of Opstina, inter Opstina and the City Conference of the League of Communists of Belgrade would be elected for 2 years, and could in addition be chosen for the same offices one more time. As in the proposal from Slovenia, individual party officials could thus remain in the same position for at most 4 years.

The LCS Central Committee did, however, propose several other solutions, about which the Central Committee was also informed. It was, for example, suggested that it not be possible for 1- and 2-year terms to be renewed, that one ought to wait for the session of the LCYCC before taking appropriate stands.... In the ensuing discussion it appeared that there is no unity of opinion among all members of the LCSCC as concerns these proposals.

Dragoman Radoicic appears to have been most strongly opposed to the suggestion that the term of office for individual officials in the League of Communists in future be set at 2 years or that it be made possible for it to last 4 years. Although, says Radoicic, a complete appraisal of how to realize Comrade Tito's proposal was not offered at the LCS, "we are offered certain decisions which are completely out of line with resolutions accepted by the entire LCS." Recalling the proposal once accepted, that the term of office for all administrative offices be 1 year and that it might not be renewed, Radoicic considered the present proposal only a "piece out of context," and that therefore the Central Committee could not take a stand on the issue.

Other members of the LYSCC who had come out against this proposal were, however, significantly better informed about the committee's proposal. Henrik Selic, for example, was of the opinion that it would be dangerous if this were to result in a dividing line being drawn between those who were more and those who were less important to collective labor. He considered that there are great variations within a republic, that the situation is fundamentally different in Nis, for example, than in Trgoviste, and different in Belgrade than in Crna Trava... More account should be taken of actual conditions, says Selic, and flexible solutions should be sought. All previous experience in the application of this idea, in his opinion, speaks against the strict application of the 1-year term in all areas and at all levels... A discussion of this subject showed that there are a fair number of supporters of a unified solution for the entire LCS and the LCY, no matter which of the solutions might finally win out. Both provinces [of Serbia] were united in their opinion that the terms of administrative officials in the League of Communists last only 1 year and that they not be subject to renewal.

"I think that we must find the strength to come to an agreement in Yugoslavia. If we agree that it be 2 years, let it be 2," said Husamedin Azemi. Dedo Hasimbegovic, at this same session of the Central Committee, expressed the fear that the privilege of renewing one's term of office might be misused.

Nor was the discussion in the LYSCC on the length of the term of office in individual party forums brought to a conclusion. Judging by all of this, when proposals for changes in the bylaws are made in the near future at a public discussion, all members of the League of Communists will have an opportunity to have their say on the subject.

[Box]

The Fate of "Rotation"

The present dilemma of how to apply the single-year term in the township organizations of the League of Communists and proposals that this term be lengthened to 2 years or perhaps even to 4, it is stressed, are the result not of any desire to abuse Tito's proposal, but rather of a desire to apply it as effectively as possible, to follow the spirit of his idea of collective labor and to adapt practical solutions to actual conditions and needs.

One can, nevertheless, understand the fear of those who consider that under the pressure of arguments for "practicality" and "different specific conditions" the substance of Tito's plan and his far-sighted warning of the danger of an increase in political bureaucracy, of bureaucratic arbitrariness of individuals and groups and the usurpation of power from the working class, might all easily be lost sight of along with his "testament," in which he called upon all communists, workers and citizens of Yugoslavia to prevent individuals from realizing their unhealthy ambitions to be leaders. It is, therefore, not out of place to recall the fate of a similar idea, in vogue almost 20 years ago. We are thinking of an amendment to the federal constitution, ratified in 1963, which was popularly known as "rotation."

More specifically, it was appended to the Yugoslav constitution in 1963 that no individual may be chosen more than twice in a row for the same political office in a sociopolitical unit. A similar principle was applied for members of workers councils. Individual holders of public offices, particularly directors of work organizations, were according to the constitution bound by the principle of compulsory reappointment every 4 years, and were not subject to the principle of limitation of repeated candidacy. Edvard Kardelj, on one occasion during this period, said that he was in favor of the principle of rotation but did not believe that it would be a necessary feature of the Yugoslav political system as a self-management system. "I think that in a normally functioning democratic mechanism this principle is not necessary," was Kardelj's opinion. Stressing, however, that he was speaking of a historically necessary means of struggle against bureaucracy in contemporary Yugoslav society, Kardelj added: "Whether the principle of rotation of office will be retained in the future is a question which will be resolved not by us but by future generations..."

The principle of rotation, as provided by the constitution, affected only "government" offices and not those in sociopolitical organizations. During the first years of application of this principle, which has remained in essence unchanged and is contained in the present constitution, ratified in 1974, it was shown to be in fact quite effective in its role in the democratization of personnel policy.

[Box]

Trivial Criticisms

Last week the Constitutional Committee of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Serbia discussed political offices and officials, a discussion which

would appear to be connected with the coming elections. This time it was a discussion of the meaning of the term "same office," mentioned in the republic's constitution. In the second amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is found the principle of limitation of repeated consecutive election or appointment to the same office. It turned out, however, that this principle can be interpreted in (at least) two ways. The question is, namely, whether "same office" refers to all offices of any particular category or not. Offices such as, for example, "republic secretary," republic inspector, head of an agency... Irrespective of whether one is republic secretary for economy and the other, perhaps, for culture... If these were not the same office, then most likely there would be nothing to prevent someone who is currently secretary in one sector from "obtaining" a second term in another sector.

A sort of curiosity is the interpretation which was accepted at this time at the session of the Constitutional Committee. It was concluded, namely, that the phrase "same office" be considered to denote only those offices which are completely identical. In other words, this means that there would be nothing to prevent a republic secretary currently in "control"of one sector to be "reassigned to another sector during the next term of office, or to stop the president of one council of an assembly from being elected president of another council of the same assembly for the following term. The chief of one opstina body, who has held this office for a total of 8 years, could change his "company" and remain chief for 8 more years...

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INCREASE IN FEDERAL JOB-HOLDERS DISCUSSED

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[Article by Jovan Radovanovic: "From the Federation and Back"]

[Text] While on the one hand it is difficult to attract highly-qualified personnel of proven abilities to work in government agencies, on the other hand those whose term of office has long since expired are reluctant to depart, so that the number of employees in the machinery of government, despite all sorts of criticism, increases from year to year.

"The more subordinates, the greater the general." With this saying Zlata Rakic-Josifova, delegate of the party organization of federal labor unions, attempted recently to explain the constant expansion of the "upper echelon" of the administration.

Speaking right at a session of the Conference of Local Branches of the League of Communists [employed] in federal agencies and organizations, devoted to personnel policy, Josifova interpreted the uninterrupted increase in number of employees, especially in the auxiliary services of federal agencies and to the detriment of highly qualified, trained personnel, whose abilities have been proven both at work and politically--for whom, by the way, the federal government is experiencing a chronic shortage--as due in part to the great powers of decision-making accorded to administrators. Four administrators will be hired before two truly capable, qualified advisors. This results in an increase in people involved in technical matters, as couriers and copyists. Many "subordinates" [means] few thinkers and few original ideas.

Figures Under Criticism

Government expansion is constantly the focus of social criticism. Despite this, the federal government itself is always pointing out its shortages of personnel, in this case highly qualified personnel. The Committee of the Conference of Local Branches of the League of Communists [employed] in federal agencies and organizations attempted to convince us that the numbers so often cited can often be deceptive.

Namely, the 28,220 employees of federal agencies and organizations also include members of the Presidency of SFRY, the presidencies of socio-political organizations, as well as those employed in the Association of Yugoslav Railroad Workers, in several news agencies, in scholarly institutes, libraries, and museums. The federal government as it is usually understood--to be secretaries, commissions, bureaus, departments, and the various technical services of the Federal Executive Council employs 17,236 workers and 366 high officials and supervisors.

The greatest numbers are employed by four federal government agencies: the Federal [Secretariat] of Foreign Affairs, the Federal [Secretariat for] Internal Affairs, the Federal Flight Control Administration, and the Federal Customs Administration--10,837 workers. The technical services of the Federal Executive Council, which comprise various repair services and auxiliary services, employ 2,165 workers. It thus turns out that all the remaining agencies of the federal government, federal organizations and technical services of the Federal Executive Council employ a total of 4,234 people. This is literally what is found in the statistical survey of personnel--"a total of 4,234 workers."

Both Sides of the Coin

We do not wish to take up in this article the question of whether there are many or few employees or whether they are utilized rationally enough. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note two facts: from 1975 until the middle of last last year the number of workers employed in agencies of the federal government rose by 3,897. Throughout this period according to the accepted system of listing there remained between two and two-and-one-half thousand unfilled positions at all times. The second fact is related to the first: there are practically six times as many unskilled workers as was anticipated in the job plan! This is why one-third of the positions requiring high qualifications remained unfilled for years.

Why?

Positions other than those of high government officials and administrators are no longer as attractive as they once were.

Qualified skilled personnel are reluctant to enter the labor organizations of federal agencies. The reasons for this are: great responsibility, complicated assignments, salaries no longer so attractive, increased difficulty of quickly being granted a [government owned] apartment, and spouse's employment and children's schooling in the case of relocation from one of the republics or provinces. Many are discouraged by the hierarchical, bureaucratic relations in the federal administration.

This is, nevertheless, only one side of the coin. In the rather sharply critical analysis prepared for the session of the Conference of the Local Branches of the League of Communists [employed] in the federal agencies and

organizations, it is stated literally that there is still quite a lot of poor work and overpayment but little reward for work well done and that the wrong people for the job remain for too long in important positions. Although members of the Conference Committee justified the severity of their critical formulations by the need for an analysis which would have a mobilizing effect all are of the opinion that there is much room for critical evaluation of personnel policies everywhere, including federal organizations.

Ministerial Rank

If on the one hand it is thought that capable people are reluctant to begin working in federal organizations, there is a sizeable group of those who when their terms of office are up are still more reluctant to return to the milieu from which they have come. And while there is talk that "incomplete persons" should not be allowed to begin working in federal institutions, meaning by this those who have inadequate training, not formal training but experience, others mention the "structural surpluses of personnel." And although in a large number of work organizations it is clear that there are younger workers, there is mention of the accumulation and even the invention of administrative positions with "ministerial rank" for "deserving friends."

There were also those at the session of the Conference who accused a federal social legal officer of self-management because in a recent issue of BORBA he made public some facts about the large number of people with special status and authority. The facts cannot be altered by objections that none of this is new, that these are well-known things, and that the legal officer should have done something about this instead of "advertising" the matter in the newspapers. But the fact cannot be denied that there are people in federal organizations holding fabricated positions, so that we find directors of sections in which there is not a single employee.

Unassigned for Years

A special case is that of the so-called unassigned personnel, or available personnel. In the federal government alone there are 180 unassigned personnel in organizations from the republics and provinces who have been doing practically nothing for 5 or more years or, as stated more tactfully in the records, who are "not engaged in work." There is in fact a law that high government officials are entitled to receive their salary for one year after their term of office has ended, while if they have been in high administrative offices for more than 12 years this right is extended to 3 years, and if they have been administrators for more than 20 years--to 6 years.

The majority of such people, we learn, are in fact close to retirement, and after finishing all their terms of office, could not be returned to the position in which they had started their career decades earlier because these positions simply no longer exist. Among them are honorable and worthy veterans who built up this system and who are now ashamed of the fact that there are no longer any assignments for them--but their pay envelopes are full on the first of every month. But there is a considerable number of those who are suited by such a status, for whom there is no place in the organizations from which they came, which sometimes play dumb, forgetting their "own" people, or even openly refuse to take them back.

Thought up as a means to "entice" the required personnel, as a protective device to increase the security of those who in a moment of panic might wonder what would happen after their term of office had expired, this arrangement, judging by the criticism with which it is met, has in practice become distorted. There is an ever increasing demand, therefore, that the republics and provinces state specifically their responsibilities and obligations towards those personnel whom they send to work for the federal government and whom they afterward, it turns out, avoid taking back.

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